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Papyrus 967: A Variant Literary Edition of Ezekiel

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Abstract

Papyrus 967: A Variant Literary Edition of Ezekiel

By Ingrid E. Lilly

The Greek papyrus codex 967 (hereafter p967) manifests a different edition of Ezekiel from the Hebrew Masoretic Text (hereafter MT). This study defines and uses a "manuscript approach" to argue that p967 qualifies as a variant literary edition of Ezekiel.

Methodlogically, this study is rooted in text-critical analysis and shows that p967's variants usually reflect the Old Greek translation and in many cases an early Hebrew edition of Ezekiel. The literary analysis of p967 and MT procedes according to sets of variants that participate in literary *Tendenzen*, adopting the principle of coherence found in *Literaturkritik.* In so doing, the literary analysis identifies the scope and literary character of p967 and MT's meaningful textual variants. Finally, the codicological analysis explores p967's manuscript as an historical and sociological artifact. Specifically, the study examines the paratextual marks in Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther in order to describe the interpretive and functional interests of a 3rd century C. E. community. According to this manuscript approach, the study argues that p967 contains an ancient alternate literary edition of Ezekiel different from MT.

Papyrus 967: A Variant Literary Edition of Ezekiel

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Papyrus 967: A Variant Literary Edition of Ezekiel

"Who took that text out of context?"[1]
~ Jacques Derrida

Table of Chapters:

1. Introduction: A Manuscript Approach to p967
2. Understanding p967's Text: History of Text-Critical Scholarship
3. A Coherence Approach to Literary Analysis: Discerning *Tendenzen*
4. The *Tendenzen*: Text-Critical Analysis
5. The *Tendenzen*: Exegetical Readings of p967 and MT as Alternate Literary Editions
6. Codigological Analysis of p967
7. Conclusion

Table of Contents:

Chapter 1: Introduction: A Manuscript Approach to p967
- 1.1. Introduction
- 1.2. Variant Literary Editions and the Problem of Method
  - 1.2.1. Integrating Literary and Text-Critical Methods
  - 1.2.2. Defining Literary Criticism
- 1.3. Previous Scholarship on p967 as a Variant Literary Edition
  - 1.3.1. Johan Lust and Ashley Crane
  - 1.3.2. Lust's Tradition History Approach
  - 1.3.3. Crane's Historical-Critical Approach
  - 1.3.4. Crane's Text-Comparative Approach
  - 1.3.5. Lust's Coherence Approach
- 1.4. Returning to Textual Criticism of p967
- 1.5. The Contents of the Present Study

Chapter 2: Understanding p967's Text: History of Text-Critical Scholarship
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2. The Critical Publications of p967
  - 2.2.1. Chester Beatty
  - 2.2.2. Schiede/Princeton

[1] Cited from a personal conversation with Jacques Derrida by Geoffrey Bennington, "Derrida," (class lecture; CPLT 751 Derrida**;** Emory University, Spring, 2006).

2.2.3. Madrid
2.2.4. Universität Köln
2.2.5. Summary of Publications
2.3. Text Groups, Alignment, and the Old Greek: Three Phases of Research
2.3.1. Phase 1: High Esteem for p967: Kenyon, Johnson, Gehman, Kase, and Payne
2.3.2. Phase 2: Distancing p967 from the Old Greek: Joseph Ziegler and the Göttingen LXX
2.3.3. Phase 3: No New Ground: The 1977 Göttingen LXX
2.3.4. Summary and Discussion of p967 and its Hebrew *Vorlage*
2.3.5. Summary and Discussion of p967, the Hebrew, and the Old Greek
2.4. p967, Literal Translation Technique, and Linguistic Non-Homogeneity
2.5. Quality of p967 as a Textual Witness – Assessing Arguments for Errors
2.6. Conclusion

Chapter 3: A Coherence Approach to Literary Analysis: Discerning *Tendenzen*
3.1. Introduction
3.2. Procedure: Organizing Variants according to *Tendenzen*
3.3. Introduction to the *Tendenzen*
3.4. Textual Lemmata According to *Tendenzen*

Chapter 4: The *Tendenzen*: Text-Critical Analysis
4.1. Introduction
4.2. Textual Discussion
4.2.1. General Alignment
4.2.2. Hexaplaric Notations
4.3. Text-Critical Analysis of Variants
4.3.1. Isolated p967 Variants
4.3.1.1. Summary of Results
4.3.2. Variants between p967 and B
4.3.2.1. Summary of Results
4.3.3. MT and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of p967
4.3.3.1. p967 Variants based on an Alternate Hebrew *Vorlage*
4.3.3.2. *Pseudo-Ezekiel*: A Variant Hebrew Literary Edition of Ezek 37:2-10
4.3.3.3. Summary of Results
4.4. Textual Discussion of 12:26-28, 32:24-26, and 36:23c-38
4.4.1. Introduction
4.4.2. Ezek12:26-28
4.4.3. Ezek 32:24-26
4.4.4. Ezek 36:23c-38
4.5. Conclusions

Chapter 5: Literary and Exegetical Readings of p967 and MT
5.1. Introduction
5.2. "Prophecy" *Tendenzen*
5.2.1. Intertextual Center: Disputation on Prophecy in Ezekiel 12-13

5.2.2. "Prophetic Temporality" *Tendenz*: Time and Fulfillment in Eezkiel
5.2.2.1. Programmatic Statements about Prophecy and Fulfillment
5.2.2.2. Date Reckoning
5.2.2.3. Ezekiel's Temporal Structure
5.2.2.4. Summary of "Prophetic Temporality" *Tendenz*
5.2.3. "Divine Speech" *Tendenz*: Prophetic and Oracle Formulae
5.2.3.1. Formulae of Prophetic Speech
5.2.3.2. Recognition Formula
5.2.3.3. The Nation-Recognition Formula
5.2.4. Summary of Section: "Prophecy" *Tendenzen*
5.3. "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen*
5.3.1. Intertextual Center: The Pit in Ezekiel 32:17-32
5.3.1.1. Exegesis of Ezekiel 32:17-32 in p967
5.3.1.2. The Population in the Pit: MT and p967
5.3.1.3. Emphasis of the MT: The Uncircumcised
5.3.1.4. The Giants in p967
5.3.2. "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen:* Variants across the Rest of Ezekiel
5.3.2.1. Tyre's Fate in the Midst of the Sea
5.3.2.2. "Hordes" *Tendenz:* The End for Enemy Hordes
5.3.2.2.1. Hordes in the Pit of Chapter 32
5.3.2.2.2. Hordes of Egypt
5.3.2.2.3. Hordes on the Day of the Lord in Chapter 7
5.3.2.2.4. Hordes and Tyre
5.3.2.3. "Death on the Field" *Tendenz*
5.3.2.3.1. Egypt and Pharaoh in Ezekiel 29:5
5.3.2.3.2. Edom in Ezekiel 35:8
5.3.2.3.3. Exegetical Significance of "Death on the Field"
5.3.2.4. "Bones" *Tendenz*
5.3.2.4.1. Bones in the Pot of Ezekiel 24
5.3.2.4.2. Location in the Pot Allegory
5.3.2.4.3. An Interpretive Frame to the Pot Allegory
5.3.2.4.4. Bones in Ezekiel 37 and 24
5.3.2.4.5. Summary of "Bones" *Tendenz*
5.3.2.5. "New Life" *Tendenz*
5.3.2.5.1. "New Life" in MT
5.3.2.5.2. "New Life" in p967
5.3.2.5.3. Summary of the "New Life" *Tendenz*
5.3.3. Summary of Section: "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen*
5.4. *Tendenzen* Related to Ezekiel 36:23c-38
5.4.1. Intertextual Center: The Promises in Ezekiel 36:23c-38
5.4.1.1.1. Ezekiel 36:23c-38 as an Introduction to Chapter 37 in MT
5.4.1.1.2. Ezekiel 36:23c-38 and Chapter 11 in MT
5.4.1.1.3. Ezekiel 36 as a Transition to Chapters 38-39 in p967
5.4.2. "Heart/Spirit" *Tendenz*
5.4.2.1. "Heart/Spirit" *Tendenz* in MT
5.4.2.2. "Heart/Spirit" *Tendenz* in p967

5.4.2.3. "Heart/Spirit" *Tendenz:* Two Cases Where p967 and MT Agree Against Other Greek Witnesses
5.4.2.4. Summary of "Heart/Spirit" *Tendenz*
5.4.4. Summary of Section: *Tendenzen* Related to Ezekiel 36:23c-38
5.5. "Gog-Magog" *Tendenzen*: Variants Related to Ezekiel 38-39
5.5.1. Geographic *Tendenz:* Gog's Entourage of Nations
5.5.2. Word Plays with Meshech משך
5.5.3. Plunder and Spoil *Tendenz*
5.5.4. Summary of Section: "Gog-Magog" *Tendenzen*
5.6. Summary of Chapter: p967 and MT as Variant Literary Editions

Chapter 6: Codicological Analysis of p967 Ezekiel
6.1. Introduction
6.2. Description of p967 Codicological Features
6.2.1. Manuscript Identification
6.2.1.1. Circumstances and Origins of Discovery
6.2.1.2. Contents of the Codex
6.2.1.3. Probable Date
6.2.2. Overall Form and Format
6.2.2.1. Mega-Format
6.2.2.2. Format Characteristics
6.2.3. Style of Writing (Within Blocks of Text)
6.2.4. Use of Internal Spacing (Absence of Ink Within Blocks of Text)
6.2.5. Explicit In-Line Markings (Presence of Ink Within Blocks of Text)
6.2.5.1. Plus Corrections
6.2.5.2. Minus Corrections
6.2.5.3. Punctuation: Paragraph Marks
6.2.5.4. Punctuation: Sense Marks
6.2.5.5. Breathings
6.2.5.6. Accents
6.2.5.7. Contractions: Numbers
6.2.5.8. Contractions: *Nomina Sacra*
6.2.5.9. Contractions and Suspensions: *Nu* at End of Line
6.2.5.10. Diple
6.2.5.11. Dieresis
6.2.6. Marginal Markings (Outside of Blocks of Text)
6.2.6.1. Page Numbers
6.2.6.2. Marginal Words / Marginal Notations
6.2.6.3. Marginal Marks and Symbols [Tables of Ezekiel Marks]
6.2.6.3.1. Category 2: Ecclectic Marks
6.2.6.3.2. Category 3: Diagonal Slashes
6.2.6.3.3. Category 4: Horizontal Slashes
6.2.6.3.4. Category 5: Idiosyncratic Slashes
6.2.6.3.5. Category 6: Larger Ink Blots
6.2.6.3.6. Category 7: Clusters of Small Dots
6.3. Relation of Select Features to Reading Tradition

6.3.1. Christian Features
6.3.2. A Liturgical Function?
6.3.2.1. What the Codex Format Says about Function
6.3.2.2. What the Marginal Marks in p967 Say about Function
6.3.2.3. Marginal Marks and Reading Use
6.3.3. Analysis of the Interpretive Interests of the Reading Community
6.3.3.1. Marginal Words / Marginal Notations
6.3.3.1.1. Ezek. 28:9-19 (Concerning Merchants)
6.3.3.1.2. Ezek. 30:1-13 (God Fulfills)
6.3.3.1.3. Ezek. 32:30-33:8 (Uniting?)
6.3.3.1.4. Ezek. 39:23-37:4 (Concerning Resurrection)
6.3.3.1.5. Ezek. 43:1-9 (Concerning Repentance / Concerning God's Holiness / Concerning Repentance)
6.3.4. Description of the Interpretive Interests of the Reading Community
6.4. The Whole Codex: Ezekiel in Light of p967 Daniel and Esther
6.4.1. Introduction
6.4.2. Discussion of the Editions of Daniel and Esther in p967
6.4.2.1. The Texts
6.4.2.2. General Thematic Connections Among the Books
6.4.3. The Reading Community's Marks in Daniel and Esther
6.4.3.1. Sense Divisions (Sense Marks)
6.4.3.2. Marked Sections of Reading Activity
6.4.3.3. A Liturgical Section: The Hymns in Daniel 3
6.4.3.4. Analysis of Interpretive Interests
6.4.3.4.1. Dan 3:57-82, 83-88a, 88b-90, 91-97
6.4.3.4.2. Dan 7:12
6.4.3.4.3. Dan 9:2
6.4.3.4.4. Dan 10:1
6.4.3.4.5. Est 13:1-7
6.4.3.5. Discussion of Interpretive Interests
6.5. Conclusion
6.6. Images

Chapter 7: Conclusion
7.1. Summary
7.1.1. The Text of p967
7.1.2. p967 and MT as Variant Literary Editions
7.1.3. p967's Literary Edition and its Codex
7.2. Implications of Scribalism to Variant Literary Editions
7.2.1. Variant Literary Editions and Scribalism
7.2.2. Variant Literary Editions, Scribalism, and Prophetic Books

Appendix
Table I: Contents of p967 Publications
Table II: Alignment of p967 among the Greek Versions
Table III: Abbreviations

Table IV: Ziegler's 1977 Text Groups
Table V: Multiple Translator Theory: Select Data from McGregor's 1985 Study
Table VI: Textual Lemmata in Canonical Order
Bibliography

Chapter 1
Introduction: A Manuscript Approach to p967

1.1. Introduction

In the late 1930s, a new Greek manuscript of Ezekiel was published in two different locations: among the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri and at Princeton among the John H. Schiede Biblical Papyri.[2] This manuscript is now known by Rahlf's enumeration p967.[3] p967 is dated to the late second or early third century C.E., making it the earliest copy of any Septuagint codex known at the time.[4] The 1970s turned up two more portions of the Ezekiel manuscript, one at the University of Cologne, and the other in Madrid, Spain.[5]

The significance of p967 for textual studies of Ezekiel was immediately apparent. p967, a Greek uncial, pre-dates Origen's Hexapla and Codex Vaticanus (B) by nearly a century, revealing its importance for study of the Old Greek. In fact, aside from a still missing portion of the beginning of the manuscript (chs. 1-11:24), p967 is the earliest substantial witness to Ezekiel in any language, including Hebrew. The finds among the

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[2] F. J. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Ezekiel* (Fasc. 7. London: Walker, 1937); and A. C Johnson, H. S. Gehman, E. H. Kase, Jr., *The John Schiede Biblical Papyri: Ezekiel* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1938).

[3] The papyrus is now known to be a codex containing Ezekiel, Daniel with its additions of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon, and Esther.

[4] Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John Schiede Biblical Papyri*, 5. Earlier Septuagint witnesses exist, most certainly pre-Christian, like Pap. Fouad 266 (Rahlfs 847 and 848) and Pap. Rylands 458 (Rahlfs 957). These are dated between the 2nd century B.C.E. and the 1st century C.E.

[5] L. G. Jahn, *Der griechische Text des Buches Ezechiel, nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 15; Bonn: Habelt, 1972); and M. Fernández-Galino, "Nuevas Paginas del codice 967 del A. T. griego," *Studia Papyrologica* 10 (1971): 7-76.

Judean desert for Ezekiel were scanty and the Ezekiel scroll from Qumran cave 11 was petrified and could not be unrolled.[6]

Perhaps because of this notable lacuna of manuscript data, p967 presents several glaring textual difficulties, particularly with respect to the Masoretic Text (MT). The most notable features of p967 are its omission of ch. 36:23c-38 and its transposition of MT chs. 37 and 38-39, placing the vision of the valley of dried bones after the Gog-Magog battle.[7] Several other unique minuses of significant length (i.e., over 10 letters) are also attested (e.g., Ezek 12:26-28 and 32:24-26).

Despite the significant divergences presented by the new witness, no comprehensive full-length study of p967 has yet appeared. Certainly the protracted publication of the manuscript in four separate critical editions posed challenges for any study of p967.[8] Moreover, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls diverted attention from Septuagintal books whose literary editions were not corroborated by the new Hebrew manuscripts. Septuagintal studies focused on books like Jeremiah, whose shorter LXX edition was corroborated by 4QJer^{b}. While studies of Jeremiah, Samuel, and Judges, for example, proliferated and spawned new theories about Hebrew text traditions and multiple literary editions, the Greek text of Ezekiel went understudied.[9] These conditions are *prima facie* grounds for deeper study of p967.

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[6] See chart 1 below in §1.4.

[7] Chapter and verse references cite the MT unless otherwise noted.

[8] For example, despite Walter Zimmerli's access to the Princeton and Chester Beatty manuscripts, he was unable to incorporate information regarding p967's minus of 36:23c-38 because it could not be confirmed that the manuscript lacked it until the Madrid and Cologne publications in the 1970s after most of his work was completed. Walter Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (trans. Ronald E. Clements; 2 vols.; Hermeneia Commentary; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 1:76-77 especially.

[9] For example, Eugene Ulrich first proposed his thinking about "new editions" of the Bible in E. Ulrich, "Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives and Reflections on Determining the Form to be

Initial examination of p967's minuses focused on separate pericopes and usually evaluated these for scribal error. For instance, some scholars argued that p967's omission of ch. 36:23c-38 was due to *homoioteleuton*, or to the loss of a leaf in either a Greek parent codex or the Hebrew *Vorlage*.[10] However, none of these proposals involved an argument that could explain *all* of p967's unique features. Thus, p967 continued to present important, unresolved textual issues. In this early phase of scholarship on p967, some scholars like E. H. Kase did suggest that p967 preserved an early (Hebrew?) edition of Ezekiel;[11] however, no work was done to support Kase's impression.

While scholars had long noted p967's minuses, a lack of sufficient study obscured the manuscript's literary significance. Not until Johan Lust's pioneering work in the early 1980s did p967 emerge as an important work of literature with its own distinctive features, as Kase had surmised. In 1981, with the publication of Lust's article, "Ezekiel 36-40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," p967 first received attention as a literary work in its own right.[12] In that article, Lust demonstrated that two notable MT variants were exegetically connected: the addition of ch. 36:23c-38 and the transposition of chs. 37 and 38-39. Lust showed that p967's sequence of the Gog-Magog battle before the vision of the valley of bones and the minus of the promise oracle in 36:23c-38 displayed

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Translated," in *Perspectives on the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of Walter J. Harrelson* (ed., James J. Crenshaw; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1988), 101-116. He further developed the ideas in E. Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and the Questions of Canon," in *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21, March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 37-40. It was reprinted as chapter 5 in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 79-98.

[10] See chapters two and three for a more detailed discussion of this issue.

[11] Kase in Johnson, Gehmen, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 10, 67-8.

[12] Johan Lust. "Ezekiel 36-40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," *CBQ* 43 (1981): 517-33.

theological and literary coherence.[13] Specifically, Lust demonstrated the significance of p967 as a variant edition of Ezekiel's eschatology. A subsequent literary study by Ashley Crane examined Ezekiel 36-39, concluding that p967 and MT presented variant editions of Ezekiel's views of restoration.[14] Earlier text-critical analysis had not perceived these literary connections.

Lust's approach to p967's text laid the ground work, such that p967 now qualifies for the designation, "variant literary edition." A "variant" literary edition, a term coined by Eugene Ulrich, is a textual witness that contains variant passages, chapters, or book-level features that affect both meaning and literary character.[15] In the case of p967, we still do not know: 1) how extensive the variant edition is, and 2) whether the status applies to the whole book, or just parts of it. This study addresses the precision still required in the designation "variant literary edition," with reference to p967.

Variant literary editions introduce new methodological issues into text-critical scholarship. Simultaneously, p967 is a unique textual witness to as well as a variant literary edition of Ezekiel. Lower critical inquiry cannot proceed without some account of p967's literary character. In other words, both p967's *text* and its *literary edition* are

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[13] For a good review of the history of discussion on p967's text in chs. 36-39, see D. I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25-48*, (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 339.

[14] Ashley Crane, *Israel's Restoration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel 36-39* (VTSup 122; Boston: Brill, 2008).

[15] According to Ulrich, a new imaginative model was required that "permits the diachronic complexity of the [biblical] text[s]." Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 14. For instance, textual criticism had always assumed the category of *the* canonical text, which Ulrich argues needs to be a decision, not an assumption. Ibid., 51-98. For Ulrich, textual critics needed a sober reminder that all biblical books "passed through successive literary editions." Ibid., x. While redaction criticism had always operated within this imaginative model, textual criticism had not. The explosion of new variant literary editions over which Ulrich poured in his magisterial work as editor of the DJD series are, according to him, the "key to the history of the biblical text," ibid., 106.

by necessity, interrelated issues. In the case of p967, many text-critical approaches ignored the highly relevant fact that p967 contains a variant literary edition of Ezekiel. Hence, this project must advance a means for integrating text-critical and literary methods.

The story of scholarship on p967 provides an important lesson. An isolated field of inquiry can obscure important, even relevant information about a text. Variant literary editions necessitate a more complex and coordinated methodological approach. Eugene Ulrich points towards the type of methodological creativity required at the outset in the study of variant literary editions. He states,

> We should first pay serious attention to our new data, try creatively to allow various possible interpretations to emerge and be sufficiently explored, and only then come to a judgment between competing interpretations.[16]

Maureen Bell makes a similar observation in her introduction to the book, *Re-constructing the Book: Literary Texts in Transmission*.[17] Speaking about texts of great English works such as Shakespeare, Bell's comments nevertheless speak clearly to the issue in biblical studies as well. She notes the way in which "literary critics, textual editors and bibliographers, and historians of publishing have hitherto tended to publish their research as if in separate fields of enquiry."[18] Her collection of essays focuses instead, on the coordinated use of multiple methods for understanding textual criticism in

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[16] Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 102.

[17] *Re-constructing the Book: Literary Texts in Transmission* (eds. Maureen Bell, Shirley Chew, Simon Eliot, et.al.; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001).

[18] Maureen Bell, "Introduction: The Material Text," in ibid., 1.

the context of literary history. This literary history involves not only text-critical issues but also literary, material, and sociological lenses of analysis.[19]

> The long-held expectation of the discovery or re-creation of an *originary* text, "superior" to all others, has been replaced by a (more democratic?) respect for each manuscript or printed witness in its own right. In the case of Shakespeare, for example, the "bad" quartos are being reinspected, reassessed and revalued in terms of printing history and performance practice.[20]

Bell's comments fall into a much broader shift taking place in the textual study of classical works.[21] This shift is especially relevant to how we understand manuscripts: as data used to establish an authoritative modern edition of a text *and* unique artifacts of an historically functioning work of literature. Within biblical studies, such methodological awareness is often made explicit, but rarely made central to a specific study. For

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[19] Ibid., 2.

[20] Ibid., 3.

[21] See, for example, J. McGann who states that "textual criticism of modern literatures is reconceiving its discipline," (*A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* [2d ed.; Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1992], 1). For a similar development in Medieval Studies, see the descriptive yet critical discussion of R. Howard Bloch, "New Philology and Old French," in *Speculum* 65 (1990): 38-58. Such a shift is only in nascent stages in biblical studies. For instance, Ulrich, writing explicitly about variant literary editions, emphasizes the fluidity of textual traditions and applies Sanders' process of repetition and resignification to textual witnesses (Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 8). The insights of Devorah Dimant offer fresh perspectives on the study of variant literary editions. Focusing on the abundant, yet unexplored evidence for scribal interpretive functions, Dimant notes that "a gradual shift of focus is taking place: side by side with the steady output of traditional philological-historical studies, a growing number of works are being devoted to literary and structural analysis. This new trend in research is producing a more sensitive approach to the interpretive function of Jewish literature of the Hellenistic-Roman period, and additional works are studying the various modes of biblical interpretation current in that literature." See Devorah Dimant, "Literary Typologies and Biblical Interpretation in the Hellenistic-Roman Period," in *Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (ed. Shemaryahu Talmon; JSPSup 10; Philadelphia: 1991), 73. Similarly, Kristen De Troyer calls into question the scholarly distinction between rewritten Scripture and Scripture. Working with George Nickelsburg's discussion of the terms "rewritten," "expanded," and "supplements" in apocryphal literature, De Troyer notes that supplements resemble what textual critics call interpolations. She asks, "could some of these supplements not be seen simply as the further literary development of the biblical text itself?" While De Troyer does not apply this insight directly to the case of variant literary editions, her discussion pushes some of the boundaries that variant literary editions, by nature, defy. Kristen De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text: What the Old Greek Texts Tell us about the Literary Growth of the Bible* (TCS 4; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 4. See also George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed., Michael Stone;CRINT, 2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984).

example, Gene Tucker summarizes the complexity of the methodological issue well, saying,

> Because all texts and versions of the Bible are historically conditioned documents, textual criticism must not only try to recover the best text but also attempt to reconstruct the history of the transmission of texts and versions. In this sense, textual criticism addresses another aspect of the question explored by literary, form and tradition criticism: what course did the history of the Bible take? It is not possible to distinguish sharply between the stages of that history which are treated respectively by the various methods.[22]

Similarly, Ulrich urges that the object of study can no longer be the *Urtext*, in light of the fluidity of textual production in antiquity. Rather, Ulrich asks

> Should not the object of … text-critical study be, not the single collection of MT texts [and versions] of the individual books, but the organic, developing, pluriform Hebrew text – different for each book – such as the evidence indicates.[23]

Writing about classical texts, J. McGann offers a general ideal taken as central to this study, stating that

> The entire socio-history of [a] work – from its originary moments of production through all its subsequent reproductive adventures – is postulated as the ultimate goal of critical self-consciousness.[24]

The present study originates in the claim that increased critical awareness is a pre-requisite to deeper study of variant literary editions. In examining a variant literary edition, the "entire socio-history" of any particular manuscript becomes necessary information that affects the utility of that manuscript's data to any specific field of inquiry. For example, as the history of scholarship on p967 demonstrated and as more detailed analysis below will show, textual analysis, operating in isolation from literary

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[22] Gene M. Tucker, "Editor's Foreward," in Ralph W. Klein, *Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: From the Septuagint to Qumran* (GBSOTS; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), iii-iv.

[23] Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 15.

[24] J. McGann, "Theory of Texts," *London Review of Books* 18 (1988): 20-21.

study, obscures the full significance of p967's data. What this proves is that when working with variant literary editions, a field of inquiry cannot operate in isolation, without first recognizing that the data it seeks to interpret is, as Maureen Bell urges, lodged within the "unstable form" of a book.[25] Hence, the present study takes seriously that a text is *always* also a manuscript, a unique historical manuscript of a functioning literary work.

My manuscript-approach to p967 takes as central the awareness that p967 is a text in *at least* three different ways. First, p967's text is a mechanically transmitted witness to an earlier "originary" text, (i.e., the *Urtext* or the Old Greek of Ezekiel.) Second, p967's text is a variant literary edition from the MT with unique literary features. This "text" can shed important new light on Ezekiel's editorial history. Third, the p967 codex presents a text of Ezekiel that was produced under specific conditions and that functioned in specific ways for historical readers. This manuscript-approach encompasses all three definitions of text and implicates several various, potentially related areas of research, which include textual criticism, literary criticism, and codicological criticism.[26]

For reading ease, I shall retain the term "text" in its traditional text-critical associations. However, from the outset, it is crucial to establish that a text's nature is complex and multiple. While all of the three "texts" mentioned above are self-consciously treated in the current study, the first two, that of textual and literary criticism, receive greater attention. There is one main reason for this: the weight of scholarly analysis on p967 brings us to the brink of the text-critical question: what is the

[25] Bell, "Introduction," 3.

[26] For bibliography on the last, see chapter 6 below.

relationship between p967's text and its literary edition? Having framed the project in terms of a manuscript-approach, and in light of this decision to give more focus to p967's text and its literary edition, further introductory remarks are now relevant. In what follows, I provide a general discussion of methods and variant literary editions and then present more specific work on p967. The discussion reveals the need for a complex and coordinated methodological approach to p967. Hence the present study clarifies and executes an innovative approach to variant literary editions.

1.2. Variant Literary Editions and the Problem of Method

1.2.1. Integrating Literary and Text-Critical Methods

Because the phenomenon of variant literary editions is not new to biblical studies, especially since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, several discussions of procedure and method precede this study.[27] The need to integrate literary and text-critical modes of analysis has been widely recognized.[28] As Emanuel Tov states in his chapter, "Contribution of the LXX to the Literary Criticism of the Bible:"

> From the outset it would appear that these issues [i.e. literary ones,] are so far removed from the topics usually treated by textual critics that the relevance of

[27] Ulrich addresses the issue in his chapter on double literary editions, (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, esp. 99-120). Emanuel Tov also contributes a chapter on the topic in his *Text Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d ed.; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 313-50. See also idem, "The Contribution of the LXX to the Literary Criticism of the Bible," in *The Text Crtical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2d ed.; Jerusalem: Simor Ltd, 1997), 237-63. Kristen De Troyer considers four different case studies of the LXX's relationship to the MT in her *Rewriting the Sacred Text.* Additionally, D. Barthelemy, D. Gooding, J. Lust, and E. Tov provide literary and text-critical case studies on the double edition of 1 Samuel 17-18 in the MT and LXX. See D. Barthélemy, D. W. Gooding, J. Lust, and E. Tov, eds., *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism: Papers of a Joint Research Venture* (OBO 73; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986). This final study gave students and scholars alike a test case for dealing with the interaction of literary and textual methods in the analysis of variant literary editions

[28] Lust has argued that "text-critical and literary methods should complement each other." Johan Lust, "Methodological Remarks," in *The Story of David and Goliath*, 126.

> textual data to literary criticism would seem to be remote. This chapter, however, demonstrates that this is not the case. As a rule, too little attention is paid to these aspects in the analysis of textual data.[29]

As Tov indicates, literary methods, while necessary in the analysis of variant literary editions, are held in suspicion by textual critics. At issue is the analytical usefulness of literary categories in the text-critical enterprise. This issue was the subject of debate in the well-known joint project on the David and Goliath variant edition.[30] In that study, four scholars were invited to address the issue of the variant Hebrew and Greek texts by combining literary and text-critical analysis. One question that emerged as central is how to determine an intentional literary variant. Tov and Lust critique the literary procedures and methods of Gooding and Barthélemy for being too subjective.[31] Lust argues that "artful" literary criteria are unhelpful in determining intentional literary variants.[32] For example, David Gooding's literary analysis focused on rhetorical artistry and often argued for text-critical intentionality and priority based on notions of literary taste, completeness, and beauty.[33]

Instead, both Tov and Lust defend a sequential procedure in which textual criticism precedes literary criticism. Tov's "point of departure is the textual level and

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[29] Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 237.

[30] Barthélemy et. al., *The Story of David and Goliath*.

[31] Tov and Lust also critique Gooding and Barthélemy for their procedural sequence.

[32] Lust in *David and Goliath*, 125.

[33] A short list of some of Gooding's literary comments that were used to produce his text-critical evaluation include: "precision of this beautifully structured sequence" (66), "the idea" explained (66), "ways of classical heroes" (67), sections that are "irredeemably inept" (69), "thought-flow of the narrative" (69), "main message of the story" (70), "pedantic and ruinous attempt to get rid of an apparent difficulty" (70), "common theme" (71), "completeness" (74), "logical progression" (74), "consistency" (75), "classical restraint" (75), "good taste" (75), "discrepancy" (79), "time-table difficulty" (81), and "narrative technique" (81).

only the textual level," leaving aside literary questions until late in the analysis.[34] Because the evidence has "been transmitted to us in textual sources," Tov argues that textual, and not literary analysis suits the data.[35] Similarly Lust, who devotes more attention than Tov to the issue of sequencing, argues that textual criticism provides the best starting point for study of textual phenomena.[36] In his own words:

> Discussions may arise concerning sequence in which the respective critical methods should be applied. It is probably preferable to start with textual criticism. Indeed, when one tries to define the relation between different forms of a text…one deals with the history of the text. Such a historical study is not the first aim of rhetorical criticism or of structuralism. These methods may find rhetorical and structural qualities in the text at any stage of its development or of its transmission.[37]

Both scholars emphasize the importance of securing a critical text before conducting literary analysis. However, two major problems immediately present themselves concerning the idea of a critical text. First, textual analysis is not perfectly objective and scientific. Tov himself questions the rule-based nature of textual criteria and admits that common sense ultimately determines one's evaluation.[38] Second, as chapter 2 will demonstrate, complex textual debates such as the theories about the Greek translators, inner-Greek revision, and Hebrew correction militate against the facile establishment of a critical text.

A crucial theoretical issue lies behind these questions about method and the sequence of text-critical and literary methods. It seems overstated if not altogether

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[34] Tov, "Response," in *David and Goliath*, 94.

[35] Tov, "Conclusion," in *David and Goliath,* 131-132.

[36] Lust, "Methodological Remarks," in *David and Goliath.* 121.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Tov, *Text Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 295.

incorrect to hold that because the variant literary data is transmitted in textual sources, textual criticism must have sequential precedence.[39] Indeed, the literary qualities of textual sources stand alongside their textual nature as equally characteristic of the sources. As discussed above, a manuscript is a text in several ways. This complexity and multiplicity does not provide a facile starting point for methodological sequence. Nevertheless, methodological sequencing is possible, although it depends on two important factors: 1) the scholar's orienting questions;[40] and 2) attention to what we mean by "literary criticism." The latter warrants some attention, however briefly.

1.2.2. Defining Literary Criticism

Biblical studies offer two ways of understanding literary criticism. Ascendant with the historical critical approach to biblical literature, literary criticism came to mean an interest in the various stages in the development of biblical books.[41] The second meaning of literary criticism comes from literary criticisms that flourish in modern humanities more broadly and has to do with the structure and style of literature, as well as with cultural notions about writing and strategies of reading. Many strands of this type of literary criticism have made deep and successful inroads into biblical studies, such as

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[39] So Tov, "Conclusion," in *David and Goliath*, 131-2.

[40] For example, in the David and Goliath study, Tov's question determines his positions on methodological sequencing. He proposes that "at the initial stage of our discussion there is, in my view, only one question: does the deviating Greek text reflect a deviating Hebrew text or not?" ("Response," in *David and Goliath*, 93). Tov's question reveals his singular interest in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX without concern for the possibility of subsequent editorial development. Such development could take two forms: inner-Greek editorial development, or inner-Greek correction towards a developed Hebrew text.

[41] See J. Coert Rylaarsdam's comments on the distinct types of literary criticisms within biblical studies which he lays out in the foreward of N. Habel's volume on Literary Criticism. J. Coert Rylaarsdam, "Editor's Foreward" in Norman Habel, *Literary Criticism of the Old Testament*, Guides to Biblical Scholarship, Old Testament Series, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), iii-ix.

genre and narrative criticism, to name a few.[42] As indicated above, Lust and Tov critiqued Gooding's literary criticism as being exclusively interested in higher critical features of the variant literary edition, without paying sufficient attention to lower critical issues.[43] What is required is a literary analysis that is rooted in text-critical questions and textual approaches.

The evidence furnished by variant literary editions resembles strata not unlike what redaction critics identify in *Literaturkritik*.[44] In *Literaturkritik*, the scholar isolates strata of material that exhibit shared formal features, ideas, or themes that seem secondary to the text. The underlying assumption is that author-scribes introduced such strata. In other words, redaction critics use principles of "literary coherence" to identify layers of editorial activity. Given that variant literary editions provide a hard set of data for such editorial activity, the types of literary strategies employed by redaction critics can be used to signal intentionality. This approach to textual and literary criticism is adopted in this study and will be referred to as the "coherence" approach. It now remains to situate this approach within previous scholarship on p967's literary edition.

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[42] See John Barton whose helpful introductory book on the methods of higher criticism operates with the same distinction, calling modern literary criticism, "secular", which I find slightly misleading and unnecessarily loaded. John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study*, (2d ed.; Louisville, KY: Westminster Press, 1996), 1-7.

[43] See footnote above.

[44] This study's approach to literary analysis shows affiliation with the types of questions asked in redaction criticism. For the theoretical basis of this view, see S. Talmon who points out that the process of composition blended with the process of transmission, ("The Textual Study of the Bible – A New Outlook" in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* [eds. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge: Harvard U Press, 1975], 333). Similar comments can be found in Gene Tucker's Editor's Forward in Ralph W. Klein, *Textual Criticism of the Old Testament,* iii-iv; See also James Watts, "Text and Redaction in Jeremiah's Oracles against the Nations," *CBQ* 54 (1991): 437, and Kristen De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text,*1.

1.3 Previous Scholarship on p967 as a Variant Literary Edition

1.3.1. Johan Lust and Ashley Crane

To date, scholarship on p967 has revealed much about its distinctive literary edition of Ezekiel. However, the types of literary analysis have shifted throughout the history of analysis. The earliest literary study of p967 adopted a tradition-historical approach to the literary analysis of p967's unique text.

Lust recognized the eschatological significance of p967, especially the material in chs. 37-39. In his earliest study, cited above, Lust hypothesized that Pharisaic, anti-apocalyptic theology motivated the transposition in Ezekiel's eschatological chapters. According to Lust, p967's order of chs. 38→39→37 was the more original. The MT displays a later arrangement of these chapters, rejecting the idea that a resurrection followed the eschatological battle. The Pharisaic editor transposed the vision of the valley of dried bones so that it would come before the Gog-Magog battle. Thereby the MT edition disallowed a notion of resurrection at the end times.

Lust was challenged on his Pharisaic proposal, most notably by Daniel Block.[45] Subsequently, Lust abandoned a full-blown argument for sectarian authorship. Instead, he returned to the textual data and in two subsequent essays, demonstrated literary coherence among a larger number of p967's variants.[46] Examining the MT pluses in 12:26-28, 32:24-26, and the textual issue in chapter 7, Lust concluded that p967 presents

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[45] D. I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25-48* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 337-43. Lust responds in Lust, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments: Stepbrothers?" in *New Testament Textual-Criticism and Exegesis* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 28-30. See also Crane's summary of the Block-Lust debate in Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 236-45.

[46] Lust, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments," 15-31; idem., "Major Divergences between LXX and MT in Ezekiel," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship Between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* (ed. Adrian Schenker; SBLSCS 52; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 83-92.

the more apocalyptic edition of Ezekiel than MT. Further, he argued that an MT scribe added material in order to *historicize* p967's more mythologizing tendencies. An MT innovation in 32:24-26 puts Meshech and Tubal in the pit alongside Israel's other historical enemies. The MT also presents its theology of the historical fulfillment of prophecy in 12:26-28. According to this MT plus, Ezekiel's oracles do not linger, but are *immediately* fulfilled. Lust goes on to suggest that these two variants correlate with the MT's plot-sequence in chs. 37-39.

According to Lust's proposals, MT chs. 37-39 represent a later scribal interest to historicize and fix the military events depicted therein. The MT treats Meshech and Tubal as historical leaders. Further, the MT edition interprets Ezekiel's restoration oracles as immediately fulfilled in Israel's post-exilic restoration and subsequent military invasion from the North. These historicizing interpretations work against the earlier edition (p967), which projected Ezekiel's oracles forward to refer not to past or contemporary history but to the end times.

Ashley Crane's dissertation, completed in 2006, adopted and developed Lust's results. He focused on Ezekiel 36-39 in the MT and the Greek uncials using what he called a "text-comparative method."[47] This method explores the interpretive significance of all meaningful textual variants as trajectories of interpretation. Crane was especially interested in Ezekiel's theology of restoration in these chapters, picking up on Lust's eschatological/sectarian conclusions.[48]

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[47] Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 1-4. For his evaluation of his comparative Hebrew and Greek witnesses, see ibid., 7-10.

[48] Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 24.

Later published in book form, Crane's results advanced scholarly understandings of p967 and the MT as two different literary editions. Crane's characterization of p967 especially highlighted the second half of ch. 37 and its immediate transition to chs. 40-48. In this section, according to Crane, p967 portrays the national unification under a Davidic messiah whose job is

> to shepherd the people peacefully, making sure they are torah-observant (v 24b), as they live under their covenant of peace (v 26). In p967's order, his [the Davidic leader's] greatest purpose is shepherding the people for the building of the sanctuary (v 26b), so God can dwell with his people (v 27).[49]

Since p967's order does not interrupt the covenant of peace in 37:26 with the military chs. 38-39, the transition to the temple vision is seamlessly pacifist.

According to Crane, the later MT edition is the result of shifting Second Temple political realities. The MT edition re-crafted the peaceful vision of Ezekiel to "rally the troops" in a "call to arms."[50] In MT, ch. 37's placement underscores the vision's symbolic significance as Israel's *past* restoration, according to Crane. Chapters 38-39 follow as a text for military hope and confidence in the contemporary *present*; the call to arms is implied.

Aside from the changed chapter order, the best textual support for Crane's reading comes in 37:10. The MT, to describe the revivified bones, uses a military image: an "exceedingly great army" (חיל גדול מאד מאד). In MT's order of chapters, Israel's restored army faces the military invasion of the following chapters. In contrast, p967 reads instead: "a very numerous congregation" (συναγωγη πολλη σφοδρα). When read in the context of the changed chapter order, the Greek reading complements the peaceful

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[49] Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 251.

[50] Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 253-54.

temple-oriented function for ch. 37 in p967, proposed by Crane. While the variant in 37:10 can certainly take on the significances Crane proposes in light of the changed chapter order, the variant itself is not strong evidence for different views of restoration. p967's reading συναγωγη occurs in all Greek witnesses and therefore cannot necessarily relate to p967's alternate order of chapters. Additionally, Crane's translation "army" is not restrictive, חיל need not refer exclusively to a military group.[51] Upon closer inspection, Crane's reading of the variant visions of restoration in p967 and MT is not well-supported by a wider set of variants. Nevertheless, Crane's attention to Ezekiel's vision of restoration does offer intriguing literary readings of the two editions.

The work of Lust and Crane provided an important foundation for further understandings of p967 as a literary edition different from the MT. Especially important are Lust's conclusions about the different eschatological horizons and the use of apocalyptic versus historicizing elements. Crane's literary analysis, in the main, highlights important differences regarding Israel's restoration along with a stimulating discussion of Davidic messianism. Most relevant to the present study, however, is Lust and Crane's use of literary and text-critical forms of analysis.

Four types of analysis are clear in Lust and Crane's work: 1) tradition-historical analysis, 2) historical criticism, 3) a "text-comparative" approach,[52] and 4) a coherence approach. They each attend to literary issues in conjunction with text-critical questions to varying degrees of success. They require evaluation to determine how well they make sense of p967's unique textual features.

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[51] For instance, חיל usually refers to a military army, however, it can also refer to a large group of people (I Kgs 10:2; 2 Chr 9:1) or to leaders (Exod 18:21, 25), worthy men (1 Kgs 1:42) or worthy women (Ruth 3:11).

[52] "Text-comparative" is Crane's term.

1.3.2. Lust's Tradition History Approach

Lust insightfully recognized the significance of p967's edition of Ezekiel 36-40 to beliefs about resurrection and eschatology. This observation remains relevant to a history of theology. However, the utility of this approach to text-critical questions was swiftly refuted by Block. Specifically, Block challenged Lust's claim that a sectarian theological view on eschatology was the editorial motivation which produced the MT.[53] Block pointed out how difficult such sectarian and theological arguments are to substantiate,

> Indeed, one could argue with equal if not greater force that the growth of apocalypticism in the late intertestamental period stimulated the rearrangement of oracles in the text-form, so that the resurrection of the dead is seen as the final eschatological event prior to the reestablishment of a spiritual Israel, rather than simply a metaphor for the restoration of the nation from exile.[54]

In short, as Block suggests, the history of ideas about resurrection and eschatology provides an unstable basis upon which to make claims about textual priority. Lust fully accepted the critique, modifying his position and stating that MT's "'plusses' are *somehow* connected with the editor's opinions concerning eschatology and apocalypticism."[55]

1.3.3. Crane's Historical-Critical Approach

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[53] Lust's original proposal understood the MT transposition as a Pharisaic attempt to disallow resurrection at the end times, thus placing ch. 37 (the vision of dried bones) before chs. 38-39 (the Gog-Magog battle). Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 531. Block's retort is the sixth argument he levies against Lust, and in my estimation, his only successful one. Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*.

[54] Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 341.

[55] Lust, "Major Divergences," 92. Italics mine. See also idem, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments," 54.

Crane's study is framed by Lust's tradition-historical approach. Focusing on "restoration" instead of eschatology, Crane focuses on the same block of text: Ezekiel 36-39. However, Crane's analysis, presented above, is inadequate in two respects. First, Ezekiel's material about restoration extends beyond the scope of Crane's study. Several promise oracles throughout Ezekiel bear heavily on Ezekiel's theology of restoration which is in fact the stated goal of Crane's literary analysis. Chapter 34 is a promise oracle to Israel using the metaphor of a shepherd gathering his mishandled sheep. Ezekiel 30:39-44 deals with God gathering Israel to his holy mountain. Ezekiel 17:22-24 advances the vine metaphor and depicts its replanting on the mountain height of Israel. Finally, Ezek 11:14-25 uses much of the same purity language as 36:23c-38 to describe how God will restore Israel. These four passages bear on Ezekiel's theology of restoration, and yet Crane does not consider them in his study. Hence, Crane's study does not encompass the relevant scope of this theme in Ezekiel.[56]

Second, Crane's conclusions about p967 and MT's different views of restoration draw heavily on the world outside the text. He relies on Second Temple and Maccabean political realities to develop his characterization of the MT as the later edition. While this produces a stimulating reading, Crane's real error is in formulating his decisions about textual priority on the basis of historical-critical arguments that are underdeveloped and therefore over-generalized. This is especially the case in his treatment of 36:23c-38.

[56] For example, p967 presents an extensive minus in a passage about restoration in 33:25 where the MT, as the longer text, reads על הדם תאכלו ועינכם תשאו אל גלוליכם ודם תשפכו והארץ תירשו, (you eat with blood, your eyes gaze upon your idols, and you pour out blood. Will you then possess the land?) Crane does not deal with this variant.

Crane does not deal with the theological content nor literary impact of the MT plus 36:23c-38.[57] In lieu of an exegetical analysis of the MT plus, Crane assumes these verses participate in the MT's "call to purity" (along with ch. 37). His discussion of the reason for 36:23c-38's presence in MT is brief, saying only

> as the chapter reorder [in the MT] appears to be a call to arms, this inserted pericope *appears to be* a call to purity. It introduces and supports the "new" moral and/or spiritual resurrection metaphor for the dry bones, and the unity of the united nation under a military Davidic leader.[58]

Aside from this remark, Crane is uncharacteristically inattentive to this unit. He turns to Lust in order to support his conclusions.[59] In Crane's words,

> the main significance for us is that Lust's changing eschatological proposal provides a plausible theological reason for the chapter re-order, resulting in the creation and insertion of 36:23c-38 in later MSS.[60]

Crane thus abandons his text-comparative method, discussed below, when he encounters the largest, most obvious variant in his chosen unit. Instead Crane's arguments about the MT plus in ch. 36 rely on highly speculative historical-critical analyses. In fact, Crane resurrects Lust's Pharisaic proposal, attributing the MT edition to "a sector of the Jewish community that may have felt so strongly about their theology to have interacted with the

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[57] When Crane applies his text-comparative approach (discussed below) to the variants in 36:22-38, he understandably excludes p967 since it lacks vv. 23c-38. However, as a result, his analysis of 36:22-38 focuses only on the rare textual differences among the MT, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus. In his own words,

> as our goal is to observe variants as possible theological interpretations, we will not discuss verses where agreement is found…Our discussion of vv. 22-38 may therefore appear disjoined owing to the omission of the majority of the verses (Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 74-75).

[58] Crane, *Israel's Restoration*, 255. Italics mine.

[59] Here Crane uncritically adopts Lust's 2003 work which used the tradition historical approach to Ezek 36:23c-38. However, Lust's goal in that study was to show why 36:23c-38 was an appropriate introduction to ch. 37. He never claimed to be attending to the entire plus as a unit of composition. Crane fails to recognize the limited and circumstantial nature of Lust's comments.

[60] Crane, *Israel's Restoration*, 235.

text, changing the text to reflect their sifting [*sic*] theology."[61] Ultimately, Crane places MT's editorial activity in Hasmonean times as a call to arms. Crane's case for the priority of p967's text is far from proven; indeed his conclusion may well prove to be incorrect. Indeed, Block's refutation of Lust's work applies equally well to Crane's. In short, Crane's historical-critical approach cannot support his text-critical conclusions about priority.[62]

1.3.4. Crane's Text-Comparative Approach

The body of Crane's analysis consists of what he calls a text-comparative approach. This approach affirms the integrity of each source/manuscript witness as a final text of Ezekiel. Consistent with this affirmation, Crane examines meaningful textual variants as "trajectories of interpretation." By this, Crane presupposes that textual variants are the result of intentional scribal interpretation, and that a comparison within a textual tradition will show various "trajectories" of interpretation.

Further, in keeping with the affirmation of a manuscript as a final text, Crane even includes para-textual information for each witness, such as paragraphing. Overall, his text-comparative approach represents a legitimate challenge to textual criticism's romance with the *Urtext* and obsession with textual differences as solely derived from scribal error or contamination. Instead of going behind the witnesses to find an ideal text, Crane's approach affirms the form of the text in which each particular manuscript presents it.

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[61] Crane, *Israel's Restoration*, 235.

[62] Indeed, Crane eschews text-critical methods at the outset of his study, (*Israel's Restoration,* 4).

Crane's text-comparative approach shares a major objective with the present study, namely to reframe textual criticism in the service of study of variant literary editions. As I will discuss below, my codicological analysis in chapter 6 will deepen Crane's approach to the particularity of each manuscript, more fully affirming the idea that each manuscript is its own edition of Ezekiel.[63]

1.3.5. Lust's Coherence Approach

Lust's second phase of literary analysis adopted a "coherence" approach to the literary analysis of p967's variants. He examined a wider scope of variants between p967 and MT than previously or subsequently considered. Showing coherence across a larger data set more strongly supports theories of intentional editorial activity. For example, Lust was able to show that all of MT's pluses he examined historicized Ezekiel's oracles. In every case, p967's edition presented the more mythologizing edition.

Lust's coherence approach suggests that at some unknown stage, redactors altered Ezekiel's textual tradition according to particular interests. As indicated above, this approach comes into close alignment with *Literaturkritik* and discerns literary layers from a circumscribed data set of variants. In this sense, Lust's coherence approach adeptly combines literary analysis and text-critical approaches in the study of p967's variant literary edition.

Having examined the four types of literary analysis already deployed on p967's text, it remains to return to the text-critical discussion.

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[63] See more on the codicological analysis of p967 in chapter 6.

1.4. Returning to Textual Criticism of p967

Both Lust and Crane deal with textual issues in their literary analyses, although in often incomplete or even incorrect ways. Specifically, they addressed two important text-critical questions: 1) Are the meaningful variants that distinguish p967 and MT as variant literary editions intentional? and 2) assuming editorial activity, which edition of Ezekiel, p967 or MT, represents the earlier edition?

First, both scholars recognized the need to show that p967's variants are not a result of transmission error. Lust's work has gone a long way to defend the text of p967. He adduced factors such as the literary coherence among MT's pluses, late linguistic features, the weakness of text-critical arguments for mechanical error, and the independent witness of Latin manuscript Wirceburgensis (La^{W}), which supports p967's edition of Ezekiel 36-39 (the omission and re-order of chapters).[64] Additionally, Crane adduced indirect evidence for p967's edition of chs. 36-39 in Daniel, Revelation, Targum Neofiti, and Pseudo-Jonathan to Numbers 11:26.[65] Crane shows that these "witnesses," perhaps his most important contribution to study of p967, knew p967's order of chapters 36-39. Hence, he argues that a robust reception history would challenge claims that

[64] Codex Wirceburgensis, a 6th century manuscript, represents one of the two earliest and best preserved Latin witnesses to Ezekiel. It was published by E. Ranke, *Par palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium* (Vienna: G. Braumüller, 1871). For Lust's demonstration that La^{W} represents an independent textual witness to p967 chs. 36-39, see Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," *CBQ* 43 (1981): 518. A more detailed analysis of the manuscript and its significance for p967 can be found in P. –M. Bogaert, "Le témoigne de la Vetus Latina dans l'étude de la tradition des Septante Ézéchiel et Daniel dans le Papyrus 967," *Biblica* 59 (1978): 390-391. See also Kase, "Relation to the Old Latin Version," in *The John H. Schiede Biblical Papyri*, 42-48.

[65] Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 245-9. Lust had already substantially argued for Revelation's connection to p967 in Lust, "The order of the final events in Revelation and in Ezekiel," in *Apocalypse johannique et l'apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (ed. J. Lambrecht; BEThL 53 ; Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1980), 179-83.

p967's order of chapters is merely a scribal mistake, if erroneous at all. Crane's work finally concludes about p967's edition,

> p967 is not an innovative or maverick text, but representative of an existing textual tradition.[66]

Thus, he affirms what Lust had also argued, that several of MT's pluses represent a coherent and distinct literary edition from p967. Nevertheless, debates persist, despite the strong evidence mounted by Lust and Crane.

Second, a textual argument mounted by both Lust and Crane is that the MT is the later edition, expanded from a Hebrew text best represented by p967's *Vorlage*. For instance, Lust showed that the pluses in MT and in several other LXX manuscripts included late linguistic features.[67] If correct, this would constitute important evidence in any evaluation about priority. However, it is premature to declare that the *entire* text of p967 traces back to a variant Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Indeed, several critical editions of the Ezekiel LXX remain ambivalent about p967's text. Four examples will demonstrate this ambivalence. First, the Hebrew University Bible Project (HUBP), a self-declaring "conservative" approach to the witnesses, does not assign much value to p967 readings.[68] The editors of HUBP

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[66] Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 208.

[67] Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 521-5.

[68] Apparatus I in HUBP, devoted to the versions, often does not record p967's variants, as in 12:26-28 and 32:24-26. By way of explanation, the editors do not view the *Urtext* as their supreme goal (xi §3,) but are rather interested in the proto-MT text tradition (xiii §11). The system of apparatuses which organize the editors' opinions about the integrity of a reading, center on the Hebrew text. For them, "study of the versions has shown that retroverted readings cannot have a claim to certainty, unless attested in a Hebrew source" (xii §6). Of course, the editors acknowledge that the literal translation technique observed for Greek Ezekiel implies that several unique readings may reflect a Hebrew *Vorlage*. As one would expect, they state that the "retroverted readings from the ancient version in Apparatus I present the most difficult problems of method" (xvii §29). Apparatus I supplies the readings which in the editors' view, reflects the period of textual pluriformity characteristic of the second and third century BCE, while the readings that appear in Apparatuses II – IV are characterized as reflecting a later stage (xiii §9). For LXX

construct a diplomatic text, using the Aleppo Codex as the base text, but they developed a strict set of criteria for the variants they record in the apparatus, the most important of which is rejection of retroverted readings. Since many of p967's variant readings are unsupported by Hebrew texts, the readings do not appear in the apparatus.

Second, Ziegler had access to the John H. Scheide (Princeton) and Chester Beatty (Dublin) portions of the p967 manuscript when he published his Göttingen edition of LXX Ezekiel (1952). Later, in part stimulated by the publication of the Madrid and Köln portions of p967, Detlef Fraenkel supplied a 22-page Supplement (*Nachtrag*) in the second edition (1977).[69] Fraenkel outlines how the complete evidence from p967 was evaluated for the second edition, and echoes Ziegler's overall positive assessment of p967's usefulness for determining the OG. However, Codex Vaticanus (B) was still given pride of place as the base-text for the 1977 edition. Fraenkel notes the considerable amount of work required by the new evidence as something of an apologia for its incomplete incorporation into the eclectic, critical text.[70]

Third, in his *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, Tov characterized the LXX of Ezekiel as a variant literary stratum, earlier than the MT. Although he cites Lust's work on p967, and presumably considered the evidence of p967 for himself, Tov's presentation

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readings, the editors follow Ziegler's 1977 edition for quotations, and refer to his text as the Old Greek (LXX). Because p967 was new to Ziegler's 1977 edition and discussion appeared only in the Supplement (*Nachtrag*), the HUBP editors simply note when a reading derives specifically from p967, avoiding any judgment about whether it reflects the OG. (Chapter 36:23-38 appears as such a note in Apparatus I.) In the end, the editors demure, "the question of the importance of 967 as a witness to the Old Greek and its possible reflection of a variant Hebrew tradition cannot be treated here" (xxii §49 note 43).

[69] Detlef Fraenkel, "*Nachtrag*" in *Ezechiel* (2d ed.; Septuaginta 16/1; ed. Joseph Ziegler; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 331-352. Hereafter Ziegler, LXX (1977).

[70] Fraenkel, "Nachtrag" in Ziegler, LXX (1977), 333.

lacks analysis of any p967 variants.[71] According to Tov, the stratum of recensional rewriting "is not extensive; it is extant in chapter 7 only."[72] One is left to conclude that Tov does not currently attribute much value to p967 in determining this "shorter and earlier edition."

Fourth, Walter Zimmerli had full recourse to the Chester Beatty and John H. Schiede portions of p967 for his Hermeneia commentary on Ezekiel, but that work appeared before the critical editions of Jahn and Fernández-Galiano were prepared. Although Zimmerli acquired transcriptions of the latter portions, and therefore knew with certainty that p967 presented an alternative order of chs. 36-39, he does not mention this in his discussion of Ezekiel's textual history. In fact, Zimmerli places the discussion of p967 in his section on "The Later History of the Book and Its Text" thereby apparently denying any merit to p967 as an early witness.[73]

The four cases mentioned above share a minimalistic approach to p967's text. None attribute much value to p967 as a witness to a Hebrew parent text, in contrast to Lust and Crane's assertions. Even Ziegler's eclectic Greek text defers to B as the best witness to the Old Greek. Moreover, textual debates continue over individual p967 variants. From a text-critical perspective, more work is certainly required on p967, especially if it is to be taken seriously as an early and important edition of Ezekiel.

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[71] The space and the genre of the book precluded any lengthy analysis of specific variants.

[72] Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d ed.; Mineapolis: Fortress, 2001), 333-4. See also idem., "Recensional Differences Between the MT and LXX of Ezekiel," *ETL* 62 (1986): 89. Tov concludes that the literary layer reflected in the MT was added to "a shorter and earlier edition as represented by LXX." He argues on the basis of parallel elements and synonymous words contained in the MT pluses, (*Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 334).

[73] Walter Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (2 Vols.; trans. Ronald E. Clements; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 1:76-77.

One of the primary issues involved in determining textual priority is genetic relations; indeed, p967's text-type remains a somewhat open question. Additionally, inner-Greek revision must be considered. The relationship among p967, B, and the Old Greek is far from resolved. Lust's argument for the priority of p967 over MT is at least based on translation and linguistic analysis. But, as I will discuss below, Lust overstates his case by implying that the status of textual priority extends to all of p967's textual features.

Crane uncritically accepts that p967 is closest to the Old Greek. In so doing, he conflates p967 with the OG and assumes p967 reflects the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG. The result is that when Crane speaks about the priority of p967 over the MT, he has abandoned textual criticism's well-established text groups and stemmata of textual relations.[74] In point of fact, these and other issues, such as translation technique, render comprehensive positions on priority premature.[75]

Indeed, scholars have taken issue with the conclusion that p967 is earlier than the MT. Daniel I. Block directed a seven-point challenge against the priority of p967.[76] Block's seven critiques defended the integrity of the MT as the ancient standardized form

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[74] To be sure, Crane's is not a traditional text-critical project. Nevertheless, his study does not adequately interact with textual criticism. For instance, he defines scribal errors as "variants without discernible interpretive intent," (*Israel's Restoration,* 2). This definition radically diverges from textual criticism's well established principles for transmission error. See Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 232-75. This sort of inadequate appropriation of text-critical principles is characteristic of a project whose method over-privileges final forms. Crane's text-comparative method insists that texts were read in their final form as manuscripts and therefore must be respected for their differences. While I embrace this presupposition whole-heartedly, it does not eliminate the need for textual criticism. He attempts to assign priority throughout, often on the basis of literary considerations alone. Crane eschews text-critical analysis and yet seeks to draw textual conclusions.

[75] This will be discussed more fully in chapter 3.

[76] Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 337-42. For a good discussion of Block's seven points, see Crane who often favors Lust, (*Israel's Restoration,* 290-300).

and thus the preferred basis for his exegetical work.[77] According to Block, p967's witness provides not a *real* but at best a *hypothetical* reconstruction of an early Hebrew text which can therefore *not* be used to supplant the actually extant Hebrew of MT. In the end, Block affirms that p967 "may still represent an old text form,"[78] but he avoids taking a conclusive stance on priority.[79]

Block's implicit position on priority is made explicit in the recent article of Hector M. Patmore. Patmore argues that priority cannot be defended for either p967 or MT; all that can be said for certain is that we have in these two witnesses parallel ancient editions of Ezekiel. Referring to the Hebrew evidence for the wide circulation of "proto-MT" texts at Qumran and Masada, Patmore concludes

> The available data are better explained by the conclusion that two different texts of Ezekiel [MT and p967] must have been in circulation concurrently for a prolonged period of time and that the historical precedence of either text cannot be established legitimately.[80]

Patmore's work is based on the arguable strength of the "proto-MT" textual tradition. Indeed, he reminds us that we have a total of 340 words of Ezekiel in Hebrew preserved in the various fragments from the Judean desert but only from chapters 1, 10, 11, 23, 24, 35-38, and 41 many of which support MT readings over LXX or p967 ones (see chart 1).

Chart 1: *Hebrew Manuscripts of Ezekiel from the Judean Desert*

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[77] Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 342.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Block's ambivalence on the issue of priority can be seen in his comments about the originality of the MT plus at 36:23c-38. Block concedes that the passage in the LXX was brought into conformity with the received Hebrew text, and shows distinct literary style from its literary environment. Thus, Block allows that the passage could be a secondary addition, saying it "may point to the hand of a redactor," albeit a thoroughly Ezekielian one (*The Book of Ezekiel*, 343).

[80] Hector M. Patmore, "The Shorter and Longer Texts of Ezekiel: The Implications of the Manuscript Finds from Masada and Qumran," *JSOT* 32 (2007): 231-42.

	PRESERVED	SCRIPT	DATE
1Q9[81]	Two fragments within 4:16-5:1	"assez classique"[82]	(not dated)
3Q1[83]	One complete word, a hapax in 16:31	Herodian	End of the first century BCE or the beginning of the first century CE
4Q73 (4QEzek[a]) [84]	10:6-11:11; 23:14-15, 17-18, 44-47; 41:3-6	Late Hasmonean/early Herodian[85]	Middle of the first century BCE
4Q74 (4QEzek[b])	Multiple fragments from 1:10-24	Herodian	Early first century CE
4Q75 (4QEzek[c])	24:2b-3	Hasmonean	First or middle of the first century BCE
11Q4[86]	Words from 4:3-6; 5:11-17; 7:9-12; 10:11; and 13:17[87]	Mid-Herodian/possibly late-Herodian	c. 10 BCE – 30 CE[88]
MasEzek[89]	35:11-38:14	Early Herodian	Second half of the

[81] 1Q9 consists of two small fragments of Ezek. 4:16-5:1 and is published in, Dominique Barthélemy, "Ézéchiel (Pl. XII)," in Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon , 1955), 68-9.

[82] Ibid.

[83] 3Q1 is extremely fragmentary and difficult to read. Only one full word, לקלס can be discerned, which only appears in Ezek. 16:31. The manuscript is published in Maurice Baillet, "Ézéchiel (Pl. XVIII)," in Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân: exploration de la falaise, les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q, à 10Q, le rouleau de cuivre* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 94.

[84] 4Q73-75 together form eight fragments from three scrolls. 4QEzek[a, b, c] are published in Judith E. Sanderson, "Ezekiel," in *Qumran Cave 4. X. The Prophets* (eds. Eugene Ulrich et. al.*;* DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 209-20. See also Lust's preliminary assessment in Lust, "Ezekiel Manuscripts in Qumran: Preliminary Edition of 4Q Ez a and b," in idem, *Ezekiel and His Book* (BETL 74; Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 90-100.

[85] Sanderson, "Ezekiel," 209. This date is supported by Lawrence A. Sinclair, "A Qumran Biblical Fragment 4QEzek[a] (Ezek 10, 17-11, 11)," *RevQ* 14 (1989): 100.

[86] 11Q4 is published in Edward D. Herbert, "11QEzekiel (pls. II, LIV)," in Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11 2: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 15-28. It is likely a full scroll, albeit a "dense, unopenable mass" of Ezekiel. Only a few fragments were recovered. See also William H. Brownlee, "The Scroll of Ezekiel from the Eleventh Qumran Cave," *RevQ* 4 (1963): 12.

[87] Brownlee, "The Scroll of Ezekiel," 16-17.

[88] Herbert assumes the dating scheme of F. M. Cross, and refutes Brownlee's dating to c. 55-25 B.C.E. as too early," ("11QEzekiel," 21).

		hand	first century BCE

Patmore's study is a very useful reminder that the LXX textual tradition has no extant Hebrew support. "What we can say *positively* is that what [Hebrew] data we do have *do not* reflect a prototype of the Greek recensions."[90]

However, Patmore's study is riddled with problems and illustrates some of the pitfalls that await students of Greek texts and p967 specifically. For instance, the Hebrew texts of Ezekiel may not represent as strong a textual tradition for the MT as Patmore supposes. Many of the manuscript fragments that Patmore cites (4Q73-75) have been cautiously identified as excerpted or abbreviated biblical manuscripts.[91] These types of manuscripts do not represent full copies of Ezekiel, and thus provide a rather complicated "witness" to the biblical text.[92] Julie A. Duncan has noted the "expansionist tendencies"

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[89] MasEzek contains Ezek 35:11-38:14 and is analyzed by Shemaryahu Talmon in "1043-2220 (MasEzek) Ezekiel 35.11-38.14," in *Masada: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965* (eds. J. Aviram et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 6:59-75. For a description of the excavation in which MasEzek was found, (beneath the floor of the synagogue), see Yigael Yadin, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966), 168-89.

[90] Patmore, "The Shorter and Longer Texts," 237.

[91] The excerpted status of 4Q73 (4QEzek[a]) is the most probable, with its possible thematic selection of texts. Strawn lists it in Table 1 "List of Excerpted and Abbreviated Manuscripts at Qumran" in "Excerpted 'Non-Biblical" Scrolls at Qumran? Background, Analogies, Function," in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (eds., Michael T, Davis and Brent A. Strawn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 119. 4Q73 is discussed in Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran," in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible and Qumran: Collected Essays* (TSAJ 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 37; and idem, *The Texts from the Judean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judean Desert Series* (eds. Emanuel Tov et al.; DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 46. For the most thorough discussion of 4Q73, see George J. Brooke, "Ezekiel in Some Qumran and New Testament Texts," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March 1991* (2 vols.; eds., Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; *STDJ* 11; New York: Brill, 1992), 1:317-37. Brooke also raises the possibility that 3Q1 (3QEzek) may be excerpted as well.

[92] For a good discussion of these texts, see Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," 28; and Brent A. Strawn, "Excerpted Manuscripts at Qumran: Their Significance for the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible and the Socio-Religious History of the Qumran Community and its Literature," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 2: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran* Communiity (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 112-113. His essay also includes impressive bibliographic

of many of the excerpted and abbreviated manuscripts.[93] Judith Sanderson argues that 4QEzek^{b} cannot be a full text of Ezekiel, but rather a manuscript with what seem to be "edited highlights" of the prophet's visions.[94] Additionally, Brent A. Strawn observes that excerpted manuscripts were probably more than *just* a copy of a biblical text – indeed, function may dictate the text's form, if not type, in the case of these manuscripts (i.e., liturgical texts). Materialist philology "warrants caution when comparing the excerpted manuscripts' textual data with other witnesses to the biblical text."[95] Finally, it may be significant that MasEzek, the strongest textual support for MT's "eschatological edition," was uncovered in a synagogue at Masada. The ancient function of the manuscript no doubt plays an important role in how we understand its textual information.

In sum, while Patmore's study should be viewed with caution,[96] he is correct that it is still too early to establish textual priority definitively between p967 and MT's texts. Lust and Crane have not yet conclusively proven their positions on textual priority; they have, however, laid the ground work for further study of p967 as a variant literary edition of Ezekiel.

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references to the pioneering work of Patrick Skehan, Sidnie White Crawford, Julie Duncan, and Emanuel Tov with excerpted texts, as well as numerous other scholarly mentions of the phenomenon.

[93] Julie A. Duncan, "Excerpted Texts of Deuteronomy at Qumran," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 43-62.

[94] Sanderson, "Ezekiel," 216. 4QEzek^{b} is listed as a "biblical scroll of small dimensions" in Tov, "The Dimensions of the Qumran Scrolls," *DSD* 5 (1998): 77-79. Such small scrolls were almost certainly portable, and probably only contained a small amount of text. See further S. J. Pfann, "4Q298: The Maskil's Address to All Sons of Dawn," *JQR* 85 (1994): 213 n.14.

[95] Strawn, "Excerpted Manuscripts," 132. For the term, "materialist philology," see S. Wenzel and S. G. Nichols, eds., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 1.

[96] For instance, Patmore incorrectly represents Tov's position on p967. (Tov, "Recensional Differences Between the MT and LXX of Ezekiel," *ETL* 62 [1986]: 99-101), and pays little attention to Lust's work on p967, even citing him incorrectly as calling 7:6-9 a *variation* in p967. In fact, Ezekiel 1-11 is not extant in p967. See Patmore, "The Shorter and Longer Texts," 239.

1.5. The Contents of the Present Study

The present study represents a manuscript-approach to p967. Primarily, the study seeks to provide a deeper understanding of the literary history of Ezekiel through the lens of p967. In addition, the preceding discussion has revealed a number of issues which this project will address. A central issue is the way in which textual criticism interacts with and complements various other critical approaches. For the time being, I accept Tov and Lust's insistence that textual criticism takes sequential precedence, methodologically because this project begins, and is thus rooted in text-critical questions. Thus, chapter 2 contains a comprehensive discussion of prior study of p967's text. However, in distinction from Tov and Lust's positions, I do not precede in this fashion in order to determine a critical text. Rather, textual criticism assumes priority in order to orient the study in the state of discussion on p967's text. Indeed, several outstanding textual issues demonstrate the need for this literary study of p967. Chapter 2, then, provides a text-critical orientation to the unique features of p967's text.

In chapters 3, 4, and 5, I combine textual criticism with the "coherence" approach to literary criticism. These chapters drive towards the question "what is the scope and nature of p967's variant literary edition?" A comprehensive study of p967's variants is needed. In what way(s) does p967 represent a variant literary edition from other known witnesses, especially the MT? Only a comprehensive study of p967 will shed new light on the meaningful variants in Ezekiel's text history. Chapter 3 develops the coherence approach and introduces the data set for chapters 4 and 5: those variants which participate in the larger scope of p967's variant literary edition. Chapter 4 is strictly text-critical. In

it, I inquire into p967's relation to the Old Greek and its Hebrew *Vorlage*. Chapter 5 then turns to a literary analysis of these very same variants. This chapter is largely exegetical, presenting the meaningful differences between p967 and MT as variant literary editions according to literary tendencies.

Chapter 6 provides a comprehensive codicological analysis of p967. The chapter begins with a descriptive analysis of p967's paratextual features, such as format, text-arrangement, and marginal marks, including several Greek notations. The second half of the chapter interprets the significance of p967's paratextual marks for its literary edition.

Finally, chapter 7 will present conclusions about p967 as a text, a variant literary edition, and an artifact of the book of Ezekiel. The evidence of p967 for Ezekiel's textual history places Ezekiel with Daniel, Jeremiah, and Esther, along with sections of Judges, Exodus, and 1 Samuel all of which preserve evidence for at least two editions.[97] This study will thus help to rectify our heretofore limited understanding of the different books of Ezekiel. The study will also impact our understanding of Ezekiel's composition history. The manuscript-approach places the literary transmission of Ezekiel as the central concern that guides every aspect of the study, a study everywhere rooted in textual criticism.

[97] Ziegler's LXX Ezekiel is 6% shorter than the MT. Even without considering p967, this was enough for Emanuel Tov to call the LXX a variant literary edition of Ezekiel, (*Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 333).

Chapter 2
Understanding p967's Text: History of Text-Critical Scholarship

2.1. Introduction

The publication history of p967, as indicated in chapter 1, is complex and variegated. p967 Ezekiel was published over the course of four decades in four critical editions in three different languages and is housed in four international locations.[98] Access to information on p967 is not straight-forward. Additionally, the information, once accessed, is almost as variegated as its publication history. About the conditions of p967's availability to his work, Joseph Ziegler lamented,

> Der Papyrus 967 hatte nicht nur das Mißgeschick, daß viele seiner Blätter verloren ginge, sondern daß er auch in verschiedene Hände geriet, die ihn gesondert veröffentlichten.[99]

This comment referred to Ziegler's preparatory work with p967 for his 1952 Göttingen *Septuaginta Ezechiel*. His critical edition is the most important contribution to Ezekiel Septuagint studies and serves as the base text for several modern Septuagint translation projects.[100] For the edition, Ziegler only had $p967^{Sch+CB}$ available to him. The 1977

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[98] For clarity, I will refer to each portion by the following: Chester Beatty = $p967^{CB}$, Schiede/Princeton = $p967^{Sch}$, Universität Köln = $p967^{Köln}$, Madrid = $p967^{Mad}$.

[99] "Papyrus 967 not only has the misfortune that many of its sheets are incomplete, but also that it was worked over by different hands in separate publications." Joseph Ziegler, "Die Bedeutung des Chester Beatty-Schiede Papyrus 967 für die Textüberlieferung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta," *ZAW* 61 (1945/1948): 76.

[100] Three modern translation projects rely on the 1977 Göttingen second edition. Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Ezechiel* (2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977); The NETS project refers to Ziegler's LXX, but uses the NRSV as its base text. *La Bible d'Alexandrie* and *Septuaginta Deutsch* offer new translations from Ziegler's LXX. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007); Marguerite Harl with the assistance of Gilles Dorival and Oliver Munnich are working on *La Bible d'Alexandrie*; Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer are the editors for *Septuaginta Deutsch*. The translation work is divided into three sections: chs. 1-19 Hermut Löhr; chs. 20-39 Almut Hammerstaedt-Löhr and Knut Usener; chs. 40-48 Michael Konkel and Johan Lust (Fachberater).

updated edition was largely catalyzed by availability of the Köln and Madrid portions of p967. Despite full access to p967$^{\text{Köln+Mad}}$, the 1977 editor, Detlef Fraenkel, notes the considerable work still required on the manuscript, making its usefulness to even the second edition less than complete.[101]

The protracted availability of information on p967 affects more general issues in Ezekiel studies as well. Walter Zimmerli's Hermeneia Commentary on Ezekiel, originally published in 1969 suffered the lack of p967's important evidence for the final stages of Ezekiel's redaction history. Zimmerli had full recourse to p967$^{\text{CB+Sch}}$, but his commentary was published before the critical editions of p967$^{\text{Köln+Mad}}$ were prepared. Although Zimmerli had transcriptions of those portions, and therefore knew with certainty, for instance, that p967 lacked 36:23c-38, he does not address this or other relevant textual issues in his introduction.[102] In fact, Zimmerli places the discussion of p967 in the introduction under "The Later History of the Book and Its Text," thus qualifying the witness as important only to the Greek tradition and denying any merit to

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[101] Detlef Fraenkel, Nachtrag to *Ezechiel*, by Joseph Ziegler ed., (2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 333. For a similar problem in Ziegler's edition of Daniel, see Alexander A. Di Lella, "The Textual History of Septuagint-Daniel and Theodotian-Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (vol. 2 of *The Book of Daniel;* eds. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; Boston: Brill, 2002), 590-591. Di Lella points out that Ziegler provides a conjectured reading in Dan. 7:13 regarding the important actions of the one like a son of man. Ziegler, however, seems not to have consulted the 1968 publication of p967 where, according to Di Lella, the OG reading appears and finds the support of other OG mss.

[102] On the notable minus of 36:23b-38, Walter Zimmerli only knew p967$^{\text{CB+Sch}}$ and was not yet aware of the Madrid or Köln portions, thus casting doubt on the reliability of the new witness' omission. Zimmerli states, "in 37:4 the surviving text breaks off. …it is not absolutely necessary to conclude that 36:23ff, a section which is so significant from the content point of view, could still not have followed after chapter 37. It is not probable, but not absolutely impossible. Perhaps the discovery of the missing sheets of p967 will one day give us more certain information." Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (vol 2 of *Ezekiel)*, 242. *Pace* Lust, who claimed that Zimmerli "did not offer any further suggestions concerning this phenomenon," Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 519. Zimmerli elsewhere, takes a more bold position that the minus is an inner-Greek error. "The possible absence of the passage from p967 and the peculiar character of the translation of it would then be a problem for the history only of LXX, but not of MT." Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (vol 2 of *Ezekiel)*, 245. Walter Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*; Johan Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," *CBQ* 43 (1981): 517-533.

p967 as a witness to the Hebrew.[103] Certainly, if Zimmerli had benefitted from a complete critical commentary on p967 and subsequent textual debates, he would have been more attentive to the value of p967's witness.

Although the publication history of p967 negatively impacted important Ezekiel studies, the multiple editions and editorial work have afforded considerable scholarly discussion, as M. Fernandez-Galiano points out,

> Pero tampoco, creemos, ha sido enteramente prejudicial para el estudio del códice el hecho de que se hayan producido forzosos intervalos en la publicación de sus diferentes partes: al contrario, el manuscrito 967 ha tenido así varias oportunidades de estudio y confrontación por parte de diversas personas a lo largo de más de seis lustros.[104]

Each of the four p967 publications offered independent analysis of the witness. These and other published analyses comprise a rich international conversation about textual issues and Ezekiel/Septuagint studies. However, these conversations do not achieve consensus on most issues.

A unified critical edition of the text is urgently needed. Lacking such an edition, p967 suffers from incomplete and at times incommensurate analysis. The present chapter attempts to synthesize the history of research on p967, to highlight important debates, and to appreciate the light that has been shed on this important Greek witness. I will discuss text groups, patterns of alignment, and the way p967 has figured in debates concerning the Old Greek. I will discuss issues in translation including translation technique and the multiple translator theory. Finally, I will consider the quality of p967 as a textual

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[103] Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 1:76-77.

[104] Fernández-Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 7. "But we do not control factors that are entirely detrimental to the study of a codex, the unavoidable fact that there are intervals between publication of separated leaves. Nevertheless, p967 has enjoyed the attention of six separate studies and comparisons on the part of diverse scholars."

witness, focusing on specific debates about textual errors. At the end of these discussions, it will be possible to defend the enormous importance of p967 for Ezekiel's textual history, and to situate the present literary study of its variant status among the relevant textual debates. I turn first to a description of the critical publications.

2.2. The Critical Publications of p967

The four volumes in which p967 is published address a wide range of concerns and achieve varying depths of discussion. For instance, the Princeton publication is unique in providing qualitative analysis of p967 with respect to contemporary Septuagint debates. By way of contrast, the Universität Köln publication provides numerous quantitative lists. Despite their differing emphasis on quantitative vs. qualitative information, these thorough and helpful volumes are themselves to be contrasted with the minimal information provided in the Chester Beatty publication, a deficit remedied by subsequent publications.[105] A short description of the contents and approaches of the four volumes follows.[106]

2.2.1. $p967^{CB}$: Chester Beatty

Frederic C. Kenyon, the director and principal librarian of the British Museum, edited all of the volumes in the Chester Beatty library. A voluminous task, Kenyon understandably provided very little analysis of the Ezekiel portion of the p967

[105] John Barton Payne conducted the lacking analysis of $p967^{CB}$ in J. Barton Payne, "The Relationship of the Chester Beatty Papyri of Ezekiel to Codex Vaticanus," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 68 (1949): 251-265. Jahn republished a transcription of $p967^{CB}$, producing more of the text than Kenyon's volume in Jahn, *Der griechische Text.*

[106] See also Table I for a detailed list of contents, including the passages transliterated in each portion.

manuscript.[107] However, as the first publication of the codex, it fell to Kenyon to describe the origins, contents, and features of the then incomplete codex, much of which was therefore speculative.[108] In his publication, Kenyon lamented, "the Beatty leaves are all imperfect, nearly half having been lost from the bottom of each leaf."[109]

Two subsequent publications rectified the short-comings in the Beatty publication. First, the damaged pages of $p967^{CB}$ were made complete in 1972 by $p967^{Köln}$, thus Jahn incorporates all of $p967^{CB}$ into his transcription and analysis.[110] Jahn's transcription supplies enough text to successfully compare the full text with the other Greek versions. Second, Kenyon's half page of analysis was rectified by Payne who wrote an article in 1949 addressing the critical comparison of $p967^{CB}$ with the other uncials, specifically with B.[111]

2.2.2. $p967^{Sch}$: Schiede/Princeton

[107] $p967^{CB}$ consists of 8 leaves of Ezekiel running from 11:25 – 17:21; however, Kenyon's 3-page textual analysis covers a total of 29 leaves of the codex: Ezekiel (8 leaves), Daniel (13 leaves) and Esther (8 leaves,) thus very little analysis of Ezekiel is present in the Chester Beatty publication. Only one half of one page is devoted to $p967^{CB}$.

[108] In his *General Introduction*, published in 1933, Kenyon had not perceived the connection between the Ezekiel/Esther and the Daniel portions of the codex. By 1937, when he published *Fasciculus VII: Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther*, Kenyon benefitted from both the presumably spoken observations on handwriting of A. S. Hunt and the photographs of $p967^{Sch}$ in working out his description of the codex. Frederic G. Kenyon, *General Introduction, Fasciculus I: The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible* (London: Emery Walker Limited, 1933), 1-18.; Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII: Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther* (2 vols.*;* London: Emery Walker Limited, 1937). For additional discussion on the early speculated contents of the codex, see Johnson et. al., *The John Schiede Biblical Papyri*, 1-3. In 1971, M. Fernandez-Galino was able to refine Kenyon and Johnson's work with the codex, with the new portions, $p967^{Madrid}$ and $p967^{Köln}$. M. Fernandez-Galino, "Nuevas Paginas," 11-16. See chapter 6 "Codicology" of the present work for more detailed information on the contents, description, and nature of the codex.

[109] Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII*, v.

[110] The German leaves included the missing bottom halves of the $p967^{CB}$ columns.

[111] Payne, "The Relationship," 251-265.

Allan Chester Johnson, Henry Snyder Gehman, and Edmund Harris Kase, Jr. (hereafter JGK) divided the editorial work of p967^{Sch} to produce the impressive 1938 Princeton publication.[112] JGK supply thorough analysis of collations and issues of alignment among the Greek uncials and minuscules and the Latin versions, and include extensive discussion of the Syro-Hexaplar and Origin's textual marks. Distinctive among the publications, the Princeton volume provides qualitative discussion about the role of p967^{Sch} in Septuagint debates in 79 pages of analysis. In particular, Kase's essays bring p967^{Sch} to bear on the development of the *nomina sacra* and Ezekiel translation studies.[113]

2.2.3. p967^{Mad}: Madrid

In 1971, when new pages of the p967 codex appeared in Madrid, M. Fernandez-Galino undertook the task of their publication in "Nuevas Paginas del codice 967 del A.T. griego." The volume includes a short history of scholarship, including the intervening discussions of the Göttingen school. The Madrid volume also tells the history of how these leaves, originally in separate hands, came together in one publication. The remaining discussions are particularly strong on the description of the graphic elements of the codex. However, the Madrid volume does not include significant textual analysis or discussion.

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[112] Gehman wrote "Relation to Hebrew, Syro-Hexaplar, and Greek Texts" (73-80) as well as the enormous "Observations Criticae" (80-140); Kase assisted with the transcription and wrote "Relation to the Old Latin Version" (42-48), "The *nomen sacrum* in Ezekiel," (48-52) and "The Translator(s) of Ezekiel" (52-73.) Johnson is responsible for the remainder of the volume.

[113] Kase, "The *nomen sacrum* in Ezekiel," in *The Schiede Papyri*, 48-51; and "The Translators of Ezekiel," in *The Schiede Papyri*, 52-72.

2.2.4. p967$^{\text{Köln}}$: Universität Köln

The following year, P. Leopold Günther Jahn and his team published the fourth and final volume on p967 entitled, *Der griechische Text des Buches Ezechiel, nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967*. Jahn not only supplied a new transcription of the entirety of p967$^{\text{CB}}$ as noted above, but also reread 19:12-20:4a; 21:8(3)c- 14(9)a; and 25:5-26:6, initially included among the p967$^{\text{Sch}}$ leaves. These last sections appeared on leaves that were torn rather bizarrely by the dealers, with a narrow strip of the column appearing in the Princeton volume, now supplemented by the remainder of the column among the *Köln* leaves.

> Zu den Stücken, welche die von Kenyon und Johnson veröffentlichen Teile ergänzen, wurden die entsprechenden schon edierten Text emit wiedergegeben, zusammen mit dem jeweiligen wurde bis auf kleinere Vereinfachungen bzw. Korrekturen, wo diese angebracht erschienen.[114]

The Köln publication supplies useful textual data and analysis. Most distinctive is the quantitative data from p967$^{\text{Köln}}$ organized according to Hexaplaric analysis. This arrangement of the data betrays an interest in the larger Origenian project within German Septuagint studies especially, as well as the Lagardian approach to text criticism of the Old Greek.[115] One weakness of Jahn's critical apparatus owes to this interest; he is not as thorough as JGK with the uncial and minuscule readings when they do not contribute much beyond errors of text-type. However, these variants are significant to dominant text-critical approaches adopted by this dissertation.

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[114] Jahn, *Der griechische Text*, 15. "The sections which complete those that Kenyon and Johnson published were reproduced with the appropriately edited text, together with the respective critical apparatus. The attached sections were essentially unchanged, except for small simplifications and/or corrections where required."

[115] See discussion of Lagard below.

2.2.5. Summary of Publications

The Princeton and Köln publications offer the strongest basis for study of p967. However, as I indicated above, they organize data differently and emphasize different Septuagint discussions. JGK seize upon the value of p967 as a pre-hexaplaric witness for the Old Greek and the Hebrew *Vorlage.* Their analysis, therefore, takes account of p967's relationship to all the versions. Subsequent scholarship written predominantly in English adopts their general approach to p967. German scholarship tended to adopt a different trajectory of analysis based on Ziegler's work with p967 for the preparation of his 1952 *Ezechiel* critical Septuagint edition. This trajectory attempts to purify the LXX from Origen's effects, a trajectory that influenced the publication of $p967^{Köln}$. This difference proved to be consequential in the evaluation of p967, particularly for its testimony to the Hebrew and its relationship to the OG, as this chapter will reveal. These discussions break not only into different trajectories but into different chronological phases of research, beginning with the Princeton editors and subsequent scholarship's high esteem of p967.

2.3. Text Groups, Alignment, and the Old Greek: Three Phases of p967 Research

2.3.1. Phase 1 – High Esteem for p967: Kenyon, Johnson, Gehman, Kase, and Payne

Early scholars counted p967's unique variants, and collated its readings with the other uncials in order to place the new version into a text group. Kenyon provided a table enumerating the instances where $p967^{CB}$ agrees and disagrees with the other available uncials: A, B, Q and Γ.[116] (See Table II.) From this comparison, he states,

[116] Γ = The Grotta Ferrata palimpsest (Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII*, x).

> It will be seen that there is a very marked preponderance of agreement with B, though the number of singular readings is enough to prove the independent character of the papyrus.[117]

Johnson's collations of the uncials confirmed Kenyon's conclusions. p967 has the closest textual affinity with Codex Vaticanus (B).

> Since B and Sch. are evidently pre-Origenian, their closer affiliation is not surprising, although the fact that there are some 660 variants in these 42 pages of text shows that one or other has diverged far from their common ancestor.[118]

The amount of variance between p967 and B that Johnson described underscores Kenyon's claim for the independent character of p967. Adding further evidence, Johnson enumerates 550 $p967^{Sch}$ variants "not found in any other uncial MS."[119] As Johnson notes, many of these variants are unimportant. Several of the unique readings among the uncials, however, are supported by various minuscules; in particular, manuscripts 22, 23, 36, 48, 51, and 231 emerge as a "fairly consistent group."[120] The support of a group of minuscules for some of p967's unique readings suggests that p967

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[117] Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII,* x.

[118] Johnson, in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 35.

[119] Johnson, in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri* 18.

[120] Johnson, in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 21. Johnson considers the minuscule groupings proposed by Field, Cornill, and Swete and supplies a brief discussion of their disagreements on page 78-79. Frederick Field, *Oridenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1875) lxxxvi-lxxxviii; Carl Heinrich Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezekiel. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (Leipzig, 1886); and Henry Barclay Swete. *Introduction to Old Testament in Greek*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909) 165-168. The minuscule numbers follow the Holmes Parson edition, R. Holmes and J. Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum graecum cum variis lectionibus*, Vol. IV, (Oxford, 1827). It is interesting to note the close affinity between the minuscules listed by Johnson and the Lucianic text group. E Tisserant, in 1911, worked on Ezekiel's Lucianic group of mss, which included 22, 36, 48, 51, and 231 in E. Tisserant, "Notes sur la recension lucianique d'Ézéchiel," in *RB* 8 (1911): 384-390. J. Ziegler added 46 and 449 (H-P numbering) to the siglum L group, which according to his numeration, included: 22, 36, 48, 51, 96, 231, and 763 in Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (1952), 44-57. Except for 23, all of Johnson's p967 minuscules are Lucianic.

represents a viable text tradition which JGK determine to be closest to the Old Greek against B.

Bringing in other versions, the picture according to JGK begins to acquire focus. They determine that p967^{Sch} represents the text most closely resembling the base text for the Old Latin.[121] The Syro-Hexaplar, on the other hand, generally agrees with B against p967^{Sch}.[122] This divided alignment, along with their results about the Greek versions, lead JGK to conclude,

> there were at least two pre-Origenian traditions of the LXX; one of these is represented by Sch.; the other by B and the Syro-Hexaplar.[123]

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[121] Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 46. It should be noted that JGK did not conduct a full study of p967^{Sch} against the Latin witnesses; they urge that "an examination of the entire text of each Old Latin authority is required. … The original translation of the Old Latin version was made from a text closely resembling that of the Schiede papyri and probably of Egyptian origin, and the text of the Codex Wircenburgensis, although it gives evidence of some revision and has suffered much at the hands of an ignorant copyist, stands close to the fountainhead of the Old Latin tradition." (Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 46-48). One study reviews the significance of Codex *Wirceburgensis* for the transposition of chs. 38-39 in p967: P.-M. Bogaert, "Le témoignage de la Vetus Latina," 384-395. Eugene Ulrich defends the usefulness of the Old Latin for determining the OG. Ulrich, "The Old Latin Translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Scrolls from Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), 270.

[122] The Syriac witness poses a more complicated problem which JGK address in their argumentation. If S-H and B agree against p967, the former would seem to best represent the original LXX. According to this view,

> we should have to assume that someone revised this early version of Ezekiel on the basis of the Hebrew to produce the Schiede text, and that this revision was sporadic and individual and did not become the accepted version…[and] was intended for private use rather than for the Church in general. (Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 75.)

However, JGK are careful to point out the problems with this hasty conclusion, noting especially that the Syro-Hexaplar only continues one tradition of LXX in Alexandria, faithfully relying on Origen's 5th column as it was understood in the early 7th century CE. Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 75. Further, the idea that p967 represents a revised text is difficult to square with its sporadic and at times erroneous unique readings of the Hebrew. "We should naturally expect him [i.e. the scribe] to work in the direction of improvement rather than of error." Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 77.

[123] Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 76.

Several English studies followed to substantiate JGK's high evaluation of p967. Two *JBL* articles, by Gehman in 1938 and J.B. Payne in 1949, affirm the conclusion that p967 and B represent two pre-hexaplaric traditions of Greek Ezekiel, with p967 standing closer to the Old Greek. Gehman's article showcased the previously under-known work of Otto Procksch, who concluded that there were two pre-hexaplaric texts on the basis of $p967^{Sch}$, with p967 standing closer to the OG and B representing a recension.[124] Gehman adduces the independence of this study as impressive support to his conclusions. Likewise, Payne's study of $p967^{CB}$ found that its 122 variants were supported by the minuscules: "all groups variously support Be [$p967^{CB}$] as opposed to B."[125] (See Table II.) Payne makes explicit what was implied by JGK's study, that since p967 readings have "been perpetuated against B in all manuscript families," p967 must lie closer to the original Greek, before transmission splintered into the groups identified today.[126]

For both Gehman and Payne, the importance of p967 among the uncials not only decreased the value of B, but increased the value of A's readings. In fact, Payne goes so far as to say that A's witness competes with B if its hexaplaric revisions are removed.[127] Gehman and Payne included diagrams with their early studies, which help to communicate their evaluation of p967 among the principle textual witnesses to Greek Ezekiel. (See Table III.)

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[124] Gehman, "The Relations between the Text of the John H. Schiede Papyri and that of the other Greek Mss. of Ezekiel," *JBL* 72 (1938): 281-287. Otto Procksch, *Studien zur Geschichte der Septuaginta-Die Propheten* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1910).

[125] Payne, "The Relationship," 257.

[126] Payne, "The Relationship," 260.

[127] Payne, "The Relationship," 362.

Gehman wrote a second article in 1938 on p967's relation to the Hebrew text.[128] There he advanced the argument, originally presented in the Princeton volume, that many of p967's unique readings demonstrate reliance on the Hebrew. 43 passages are an "exact translation" of the Hebrew, 11 are "close translations," and 20 show "possible Hebrew influence."[129] Additionally JGK discussed 20 cases where p967^{Sch} reflects a misreading of the Hebrew, or else a faulty Hebrew parent text.[130] Gehman's article offered textual analysis and evaluation of each of those passages. Gehman's work suggests that the Old Greek was more faithful to its Hebrew parent text than previously thought.

John W. Wevers, in a 1951 article on the *status constructus* in p967^{Sch}, draws the same conclusion.[131] Wevers compared the Greek uncials with the MT, reasoning that the more original readings would preserve Hebraized syntax. Indeed, p967^{Sch} frequently renders the MT's את with a Greek article. "New evidence for the fact that Sch. [p967^{Sch}] represents such an earlier witness to the original LXX has [now] been found."[132] By

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[128] Gehman, "The Relations between the Hebrew Text of Ezekiel and That of the John H. Schiede Papyri," *JAOS* 58 (Mar. 1938): 92-102.

[129] Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 74. 43 exact translation passages: 20:13, 41; 21:6(11), 7(12), 22(27), 23(28), 28(33), 30(35); 22:4, 8; 23:17, 32, 33; 24:17; 26:13, 18; 27:4, 8, 27, 33; 28:7, 13; 30:5, 7, 13, 17, 21; 32:3, 4, 20, 21, 24; 34:13, 15, 28, 31; 36:8; 37:1; 38:8, 11, 16-17; 39:4, 8. 11 close translation passages: 22:7; 23:25; 24:4, 20; 25:3; 26:16; 27:14; 32:21; 38:11, 17; 39:4. 20 possible Hebrew influence passages: 20:41, 44; 21:21(26); 22:25; 24:14; 26:14; 27:19, 30, 33; 28:13; 29:14; 30:4, 8; 31:8, 16, 18; 34:14, 19; 35:11; 36:3.

[130] Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 75. 24:2; 36:2; 32:18; 27:16; 28:16; Dittography of a Hebrew letter: 29:20; 30:9; 31:4, 7; 32:22; 34:27; 36:3; 38:15, 18; 39:14, 23; Haplography in the Hebrew text: 38:14; 39:18, 23, 27.

[131] Wevers' four conclusions are listed on the final page of his article. John W. Wevers, "Evidence of the Text of the John H. Schiede Papyri for the Translation of the *Status Constructus* in Ezekiel," *JBL* 70 (1951): 216.

[132] Wevers, "Evidence," 211.

implication, Wevers' study affirms that the OG according to p967 is closer to the Hebrew than was previously thought.

This first phase of primarily English scholarship largely served to substantiate and refine the conclusions already made in the Princeton volume. According to this trajectory, p967 stands as the most important Greek version of Ezekiel, shedding new light on the complications of pre-hexaplaric transmission. Five consensus conclusions emerged:

1. p967 is most closely aligned with B, though they are distinct.
2. p967, as an independent text type, and B represent two pre-hexaplaric traditions of Greek Ezekiel.
3. Of the two, p967 is closest to the Old Greek.
4. p967 shows that the Old Greek was closer to the Hebrew than previously thought.
5. Work on p967 reveals the increased value of A's witness.[133]

2.3.2. Phase 2 – Distancing p967 from the Old Greek: Joseph Ziegler and the Göttingen Septuaginta Ezechiel

The question of p967's status was put to the test for the first time with the Göttingen Septuaginta Project. This project aimed to reconstruct an eclectic critical text of the Old Greek, thus the question of original readings achieved great significance. From 1939 to 1957, Joseph Ziegler was busy at work preparing all sixteen prophetic books for publication. He published *Ezechiel* in 1952 with the full benefit of p967^{CB+Sch} and grouped the new manuscript among the chief B-text witnesses (see Table IV).[134] With respect to the conclusions of Gehman and his fellow editors, Ziegler acknowledged the special value of p967, but he conservatively simplified the situation in two ways.

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[133] Not only Gehman and Payne, but Wevers makes this observation as well, saying, "the conclusion that A (minus the Hexaplaric additions) is to be considered more valuable as a witness to the original LXX, sometimes at the expense of B, is now strengthened" (Wevers, "Evidence," 216).

[134] Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (1952)

First, Ziegler placed p967 squarely in the B-text group. While the first phase scholars recognized the relatively close affinity with B, Kenyon and JGK emphasized the independent character of the papyrus. Gehman, Procksch, and Payne even proposed that B and p967 preserved two different, pre-hexaplaric transmission traditions. The implications of these conclusions were flattened in Ziegler's decision to place p967 in the B-text group, and to ignore the new confidence in A echoed by Gehman, Payne, and Wevers. Second, Ziegler treated B as the principal witness and base text for the critical edition rather than p967. [135] This decision contradicts the most widely sounded conclusion from phase one, that

> The authority of B as our best source for the original LXX must yield to this new evidence [from p967].[136]

Herein lies Ziegler's most clear departure from phase one scholarship.

In his 1952 discussion, Ziegler affirms that we are on strongest ground for the OG when p967, the Latin, and Coptic agree with B. He esteems such readings as almost certainly the original Greek, especially when they confirm a hexaplaric omission.[137]

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[135] Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (1952), 23-28.

[136] Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 79. The quote appears in five other publications: Gehman, "The Relations," *JAOS*, 102; Gehman, "The Relations," *JBL*, 287; Payne, "The Relationship," 265; Ashley Crane, "The Restoration of Israel: Ezekiel 36-39 in Early Jewish Interpretation: A textual-comparative study of the oldest extant Hebrew and Greek," (PhD. Diss., Murdoch University, 2006), 256; Leslie John McGreggor, *The Greek Text of Ezekiel: An Examination of its Homogeneity* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985), 10.

[137]" 967 ist als ältester Zeuge eine wertvolle Stütze von B (und einigen anderen alten Zeugen, namenlich der altlateinischen und koptischen Überlieferung) in der Auslassung hexaplarischer, asterisierter Stellen." "967 is, as the oldest witness, a valuable support for B (and some other old sources, namely the Old Latin, and Coptic traditions) in the hexaplaric omissions, the asterisked passages." Ziegler, "Die Bedeutung des Chester Beatty-Schiede Papyrus 967 für die Textüberlieferung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta" *ZAWt* 61 (1945/1948): 77.

However, in choosing B as his base text, he is willing to read with B, even when it stands alone.

> Eine Reihe von Lesarten wird nur von B, dem häufig der Papyus 967, die Vetus Latina und die koptischen Übersetzungen sowie gelegentlich einige Minuskeln zur Seite treten, bezeugt.[138]

Ziegler relies heavily on B because he deems it the only witness which is free from hexaplaric effects. Especially important are the 150 cases where B omits an asterisked passage, revealing itself both closer to the Old Greek and immune from correction towards the Hebrew in the pre-hexaplaric period. Using the same criterion, Ziegler concludes that p967 has been corrected towards the Hebrew. Seemingly on this basis alone, Ziegler adopts B and not p967 as the most reliable base-text for the OG.[139] However, as Peter Katz would later comment, Ziegler's conservative decision to rely so heavily on B subtly makes it, and not the OG, the object of/basis for the critical edition.[140]

Ziegler summarizes his use of p967 as follows:[141]

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[138] "One set of readings is attested only by B, leaving aside the numerous readings of [papyrus] 967, the Old Latin, and the Coptic traditions as well as occasionally, some of the minuscules." Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (1952), 23.

[139] Ziegler describes the official principles he used for the B-texts in the section entitled, "Kurze Charakteristik der Hauptzeugen B 967," where he describes the characteristics of the principal witnesses. He focuses the bulk of his conversation on B. He discusses B's pluses, minuses, rearrangements, and alternative wordings against the MT. In offering his principles of assessment, he concentrates on the cumulative evidence of other versions and the assistance of Origenian marks, and refers to the pre-967 work of Rahlfs and Cornill throughout. P967's role as a "Hauptzeuge" receives only brief mention at the end of the section. Judging merely from the space devoted for discussion, Ziegler clearly values B far above p967. Ziegler presents his work on p967, not in the 1952 publication, but in an article he wrote for *ZAW* in the previous year. Ziegler, "Die Bedeutung," 76-94.

[140] Peter Katz, "Zur Textgestaltung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta," *Biblica* 35 (1954): 29-39.

[141] Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (1952) 28. This list refers to Ziegler's conclusions in his *ZAW* article from 1945/48. (pages X-X).

1. Where B was previously the only witness, p967 lends support for the oldest, pre-hexaplaric, original reading.

2. In a few passages p967 alone preserves the original reading, e.g., 26:16 and 36:8.

3. p967 is most valuable for showing that already in the pre-hexaplaric stages, LXX Ezekiel was corrected toward the Hebrew.

4. Many consistent renderings that many critical texts have previously adopted come from the vocabulary of p967. So, for example, p967 shows in every instance, שמם was translated with στυγναζειν and בור was translated with βοθρος.

5. When p967 shows occasional alignment with readings of the Alexandrian texts, the Lucianic recension, and the Catena-group, these witnesses sometimes have drawn on older pre-hexaplaric sources.

Ziegler embraces the witness of p967 as primarily providing important support to B and in only a few cases, standing alone as the original Greek. p967's lexical consistency offers new confidence for previously conjectured readings. As a final modest appraisal, Ziegler posits pre-hexaplaric status for p967 readings which have widespread alignment across the Greek text groups. Nevertheless, Ziegler does not value p967 overall nearly as highly as he does the B text.

One year after the publication of *Ezechiel*, Ziegler still needed to defend his conservative B-centered approach with a 1953 *Biblica* article devoted to continued

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1. Pap. 967 stützt die bisher von B als einziger Handschrift vertretenen ältesten, vorhexaplarischen, ursprünglischen Lesarten.

2. An einigen Stellen hat 967 allein die ursprüngliche Lesart bewahrt, z.B. 26:16 στυγνασουσιν und 36:8 εγγιζουσιν.

3. Die größte Bedeutung hat 967 deshalb, weil er zeigt, daß bereits in vorhexaplarischer Zeit die Ez.-LXX nach dem hebr. Text korrigiert wurde.

4. Aus dem Wortschatz von 967 geht hervor, daß manche Wiedergaben konstanter waren als man bisher annehmen konnte; so ist, wie 967 zeigt, an allen Stellen שמם mit στυγναζειν und בור mit βοθρος wiedergegeben worden.

5. Das gelegentliche Zusammengehen von 967 mit Lesarten des alexandrinischen Textes, der lukianischen Rezension und der Catenen-Gruppe zeigt, daß diese Zeugen manchmal aus alten vorhexaplarischen Quellen geschöpft haben.

textual evaluation of p967. The earlier studies of Peter Katz and J. A. Bewer, that would challenge his editorial decisions with p967, remained to be addressed.[142] Throughout Ziegler's study of and response to specific textual evaluations, he remains steadfast in his high evaluation of B, and reiterates his opinion that p967, when it reads with B, provides excellent proof for the original OG.[143] However, he expresses caution when p967 stands alone or is weakly attested.[144] Ziegler's evaluative comments about p967 when it reads against B may be summarized as follows:

1. Because p967 is corrected toward the Hebrew, it is only the original when it has considerable support.[145]
2. When p967 and a version read against the MT, they constitute good evidence for the OG.[146]
3. When p967 reads with the MT, either alone or with weak support (especially by L and O which are representatives of this *Rezension*), then the reading is secondary.[147]

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[142] P. Katz, *ThLZ* 61 (1936): 280-87; Julius A. Bewer, review of Johnson, Gehman, and Kase (eds), *The John H. Schiede Biblical Papyri: Ezekiel*, *JBL* 57 (1938): 421-425.

[143] In this article, Ziegler notes that frequently the two oldest witnesses (967 and Tyc.) support the B-Text. Because of the value Ziegler assigns p967 and Tyc. as old witnesses to the LXX, he declares that when p967 and Tyc. support B, we have first-rate proof that we are close to the Old Greek. ("Häufig stützen diese beiden alten Zeugen (967 und Tyc.) den B-Text und beweisen so seine Vorzüglichkeit.") see Ziegler, "Zur Textgestaltung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta," *Biblica* 54 (1953): 436.

[144] "Fur jeden Herausgeber eines Textes ist es immer eine schwere Entscheidung, eine nur dünn bezeugte Lesart oder gar ohne jegliche Grundlage eine Konjectur in den Text aufzunehmen." "For the editor of a text, it is always a weighty decision to take up one flimsy attested version, or without any basis perform a conjecture to the text" **(**Ziegler, "Zur Textgestaltung," 436).

[145]"Mit Vorsicht ist das Zeugnis von 967 aufsurefen, wenn er mit M geht, da deutlich erwiesen ist, dass er nach dem Hebr. Korrigiert ist. Wenn 967 mit vielen anderen Zeugen eine mit M übereinstimmende Lesart überliefert, kann diese Lesart als ursprünglich in den Text aufgenommen warden, so 27,28." "With caution, p967 is to be called evidence, if it agrees with MT, since it is clearly proven that it is corrected after the Hebrew. If a p967 reading agrees with many other witnesses, this reading can be taken up as original to the text, so 27:28" (Ziegler, "Zur Textgestaltung," 436). To explain the inconsistent nature of p967's alignment with MT, Ziegler compares it to the situation of Theodotian, Symmachus, and Aquila. The Three did not consistently revise toward the Hebrew, but rather only occasionally made corrections (Ziegler, "Die Bedeutung," 94).

[146] "Wenn 967 eine Lesart gegen M vertritt, so verdient sie Vertauen, besonders wenn sie von alten Zeugen wie B und Tyc. gestützt wird" (Ziegler, "Zur Textgestaltung," 437).

[147] "Wenn 967 allein oder von nur wenigen Zeugen, so von L und O, bzw. Einigen Vertretern dieser Rezensionen begleitet, eine mit M übereinstimmende Lesart bezeugt, dann ist hier eine spätere

Ziegler's post-1952 *Ezechiel* work on p967 reveals the disputes that still lie beneath the surface of the Göttingen edition. It solicited a direct response by Katz in the 1954 issue of *Biblica.* Katz, writing an article with the same title as Ziegler's 1953 *Biblica* study, "Zur Textgestaltung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta," re-activated his earlier positions. Specifically, Katz shows that p967 is not corrected in every instance where it reads with the MT.[148] Despite obvious unresolved debate, both between Ziegler and phase one scholarship and in the Katz-Ziegler exchange that appeared in *Biblica,* Ziegler's decision to take p967 as a *Rezension* served as the basis for its minimal role in the 1952 Göttingen Septuaginta *Ezechiel.*

2.3.3. Phase 3 – No New Ground: The 1977 Göttingen Septuagint

In his 1952 Göttingen edition, Ziegler did not have the benefit of the entire p967 manuscript. The 1977 edition of Göttingen *Ezechiel* reprints the exact 1952 text and introduction, only adding a twenty-two page supplement written by Detlef Fraenkel.[149] The new portions of $p967^{Mad+Köln}$, in part, prompted the supplement to Ziegler's edition.[150] Of note, Fraenkel reassesses a whole category of Ziegler's omitted readings

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sekundäre Variante anzunehmen. (Dies gilt für Stellen wie 20,4; 26,13; 28,15; 28,16; 32,32)" (Ziegler, "Zur Textgestaltung," 438).

[148] Katz, "Zur Textgestaltung," 38.

[149] About this edition and Fraenkel's "Nachtrag" – Lust says, "It should also be noted that, in Ziegler's edition, some of the variants of the papyrus are not accepted in the critical text, but are relegated to the critical apparatus. The appendix published in the anastatic re-edition of 1982 … carefully notes all the variants in the newly published fragments, but does not incorporate them in the critical text." Johan Lust, "The Septuagint of Ezekiel According to papyrus 967 and the Pentateuch," *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 72 (1996): 131 n.4.

[150] More fragments of p988, the Antinoopolis papyri surfaced as well. See Fraenkel, "Nachtrag" in Ziegler (1977), 331.

where a version of a patristic citation stood against the entire tradition. In these cases, where the readings are established by p967, they are included in the supplement, (e.g., 34:3).[151]

Overall, Fraenkel's supplement calls p967 a chief witness (*Hauptzeuge)*, but does not incorporate any new readings from p967 into the critical text. p967 readings appear in Fraenkel's critical apparatus, making them available for consultation, but the edition does not represent an evaluative update in the scholarly discussion.

2.3.4. Summary and Discussion of p967 and its Hebrew Vorlage

Debates about the relationship between p967 and the Hebrew were at work at several points in the preceding discussion. Indeed, whether a pre-hexaplaric witness is corrected toward the Hebrew remains a highly contested issue. It is, as most agree, difficult to evaluate the evidence with respect to the Hebrew. Ziegler admits as much:

> Hier ist es nicht ganz klar, ob 967 nach MT korrigiert ist oder ob er die ursprüngliche LXX-Lesart bewahrt hat, die in den anderen Hss. durch innergriechischen Einfluß verlorengegangen ist.[152]

In general, German scholars like Ziegler, followed by Jahn in the 1970s, rely on two criteria. (1) Ziegler is suspicious of p967 when it reads with the MT. (2) More importantly, Ziegler consults Origen's marks to assess whether p967 has been corrected

[151] Fraenkel, "Nachtrag," 334.

[152] Ziegler, "Die Bedeutung " 84. "Here it is not completely clear whether p967 is corrected toward the MT, or whether it has the most reliable reading of the original LXX, that in the other manuscripts, would have been made through inner-Greek influence." P. Leopold Günther Jahn seconds the sentiment, "Ob eine Lesart in 967 ursprunglich oder korrigiert ist, kann an den meisten Einzelstellen nicht mit Sicherheit entschieden werden." "Whether a reading in p967 is original or corrected cannot be decided with security in most individual cases," (Jahn, *Kölner Teil Papyrus*, 155).

towards the hexaplaric tradition.[153] Of primary concern is Origen's asterisk which was affixed to readings that were present in the Hebrew text and needed to be added in the Greek.[154] So Ziegler assigns priority to the Greek witness which omits the asterisked passages. When p967 includes the asterisked reading, Ziegler concludes that it was likely corrected toward a pre-hexaplaric Hebrew text. Ziegler identified six passages in $p967^{CB+Sch}$ where one should make such an evaluation.[155] Jahn argues along the same lines about five asterisked additions in $p967^{Köln}$.[156]

This discussion clearly cautions against facile conclusions about the Hebrew base text of p967. However, some important points should be made in light of the above discussion. While Origen's marks do provide useful data, they alone cannot determine the integrity of the pre-hexaplaric Greek in relation to the Hebrew. For instance, JGK do

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[153] Indeed, the goal of a critical Old Greek text, since de Lagarde, has been to purify the LXX of hexaplaric effects. Thus de Lagarde emphasized the importance of the Three for working back to the *Ur-Translation*.

[154] For a general information about using Origen's hexaplaric marks for text criticism, see Tov, *Text Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 147-148; and Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament: an Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1979), 57-58.

[155] 24:25; 27:2; 31:14; 32:4; 32:13; and 38:16. Ziegler, "Die Bedeutung," 86. Here Ziegler dismisses the p967 asterisked passages, 21:27(32) and 23:33, as probably preserving the original reading. He also misreads Johnson's Origenian evalution. Ziegler reduces Johnson's list of 20 asterisked passages to 8, critiquing Johnson's analysis. However, Johnson himself refines the list of 20 down to 5 that appear uniquely in $p967^{Sch}$. For Johnson's original list of 20, see Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 40.

[156] Jahn lists 13 passages where "Asterisierte Stellen...in 967 vorkommen." Of these 13, 5 passages, "an denen der betr. Zusatz in 967 unvollständig oder in veränderter Form erscheint, zeigen deutlich, daß diese Einfügungen vorhexaplarische Korrekturen nach dem. Hebr. sind (18:24; 20:23; 46:16; 47:17; 48:10.)" – "where 967's addition is incomplete or in a different form, [these] clearly show that these prehexaplaric insertions are corrections toward the Hebrew." Jahn, *Kölner Teil Papyrus*, 145. It should be pointed out that a mere και is asterisked in 20:23 which could equally likely be an error in the Hebrew transmission tradition, and the p967 plus of του affixed to the aorist infinitive is a common Greek syntactic construction in p967. Jahn finds particularly strong evidence in a very interesting case passage, 20:40. In p967, the hexaplaric asterisked Ισραηλ is inserted above the line as a correction, which Jahn argues is the work of a copyist and not a later scribe. By this, it would seem that the copyist knew the hexaplaric tradition and corrected his text accordingly. See ch. 3 for my interpretation of this passage, and why I find no good reason to see hexaplaric influence.

not place much trust in Origen's marks because of the ambiguity involved in using them for evaluation. p967^{Sch} omits 10 out of 49 possible obelized readings, and includes 5 passages marked with the asterisk that are missing in B.[157] Johnson states, "if we are to judge by the sole criterion of the omission of obelized passages and the inclusion of those marked with the asterisk, the new text is better than B."[158]

Johnson's logic poses a challenge since Ziegler considered the presence of any asterisked readings in p967 to be a sign that it was *corrected* toward a pre-hexaplaric Hebrew text, and thus *not* the better text, contra Johnson. In truth, deciding between Johnson and Ziegler is very difficult – the evidence could be read either way, and without a thick evaluation which takes other versions and readings into account, Origen's marks alone cannot determine much about the Old Greek or its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

In addition to the difficulty of how to interpret Origen's marks, JGK rightly question the accuracy of the hexaplaric transmission tradition. Johnson notes the variety in the testimony. For instance, "Q and 86 preserve a tradition of the asterisk which is not found elsewhere…Similarly the texts do not always agree in their testimony about the same passage."[159] These two factors, interpretive ambiguity and inconsistent testimony, remind us that Origen's marks are just one factor, and an insecure and ambiguous one at that, in the evaluation of p967's relation to the Hebrew.

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[157] Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 37, 40.

[158] Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 40-41.

[159] Johnson in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 40. Eugene Ulrich points out one complicating factor of Origen research, "the oldest extensive manuscripts of the Septuagint that are extant are dated in the fourth century, at least a century after Origen, so we cannot always be certain that our Septuagint text corresponds to that of his day" (Ulrich., *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origin of the Bible*, 203).

JGK and Payne weigh a wider variety of data to make their evaluation that p967, as a witness to the OG, is closer to the Hebrew than was previously thought.[160] The strongest case is mounted by Gehman in his evaluation of Greek readings that clearly evince reliance on the Hebrew. Gehman adduces evidence for alignment between p967 and a variant Hebrew base text, not with the MT, as in Ziegler's analysis.[161] Gehman

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[160] For instance, JGK consider information from the isolated Septuagint debate about the *nomina sacra*. JGK state, "Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the Schiede text is the use of the singular (κς) in designating the *nomen sacrum*" (Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Biblical* Papyri, 19). Kase argues, "the frequent substitution in B of κυριος κυριος for an original κυριος, and the occasional occurrence of κυριος ο θεος in the Schiede codex, can be attributed to sporadic revision of the Septuagint based on a Hebrew text in which the original reading יהוה had been systematically expanded to אדני יהוה , the reading of the present Massoretic text" (Kase in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 51). Here Kase relies on the original proposal of von Baudissan that a singular κυριος was the original reading in Ezekiel 1-39. W. W. Graf von Baudissin, *Kurios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte*, I, 525-602. Kase, however, is probably wrong that the original Hebrew had יהוה alone. See Lust, "אדני יהוה in Ezekiel and its Counterpart in the Old Greek, *ETL* 72 (1996): 138-145. Lust considers the Masada evidence sufficinetly early to erase the possibility of an original singular reading in the Hebrew (Lust, אדני הוה, 145). Thus, the evidence of p967's *nomina sacra* cannot be adduced to argue p967's affinity with the Hebrew. For more on divine name debates, see below.

[161] In one case, Ziegler and JGK independently offer opposite evaluations of a specific passage, 28:16. Because p967 reads with the MT, Ziegler concludes that it is a secondary correction toward the Hebrew (Ziegler, "Die Bedeutung," 85-86). JGK determined the opposite, that p967 misread the Hebrew and thus could not be characterized as a correction (Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 75). Gehman took up a more detailed analysis of the claim in Gehman, "The Relations," *JOAS*, 99.

MT			הסכך (Qal Ptc.)
p967	το χερουβ	τοσεχ	εκ μεσων
C (OL)	*cherubin*	*sech*	*de medio*
Q	το χερουβ	το συσκιαζον	εκ μεσων
BA	το χερουβ	_____	εκ μεσων

Gehman argues that p967 mistook the Qal ptc. as a proper name, and incorrectly transliterated τοσεχ, or else correctly transliterated הסך, a mistake in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Whichever, the Latin witness, C, took p967's reading up and assumed that το was the article and could be dropped. Q corrected the mistake and offered the proper translation of the Hebrew/MT. BA omitted the word altogether.

Julius Bewer found no grounds for a faulty Hebrew parent text, but accepted Gehman's evaluation of the witnesses. Bewer, "Review of Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, " 423.

The same disagreement ensued for 24:2, where Ziegler called p967 secondary due to agreement with the MT, and JGK and Bewer thought internal evalution led to the opposite conclusion.

Peter Katz similarly critiqued Ziegler's argument in a 1954 *Biblica* article. Katz says, "Nicht überall, wo 967 mit *M* übereinstimmt, ist er notwendig sekundär. Innere Gründe entscheiden hier in der andern Richtung." "Not everyplace where 967 corresponds with MT is it necessarily secondary. Internal

analyzed a total of 74 passages along with the 20 cases where he found a faulty reading of the Hebrew. This data constitute excellent evidence for an early Hebrew *Vorlage.*

> The influence of the Hebrew is somewhat surprisingly established by errors due to misreading the original or by clear evidence of the use of a Hebrew text which was not always flawless.[162]

Especially in these 20 cases where an error stands between the Greek and the Hebrew, the criteria of *lectio dificilior* obtains, since it is difficult to imagine that a corrector would propogate an erroneous Hebrew text, or so egregiously misread the Hebrew. Wevers' study of p967's Hebraized syntax provides additional support. While evaluations of each passage require attention to the possibility of correction toward the Hebrew, in general, p967 does offer reliable evidence for its Hebrew *Vorlage*. In brief, Gehman and Wevers' studies are more convincing than Ziegler's method.[163]

2.3.5. Summary and Discussion of p967, the Hebrew and the Old Greek

It remains to clarify the relationship among p967, its Hebrew *Vorlage*, and the OG. Gehman used p967 to show that the OG was closer to the Hebrew than previously thought. For Gehman, this conclusion assumed the OG was an *Ur-Translation* from which all manuscript evidence descends. His adoption of this model is most obvious in

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grounds here decided in the other direction." Peter Katz, "Zur Textgestaltung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta," *Biblica* 35 (1954) 38.

[162] Gehman, "The Relations," *JOAS*, 93.

[163] Emanuel Tov also questions Ziegler's eclectic OG text, saying,

> The text-critical analysis of the LXX must take all extant Greek readings into consideration, because at the outset one does not know which reading is original, and it may have a bearing on the text of the Hebrew Bible. In principle, any reading found either in the reconstructed text or in the apparatus of one of the Göttingen editions or of Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, may have been part of the Old Greek translation (Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 51).

his diagram of LXX transmission history (see Table III). Payne's diagram likewise adopts the model. According to this model, p967 and B are trajectories of inner-Greek development, with p967 lying closer to the *Ur-Translation*.

Belief in an *Ur-Translation* reflects the Lagardian model of LXX textual studies. De Lagarde's proposal of an *Ur-Text* or *Ur-Translation* posited an original translation that split into the variety of manuscripts that we know today.[164] The perennial appeal of the Lagardian model is its continued ability to explain the manuscript data.[165]

However, as Emanuel Tov has pointed out, the Lagardian approach is often guilty of blurring the distinction between the archetype and the autograph, where "archetype" is the goal of text criticism, and "autograph" is the actual translated text that lies behind our scholarly construct.[166] Further, variations on the theory of the original and famous detractor Paul E. Kahle routinely challenge the Lagardian model. Kahle's main contribution lies in his comparing the collection of LXX translations to the Aramaic Targums.[167] Similar to what we see in the Targums, translations of the Greek Bible were at first oral and piecemeal, and served multiple functions. Over time, numerous

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[164] Paul A. De Lagarde, "Introduction," in *Anmerkungen zur grieschischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig, 1863); see also idem, *Mittheilungen I* (Göttingen, 1884), 19-26.

[165] Supporters for the Lagardian hypothesis have far outnumbered detractors. The entire Göttingen school is Lagardian; Alfred Rahlf himself was pupil and successor to de Lagarde. Even the diplomatic Cambridge edition of the Septuagint affirmed the existence of the Old Greek translation disagreeing only that it was not yet time to establish a critical text.

[166] Emanuel Tov, "The Septuagint," in M. Mulder (ed) *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretions of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Chrsitianity* (Assen, Maastricht: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1988), 165. See also Jennifer M. Dines who highlights the importance of what she calls, the "Göttingen gap" to maintain the distinction that Tov names. Dines, *The Septuagint* (ed., Michael A. Knibb; New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 59.

[167] P. Kahle, *The Cairo Genizah* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1947), 214; *The Cairo Genizah* went through eight editions, the most recent being, (8th ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1980).

"unofficial" Greek versions came into existence. Thus according to Kahle, one cannot think in terms of an *Ur-Translation* but rather of multiple versions.

The *Ur-Translation* model seemed unthreatened by p967 at first. Harry Orlinsky used the manuscript data from $p967^{CB+Sch}$ to extend the textual construct of the *Ur-Translation* even earlier than had previously been suggested. Defending the Lagardian position, he says,

> The new pertinent manuscript data, such as the Chester Beatty [$p967^{CB}$,] Rylands, and Schiede papyri [$p967^{Sch}$,] serve to push back the problem of recension and of the Proto-Septuagint chronologically nearer to its date of composition; they do not alter the problem.[168]

However, as was the case with Zimmerli's redaction-critical work, (see above,) Orlinksy was not able to appreciate the full impact of p967's evidence. Orlinsky's article was originally published in 1941, long before $p967^{Mad+Köln}$ surfaced.[169] Like Zimmerli, Orlinsky lacked the full manuscript evidence and the benefit of sufficient scholarly assessment.

p967, as a variant literary edition *may*, in fact, challenge the *Ur-Translation* theory. The importance of Lust's demonstration that there are two literary editions of Ezekiel in our manuscript evidence must not be underestimated. In brief, with p967 we face the problem of the relationship between the Hebrew, LXX transmission and the OG, which is further complicated by the apparent existence of double literary editions. Needless to say, these issues cannot be resolved here.

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[168] Harry M. Orlinksy, "On the Present State of Proto-Septuagint Studies," reprinted in Jellicoe (ed) *Studies in the Septuagint*: *Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations* (New York: KTAV Publishing, 1974), 96.

[169] Reprinted from *JAOS* 61 (1941): 81-91.

Even so, three viable models can describe the possible relationship of p967 to the Hebrew text of Ezekiel. Simplifying matters considerably, I will conceptualize these in terms of the divergence in text type, observed by Gehman and Payne, between p967 and B.

(1) According to Gehman and Payne's *Ur-Translation* model (Table III) model, p967 and B share a common OG ancestor. Their divergence and status as variant literary editions should be attributed to inner-Greek development.

The second and third models accept the probable conclusion that significant literary development occurred in the Hebrew stages of transmission to produce the variant literary editions of B and p967 (where B's literary edition is closer to the MT). The work of Lust and Lilly with p967 finds solid basis to view p967 as reflecting an early Hebrew edition.[170] Eugene Ulrich's work with double literary editions more generally shows that the Hebrew text was pluriform and that multiple editions circulated in antiquity.[171] About the OG translation, Ulrich has little to say, but he *has* commented,

> There was a wide variety of Hebrew texts available and in use when the OG translation of the various books was made and for several centuries during the early transmission of the OG. One must treat the elasticity of the Hebrew text with caution, to be sure, but one also must not underrate the variation in the Hebrew text abundantly demonstrated by the Qumran manuscripts and the versions. To underrate it will cause distortion in the understanding of the LXX and the forces behind its translation and transmission.[172]

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[170] Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 517-533; idem., "Major Divergences," 83-92; Lilly, "A Superior Version."

[171] Ulrich insists that Qumran texts show a continuity with earlier processes of the "composition of scriptures" (Ulrich, "The Community of Israel and the Composition of Scriptures," in *Dead Sea Scrolls,* 9-15 especially).

[172] Eugene Ulrich, "The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran: A Reappraisal of Their Value," in Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 179.

(2) In this light, the second model may be called the Kahle approach to the OG. Kahle's arguments about the OG translation are not incompatible with Ulrich's multiple and fluid Hebrew text theory (although Ulrich does not assent to Kahle's theory of translation). According to this model, the Hebrew text of Ezekiel was multiple and fluid, allowing (but not requiring) a view of "the OG" translation as multiple or even a composite collection of section-translations of Greek Ezekiel. B and p967, then, represent or contain two or more separate translations of the multiple Hebrew texts. I think it unlikely that p967 and B represent two separate translations; they have too much in common.

(3) The third model, which carries the most weight in my mind, draws on the LXX transmission theory articulated by Frank Moore Cross. Using the Qumran evidence, and particularly Barthélemy's *kaige* recension, Cross outlines four stages of interdependence between Hebrew and Greek text transmission.[173] The first stage is that of the Old Greek translation dated to the 3rd-2nd centuries BCE (depending on the book). The second stage is the proto-Lucian, generalized revision of the OG towards the contemporary Hebrew text in the 2nd to 1st century BCE.[174] Then in the mid-1st century CE, the *kaige* revision brought the LXX again towards the Hebrew of the proto-MT. The final stage is Aquila's version, arguably a revision or a translation, adopting a more extreme literalness of translation than even the *kaige*.

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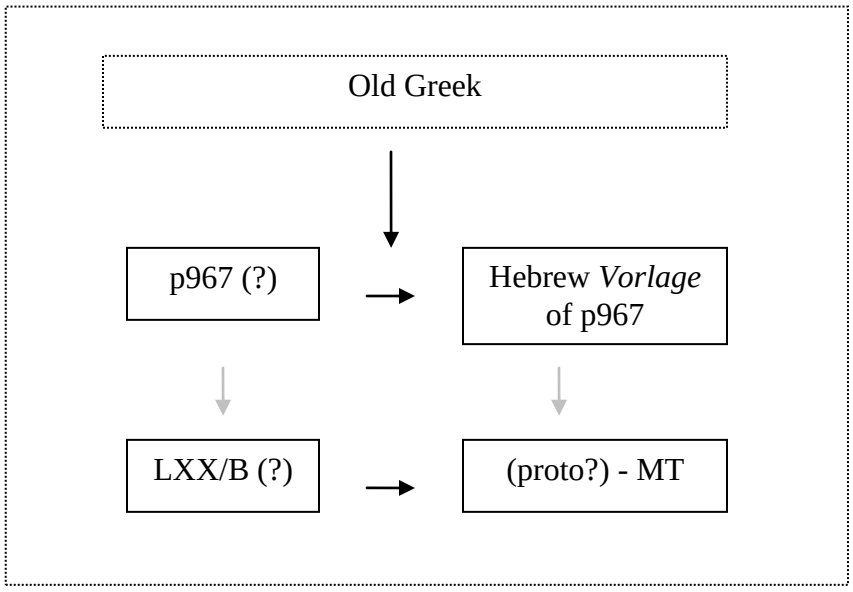
[173] Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumrân and Modern Biblical Studies,* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958), revised in 1961; *idem*, "The History of the Biblical Text in Light of the Discoveries in the Judean Desert," *HTR* 57 (1964): 281-99; repr. in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, 177-95; and *idem*, "The Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," in *IEJ* 16 (1966): 81-95. These three publications combine to provide his approach to the history. See Jellicoe's helpful digest of Cross' points, in "Prolegomenon," in *Studies in the Septuagint*: *Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations: Selected Essays* (eds., S. Jellicoe and H. M. Orlinski; New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1974), XLVI-LI.

[174] This was the text used by Josephus.

What is clear in Cross' model is that the Greek text was consistently brought into alignment with what is considered to be a developing Hebrew text. Support for this view can point to Ulrich's observation that the Hebrew text tradition was fluid. As Jellicoe states,

> It is now clear that up to the time of its fixation under Aqiba there was development within the Hebrew text. Mgr. Skehan has consistently drawn attention to what he calls, 'an exegetical process at work within the transmission of the text itself, in Hebrew.' Ziegler, more than a generation ago, illustrated this from Isaiah, demonstrating that the Greek translators had faithfully reflected the expansionist, harmonizing, and exegetical technique of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Ezekiel is another case in point, and the same process would appear to account for the longer text of Jeremiah and possibly the Book of Job.[175]

According to this model, p967 and B represent subsequent corrections towards a developing Hebrew text. This model absorbs Ziegler's emphasis on the phenomenon of correction towards the Hebrew, but it also allows development in the Hebrew text-tradition, and consequently also inner-Greek development.



[175] Jellicoe, "Prolegomenon," XLIX.

No easy decision about these models can be advanced at this stage of research. While the third model remains most compelling for absorbing several complexities, the other two cannot be ruled out before chapter 4's text-critical analysis. These three models do present us with the viable options through which to consider the relationship of p967 to the Hebrew text.

2.4. p967, Literal Translation Technique, and Linguistic Non-Homogeneity

Text-critical scholars who use Septuagint texts for comparison with the Hebrew emphasize the importance of translation technique. A critic can trust Greek evidence if the text displays a literal rather than free translation technique.[176] Emanuel Tov calls the LXX translation of Ezekiel "relatively literal."[177] Johan Lust strengthens the claim, stating that Ezekiel is, "rendered word for word, preserving word-order and syntax of the Hebrew."[178] Gehman's work on p967 argued for its fidelity to the Hebrew parent text, leading him to conclude that the OG translation was more faithful than previously thought.[179]

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[176] For a general discussion of translation technique and the terms, "literal" and "free," see Tov, *Text Critical Use,* 17-29. James Barr's early study often serves as the model for such evaluation. James Barr, "The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations," *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* 15, (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I; Phil-Hist. Kl., 1979): 279-325.

[177] Emanuel Tov, *The Text Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, (2d. ed.; Jerusalem: Simor Ltd., 1997), 250.

[178] Johan Lust, "Major Divergences between LXX and MT in Ezekiel," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*, (ed. Adrian Schenker; Septuagint and Cognate Studies Vol. 52; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003): 83.

[179] Gehman, "The Relations," 92-102.

We have already seen that this straight-forward evaluation of p967's faithful preservation of the Hebrew was challenged by Ziegler's correction theory. Indeed, Ziegler also examined whether the translator gave an exact or a loose translation, noting "dass er keine starre Konsequenz in der Wirdergabe der gleichen Wörter und Wendungen zeigt; diese ist ein Kennzeichen des Aquila."[180] Ziegler advocated calling p967 a "Rezension," making it less reliable as a witness to the OG and thus its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Translation studies of Ezekiel similarly challenge any simple evaluation for literal translation technique. Already in 1903, H. St. J. Thackeray observed the linguistic non-homogeneity of LXX Ezekiel. By linguistic non-homogeneity, I am referring primarily to lexical inconsistencies, but differences in syntax or linguistic conventions also occur across the Greek book. Over several lectures and four publications, Thackeray developed his two-translator hypothesis to account for the linguistic variety he found, not only in Ezekiel, but in Jeremiah, the Minor prophets, and other books.[181] Proposing a wide-spread scribal practice of bi-sectioning books for translation,[182] Thackeray modified the theory somewhat to fit Ezekiel's unique evidence. Ezekiel's anomaly was the presence

[180] "that he does not exhibit any rigid consistency in the rendering of identical words and expressions; this is [would be] a mark of Aquila" (Ziegler, "Zur Textgestaltung," 440).

[181] Thackeray first proposed the idea of bi-sectioning books in H. St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel," *JTS* 4 (1903): 398-411. He adds Exodus, Leviticus, and the Psalter in Thackeray, "The Bisection of Books in Primitive Septuagint MSS," *JTS* 9 (1907): 88-98. Ziegler questions Isaiah and Minor prophets in Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*, (ATA 12/3; Muinster i. W: Aschendorf, 1934), 31-46. See the discussion and footnotes of Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible – A New Outlook," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (eds., F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 324.

[182] One particularly strong piece of support to Thackeray's theory of bi-section is the ancient attestation to the practice by Epiphanius who says, "translators worked in pairs." Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, 3ff. see F. Hultsch, Metrologicorum scriptorium reliquiae, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubius, 1864): 259-279.

not of two, but three linguistic sections. Thackeray broke the units as follows: α = chs. 1-27; β = chs. 28-39; γ = chs. 40-48.[183]

Roughly contemporary with Thackeray, Johannes Herrmann and Josef Schäfers conducted independent studies on Ezekiel leading to similar conclusions.[184] The three scholars differed about the division of the sections and the number of translators, but the results of the three studies affirmed the problem of the non-homogeneous translation of Ezekiel.

The discovery of p967 had a large impact on these debates. The *nomina sacra* evidence in p967 threatened one of the main arguments adduced by proponents of the multiple translator theory. Indeed, Schäfers relied on variation in the divine name alone for his section divisions, and Thackeray also used them as evidence. Interestingly, p967 has a singular κς [185] where MT has the double form, אדני יהוה. In the remaining 15 cases, p967 has κς ο θς. At first, this new data showed the Greek double form to be a later

[183] The break between α and β occurs at the end of ch. 27, which according to the chapter divisions in codex Marchalianus (Q) falls at the halfway point of the 48 chapter book. Additionally, Q displays two slanted lines at the end of ch. 27, indicating a pause. This evidence correlates with the situation presented in B. Thackeray discovered a similar phenomenon in the book of Jeremiah, (1903, 409) and thus concludes that Greek translators commonly divided a book in half without regard to subject matter. He states, "it appears…that there is some truth to the statement of Epiphanius that *the translators worked in pairs*" (original emphasis.) To explain the strange situation of the three sections in Ezekiel, Thackeray reasons that the two scribes must have been contemporaries, and that the second who was responsible for β had to defer to the expertise of the first for the difficult terminology of chaps. 40-48. In this way, the first translator was responsible for the more difficult sections of α and γ. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators," 410-411.

[184] In 1923, Johannes Herrmann proposed divisions, chaps. 1-27; 28-29; 40-48, (the same as Thackeray's,) and argued for three separate translators. Josef Schäfers also found three translators, but used the divine name alone as his criteria, breaking the book into chaps. 1-11; 13-39; 40-48. Johannes Herrmann, "Die Septuaginta zu Ezechiel das Werk dreier Übersetzer," in Hermann-Baumgärtel, *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta*, (Berlin: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1923) 1-19. see also Hermann, *Die Gottesnamen im Ezechieltexte*, (1913) 70-87; Hermann, "Ezechiel, übersetzt und erklärt," *Kommentar zum Alten Textament* (1924); and Herrmann, "Ezechielstudien" *Beitrage zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament* 2 (1908). Josef Schäfers, "Ist das Buch Ezechiel in der Septuaginta von einem oder mehreren Dolmetschern übersetzt?," *Theologie und Glaube* 1 (1909): 289-291.

[185] p967 has abbreviations for the divine name, so κς for κυριος and θς for θεος.

correction toward the MT tradition, thus eliminating the *nomina sacra* evidence from any translation debates.[186] However, the matter seems far from resolved.[187]

The most impressive work on the Greek translator(s) of Ezekiel, subsequent to the emergence of p967 was done by Leslie John McGregor. In his dissertation, published in 1985, McGregor points out that the transmission of the divine name is entirely discontinuous with the translation and transmission of the text:

> The distribution of variants [in divine name] cannot be taken on its own as support for an early (fully recensional) revision of some part of the text. The early stage of transmission of the word <<yhwh>> was a unique, scribal phenomenon.[188]

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[186] See §2.3.4 above for an earlier discussion of the *nomina sacra* debate.

[187] McGregor supplies an impressive digest to the history of debate on the *nomina sacra* in Ezekiel, including how p967 affected matters. McGregor identified what he calls the consensus position, that the singular κυριος that appears throughout p967 was considered earlier than the double forms, and moreover, the singular form reproduced an originally singular Hebrew form where אדני is a later addition. However, McGregor argues against this position and maintains that the double form was in the earliest Hebrew text. To explain p967 and the Greek, McGregor argues that the double *nomen sacrum* is original to both the Hebrew and the Greek which read, κυριος יהוה , while the singular rendering κυριος reflected a later scribal choice to omit the Hebrew tetragrammaton (McGregor, *The Greek Text*, 57-93).

The *nomina sacra* debate is an entirely complex one and cannot be resolved here. Ludwig Traube offered the pioneer study, coining the term, *nomina sacra*, in Traube, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (1907; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesssellschaft, 1967). His work is taken up in codicological debates that largely focus on the Christian phenomenon of contraction in the divine name. For a review of this scholarship and his argument see Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006) 95-134. Indeed, bringing in Qumran studies, where the divine name could be rendered as four dots, four diagonal strokes, in paleohebrew, etc. shows the complexity and vastness of the evidence. For the Qumran evidence, see Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert,* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), esp. 218-221, 238-246; and Patrick Skehan, "The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint," *BIOSCS* 13 (1980): 14-44. Lust provides a discussion specific to Ezekiel where he also identified the importance of the separate but related Christian phenomenon of the developing divine name (Lust, "אדני יהוה," 140). However, Lust does not attempt to solve the matter.

In weighing the state of the discussion, I will have to agree with McGregor, that the development of the *nomina sacra* cannot be attributed to 'literary' recensional activity but rather to early scribal practice and convention. I take the transmission patterns of the divine name to be largely separate from the literary recension(s) in the text transmission. For example, I could find no literary coherence among the 15 verses in which p967 has κς ο θς ; If these are examples of scribal recensions they appear sporadic and without larger literary significance. Although, Zimmerli's discussion of the different Hebrew renderings of the divine name in Ezekiel's prophetic literary forms deserves further consideration. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel,* (vol. 2 in *Ezekiel),* 556-562.

[188] McGregor, *The Greek Text*, 92.

So, eschewing data on the divine name alone, McGregor weighs the total linguistic evidence for translation of the text. With meticulous attention to method, perfecting the linguistic evaluations of the studies that preceded him, McGregor finally agreed with Thackeray that the linguistic non-homogeneity of Ezekiel resulted from the different styles of more than one translator. He modified Thackeray's unit divisions to chs. 1-25 (S1); 26-39 (S2); 40-48 (S3) (where S stands for section). McGregor's careful, comprehensive work makes his study the best synthesis of evidence for the multiple translator theory (See Table V).[189]

While McGregor's work presents a formidable conclusion about the translation of Ezekiel, several alternative arguments interpret the evidence differently, all appealing to explanations based on recensional not translation activity. The recension-arguments often use the same evidence as the multiple translator arguments, thus deciding between them can be difficult. Further, many of them have not been worked out in as much detail as the multiple-translator theories. However, a brief presentation of them will highlight their pervasive appeal.

Already in 1938, Kase used $p967^{Sch}$ to challenge Thackeray's multiple translator hypothesis. Kase concluded that Greek Ezekiel had one translator, and attributed linguistic divisions in the book to a revision.[190] Chapters 1-27, according to Kase,

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[189] Table V shows McGregor's summary of the linguistic evidence that distinguishes S1 from S2.

[190] Kase "The Translator(s) of Ezekiel" in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 52-73. Ziegler largely follows Kase, only he detects sporadic correction in section β. Ziegler "Die Bedeutung," 88. In a separate discussion of the *nomina sacra*, Johnson ascribes the doublet forms in chaps. 20-39 (roughly section β) to a later redactor of the original edition. However, Ziegler does not mention the Princeton editor's proposal. Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 41. See McGregor for a full discussion of Kase and Ziegler (McGregor, *The Greek Text*, 11-13).

underwent a revision to render the Hebrew more literally.[191] Kase's argumentation relied heavily on what might be called the consensus position on the *nomina sacra* evidence, but as we saw above, that evidence remains ambiguous.

Emanuel Tov offered his own theory of revision. Although his 1976 study focused on Jeremiah, Tov spelled out the implications of his conclusions for Ezekiel, arguing that one type, Ezekiel α, preserves the Old Greek.[192] Tov detected a different text type in β, possibly owing to a revision. He argues,

> The assumption that Ez β represents a later revision may further be corroborated by the following:
>
> 1. Thackeray, "Ezekiel," and Herrmann listed differences between the two (three) different "translators" Ez α, γ, and β. Yet, at the same time, Thackeray acknowledged the existence of important similarities between Ez α and β.
> 2. Approaching the question from a different angle, Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 47, assigned Ez β to a kaige-like revision.
>
> The correctness of this hypothesis has yet to be verified by a minute inner-Greek analysis of Ez-LXX.[193]

Dominique Barthélemy's study, cited by Tov, makes extremely brief mention of Ezekiel. Discussing the translation, και γαρ for גם, Barthélemy notes that the two Ezekiel cases, in

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[191] Whereas previous theories attributed the linguistic divisions to a bi-section by translators of Ezekiel, Kase attributes them to a series of bi-sections in the history of transmission of the book such that p967 represents a text comprised of unmatched sections. Springing from the linguistic evidence and the dispersion of the *nomina sacra*, he offers the following transmission history:

(1) Chaps. 40-48 circulated separately at first. When they were joined to Ezekiel, the late oracles of chaps. 38-39 were inserted as a connection between the two sections of the Hebrew book. This explains the division of *nomina sacra* forms found at ch. 40. Thus, chaps. 1-48 were translated by one hand.

(2) A later, conservative reviser who sought to bring the LXX closer to the Hebrew made some changes, but we only see his version in chaps. 1-27 because of the practice of bi-secting books. This explains the linguistic division between chaps. 27/28. Thus, according to Kase, we have ch. 1-27 in a revised form, and chaps. 28-48 in an unrevised form (Kase, "The Translator(s) of Ezekiel," in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 72-73).

[192] Tov, chapter VI: "The Relationship Between the LXX of Jer, Ez, and the MT," in *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jeremiah 29-52 and Baruch 1:1-3:8*, (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), 135-155.

[193] Tov, *The Septuagint Translation*, 151.

31:17 and 39:16, fall into Thackeray's section β. "Je n'entends pas prendre position sur ce point, mais seulement situer mon etude par rapport à cette hypothése.[194]

One further study worth bringing into the present conversation is E. Tisserant's 1911 study on the Lucianic manuscripts of Ezekiel. Tisserant argued that in minuscules 22, 36, 48, 51, 231 (according to Holmes Parsons edition), Ezek. 22:19-32:32 was not Lucianic.[195] Picking up with Tisserant's observation, N. Fernández-Marcos says,

> It is possible that the archetype of the seven manuscripts (L) suffered a lacuna that was filled with another manuscript of a different character. Manuscripts may change their textual affiliation from book to book, but the change may occur within a book as in this section of Ezekiel.[196]

The presence of a different text-type in the L minuscules is particularly relevant to p967, since, as JGK noted, $p967^{Sch}$ was often supported in its unique readings by these minuscules, along with 23.[197] Tisserant and Fernández-Marcos' Lucian studies provide further data about the non-homogeneous texture of Greek Ezekiel's linguistic features.

The linguistic non-homogeneity of Ezekiel invites several explanations. McGregor's careful work supports an updated version of Thackeray's multiple-translator theory. Certainly, his summary of the evidence provides scholarship an invaluable service for all future lines of inquiry. (See Table V.) Above, I presented several iterations of one such line of inquiry, namely whether the linguistic patterns and sections

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[194] "I do not intend to take a position on this point, but only to situate my study in relation to this hypothesis" (Barthélemy, Dominique. *Les Devanciers D'Aquila* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 42-43, note 4).

[195] Tisserant adduces the Attic forms and typical Lucianic family formula of ταδε λεγει αδωναι κυριος that are replaced by general LXX koiné forms and the expression, ταδε λεγει κυριος in this section of Ezekiel.

[196] His study suggests a variant section division from Tisserant's: chaps. 22:4b-27:27. N. Fernández-Marcos "On Symmachus and Lucian in Ezekiel" in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust,* (ed. F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne; Leuven: University Press, 2005), 153.

[197] Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 21. See discussion above.

in Ezekiel can be attributed not to the translator, but to inner-Greek revision.[198] Ziegler, Kase, Tov, and Barthélemy each suggested theories of revision to explain their findings. I critiqued the method Ziegler used to argue that p967 is a corrected *Rezension* in §2.4. above. However, Ziegler's attention to the well-founded fact of Greek correction toward a developing Hebrew text deserves attention.[199] Indeed, Kase argued for an inner-Greek correction toward the Hebrew in section α, chs. 1-27.[200] However, Tov took the same section to be the Old Greek and section β, chs. 28-39 as the revision, in part relying on Barthélemy's suggestion that section β exhibits kaige-like features. I noted the studies of Tisserant and Fernández-Marcos, simply to connect a linguistic-section break in the Lucianic manuscripts with the present discussion. Since p967's unique readings were often supported by the Lucianic minuscules, a more detailed study may use this line of inquiry to shed light on the larger issue of Ezekiel's linguistic non-homogeneity.

Despite the above debates, three conclusions have emerged: (1) We learn from the above discussions that Thackeray's divisions of Greek Ezekiel into linguistic sections held wide support by both multiple-translation proponents like Herrmann and McGreggor and revision proponents like Kase and Tov; (2) the case for revision is very much open and under-studied; and (3), despite the linguistic complexity pointed out in the different theories, the overall translation technique of Greek Ezekiel, especially p967, may still be

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[198] For a review of revision theories which challenge translation debates in other books, see Talmon, "A New Outlook," 324; Lester Grabbe, "The Translation Technique of the Greek Minor Versions: Translations or Revisions?," in *LXX: Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings* (eds., George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars; SBLSCS 33; Atlanta: SBL, 1992), 505-517 especially.

[199] Emanuel Tov likewise emphasized the phenomenon of correction, stating that the LXX was, "always corrected towards the Hebrew in the later mss. of LXX" (Tov, *Text Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 313).

[200] Engaging JGK's query about whether there may not have been a pre-Theodotianic revision evinced by $p967^{Sch}$, Wevers shows that if there was one – it was thoroughgoing and made its way into all of the versions, (Wevers, "Evidence," 216)

considered fairly literal. Indeed, Ziegler's arguments for correction, while not misplaced, were shown to be less than satisfactory.

2.5. Quality of p967 as a Textual Witness – Assessing Arguments for Errors

Despite its literalness, p967 is not a pristine text. Eugene Ulrich notes its "numerous errors" and "expansions" which he claims are "clearly attributable to the vulnerabilities inherent in the process of transmission history."[201] Johan Lust, who along with Ashley Crane, is the strongest proponent for p967's integrity as an early variant edition of Ezekiel, concedes that the manuscript is full of errors.[202] Most of p967's unique readings as listed in the critical publications are due to *homoioteleuton*.[203]

Several challenges to p967's textual integrity focus on its omission of 36:23c-38.[204] The Princeton editors themselves offered multiple explanations.[205] In 1943, Floyd Filson focused the discussion and concluded that the major p967 minus of 36:23c-38 was a mechanical error. He favored an explanation due to *homoioteleuton*, but listed several possibilities, including a lost sheet in a parent codex, or a skipped column in a parent

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[201] Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 241.

[202] Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 519.

[203] Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 7-8. Jahn, *Der griechische Text*, 126-128. See also Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40, " 519, n.14.

[204] For my textual evaluation of this passage, see chapter 4.

[205] For a good discussion on Johnson and Kase' early proposals, see Floyd V. Filson, "The Omission of Ezek. 12:26-28 and 36:23b-38 in Codex 967" in *JBL* 62 (1943): 29-30. See Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 8-9. On the omission, Kenyon says, "the exact explanation is not clear. It looks, however, as though either it were not in the original LXX, or a version of it, current earlier in liturgical use, had been incorporated by the translators of the LXX. The latter explanation seems *a priori* more probable" (Kenyon, "Reviews," *Journal of Theological Studies* XXXIX (1938): 276).

roll.[206] These arguments about 36:23c-38 would be remounted by Wevers in 1969 and Spottorno in 1981.[207]

William A. Irwin, writing a year after Filson, disagreed and moreover, considered the issue conclusive. In his commentary, he reviewed the textual data and Thackeray's liturgical argument described below; he decided that the "convergence of two cogent lines of evidence establishes conclusively that the passage was not in the Hebrew text at the time of its translation into Greek."[208] He found this conclusion so convincing, and Filson's argument so unsatisfactory, that he conducted a point-by-point refutation of Filson in a footnote.[209]

Indeed, the argument for homoioteleuton for this omission is quite unreasonable.[210] Ziegler, finding Thackeray's linguistic liturgical explanation tenuous, nevertheless, dismissed Filson's homoioteleuton argument altogether.

> Eine befriedigende Erklärung der Auslassung läßt sich nicht geben, wie Kenyon, JThSt 39 (1938) 276 sagt, "the exact explanation is not clear."[211]

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[206] F. V. Filson, "The Omission," 28. See chapter 4 for more detailed engagement with the textual arguments about this passage.

[207] J. W. Wevers, *Ezekiel* (NCB; London: Nelson, 1969), 273. M. V. Spottorno, "La omisión de Ez. 36, 23b-38 y la transposición de capítulos en el papiro 967," *Emerita* 50 (1981): 93-99.

[208] W. A. Irwin, *The Problem of Ezekiel: An Inductive Study* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1943), 62. And a more general discussion of the value of LXX on 294-301. Irwin offered an initial and similar evaluation in Irwin, *The Prophets and Their Times*, by J.M. Powis Smith, second edition revised by Irwin (Chicago, 1941), 203.

[209] Irwin, *The Problem*, 62-63 n. 3.

[210] See the thorough discussion of Ashley Crane who rules in favor of the integrity of p967. Ashley Crane, "The Restoration of Israel: Ezekiel 36-39 in Early Jewish Interpretation: A textual-comparative study of the oldest extant Hebrew and Greek," PhD. Diss., Murdoch University, 2006, 254-264.

[211] "A satisfying explanation of the omission is not permitted, as Kenyon said 'the exact explanation is not clear'" (Ziegler, *Ezechiel*, (1952) 10 n. 1).

P. –M. Bogaert, writing in 1978, finds p967 to preserve an intact text according to comparative analysis with the Latin versions.[212]

D. I. Block offered seven critiques against Lust;[213] Block's work is often hailed as *the* counter argument, proving that 36:23c-38 was erroneously omitted in p967. However, he mounts his arguments in his running commentary/discussion of the MT. Thus his discussion of p967 is framed by his larger goal to defend the integrity of the MT as an ancient standardized form and thus the preferred basis for his exegetical work.[214] According to Block, p967's witness provides not a *real* but at best a *hypothetical* reconstruction of an early text which can therefore not be used to supplant the viable Hebrew of the Masoretic text. Block, in the end, affirmed that p967 "may still represent an old text form,"[215] but evaded the opportunity to take a conclusive stance on priority.[216] Thus even Block, while mounting some important considerations, does not levy a fatal blow against understanding p967 as an early text. Indeed, Lust responded to each of Block's seven critiques, solidifying his position.[217]

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[212] P. –M. Bogaert, "Le témoigne de la Vetus Latina," 390-391.

[213] D. I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25-48*, (The New International Commentary of the Old Testament; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 337-342. For a discussion of Block's seven points see Crane who often favors Lust, (Crane, "The Restoration," 290-300).

[214] Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 342.

[215] Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 342.

[216] Block's ambivalence on the issue of priority can be seen in his comments about the originality of MT plus, 36:23c-38. Block concedes that the passage in the LXX was brought into conformity with the received Hebrew text, and shows distinct literary style from its literary environment. Thus, Block allows that the passage could be a secondary addition, saying it "may point to the hand of a redactor," albeit a thoroughly Ezekielian one, (Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 343).

[217] Lust, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments: Stepbrothers?," in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis*, (ed. A. Denaux; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 15-31. See especially 20-31.

Johan Lust, using an innovative approach, argued for the integrity of p967's witness. On the basis of literary/theological analysis, Lust argued that the MT addition 36:23c-38 cohered with several other pluses, making a strong case for, if not the originality of, the integrity of p967's version.[218] Even before the discovery of p967, Thackeray had already singled out 36:23c-38 for its linguistic distinctiveness in the Greek tradition. Supposing it to be an early Jewish liturgical addition to the book, Thackeray offered a near prophetic prediction of what p967 demonstrated, that:

> early in our era, a later version of this lectionary passage [36:22-38] supplanted that of the original Alexandrian company in the parent MS, from which all of our MSS are descended.[219]

Together, then, Lust and Thackeray provided compelling reasons to trust many of p967's readings as a viable witness to the Greek text of Ezekiel in antiquity.[220]

The arguments presented about p967's minus in ch. 36 do not change the general assessment that p967 contains some errors. Ulrich, Lust, and the editors of the critical editions all point to cases of *homoioteleuton* as well as other errors of textual transmission. However, the case of Ezek. 36:23c-38 is instructive. Several scholars hastily took the p967 minus for an error. Such a negative assessment of the reading is no

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[218] Johan Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 517-533; idem., "Major Divergences," 83-92; idem, "De Samenhang van Ez. 36-40," *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 20 (1980): 26-39. In addition to the literary coherence, Lust found late biblical Hebrew syntax and morphology as well as phrases identified as later strata in the book of Jeremiah.

[219] Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins* (2nd ed.; the 1920 Schweich Lectures; London: Oxford Press, 1923), 129. Thackeray first proposed his lectionary theory in 1903 where he noted the linguistic similarity of the passage to Theodotian. At that time, he preferred the Jewish synagogue as the liturgical context, but adopted a Christian lectionary theory in 1909. By 1923 in his book, Thackeray is ambiguous about the nature of the liturgical context in which the passage was produced. Thackeray, "Notes and Studies: The Greek Translators of Ezekiel" (1903) *Journal of Theological Studies* IV. (1902-1903) 407-408. See also, Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, (Cambridge: 1909) 12.

[220] See Emanuel Tov's favorable discussion of Lust's arguments in Tov, "Recensional Differences between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Ezekiel," in Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Boston: Brill, 1999), 408-410.

longer tenable.[221] The example of 36:23c-38 invites a similar reappraisal of p967, to see if the use of literary arguments might challenge other textual assessments of the manuscript.

2.6. Conclusion

The preceding discussion of scholarship on p967 has yielded important results. All scholars recognize the significance of p967 to a greater or lesser extent, as the earliest Greek witness. Joseph Ziegler exhibited the most skeptical approach to p967, questioning its originality with an argument for correction to a pre-hexaplaric Hebrew text. On this basis, Ziegler deferred to B's witness, which he found relatively free from hexaplaric effects and thus the best representative of the OG. Ziegler's work introduced a cautionary note into the evaluation of p967. However, his conservative approach to p967 seems generally unfounded and has not won wide support. Gehman's analysis of the relationship to the Hebrew is more satisfactory. Gehman pointed to 74 readings where $p967^{Sch}$ relied on a non-MT base text. Further, he demonstrated 20 cases where $p967^{Sch}$ preserved errors in the Hebrew tradition; both types of readings work against the Hebrew correction theory as articulated by Ziegler.

In general, p967's text shows closer fidelity to the Hebrew parent/tradition than the rest of the LXX versions previously exhibited. This conclusion immediately raises the question of the inter-relationship among p967, the other LXX-text traditions, the Hebrew, and the OG. I proposed three models within which to understand p967 as a variant literary edition.

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[221] See chapter 4 for my complete analysis of the variant.

1. Gehman and Payne's Lagardian model: B and p967 are inner-Greek developments subsequent to the OG translation.
2. Kahle's multiple translations (supported by Ulrich's fluid Hebrew): B and p967 are two separate translations of a fluid Hebrew text; thus there were two Old Greek texts belatedly realized in p967 and B.
3. Cross' correction to changing Hebrew text: B and p967 represent corrected texts towards a developing Hebrew text (with the possibility of inner-Greek development left open.)

All three models affirm the conclusions of Gehman and Payne, that there were two, pre-hexaplaric, Greek traditions of Ezekiel, with p967 standing closer to the Hebrew.

Any adjudication among the models will need to address p967's reliability as a viable textual witness. This is particularly true for any arguments about the Hebrew parent text of p967. As we saw, the case of 36:23c-38 confirmed the importance of robust evaluations which consider arguments for error alongside literary assessments. Lust's demonstration that 36:23c-38 coheres with several other variant readings makes a reexamination with literary sensitivities a necessity. Such a literary analysis will provide a new angle on textual analyses, revealing many weaknesses or cases for debate.

The same literary approach will offer new insight into the debates about the Greek translation of Ezekiel. The possibility that a section of p967 is a revision or a recension arose in the debates about the linguistic non-homogeneity in Ezekiel. What McGregor attributes to a multiple translator theory was alternately interpreted by Tov as evidence for a recension. I presented several studies that found basis for a revision in some part of Greek Ezekiel. Tov's recension, Barthélemy's revision, Ziegler's correction, JGK's revision, and Tisserant/Fernandex-Marcos' Lucianic gap all require further inquiry. The

literary study of p967's variant readings found below will add further data necessary for evaluating these various proposals.

The textual issues that have emerged in the course of study on p967 cannot be easily resolved. The present chapter described stalemates within text-critical studies on several fronts. These stalemates confirm what was proposed in the introduction to this project, that text-critical analysis alone is not equipped to decide these matters. Text-critical analysis, rather, situates the critic within the matrix of textual issues, and prepares us to explore different types of literary analysis and the light that they will shed on p967's text.

Chapter 3
A Coherence Approach to Literary Analysis: Discerning *Tendenzen*

3.1. Introduction

No doubt, editorial activity occurred at some phase of Ezekiel's transmission, resulting in the variant literary editions under discussion. As we saw in chapter 2, several textual approaches assumed some type of editorial activity, whether attributed to the Old Greek translation, to an inner-Greek revision, or to a fluid Hebrew text-tradition behind MT and p967. However, we also saw that these proposals were not easily defended using text-critical analysis alone. Chapter 2 revealed the pressing necessity for literary analysis.

It also became clear in chapter 1 that the scholar of variant literary editions must specify: what type of literary analysis can assist in answering text-critical questions? *Both* the text-critical question *and* the type of literary analysis must be made explicit. The specific question addressed in the present chapter, as well as in chapters 4 and 5, is: what is the scope of variants that distinguish p967 from MT as variant editions of Ezekiel? The theories presented in chapter 2 about the role of translators, revisers, or composers require a more specific data set. Indeed, only until we understand the extent of p967's "variant literary edition" can any further advances be made on these types of textual questions. Hence, the scope and character of the variants is the primary object of study in chapters 3, 4, and 5.

Lust's "coherence" approach already demonstrated that p967 presents a variant edition of chs. 36-39 and further showed that 12:26-28 and 32:24-26 participate in distinguishing its edition from MT. Lust's appeal to multiple variants, or his coherence

approach, can be credited with identifying a scope of meaningful differences at the literary level. As Tov notes in the case of 1 Samuel, "if recensional difference is recognized within a certain book…, the complete book is likely to reflect such features elsewhere including in small details."[222] Chapters 3, 4, and 5 of this project are oriented by Tov's proposal, that a wider scope of details further distinguishes MT and p967, beyond those variants already identified by Lust. Beginning with Lust's data set, the present study identifies the tendencies of coherence that characterize a wider scope of variants. The result is a more specific typology of literary tendencies that distinguish MT and p967's editions. I designate these using the term "literary *Tendenzen*" or *Tendenzen* for short.

3.2. Procedure: Organizing Variants according to *Tendenzen*

It remains to explain the procedure of identifying variants according to *Tendenzen.* The first step involved working through p967's text comprehensively, identifying all meaningful variants in comparison with MT. The second step adopted the coherence approach (described in chapter 1) to characterize trends across the large number of meaningful variants. The second step was more involved, and deserves fuller attention.

As indicated in chapter 1, Lust's coherence approach established the significance of Ezek 12:26-28; 32:45-26; 36:23c-38; and the variant sequence of chaps 37 and 38-39 for the different editions of Ezekiel. In light of Lust's work, and upon further consideration of the meaningful variants, it became clear that each of Lust's major

[222] Tov, *The Text Critical Use of the Septuagint,* 242.

variants occurred within what can be called "intertextual centers." The emergence of intertextual centers confirmed, to some extent, Tov's proposal, that minor details participate in the differences already identified in more major variant features.[223] The four inter-textual centers are thus:

1) "Disputation on Prophecy" in Ezekiel 12-13;

2) "Israel's Enemies in the Underworld" in Ezekiel 32:17-32;

3) "The Vision of Dried Bones" in Ezekiel 37; and

4) "Gog and Magog" in Ezekiel 38-39.

The intertextual centers house, in addition to the four variants significant to Lust's work, the themes, terms, and forms which proved to characterize variants in detail outside of the centers. In other words, the four intertextual centers formed the *qualitative* framework for my quantitative analysis. In my quantitative analysis, I identified all the variants, what Tov called the "smaller details," that could be grouped into *Tendenzen* related to each inter-textual center.

A "*Tendenz*" is a theme, *stichtwort*, or form present in the intertextual center that characterizes variants elsewhere across Ezekiel. So for example, the "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenz* includes variants related to the major theme of death and the location of the dead. This *Tendenz* was highly concentrated in Ezek 32:17-32, the intertextual center. In chapter 5, *Tendenzen* such as this one are brought to bear on the literary differentiation between p967 and the MT editions of Ezekiel.

Only textual readings that could be proved to relate to the *Tendenzen* are included in the present data set. That is to say, many other meaningful variants are omitted from

[223] See chapter 5 for more attention to Tov's proposal.

the present discussion.[224] The coherence approach is not interested in isolated literary features, but rather trends that more likely signal layers of authorial activity.

3.3. Introduction to the *Tendenzen*

Chapter 5 will focus on literary readings of the *Tendenzen.* However, an outline of the *Tendenzen* here provides a brief overview of their nature and the number of variants encompassed by each one:[225]

Prophecy *Tendenzen*	87 variants
Fate of the Slain *Tendenzen*	99 variants
Tendenzen Related to Ezekiel 36:23c-38	21 variants
"Gog-Magog" *Tendenzen*: Variants Related to Ezekiel 38-39	49 variants

3.4. Textual Lemmata According to *Tendenzen*

The variants are grouped according to *Tendenzen* in the Textual *Lemmata* below. For cross-referencing purposes, the numerical outline follows the paragraph sections in chapter 5, in which the variants are submitted to exegetical analysis.

5.2. "Prophecy" *Tendenzen*

5.2.1. Intertextual Center: Disputation on Prophecy in Ezekiel 12-13

12:26 (minus) 967] και εγενετο λογος κυριου προς με λεγων Z rel. = ויהי דבד יהוה אלי לאמר MT 12:27
(minus) 967] υιε ανθρωπου ιδου οικος ισραηλ ο παραπικραινων λεγοντες λεγουσιν η ορασις ην ουτος ορα εις ημερας πολλας και εις καιρους μακρους ουτος προφητευει Z ≈ rel. ≈בן אדם הנה בית ישראל אמרים החזון אשר הוא חזה לימים רבים ולעתים רחוקות הוא נבא MT

12:28 (minus) 967] δια τουτο ειπον προς αυτους ταδε λεγει κυριος ου μη μηκυνωσιν ουκετι παντες οι λογοι μου ους αν λαλησω λαλησω και ποιησω λεγει κυριος Z ≈ rel. ≈ לכן אמר אליהם כה אמר אדני יהוה לא תמשך עוד כל דברי אשר אדבר דבר ויעשה

[224] For example, one of the longest of p967's minuses omitted from the present discussion occurs in 33:25 where the MT reads על הדם תאכלו ואינכם תשאו אל גלוליכם ודם תשפכו והארץ תירשו, (you eat with blood, your eyes gaze upon your idols, and you pour out blood. Will you then possess the land?)

[225] Some variants are counted twice if, in chapter 5, they could be exegetically connected to more than one *Tendenz.* The actual total number of variants equals 230, as indicated in chapter 4.

נאם אדני יהוה MT | δια τουτο ειπον προς αυτους ταδε λεγει κυριος (om. ου μη μηκυνωσιν – *fin.*) 410

13:2 προφητευσεις 967 (obel. *O*) Z B Sa Hi.] (ast. *O*) τους προφητευοντας rel. = הנבאים MT
προς αυτους 967 (obel. O) ZB Sa Hi.] (ast. O) τοις προφηταις τοις προφητευουσιν απο καρδιας αυτων rel. θ'α' ≈ לנביאי מלבם MT | אליהם לנביאי מלבם HUBP^{III-96}

13:3 προφητευουσιν 967 Z rel. (recon. הַנִּבְּאִים)] הַנִּבְיאִים MT
απο καρδιας αυτων 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) τοις πορευομενοις οπισω του πνευματος αυτων *O*' *L*'' 403 410 Arm Or. Tht. ≈ הנבלים אשר הלכים אחר רוחם MT

13:7 (minus) ZB Sa Hi.$^{(967\ not\ preserved)}$] (ast. *O*) και ελεγετε φησι(ν) κυριος και εγω ουκ ελαλησα Q θ' ≈ A Arab rel. = ואמרים נאם יהוה ואני לא דברתי MT

5.2.2. "Prophetic Temporality" *Tendenz*: Time and Fulfillment in Ezekiel

5.2.2.1. Programmatic Statements about Prophecy and Fulfillment

7:13 (minus) ZB 233 La^{S} Co Hi.$^{(967\ not\ preserved)}$] (ast. *O* 86') και ετι εν ζωη το ζην αυτων οτι ορασις εις παν το πληθος αυτης ουκ ανακαμψει rel. ≈ α'σ'θ' = בחיים חיתם כי חזון אל כל המונה לא ישוב MT

8:18 (minus) ZB La^{S} Hi.$^{(967\ not\ preserved)}$] και κεκραξονται εις τα ωτα καλεσουσιν εν τοις ωσιν μου φωνη μεγαλη και ου μη εισακουσω αυτων *L*-311-V-46-Z^{V} Tht. | (ast. *O*) και καλεσουσιν εν τοις ωσιν μου φωνη μεγαλη και ου μη εισακουσω αυτων ≈ rel. = וקראו באזני קול גדול ולא אשמע אותם MT

22:28 αλειφοντες αυτους 967 Z rel.] ηλειφον αυτους Q ≈ טחו להם MT | חזו להם HUBP^{III-96}
πεσουνται 967 Z rel. (recon. יפלו)] αναρτυτω πεσουνται Q^{mg} *lII* (recon. תפל יפלו) | (ast.^{sub} Q) πηλω Q = תָּפֵל MT

24:14 ουδε μη ελεησω 967 Z rel.] ου φεισομαι ουδε μη ελεησω *L* 86 | ουδε μη ελεησω (ast. *O*) ουδ ου μη παρακληθω O'$^{-62}$ Arm Hi. ≈ ουδε φεισομαι και ου μη παρακληθω 62 *lII* Tht. ≈ ולא אחוס ולא אנחם MT | ולא אחוס ולא אנחם ולא ארחים HUBP$^{I\text{-}TarJ}$ = **XXX??** HUBP$^{I\text{-}Peshitta}$

38:8 επ εσχατων ετων 967 ≈ Z rel.] (minus) 106| באחרית השנים MT | באחרית השנה HUBP^{III-96}

38:17 των προφητων ισραηλ 967 ≈ Z rel.] των προφητων ισραηλ (ast. *O*) των προφητευσαντων *O*-62 *L*'' Bo Tht. σ'θ' = נביאי ישראל הַנִּבְּאִים MT | הַנִּבְּאִים HUBP^{III-30} (om. נביאי ישראל) | נשיאי ישראל הַנִּבְּאִים HUBP^{III-96}

5.2.2.2. Date Reckoning

26:1 δεκατω 967 538 *cII*-86 26 544 Bo] ενδεκατω Z rel. = עשתי עשרה MT | δωδεκατω A

29:1 δεκατω 967 Z rel. = העשירית MT] δωδεκατω B Syh^{mg}-62' *L*$^{-36}$-311 233-613 927 Co Arab Hi.

30:20 δεκατω 967 62' 763*-*lI*] ενδεκατω BAQΓ Syh rel. = אחת עשרה MT

31:1 δεκατω 967 Q-62' 490-534 106 Tht.] ενδεκατω BA Γ Syh rel. = אחת עשרה MT

32:1 δωδεκατω 967 B Syh *duodecimo* La^{H} rel. = שתי עשרה MT] ενδεκατω Z A''-106 534-239' | δεκατω 88 *L*'-449* 130* 410 Tht. *decimo* Hi.

32:17 δεκατω 967 88 763-449 Tht. 86 α'θ'] δωδεκατω ZBAQ Syh *duodecimo* La^{H} = שתי עשרה MT

33:21 δεκατω 967 88-Syh^{txt} 449* 86] δωδεκατω Z BA rel. = שתי עשרה MT | ενδεκατω *L*

5.2.2.3. Ezekiel's Temporal Structure

The Number of Years for Israel's Guilt

4:4 πεντηκοντα και εκατον Z rel. (obel. *O*) $^{(967\ not\ preserved)}$] ενενηκοντα και εκατον *O* Q^{mg}-147 538 534-239'-710 | ενενηκοντα και τριακοσιας 410 | (minus) *C*' = MT

4:5 ενενηκοντα και εκατον Z rel. [(967 not preserved)] ενενηκοντα και τριακοσιας *C*'-403' 410 Hi. = שלש מאות ותשעים MT

4:6 το δεξιον Z rel. [(967 not preserved)] το δεξιον (obel. *O*) δευτερον *O*-62 Arm = הימיני שנית MT ≈ *L*''-311 Tht. 147'

"On that Day"

20:5-6 τη χειρι μου αυτων του εξαγαγειν 967 534 106] [(v 5)] τη χειρι μου αυτων λεγων εγω κυριος ο θεος υμων [(v 6)] εν εκεινη τη ημερα αντελαβομην τη χειρι μου αυτων του εξαγαγειν Z rel. = MT

23:38 (minus) 967 Z ≈ *cII*-239' *lI* 26' 544 Cyr.] (ast. *O*) εν τη ημερα εκεινη *O*' *lII* Arm Tht. Q^{txt} 86 = ביום ההוא MT

23:39 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) εν τη ημερα εκεινη *O*' V-449 Aeth Tht. α'σ'θ' Q^{txt} 86 = ביום ההוא MT | αφυλακτως 26' 239' 403' 410 544 | αφυλακτως εν τη ημερα εκεινη A

24:2 γραψον εκει σεαυτω εις ημεραν 967] γραψον σεαυτω εις ημεραν Z rel. | γραψον σεαυτω το ονομα της ημερας *lII* Tht. = כתוב לך את שם היום MT cf. *omnia (nomen?) in diem* La^{S}

απο της ημερας ταυτης 967 Z rel.] ταυτης 449 Tht. | את עצם היום הזה MT

απο της ημερας της σημερον 967 Z rel.] απο της ημερας ταυτης σημερον *L*'[-36] ≈ בעצם היום הזה MT | (minus) 46

24:27 (minus) 967] εν εκεινη τη ημερα ZB *L*'' La^{CS} Tht. | εν τη ημερα εκεινη rel. = ביום ההוא

38:14 και εν τη ημερα εκεινη 967] ουκ εν τη ημερα εκεινη Z B *O*' 106 198 239' = *in die non* La^{W}] | ουχι εν τη ημερα εκεινη = הלוא ביום ההוא MT rel. = *nonne in die illa* La^{Amb}

38:18 η ημερα εκεινη εν 967] εν τη ημερα 534 La^{W} | εν τη ημερα εκεινη εν ημερα Z rel. = ביום ההוא MT

40:1 εν τη ημερα εκεινη 967 Z rel.] εν οστεω τη ημερα εκεινη 62' = בעצם היום הזה MT | בעצם הזה היום הזה $HUBP^{III-93}$

5.2.3. "Divine Speech" *Tendenz*: Prophetic and Oracle Formulae

5.2.3.1. Formulae of Prophetic Speech

Divine Messenger Formula: "Thus says the Lord" (ταδε λεγει αδωναι κυριος / כה אמר אדני יהוה)

16:59 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. O^{-Q}) οτι O^{-Q}-62 Arm = כי MT | *propter quod* Or.[lat]

(minus) 967 La^{C}] ταδε λεγει κυριος Z rel. = כה אמר אדני יהוה MT

17:9 δια τουτο 967 Z rel.] (minus) MT

21:3(8) ταδε λεγει κς 967 B^{mg} rel. (ast. Q) = כה אמר יהוה MT] (minus) Z B^{txt} 106 | כה אדני יהוה $HUBP^{III-150}$ | כה אמר אדני יהוה $HUBP^{III-30, 93, 96, G-BEb 22}$

25:15 οτι 967] δια τουτο Z rel. | (minus) 106 147 239 *lII* Bo Aeth Tht. = MT

33:25 (minus) 967 Z rel.] כה אמר אדני יהוה MT

(minus) 967 Z B La^{CS} Co Hi.] (ast. *O* 449 534) επι τω αιματι φαγεσθε και οφθαλους υμων λημψεσθε προς ειδωλα υμων και αιμα εκχειτε και την γην κληρονομησετε [(26)] εστητε επι τη ρομφαια υμων εποιησατε βδελυγμα και εκαστος τον πλησιον αυτου εμιανατε και την γην κληρονομησετε ≈ rel. = על הדם תאכלו ועינכם תשאו אל גלוליכם ודם תשפכו והארץ תירשו [(26)] עמדתם על חרבכם עשיתן תועבה ואיש את אשת רעהו טמאתם והארץ תירשו MT cf. [39:17-19]

36:7 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast.*O*) ταδε λεγει αδωναι κυριος *O*-62' *L*'' Arm Tht. Hi. = כה אמר אדני יהוה MT

44:9 δια τουτο 967 Z rel.] (minus) MT

Formula for a Divine Saying: "Oracle of the Lord" (λεγει αδωναι κυριος / נאם אדני יהוה)

18:32 (minus) 967] λεγει κυριος ZB La^{S} Co rel. = נאם אדני יהוה MT

(minus) 967 ZB La^{S} Co Arab Hi.] (ast.*O*) και επιστρεψατε και ζησατε ≈ rel. = והשיבו וחיו MT | επιστρεψατε και ζησατε 534 = וחיו השיבו HUBP$^{II-96-150}$ | ως το επιστρεψαι αυτον απο της οδου αυτου της πονηρας και ζην αυτον λεγει αδωναι κυριος και επιστρεψασται και ζησεται επιστρεψατε ουν και ζησατε ≈ *L*'' Arm Tht. 62

20:6 τη χειρι μου αυτ<u>ω</u>ν <u>τ</u>ου εξαγαγειν 967 534 106] $^{(v\ 5)}$ τη χειρι μου αυτων λεγων εγω κυριος ο θεος υμων $^{(v\ 6)}$ εν εκεινη τη ημερα αντελαβομην τη χειρι μου αυτων του εξαγαγειν Z rel. = MT

20:33 δια τουτο 967 Z rel. (obel. *O*)] (minus) 62 Tyc. = MT

24:14 δια τουτο 967 Z (obel. *O* Hi.)] (minus) MT

εγω κρινω σε κατα τα αιματα σου και κατα τα ενθυμηματα σου κριθησει λεγει κς η ακαθαρτος η ονομαστη και πολλη του παραπικραινειν 967 ≈ Z rel. (obel. *O* Hi.)] η ακαθαρτος η ονομαστη και πολλη του παραπικραινειν *lI* 764 La^{S} | (minus) MT

κριθησει λεγει κς 967] κρινω σε Z rel. | (minus) La^{W} | (minus in context) *lI* 764 La^{S} = MT

33:27 (minus) 967 Z rel. = MT] נאם אדני יהוה HUBP^{III-30}

36:23 (minus) 967 Z B 46 Bo La^{Ver} Tyc. PsCypr.] (ast. *O*) λεγει αδωναι κυριος rel. = נאם אדני יהוה MT

(minus) 967] Ezek 36:24-38 Z ≈ rel. ≈ MT

37:28 (minus) 967 Z rel. = MT] λεγει κυριος A'-410 Arab Tyc.

"Behold" (ιδου / הנה)

16:44 ταυτα εστιν 967 Z rel.] הנה MT

17:12 οταν 967 Z Syh^{mg} rel.] ιδου Q^{mg}-Syh *L*'' Chr.II 193 Tht. 86 α'σ'θ' = הנה MT

21:3(8) ιδου εγω 967 Z rel. = הנני MT] (minus) B^{txt}

22:13 εαν δε 967 Z rel.] ιδου ουν *L*'$^{-36}$ Tht. ≈ הנה HUBP$^{III-150}$ | και ιδου θ' 86 = והנה MT | *ecce* Arm | *et ego* Arab

24:14 (minus) 967 Z rel.] ιδου Q 26 Tht. | (minus in context) MT

25:7 (minus) 967 ZB 87 *L*'$^{-36}$ La^{C} Bo] (ast. *O*) ιδου εγω rel. = הנני MT

37:2 (minus) 967 ZB Bo GregEl.Ambr.Ir.^{lat} Aeth Arm Hi.] και ιδου AQ = והנה MT

39:8 ιδου ηκει και εσται 967] הנה באה וְנִהְיָתָה MT | ιδου ηκει και γνωση οτι εσται Z rel. (cf. *scies quia erit* La^{Sg} *scies quoniam erit* La^{H}

43:12 (minus) 967 ZB 106] (ast. *O*) εισιν rel. ≈ הנה MT

(minus) 967 ZB] (ast. *O*) ουτος ο νομος του οικου rel. = זאת תורת הבית MT

Other Types of Prophetic Speech

12:26 (minus) 967] και εγενετο λογος κυριου προς με λεγων Z rel. = ויהי דבד יהוה אלי לאמר MT

21:2(7) δια τουτο προφητευσον υιε ανθροπου 967 Z rel.] υιε ανθροπου δια τουτο προφητευσον A''0239'-403' Bo Arab | δια τουτο υιε ανθροπου προφητευσον La^{S} Tyc. | υιε ανθροπου *O*$^{-Q}$-147 *C*''-86' 106 = בן אדם MT

και προφητευσον επι 967 26' 147' Hi. = והִנּבא אל MT] και προφητευσον περι *L*''$^{-449}$ Tht. | και προφητευσεις επι Z rel.

21:3(8) (minus) 967 48 *C*'-233 544 Sa Tyc.] και ερεις προς την γην του ισραηλ Z rel. = ואמרת לאדמת ישראל MT

33:27 (minus) 967 ZB La^{CS} Co Hi.^{test}] ερεις προς αυτους Syh + δια τουτο ειπον αυτοις *O*$^{-Syh}$ *L*'' 62 | δια τουτο ειπον αυτοις rel.$^{-Syh}$ | ταδε ειπον αυτοις 106 (recon. ειπον אֱמֶר) ≈ כה תאמר אלהם MT

34:9 (minus) 967 ZB Bo] (ast.*O*) ακουσατε λογον κυριου rel. = שמעו דבר יהוה MT

37:4 προφητευσον 967 ZB A V-449 Bo Aeth Or.IV 210 Tht.Tert.GregEl.Ambr.Ir.^{lat}Consult =

הנבא MT] προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου *L*'-403 Or.XI 387 Lo. | προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου προφητευσον 26 544 613 | (obel. Q) υιε ανθρωπου προφητευσον rel.

επι τα οστα ταυτα 967 Z rel. = על העצמות העלה MT] επι τα οστα ταυτα προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου V-449 Tht. | (minus) *L*'-46 Or.XI 387 Lo.

εν τω με προφητευσαι 967 ZB Ambr.Ir.^{lat}] εν τω με προφητευσαι φωνη 233 | (ast. *O*) φωνη εν τω με προφητευσαι rel. = קול כהנבאי MT

37:9 προφητευσον επι το πνα προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου 967 Z rel. = MT] υιε ανθρωπου προφητευσον επι το πνευμα προφητευσον A''-106 υιε ανθρωπου προφητευσον επι το πνευμα *C*''-239'-403' Arab Arm Hi. | προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου 407 Ambr.

37:12 προφητευσον και ειπον 967 Z rel. = MT] προφητευσονται υιε ανθρωπου και ειπε *L*'' Tht. (minus) 967 ZB Cypr.Ambr.Tyc.Spec.] (ast. *O*) προς αυτους rel. = אליהם MT

5.2.3.2. Recognition Formula: "They/you will know that I am the Lord" (και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κ̄ς̄ ο θ̄ς̄ / וידעו כי אני יהוה) and 5.2.3.3. Nation-Recognition Formula

20:5 (minus) 967 534 106] λεγων εγω κυριος ο θεος υμων Z rel. = לאמר אני יהוה אלהיכם MT

20:6 τη χειρι μου αυτων του εξαγαγειν 967 534 106] $^{(v\ 5)}$ τη χειρι μου αυτων λεγων εγω κυριος ο θεος υμων $^{(v\ 6)}$ εν εκεινη τη ημερα αντελαβομην τη χειρι μου αυτων του εξαγαγειν Z rel. = MT

20:26 (minus) 967 ZB La^{CS} Sa Iust.Hi.^{test}] (ast. O) ινα γνωσιν οτι εγω κυριος rel. = למען אשר ידעו אשר אני יהוה MT

28:26 (minus) 967 62 = MT] (obel. *O*$^{-Syh}$) και ο θεος των πατερων αυτων Z rel.

34:15 (minus) 967 Aug. = MT] (obel. *O* 86) και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κυριος Z ≈ rel. = *et scient quod ego sum dues* La^{Sg}

34:30 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast.*O*) μετ αυτων O (Q^{mg})-62' *L*'' Arm Tht. = אתם MT

36:38 (minus in context) 967] και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κυριος A''-410 *L*'-46 233-403' | και γνωσονται οτι εγω κυριος Z rel. = וידעו כי אני יהוה MT

36:23 (minus) 967] εν τω αγιασθηναι με εν υμιν κατ οφθαλμους αυτων Z rel. = בהקדשי בכם לעיניהם MT

36:36 (minus in context) 967] και γνωσονται τα εθνη οσα αν καταλειφθωσι κυκλω υμων οτι εγω κυριος ωκοδομησα τας καθηρημενας και κατεφυτευσα τας ηφανισμενας Z ≈ rel. ≈ וידעו הגוים אשר ישארו סביבותישכם כי אני יהוה בניתי הנהרסות נטעתי הנשמה MT

37:28 και γ[ν]ωσονται τα εθνη οτι εγω ειμι κς 967 Z rel. = וידעו הגוים כי אני יהוה MT] *et scient omnes gentes quia ego Dominus* La^{W} | και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κυριος A Aeth Arab

38:14 εγερθηση 967 Z rel. (recon: תֵּעֹר)] εξεγερθηση A΄'; απαντηση 46; γνωση και εγερθηση L'' Tht. | תדע MT

38:16 γνωσιν παντα τα εθνη 967 *L*''$^{-449}$ La^{W} Tht.] γνωσι παντα τα εθνη εμε Z rel. = דעת כל הגוים אתי HUBP^{III-30} | *sciant me omnes gentes quod ego sum dominus dues* La^{S} | דעת הגוים אתי MT | הגוים אתי HUBP^{III-93}

38:20 ινα γνωσιν παντα τα εθνη εμε εν σοι ενωπιον αυτων 967] (minus) Z rel. = MT

39:8 ιδου ηκει και εσται 967] הנה באה וְנִהְיָתָה MT | ιδου ηκει και γνωση οτι εσται Z rel. (cf. *scies quia erit* La^{Sg} *scies quoniam erit* La^{H}

5.3. "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen*

5.3.1. Intertextual Center: The Pit in Ezekiel 32:17-32

Population of the Pit

32:18 τα εθνη 967 ≈ tr. Z rel.] גוים אדֻרם MT | גוים אֹרִידִים HUBP^{III-96}
τας θυγατερας νεκρας 967 ≈ tr. Z rel.] בנות MT

32:26 (minus in context) 967] μοσοχ και θοβελ και πασα (recon. θοβελ תבל) Z rel. ≈ משך תבל וכל MT | μοσοχ και θοβελλι και πασα (recon. θοβελλι תבלי) 233 | μοσοχ και βοβελ και πασα (recon. βοβελ בֹּבל) 538 | cf.^{v25} *cubile eorum* Hi. σ'θ' (HUBP$^{V\text{-recon.}}$ משכבם/משכב להם cf.$^{v\ 25}$)

32:29 εδοθησαν 967 ZB Q^{mg}-Syh^{mg} Co] εδωμ rel. = אדום MT
(minus) 967 ZB La^{C} Co] (ast.*O*) και οι βασιλεις αυτης και παντες ≈ rel. ≈ מלכיה וכל MT | και μοσοχ οι βασιλεις αυτης και παντες minisc.
οι αρχοντες ασσουρ 967 Z ≈ A] οι αρχοντες 130' | οι αρχοντες αυτης *O* (Q^{txt}) *L*'' *C*'-233-86 106' La^{C} Arab Arm (= נשיאיה MT) | נשיאיה אשר MT

32:30 στρατηγοι ασσουρ 967 Z rel.] צדנִי אַשֶּׁר MT | צדנַי אַשֶּׁר HUBP$^{III-G-BEb\ 10}$ | σιδωνιοι α'σ' | σεδεκ θ' | *venatores qui* Vul

Circumcision in the Pit

32:19 (minus) 967 ZB Co Arab Hi.^{test}] (ast. *O* 449 Hi.) εξ υδατων ευπρεπους καταβηθι και κοιμηθητι μετα απεριτμητων rel. ≈ ממי נעמת רדה והשכבה את ערלים MT

32:21 μετα απεριτμητων 967 Z rel. (recon. בערלים)] הערלים MT | ערלים HUBP^{III-30} | כערלים HUBP^{III-93}

32:26 (minus in context) 967] παντες απεριτμητοι *C* 26 = כלם ערלים MT | כלם חללים HUBP^{III-30} | παντες (obel. Q) τραυματιαι αυτου παντες απεριτμητοι ≈ Z rel.

32:27 απ αιγνος 967 Z rel.] מערלים MT

32:29 τραυματιων 967 Z rel.] ערלים MT | הערלים HUBP^{III-30}

Shame of the Pit

32:24 (minus) 967] ελαβοσαν βασανον αυτων Z ≈ rel. | וישאו כלמתם MT (= ατιμιαν θ' 86 cf.$^{16:52;\ 36:7;\ 39:26}$ ≈ αισχυνην α'σ') | וישאו את כלמתם HUBP^{III-96}

32:25 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. 86) και αρουσιν εντροπην αυτων 86 | וישאו כלמתם MT

32:30 και απηνεγκαν την βασανον αυτων 967 Z rel.] και ελαβον την βασανον αυτων A''-106' *L*''-456 Tht. | וישאו כלמתם MT | וישאו את כלמתם HUBP^{III-96}
(minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. Q^{txt} 86) αισχυνομενοι *O* Arm Hi. ≈ *L*''-456 Tht. = בושים MT

Giants in the Pit

32:21 και ερουσιν 967 87 Bo = **XXX??** HUBP$^{I\text{-Peshitta}}$ ≈ ידברו (om. copula) HUBP^{III-96}] και ερουσιν σοι Z rel. ≈ 407 | ידברו לו MT
οι γιγαντες 967 Z rel.] אלֵי גבורים MT | אילי גבורים HUBP$^{III-93\ 150}$
καταβηθι 967 Z rel. (recon. רד)] יָרדוּ MT
κοιμηθητι 967 Z rel. (recon. שָׁכבוּ)] שָׁכבוּ MT
μετα απεριτμητων 967 Z rel. (recon. בערלים)] הערלים MT | ערלים HUBP^{III-30} | כערלים HUBP^{III-93}

32:27 και 967 Z rel.] και (ast.) ουκ *O*(Q*) Arm^{p} Hi. = ולא MT
γιγαντων 967 Z rel. = גבורים MT] גבורים בארץ HUBP^{III-96}
απ αιγνος 967 Z rel.] מערלים MT

5.3.1. "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen:* Variants across the Rest of Ezekiel

5.3.2.1. Tyre's Fate in the Midst of the Sea

26:20 μη δε αναστηθης 967 Z ≈ μη δε αναστης B *III* Tht.] ונתתי צבי MT | תשב צבי

HUBP$^{III-30(pm)\ 89(pm)}$

επι ^{της} ζωης 967 *II* 91-764] επι γης ζωης Z ≈ rel. = בארץ חיים MT

26:21 ετι 967 ZBL La^{CW} Co Arab] ετι (ast) και ζητηθηση και ουχ ευρηθηση (+ ετι 62) rel. = ותבקשי ולא תמצאי עוד MT

27:32 (minus) 967 ZB Co Arab Tyc.Hi.^{test}] (ast. *O*) τις ωσπερ τυρος κατασιγηθεισα εμμεσω θαλασσης ≈ rel. = מי כצור כדמה בתוך הים MT

28:8 (minus) 967 rel. Z] לשחת MT

28:10(9) εν πληθει 967 Z rel.] εν χειρι *L*'' Tht. = ביד MT

απεριτμητων 967 ZB La^{C} Co Arab Hippol. Tyc.] (ast. *O*$^{-Syh}$) τραυματιζοντων σε θανατοις απεριτμητων ≈ rel. = מחלליך מותי ערלים MT

32:19 (minus) 967 ZB Co Arab Hi.^{test}] (ast. *O* 449 Hi.) εξ υδατων ευπρεπους καταβηθι και κοιμηθητι μετα απεριτμητων rel. ≈ ממי נעמת רדה והשכבה את ערלים MT

5.3.2.2. "Hordes" *Tendenz:* The End for Enemy Hordes

Hamon-gog's Hordes

39:11 το γαι το πολυανδριον του γωγ 967 Z rel.] גיא המון גוג MT | המון גוג HUBP^{III-96} | גיא המון גיא HUBP$^{III-150}$

39:12 εκει τον γωγ και παν το πληθος αυτου 967 rel. = שם את גוג ואת כל המֹנה MT

39:16 πολυανδριον 967 Z rel.] πληθος σ' | εβρ' αμωνα θ' Syh = המונה MT

Egypt's Hordes

32:18 ισχυν 967 Z rel.] πληθος 86 σ'* θ' Syh.* = *multitudinem* Hi. = המון MT | γην A

32:20 πασα η ισχθς αυτης 967 Z rel.] (ast. α'σ'θ') το παν πληθος αυτης 86 α'σ'θ' ≈ וכל המוניה MT

32:24 δυναμις αυτου 967 Z rel.] המונה MT | δυναμις αυτου και παν το πληθος αυτου L Tht. (Heb = fs. suffix vs. 967 ms. indep. pron.)

32:25 (minus in context) 967 Z rel.] (obel. pro ast. L) συν παντι τω πληθει εκαστου L 62 ≈ בכל המונה MT

32:26 (minus in context) 967] η ισχυς αυτων Z rel. | η ισχυς εκαστου L | המוניה MT

32:31 ισχυν αυτων 967 ZB La^{C} Co Arab] ισχυν αυτων (ast. O) τραυματιαι μαχαιρας φαραω και πασα δυναμις αυτου rel. = המונה חללי חרב פרעה וכל חילו MT

32:32 πληθος αυτου 967 Z rel. = המונו HUBP$^{III-G-BEb\ 10\ (sm)}$ | המונה MT (q המונו /k המונה HUBP$^{III-G-BEb\ 10\ (pm)}$)

29:19 (minus) 967 BZ La^{S} (vid.) Co] (ast.Q) και λη(μ)ψεται το πληθος αυτης rel. = ונשא המנה MT

30:4 (minus) 967 Z B La^{S} Co Tyc.] (ast. *O*) και λη(μ)ψονται το πληθος αυτης rel. = ולקחו המונה MT

32:6 απο του πληθους 967] απο του πληθους σου Z rel. | מדמך MT

Tyre's Hordes

<u>Textual Variants:</u>

27:25 εν τω πληθει 967 Z rel.] εν αυτοις καρχηδονιοι Q^{mg} | εν τω πληθει εμποροι σου *O*' 106 Aeth Arab Arm | (minus) MT

28:9 εν πληθει 967 ZB La^{C} Co Arab Hippol. Tyc.] εν χειρι (ast. O^{-Syh}) τραυματιζοντων σε ≈ rel. = ביד מחלליך MT

29:17 δια πληθος αμαρτιων σου 967 Z (obel. *O*)] (minus) MT

<u>Translation Variants:</u>

26:10 απο πληθους 967 ≈ Z rel.] משפעת MT | מרפסת Tar ≈ HUBP$^{I-Peshitta}$ (HUBP$^{V-שפע-II,\ 'stamp\ (hoofs)'}$)

27:12 απο πληθους πασης ισχυος σου 967 Z rel.] απο πληθους πασης δυναμεως σου *III* Tht. | מרב כל הון MT

27:16 απο πληθους του συμμεικτου σου 967 Z rel.] מרב מעשיו MT | מרב כל הון HUBP^{III-30}

27:18 εκ πληθους δυναμεως σου 967 Q 233 Arab] εκ πληθους πασης δυναμεως σου Z rel.| (ast. O^{-Syh}) εν πληθει εργων σου εκ πληθους πασης δυναμεως σου *O*' L' Tht. Hi. = ברב מעשיך מרב כל הון MT | ברב = מרב HUBP$^{III-30 \approx 93}$

27:33 απω του πληθους σου 967 Z rel.] απω του πληθους σου του πλουτου 62' ≈ ברב הוניך MT

29:16 απο πληθους 967 Z rel.] ברב MT

29:18 δια το πληθος των αμαρτιων σου 967 Z rel.] δια το πληθος των ανομιων σου Syh^{mg} *L*'' Tht. = מרב עוניך MT

Hordes on the Day of the Lord

7:12 (minus) ZB La^{S} Co Aeth $^{(967\ not\ preserved)}$] (ast. O) οτι οργη εις παν το πληθος αυτης rel. = כי חרון אל כל המונה MT

7:13 (minus) ZB 233 La^{S} Co Hi.$^{(967\ not\ preserved)}$] (ast. *O* 86') και ετι εν ζωη το ζην αυτων οτι ορασις εις παν το πληθος αυτης ουκ ανακαμψει rel. ≈ α'σ'θ' = ועד בחיים חיתם כי חזון אל כל המונה לא ישוב כי חזון אל כל חמונה לא ישוב MT

7:14 (minus) ZB La^{S} Co Hi. $^{(967\ not\ preserved)}$] (ast. O 86 449) και ουκ εστι(ν) πορευομενος εις τον πολεμον οτι η οργη μου εις παν το πληθος αυτης rel. = ואין הלך למלחמה כי חרוני אל כל המונה MT

Israel's Hordes

37:26 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) και δωσω αυτους και πληθυνω αυτους ≈ *O*-62' *L*'' 87^{mg}-91^{mg} Bo Arm Tht.Hi. = ונתתים והרביתי אותם MT

5.3.2.3. "Death on the Field" *Tendenz*

Textual Variants

26:10 εκ πεδιου 967 Z rel. (recon. מְבֻקְעָה)] מְבֻקְעָה MT

29:5 περισταλης 967 Z rel.] συσταλης 26 | תקבץ MT

35:8 (minus) 967 Z rel.] τα ορη σου *L*'' | (ast.*O*) τα ορη αυτου *O*-62 = הריו MT | *montes* Arm

πεδιοις σου 967 Z rel.] אפיקיך MT

εσονται 967] (minus) Z rel. = MT

πεσουνται εν σοι 967 Z rel.] יפלו בהם MT | (minus) HUBP$^{III-150}$

37:10 συναγωγη 967 Z rel.] δυναμις 87-91 Syh = *valentia* Tert. = חיל MT

πολλη 967 Z rel.] μεγαλη A''-106'-403' Bo Tert. = גדול MT

σφοδρα 967 Z rel.] σφοδρα (ast. *O*) σφοδρα *O*-62' 534 Arab Arm^{p} Hi. = מאד מאד MT

37:12 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) λαος μου *O*' Bo Arab Arm Tert.Hi. = עמי MT

37:19 εν τη χειρι ιουδα 967 Z rel.] בידי MT

37:25 (minus) 967 ZB La^{W} Eus.ecl.Tyc.] (ast. O^{-Syh}) και οι υιοι αυτων και οι υιοι των υιων αυτων εως αιωνος ≈ rel. = ובניהם ובני בניהם עד עולם MT

πεδιον as Greek Translation

3:22 πεδιον 967 Z rel. = בקעה MT

3:25 πεδιον 967 Z rel. = בקעה MT

16:5 πε[διου] 967 Z rel. = שדה MT

17:5 πεδιον Z$^{(967\ not\ preserved)}$ = שדה MT

17:8 πεδιον 967 Z rel. = שדה MT

17:24 πεδιου Z$^{(967\ not\ preserved)}$ = αγρου A'-403'-410 62 449 = שדה MT

26:10 εκ πεδιου 967 Z] מבקעה MT

29:5 πεδιου σου 967] πεδιου Z = שדה MT

31:4 πεδιου 967 Z = שדה MT

31:5 πεδιου 967 Z = שדה MT

31:6 πεδιου 967 Z = שדה MT

31:15 πεδιου 967 Z = שדה MT

33:27 πεδιου 967 Z = שדה MT
34:8 πεδιου 967 Z = αγρου A''-106' *L*''$^{-449}$ Arab Arm = שדה MT
35:8 πεδιοις σου 967 Z = אפיקיך MT
37:1 πεδιου 967 Z = בקעה MT
37:2 πεδιου 967 Z = בקעה MT
38:20 πεδιου 967 Z = שדה MT
39:4 αγρου 967 410] πεδιου Z rel. = שדה MT
39:5 πεδιου 967 Z = שדה MT
39:10 πεδιου 967 Z = שדה MT
39:17 πεδιου 967 Z = αγρου A''-410 *L*'' Arab = שדה MT] γης 36

5.3.2.4. "Bones" *Tendenz*

24:2 γραψον εκει σεαυτω εις ημεραν 967] γραψον σεαυτω εις ημεραν Z rel. | γραψον σεαυτω το ονομα της ημερας *lII* Tht. = כתוב לך את שם היום MT cf. *omnia (nomen?) in diem* La^{S}
απο της ημερας ταυτης 967 Z rel.] ταυτης 449 Tht. | את עצם היום הזה MT
απο της ημερας της σημερον 967 Z rel.] απο της ημερας ταυτης σημερον *L*'$^{-36}$ ≈ בעצם היום הזה MT | (minus) 46
24:4 και εμβαλε 967 Z rel.] אסף MT
εξεσαρκισμενα απο των οστεων 967 ≈ Z rel.] מבחר עצמים MT
(minus) 967 Z rel.] πληρη 62 θ' (recon. הִמַּלֵּא) | (ast) πληρης α' | πληρωσον σ' = מַלֵּא MT | מלאו HUBP^{II-89}
24:5 υποκαιε 967 Z rel.] דור MT
τα οστα 967 Z rel. = העצמים MT] העצומים HUBP^{III-96}
24:9 (minus) 967 ZB *lI* La^{SW} Sa] (ast. O) ουαι πολις των αιματων rel. = אוי עיר הדמים
δαλον 967 Z rel.] λαον B 130 La^{S} | מדורה MT | תברה HUBP^{I-Tar} | **XXX??** HUBP$^{I-Peshitta}$
24:10 τα ξυλα 967 Z rel. = העצים MT] העצם HUBP^{III-93} ≈ *ossa* Vul.
(minus) 967 ZB *lI* 106 La^{SW} Co Ambr.] (ast.*O*) και τα οστα συνφρυγησονται rel. = והעצמות יחרו MT
24:11 ανθρακας 967 ZB *lI* La^{SW} Co] ανθρακας (ast. *O*) αυτης rel. = גחליה MT
(minus) 967 ZB *lI* La^{SW} Co] (ast. *O*) αυτης εξηψηθη Q V-46 *C*'-86'-239'-403' 106' 544 Aeth ≈ A' *O*$^{r-Q}$ 48-449 130-233 Arm. Tht.Hi.| κενη εξηφθη *L*$^{-36\ 48}$ cf.^{MT} | רקה MT (= κενη)
37:1 οστω(ν) 967 Tert.Ir.^{lat}Consult = עצמות MT] οστων ανθρωπινων Z rel.| οστων ανθρωπων *L*'' 130*-534-403' Bo Arm Or.Tht.Hi.
37:4 επι τα οστα ταυτα 967 Z rel. = על העצמות העלה MT] επι τα οστα ταυτα προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου V-449 Tht. | (minus) *L*'-46 Or.XI 387 Lo.
37:7 τα οστα 967 Z rel. = העצמות HUBP$^{II-PirkeRE32(201)\ ≈\ MasEzek}$] (minus) HUBP^{III-96} | עצמות MT
εκαστον προς τη αρμονιαν αυτου 967 Z rel.] οστεον προς τη αρμονιαν αυτου *O* (Q^{mg}) *C*'-130'-239'-403' 410 Arab Arm | οστεον προς οστεον εκαστον *L*''$^{-48-46}$ Tht. = עצם אל עצמו MT
40:1 εν τη ημερα εκεινη 967 Z rel.] εν οστεω τη ημερα εκεινη 62' = בעצם היום הזה MT | בעצם הזה היום הזה HUBP^{III-93}

5.3.2.5. "New Life" *Tendenz*

17:23 και τα κληματα αυ]του αποκ[ατασταθησεται] 967 ≈ (obel. *O* Hi.) Z rel.]
(minus) 764 = MT
18:32 (minus) 967 ZB La^{S} Co Arab Hi.] (ast.*O*) και επιστρεψατε και ζησατε ≈ rel. = והשיבו וחיו MT | επιστρεψατε και ζησατε 534 = וחיו השיבו HUBP$^{II-96-150}$ | ως το επιστρεψαι αυτον απο της οδου αυτου της πονηρας και ζην αυτον λεγει αδωναι κυριος και επιστρεψασται και ζησεται επιστρεψατε ουν και ζησατε ≈ *L*'' Arm Tht. 62
26:20 μη δε αναστηθης 967 Z ≈ μη δε αναστης B *lII* Tht.] ונתתי צבי MT | תשב צבי HUBP$^{III-30(pm)\ 89(pm)}$

26:21 ετι 967 ZBL La^{CW} Co Arab] ετι (ast) και ζητηθηση και ουχ ευρηθηση (+ ετι 62) rel. = ותבקשי ולא תמצאי עוד MT

31:17 ζωης αυτου απωλοντο 967 ≈ Z rel.] גוים MT

37:1 *init.* (minus) 967 Z rel. = MT] νεκρων αναβιωσις Q^{mg} | περι αναστασεως των νεκρων Syh^{mg}

37:5 πνα (πνευμα) ζωης 967 Z rel.] *spiritum et vivetis* Bo Tert. = רוח וחייתם MT

38:14 εγερθηση 967 Z rel. (recon: תֵּעֹר)] εξεγερθηση A′′; απαντηση 46; γνωση και εγερθηση L′′ Tht. | תדע MT

5.4. *Tendenzen* Related to Ezekiel 36:23c-38

5.4.1. Intertextual Center: The Promises in Ezekiel 36:23c-38

36:23 οτι εγω κς 967 62' 534 PsCypr. = כי אני יהוה MT] οτι εγω ειμι κς Z rel.
(minus) 967 Z B 46 Bo La^{Ver} Tyc. PsCypr.] (ast. *O*) λεγει αδωναι κυριος rel. = נאם אדני יהוה MT
(minus) 967] εν τω αγιασθηναι με εν υμιν κατ οφθαλμους αυτων Z rel. = בהקדשי בכם לעיניהם MT
(minus) 967] Ezek 36:24-38 Z ≈ rel. ≈ MT

5.4.2. "Heart/Spirit" *Tendenz*

13:2 προς αυτους 967 (obel. O) ZB Sa Hi.] (ast. O) τοις προφηταις τοις προφητευουσιν απο καρδιας αυτων rel. θ'α' ≈ לנביאי מלבם MT | אליהם לנביאי מלבם HUBP^{III-96}

13:3 απο καρδιας αυτων 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) τοις πορευομενοις οπισω του πνευματος αυτων *O*' *L*'' 403 410 Arm Or. Tht. ≈ הנבלים אשר הלכים אחר רוחם MT

16:30 την θυγατερα 967 Z ≈ rel. (recon. לִבָּתֵךְ)] την καρδιαν *O* (Syh^{txt})-62' *L′′* Tht. Or.^{lat}VIII400.401 Hi. = לִבָּתֵךְ MT | *testamento* Bo (διαθηκη) Arab

17:22 κορῡφης 967 B La^{C} Bo Arab Cyr.II372 Or.^{lat}VIII438 Spec.Hi.^{test}] κορῡφης + (ast. *O* 86 Hi.) και δωσω απο κεφαλης παραφυαδων αυτης ≈ rel. = ונתתי מראש ינקותיו MT

καρδιας αυτων 967 Z rel.] εκ καρδιας κορυφης αυτης *L′′* Tht. | ינקותיו רך MT

20:24 καρδιων αυτω(ν) 967 147′ 407 106 (*cordis* Ir.^{lat})] πατερων αυτων Z rel. = אבותם MT

21:12 παν πν̄α̅ (πνευμα) 967 = כל רוח MT] (obel. *O*) πασα σαρξ και παν πνευμα Z rel. | παν πνευμα πασα σαρξ 62

22:15 η καρδια σου 967] η ακαθαρσια σου Z rel. = טמאתך MT | (minus) Peshitta

22:27 (minus) 967 rel.] (ast. *O*) του απολεσαι ψυχας *O*' *lII* Arm. Tht. = לאבד נפשות MT (pr. copula HUBP$^{III-150}$) | נקי לאבד נפשות HUBP^{III-96}

29:16 αυτων 967 Z rel. = MT] των καρδιων A′′-410 Syh 36 *C′*-86-239′-403′ Arm

31:10 και ειδον 967 Z rel.] και επηρθη η καρδια αυτου Syh^{mg} *L′′* Tht. = ורם לבבו MT | και επηρθη το πνευμα η καρδια αυτου 46

36:5 (minus) 967 Z rel.] εξ ολης καρδιας 62 *L′′*$^{-46}$ Tht. = כל לבב MT
εν προνομη 967 Z rel.] εις προνομην 147′ 46 *cII* = לבז MT | לבב HUBP^{III-93}

37:1 πνι κυ (πνευματι κυριου) 967 rel.] πνευματι κυριος ZB A' 62' Tert.Ambr.Ir.^{lat} | πνευματι τω αγιω κυριου Q^{mg} | πνευματι Or. Lo. | רוח יהוה MT

37:9 σου πνευματω(ν) 967] πνευματων Z rel. = רוחות MT] ανεμων 407 36^{txt}-V | ανεμων του ουρανου A'' Arab Ambr.Spec.Aug.
(minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) το πνευμα A''-403' *O*' *L*' Bo Arab Arm Tht.Tert.Ambr.Ir.^{lat} Spec.Consult.Hi.PsVig. = הרוח MT

39:29 εξεχεα τον θυμον μου 967 Z rel.] שפכתי את רוחי MT

5.5. "Gog-Magog" *Tendenzen*: Variants Related to Ezekiel 38-39

38:3 (minus) 967 B Arm] γωγ Z rel. = גוג MT | μαγωγ 87 | γωγ και μαγωγ Tht.

38:4 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) και περιστρεψω σε κυκλοθεν και δωσω χαλινον εις τας σιαγονας σου *O*' *L*'' 87^{mg}-91^{mg}-239' 26 Bo Aeth

Arm Tht. ≈ MT ושובבתיך ונתתי חחים בלחייך

συναξω σε 967 Z rel.] πλανησω σε 147 26 239' Aeth | MT והוצאתי אותך

ενδεδυμενους θωρακας παντας 967 Z rel.] MT לבשי מכלול

και μαχαιραι 967 Z rel.] επιλαμβανομενους και μαχαιραι 62 cf. MT תפשי | και μαχαιραι (ast. *O*) παντες αυτοι *O* 26 239' Arm θ' ≈ MT (תפשי) חרבות כלם

38:6 και παντες οι περι αυτον 967 Z rel.] και παντα τα υποστηριγματα αυτου Syh θ' | MT וכל אגפיה

38:8 επ εσχατων ετων 967 ≈ Z rel.] (minus) 106| MT באחרית השנים | HUBP^{III-96} באחרית השנה

επι την γην ισραηλ 967 62' V-449 26 403' 410 544 ≈ *Z* rel.] επι την ιερυσαλημ 233 | MT על הרי ישראל

38:9 και παντες οι περι σε 967 Z rel.] MT וכל אגפיך

38:11 γην απεριμμενων 967 ≈ γην απεριμμενην Z rel.] MT ארץ פרזות

38:16 γωγ 967 *O*-62 La^{SW} (ast. *O*) = MT] (ast. V) ω γωγ *L*''$^{-46}$ Tht. *o Gog* Vul. | (minus) Z rel. (Z rel.$^{-Bo}$ tr.$^{v\ 17}$ (obel.*O*) γωγ) MT גוג

38:17 συ ει περι ου 967 Z rel.] MT האתה הוא זה אשר | HUBP^{III-30} האתה הוא אשר

του αγαγειν σε επ αυτους 967 Z ≈ rel. ≈ MT] להביא אתך עולם | HUBP^{III-93} להביא אתך עליהם

38:21 και καλεσω επ αυτον παν φοβον μαχαιρας 967 ≈ (om. μαχ.) Z rel.] και καλεσω επι αυτον και παν φοβον B | + (ast. *L*) εις παντα τα ορη μου Syh ≈ *L*'' Tht. cf.^{MT} | MT וקראתי עליו לכל הרי חרב | Tar וקראתי עליו למפל הרי חרב

38:22 και επι παντας τους μετ [αυ]του 967 Z rel.] MT ועל אגפיו

39:4 και ου βεβηλωθησεται το ονομα το αγιον 967 cf.$^{39:7}$] (minus) Z rel. = MT

39:6 επι γωγ 967 Z rel.] μαγωγ *O*$^{-Q}$ *C*'-198-393-403' 106' Arm = MT במגוג

39:11 εκει τον γωγ και παν το πληθος αυτου 967 rel. = MT שם את גוג ואת כל המנה

εν ισραηλ 967 Z rel. = MT] εν ιερουσαλημ 26΄ | (minus) A*

(minus) 967 Z rel.] ανατολης L΄΄ Tht. = MT קדמת

τοπον ονομαστον μνημειον 967 Z rel. = *locum nominatum…* La^{S} Vul ≈ HUBP$^{III-96\ G-BEb24}$ | τοπον εκει ονομαστον μνημειον 62 cf.^{MT} | MT מקום שֵׁם קבר | Tar אתין לגוג אתר כשר (לבית קבורא) cf. אתר כשר MT שֵׁם)

39:28 εν τω επιφανηναι με αυτοις 967 Z rel. (recon. בהִגָּלותי אתם)] MT בהַגְלותי אתם

εν τοις εθνεσιν 967 Z rel.] + (ast. *O*) και συναξω αυτους επι την γην αυτων και ου καταλειψω απ αυτων ουκετι εκει *L*''-403' 87^{mg} Bo Arm Tht. ≈ *O*-62' = MT וכנסתים על אדמתם ולא אותיר עוד מהם שם

Related to Meshech and Tubal

27:13 και συμπασα ^{και} τα παρατεινοντα 967 Z rel. (recon. συμπασα ≈ תֻּבַל or הכל)] και μοσοχ και θοβελ 87-91 86 α'σ' ≈ (tr.) MT תֻּבַל ומשך (תובל HUBP$^{III-30\ 96\ 150}$)

32:26 (minus in context) 967] μοσοχ και θοβελ και πασα (recon. θοβελ ותבל) Z rel. ≈ MT משך תבל וכל | μοσοχ και θοβελλι και πασα (recon. θοβελλι תבלי) 233 | μοσοχ και βοβελ και πασα (recon. βοβελ בבל) 538 | cf.^{v25} *cubile eorum* Hi. σ'θ' (HUBP$^{V-recon.}$ cf.$^{v\ 25}$ משכבם/משכב להם)

32:29 (minus) 967 ZB La^{C} Co] (ast.*O*) και οι βασιλεις αυτης και παντες ≈ rel. ≈ MT מלכיה וכל | και μοσοχ οι βασιλεις αυτης και παντες minisc.

38:2 ρως μεσοχ 967 B ≈ Z rel. = *ros mosoch* Hi. (translit. ראש)] ρωμεσοχ 410 ≈ 106 239' Arm | κεφαλης ρως μεσοχ 62 | κεφαλης μοσοχ α' Tht. = *capitis* μασεχ Bo = MT ראש משך

38:3 ρως μοσοχ 967 Z ≈ rel. (translit. ראש)] ρωμεσοχ 410 ≈ 106 239' Arm | *capitis* μασεχ Bo = MT ראש משך

39:1 ρως μοσοχ 967 Z ≈ rel. (translit. ראש)] ρωμεσοχ 410 ≈ 106 Arm | *capitis* μασεχ Bo = MT ראש משך | γης ρως μοσοχ *L*

5.5.1. Geographic *Tendenz:* Gog's Entourage of Nations Related to Gog's burial

39:11 εν ισραηλ 967 Z rel. = בישראל MT] εν ιερουσαλημ 26′ | (minus) A*
το πολυανδριον του γωγ 967 el.] המון גוג MT
(minus) 967 Z rel.] ανατολης L′’ Tht. = קדמת MT
τοπον ονομαστον μνημειον 967 Z rel. = *locum nominatum*… La^{S} Vul ≈ מקום שֵׁם קבר HUBP$^{III\text{-}96\ G\text{-}BEb24}$ | τοπον εκει ονομαστον μνημειον 62 cf.^{MT} | מקום שֵׁם קבר MT | (לבית אתר כשׂר אתין לגוג cf. שֵׁם MT) קבורא) Tar (אתר כשׂר

39:12 γαι 967 Z rel. = גיא MT ≈ γε *O* (γη Syh) *C*’$^{-233}$ 410 La^{S} (*ge*) Arm Ambr.Hi.] τε B 26 Cyr.[226] | (minus) 106 Arab

Related to 38:5 – Gog's military entourage

30:5 περσαι 967 Z rel.] αιθιοπια 86 α'σ'θ' = כוש MT
και κρητες 967 Z rel.] και φουδ 86 α'σ'θ' = ופוט MT
και λυδοι 967 Z = ולוד MT] **XXX?? HUBP$^{I\text{-}Peshitta}$**; tr. *L*’’ Tht. (cf.^{below})
και λιβυες 967 Z rel.] και λιβυες και αιθιοπες και λυδοι και πασα η αραβια *L*’’ Tht. | (minus) MT
οι επιμεικτοι 967 Z rel. (recon. ~ הַעֵרב) ≈ *reliquum*] αραβια 86 Hi.$^{lat.}$ α' ≈ σ' = הערב MT | + (ast. 86) και χουβα α'σ'θ' = וכוב MT

Related to 38:13 – those who speak about Gog

27:15 ροδιων 967 Z rel.] αραδιων A’’-106 | **XXX** HUBP$^{I\text{-}Peshitta}$ | δαδαν 86 α'σ'θ' Hi. = דדן MT
27:23 (minus) 967 ZB *L*' Co Arab] (ast. *O*) και δαιδαν rel. (recon. ודדן) | ועדן MT (= *edne* Hi.)
ουτοι εμποροι σου 967 ZB *L*' Co Arab = (obel. Syh)] ουτοι εμποροι σου (ast. *O*$^{-Q}$) σαβα *O*$^{-Q}$ -62' α'σ'θ' 86 (*sabba* Hi.) cf.^{MT} | רכלי שבא MT (שבה HUBP$^{III\text{-}96}$)

5.5.2. Word Plays with Meshech משך

12:28 (minus) 967 410] ου μη μηκθνωσιν Z rel. = לא תמשך
32:20 και κοιμηθησεται 967 Z rel. (recon. והשכב cf.$^{v\ 32}$)] και ηλκυσαν αυτην 62' = משכו אותה MT (om. copula) | και εξειλκυσαν αυτην 86 α'σ'θ'
32:25 (minus in context) 967 Z rel.] (obel. pro ast. L) κοιτη αυτης συν παντι 62' *L*’’ Tht. = משכב לה בכל MT | משכב לה וכל HUBP$^{III\text{-}96\ 150}$
32:26 (minus in context) 967] μοσοχ και θοβελ και πασα (recon. θοβελ ותבל) Z rel. ≈ משך תבל וכל MT | μοσοχ και θοβελλι και πασα (recon. θοβελλι תבלי) 233 | μοσοχ και βοβελ και πασα (recon. βοβελ בבל) 538 | cf.^{v25} *cubile eorum* Hi. σ'θ' (HUBP$^{V\text{-}recon.}$ משכבם/משכב להם cf.$^{v\ 25}$)

5.5.3. Plunder and Spoil *Tendenz*

29:19 (minus) 967 BZ La^{S} (vid.) Co] (ast.Q) και λη(μ)ψεται το πληθος αυτης rel. = ונשא המנה MT
30:24 και προνομευσει την προνομην αυτης και σκυλευσει τα σκυλα αυτης 967 Z rel.] ונאק נאקות חלל לפניו MT (לפניו cf. ενωπιον αυτου 62′)
34:8 (minus) 967 26 306* 410 La^{CS} Aug.] (ast. 88) εις προνομην και γενεσθαι τα προβατα (subst. ποιμνια *L*′’) μου Z rel. ≈ לבז ותהיינה צאני MT | לבז ותהיינה (om. צאני) HUBP$^{III\text{-}96}$

[226] B in v 11 - τε = “and” enclitic weak particle

Chapter 4
The *Tendenzen*: Text-Critical Analysis

4.1. Introduction

Chapter 2 revealed that while previous textual scholarship on p967 has been thoroughgoing, many textual issues require additional clarification. The goal of the present chapter is to refine our understanding of how p967 relates to the Greek witnesses, OG, and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of OG. While the foundation was laid by the studies discussed in chapter 2, several heretofore unresolved textual issues surfaced throughout the history of study that can only be examined through closer inspection of individual variants.

As indicated in chapter 3, the present chapter's data set is the result of literary study, specifically, the coherence approach to variants between p967 and MT. This data set is unique in a few ways. The data set excludes variants that are inconsequential to the meaning of the text, such as orthographic differences, but more importantly, it excludes variants that could not be shown to participate in the *Tendenzen* identified in chapter 3 and discussed in chapter 5. Hence, this data set would already appear to be the result of intentional editorial activity. While textual evaluations for error are considered in the following discussion, the central aim of the present chapter is to provide a textual explanation for the divergence between p967 and the other Greek and Hebrew witnesses (primarily), to note how extensively the witnesses attest specific variants, and to explain isolated features. More specifically, the textual relationship among Codex Vaticanus (B),

the Masoretic Text (MT), and p967 are of central concern.[227] Hence, the discussion breaks into sections dealing with the following five questions:

1) What do Origen's text-critical marks indicate about p967's readings?
2) How do we evaluate p967's unique readings? Are they the result of scribal error and if so, at what stage?; or can they be explained as intentional variants? This question is also taken up under quesiton 5) below.
3) When p967 and B disagree, as the best witnesses to the Old Greek, how do we explain the divergence?
4) Does p967 reflect a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the MT? If so, can we explain its divergence from the MT?
5) How convincing are arguments for scribal error where they apply to p967's three major minuses (12:26-28; 32:25-26; and 36:23c-38)?

These questions are the basis for the selection of individual variants to be analyzed below. Before turning to those analyses, a more general discussion of the alignment for this specific data set begins our textual discussion.

4.2. Textual Discussion

4.2.1. General Alignment

Out of the 230 meaningful variants that form the data set of chapters 3-5, the statistics for alignment are as follows:[228]

	Agree	Diverge
p967 and B	164	58
p967 and A	126	96
p967 and O-group	88	103
p967 and MT	30	191

[227] The significance of B to study of p967 was demonstrated in chapter 2.

[228] Alignment was tabulated among the major Greek manuscripts and groups (ie. p967 B A O-L-groups and the MT). I tabulated the O-L-groups only when nearly the entire group presented the same reading. Additionally, p967 is missing in some verses in which I tablulated alignment for MT with B, O-L-groups. These factors explain why the numbers of variants counted in each case are not equal.

MT and O-group	110	93
MT and L-group	98	117
MT and B	50	179
MT and p967	30	191

MT reads alone: 68 times
p967 reads alone: 31 times
B reads alone: 2 times

Deciding alignment for textual readings is somewhat subjective. I was overly conservative in marking divergence, deciding that texts were aligned only when the readings were *identical*. Such a rigorous criterion for alignment furnishes a table that highlights mechanical relationships among witnesses. In other words, the table shows instances where a reading was transmitted accurately, according to a copyist function. While this strict criterion ultimately sheds light on the transmission history of Ezekiel's different literary editions, there were also negative implications to this decision. Often overlooked are the potentially important number of times where readings had partial support, for example in 18:32 where L's reading included the MT plus, but in the context of L's considerably longer addition; or conversely in 32:25 when only the first half of MT's plus agreed with L. These two instances of partial agreement were tabulated as disagreement, since the textual readings were not identical. Additionally, the table is blind to factors such as translational vs. transmissional vs. compositional variants. If a variant participated in a *Tendenz* no matter its possible origin, it is included in the tabulation. Subjective factors such as these shed light on the utility of the above table; a table of alignment reveals trends, but not hard facts.[229]

[229] This is all the more the case when dealing with variant literary editions. For example, the redaction critic may see "support" where the textual critic marks disagreement.

With the above caveats duly noted, we can nevertheless use the table to draw conclusions about the textual relationships among the "literary editions" of Ezekiel. The notable agreement between B and p967 represents a strong testimony for the early divergence of the Greek literary edition from the MT. However, consistent with Gehman's observation about the divergence between p967 and B's text types,[230] there are still 58 occasions on which p967 and B's literary editions diverge as well.

The number of times p967 and B agree with the MT is especially interesting given the divergence just noted. p967 reads with the MT 30 times; this requires examination, especially in a project explicitly searching for the *divergent* variants between p967 and MT. In most of the cases in which p967 and MT read together, either A or L primarily, but also sometimes B presented the divergent reading. These isolated divergences in the Greek tradition, while small in number, indicate that p967 is not the only version which houses readings that could be characterized as "variant literary" readings.[231] The other instances in which p967 and the MT agree are occasioned by divergent readings in the medieval Hebrew witnesses, for example οστα for עצמים (Hebrew variant: עצום) in 24:5, ξυλα for עצים (Hebrew variant: עצם) in 24:10, and γιγαντων for גבורים (Hebrew variant: גבורים בארץ) in 32:27. B reads with the MT 20 more times than does p967, indicating its closer relationship with MT's literary edition. In most of these 20 cases, p967 is the divergent reading with modest or no support. Two conclusions seem possible: 1) that p967 is a maverick Greek text in these instances; and/or 2) that B is more representative of the known Greek tradition, with p967 being an Old Greek version that was *not* taken

[230] Gehman in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 76.

[231] This was notably the case with date references and the recognition formula.

up into the dominant stream of Greek transmission. The latter possibility would explain the strikingly few number of times B reads alone: twice. The issue of p967's unique or weakly supported readings will be examined in greater detail below in §§4.3.1 and 4.3.2.

Finally, the MT is most strongly supported by the L- and O-group manuscripts, 98 and 110 times respectively. However, MT reads alone 68 times. These isolated MT readings, unsupported by the versions, show some clustering in ch. 24:1-14 (10 times); ch. 32:17-32 (16 times); and chs. 38-39 (17 times).

4.2.2. Hexaplaric Notations

Out of the roughly 233 variants pertinent for the present study, there are 75 readings in which Hexaplaric notations appear. The obelus occurs 17 times and the asterisk occurs 64 times.

Asterisked readings:

MT	63
L/(L)	47
A	35
967	2 (both with MT)
B	1 (with the MT)

Obelus readings:

L	14
B	12
A	10
967	7
MT	0

The asterisk marks a reading that was not original to the Greek text, and that therefore Origen added on the basis of his Hebrw text. It indicates a reading that was likely not original to the Old Greek nor its Hebrew *Vorlage*. In the data collated here, the asterisk occurs 64 times, 63 of which mark an MT variant. In contrast, p967 and B are

virtually free of asterisked readings. When an MT reading receives the asterisk, p967 and B often present either a minus, or an obelized reading. This trend underscores what was repeatedly discussed in chapter 2, the close relationship of p967 and B to the Old Greek. More importantly, however, the trend in the Hexaplaric data sheds new light on MT. The overwhelming trend for the asterisk in MT readings suggests that MT represents a text much-developed beyond the Old Greek translation.

Equally striking is how often MT shares an asterisked reading with L and/or A against B and p967. MT is supported by L 45 times and by A 35 times in its asterisked reading.[232] This substantial evidence suggests that the Lucianic texts especially were corrected back to a Hebrew *Vorlage* quite similar to the MT.[233] If Cross' model of Greek transmission, described in chapter 2, is correct, MT can be characterized as a Hebrew text developed beyond the OG, but that preceded the Lucianic stage of the LXX corrections.

4.3. Text-Critical Analysis of Variants

What follows is a text-critical examination of p967's relationship with the Old Greek translation and its Hebrew *Vorlage.* For such an examination, three categories of variants require specific attention. First, p967's unique variants remain unexplained.

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[232] MT and L: 7:12, 13, 14; 8:18; 13:2(2x), 3, 7; 17:22; 20:26; 21:3, 12; 22:27, 28; 23:38; 24:9, 10, 11(2x), 14; 27:18, 32; 28:9, 10; 29:19; 30:4; 32:19, 25(3x), 29, 30, 31; 33:25; 34:8, 9, 30; 35:8; 36:7, 23; 37:4, 9, 12, 25, 26; 38:4, 17, 21; 39:28; 43:12(2x) | and MT and A: 7:12, 13, 14; 8:18; 13:2(2x), 7; 17:22; 18:32; 20:26; 24:9, 10, 11(2x), 25:7; 26:21; 27:32; 28:9, 10; 29:19; 30:4; 32:19, 29, 31; 33:25; 34:8, 9; 36:23; 37:4, 9, 12, 25; 43:12(2x).

[233] The idea that the Lucianic texts represent a correction is sometimes disputed. However, Cross' model of Greek transmission, describes the second stage as the proto-Lucian revision of the OG towards the contemporary Hebrew text in the 2nd to 1st century BCE. Frank Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumrân and Modern Biblical Studies,* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958), revised in 1961; and *idem*, *Harvard Theological Review* (1964), and *Israel Exploration Journal* (1966). These three publications combine to provide his approach to the history. See Jellicoe's helpful digest of Cross' points, in "Prolegomenon" in Jellicoe, *Studies in the Septuagint,* XLVI – LI.

Above, I concluded that they could represent maverick, inner-Greek developments, or they reflect OG readings that were not taken up in the dominant stream of Greek transmission. Second, the variants between p967 and B reflect divergence in the Greek tradition. Examination of these variants can further clarify the relationship of p967 and B to the OG. A third line of inquiry includes those instances where issues in the Hebrew can best explain p967 variants. This set of variants illuminates the relationship between p967 and its possible Hebrew parent texts, either the *Vorlage* of the OG, or the text to which the Greek tradition was corrected. In all three sections, the set of variants is listed, followed by text-critical analysis of only those variants that have clear text-critical information to yield. Variants that yielded only shallow and ambiguous evaluations are not interpreted text-critically in the following discussion.

An additional text-critical issue requires clarification about the following analysis. The medieval manuscripts found in HUBP apparatus III often support p967 readings or help clarify textual issues in the Hebrew. These manuscripts are collated in the third apparatus of HUBP, which serves primarily to clarify the text of Allepo which is reproduced in the running text. While the editors suggest that these manuscripts primarily provide information about transmission of the Hebrew in the medieval period, they allow that a critic must choose to use the apparatus as they see fit. The striking number of times that these medieval manuscripts contained text-critically important information vis à vis p967 shows their importance to the present analysis. Additionally, the entire MT textual tradition is late, so to include MT and exclude the contemporary witnesses would be misguided. Hence, consideration of the medieval Hebrew

manuscripts occasionally yields important text-critical information for p967's text and its parent text tradition.

4.3.1. Isolated p967 Variants

	p967 relative to B's reading with alignment of MT
12:26-28*	(minus)] full three verses = MT
18:32	(minus)] λεγει κυριος = MT
22:15	η καρδια σου] η ακαθαρσια σου = MT
24:2	εκει] (minus) | MT
24:14	κριθησει λεγει κς] κρινω σε | MT
24:27	(minus)] εν εκεινη τη ημερα ≈ tr. MT
25:15	οτι] δια τουτο | MT
32:6	(minus)] σου = MT
32:24	(minus)] ελαβοσαν βασανον αυτων | MT
32:26*	(minus)] full verse = MT
35:8	εσονται] (minus) = MT
36:23c-38*	(minus)] full 15 ½ verses = MT
37:9	σου] (minus) = MT
38:14	και] ουκ = MT
38:18	η ημερα εκεινη εν] εν τη ημερα εκεινη εν ημερα = MT
38:20	ινα γνωσιν παντα τα εθνη εμε εν σοι ενωπιον αυτων] (minus) = MT
39:4	και ου βεβηλωθησεται το ονομα το αγιον] (minus) = MT
39:8	εσται] γνωση οτι εσται | MT

* dealt with below in §II.6. as major variants

22:15 – καρδια

p967 και εκλειψει η καρδια σου εκ σου
MT והתמתי טמאתך ממך

και – σου 967] והתמתי – ממך MT | (minus) HUBP$^{I\text{-}Peshitta}$
η καρδια σου 967] η ακαθαρσια σου Z rel. = טמאתך MT | (minus) HUBP$^{I\text{-}Peshitta}$

p967's unsupported variant stands against all other Greek witnesses reading η καρδια σου for טמאתך. The rest of the Greek witnesses read η ακαθαρσια σου, without exception, reproducing the MT in a word for word correspondence (i.e., literally). p967's

reading could represent a mistaken (intentional?) inscription of καρδια for ακαθαρσια. Thus, p967 would be an inner-Greek development subsequent to the OG.

Nevertheless, further inquiry reveals that p967's variant may just as likely highlight scribal activity in the Hebrew tradition. טמא was transmitted with some textual variety in ch. 22. In v. 3, mss. 89 and 96 strengthen טמא with the Piel over MT's Qal. Manuscript 96 replaces the adj. with a Pual 2m/fs verb טומאת in vv 5 and 10. Again in vv 26 and 27, ms. 96 presents textual variation in טמא and נקי respectively, the former also supported by ms. 150. Manuscript 96 also brings additional emphasis to טמא in v. 4aα where its omission of אשמת leaves טָמֵאת to govern two phrases. In addition to these grammatical variations in terminology and emphasis, ms. 30 uniquely presents a 10-word plus at the beginning of v. 7. It reads טמאת הנדה ענו בך שחד לקחו בך למען שפך דם. טמאת הנדה ענו בך is probably drawn from the same phrase in 22:10b and שחד לקחו בך למען שפך דם from 22:12a. Finally, the noun טֻמְאָה with a possessive suffix occurs seven times in Ezekiel: 24:11, 13(2); 36:25, 29; 39:24, and here. It is worth noting that these instances occur in sections of particular import in the data set of this dissertation: two occur in p967's large minus of 36:23c-38 (vv 25 and 29), and one occurs in each ch. 39 and ch. 24, which will be treated further below.

In addition to the textual fluidity in the Hebrew tradition related to the term טמא, warrant for p967's reading occurs in the Hebrew elsewhere. In 36:5, MT is likely the developed text with its plus about the heart (כל לבב), and later in the same verse, ms. 93 changes לבז to לבב.[234]

[234] See discussion on 36:5 in §4.3.1. below and the variants related to the heart *Tendenz* in chapter 5.

In short, adjudication between the textual evidence complicates a determination regarding whether p967 is an inner-Greek development or reflects a variant Hebrew *Vorlage.* The Peshitta's omission of the entire phrase could support the latter, and hence testify to a short Hebrew text that expanded in two directions. One of these could have been the Hebrew parent text of p967, reading לבך (cf. Ezek 22:14.) However, taken in isolation, p967's variant in 22:15 is probably an inner-Greek development; certainty eludes.

24:14 – κριθησει λεγει κς

p967	εγω κρινω σε κατα τα αιματα σου και κατα τα ενθυμηματα σου κριθησει λεγει κς η ακαθαρτος η ονομαστη και πολλη του παραπικραινειν
MT	(minus)
	εγω – *fin.* 967 ≈ Z rel.] (minus) *lI* 764 La^{S} | (minus in context) MT
	κριθησει λεγει κς 967] κρινω σε Z rel. | (minus) La^{W} | (minus in context) *lI* 764 La^{S} = MT

Both p967 and Z rel. expand v. 14 beyond the MT. The plus material is drawn from the first half of the verse, as well as from the vocatives of 22:5b, as most critics point out.[235] Standard principles of textual criticism leave no basis for an MT omission; the plus is undoubtedly secondary. However, p967 strengthens the case already supposed by Zimmerli, Allen, and Cooke, that the plus appeared already in the OG's Hebrew *Vorlage*.[236] p967's reading και κατα τα ενθυμηματα σου κριθησει λεγει κς is closer to

[235] So Cooke, 275; Allen, WBC Vol. 2, 55; Zimmerli. Vol. 1, 496. The vocatives in 22:5 include טמאת השם and רבת המהומה . The former agrees with η ακαθαρτος η ονομαστη, while the πολλη του παραπικραινειν is close to the latter, likely רבת המרי. In both cases, the Hebrew should be seen as strongly emphatic, even superlative, since the adjective is determined as the *nomen regens* of a construct. Gesenius, §133g and 132c. The Greek loses this emphasis with a string of three substantive adjectives limited by the genitive articular infinitive, Smyth, §1322 and 2032a.

[236] Zimmerli regards the plus as an addition. However, in consideration of Ewald, Hitzig, and Smend, who take it to be original to the Hebrew, Zimmerli suggests that the plus may have been found in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG. Cooke and Allen more assertively draw this conclusion. Ibid.

the Hebrew of v. 14a: וכעלילותיך שפטוך נאם אדני יהוה.[237] However v. 14a was translated in ZBAQ as και κατα τα ενθυμηματα σου κρινω σε λεγει κυριος, which, minus λεγει κυριος, is also what appears in v. 14b in ZBAQ. κρινω σε would thus be the less literal translation, except that ms. 96 emends שפטוך to שפטתיך in v. 14a, thereby providing a textual rationale for the variation in the Greek. In short, the differences between the Greek readings in v. 14 are best explained on the basis of variant Hebrew expansions.[238]

32:6 – minus σου

p967	απο του πληθους επι των ορεων
MT	מדמך אל ההרים
	απο του πληθους 967] απο του πληθους σου Z rel. | מדמך MT

Neither p967 nor Z rel. translate the מדמך from the MT, although p967 lies further away since it lacks the 2s. possessive pronoun. Against Allen who considers MT's form related to ממך at the end of the verse, a baseless position, the strongest Greek text tradition απο του πληθους σου probably translated מרבך.[239] This would require that the scribe of the Hebrew *Vorlage* or the Greek translator confused ד for ר and מ for ב, which, as Cooke points out, are often confused.[240] It cannot be known whether the Greek

[237] As Gehman notes of p967, κριθησει is possibly based on שפטוך in the shared material from earlier in the verse. Gehman, "The Relations," JAOS 58 (1938): 97. p967's επιτηδευματα (practices) in v 14a for ενθυμηματα (thoughts, devices) found in Z is supported by the margin of the Syro-Hexapla as well as the Catena group witnesses. επιτηδευματα is also found in two restoration passages: several times in chap 20, as well as in 36:31.

[238] Another similar textual phenomenon may be found in 35:6. Here it is the *MT* which preserves a plus in the second half of the verse: אם לא דם שנאת ודם ירדפך. Like 24:14, the plus is repetitive of material from v 6a. The term "blood" appears in both pluses.

[239] For the suggestion, see Cooke, 356. Pace Allen, WBC, Vol. 2, 129, who apparently follows the lead of BHS.

[240] Cooke, 357.

translator or a Hebrew *Vorlage* with the reading מרבך is responsible for the variant. Nevertheless, p967's minus of σου likely occurred in Greek transmission, perhaps owing to haplography of the -ους ending immediately preceding.

32:24 – minus βασανον αυτων

p967 (minus)
MT וישאו כלמתם את יורדי בור

(minus) 967] βασανον αυτων Z ≈ rel. | αισχυνην α'σ' | ατιμιαν θ' 86 = כלמתם MT (cf.[16:52; 36:7; 39:26] | את כלמתם HUBP[III-96]
(minus) 967 *lI*] μετα των καταβαινοντων Z rel. = את יורדי MT

p967's minus at the end of v. 24 should be considered as part of its major variant, discussed in §4.4.3. below. Nevertheless, Z rel. do not reproduce the contested phrase exactly either. βασανον "torment" does not literally translate כלמה "shame" or "insult," although the same equivalent occurs in v. 30.[241] The Hexaplaric three come closer to the Hebrew, especially ατιμιαν in θ' 86 which translates כלמה elsewhere in Ezekiel.[242]

In addition to these issues of translation, which call the phrase into question, the two Lucianic witnesses that omit μετα των καταβαινοντων suggest possible scribal emendation. Whether p967's minus may be taken as reflecting a Hebrew parent text is largely connected to textual issues involved with the remainder of the minus. However, the above considerations raise some textual suspicion about v. 24bβ, discussed further in §4.4.3. below.

[241] βασανος occurs 7 times in the LXX of Ezekiel. Four of those cases translate כלמה (16:52, 54; 32:24, 30). However, the *Vorlage* is not consistent: once דאגה (12:18) and twice מכשול (3:20 and 7:19).

[242] In Ezekiel αισχυνη usually translates ערוה.

35:8 – εσονται

p967	και εν πασι τοις πεδιοις σου εσονται τετραυματισμενοι μαχαιρα πεσουνται εν σοι
MT	וכל אפיקיך חללי חרב יפלו בהם
	πεδιοις σου 967 Z rel.] אפיקיך MT
	εσονται 967] (minus) Z rel. = MT
	πεσουνται εν σοι 967 Z rel.] יפלו בהם MT | (minus) $HUBP^{III-150}$

p967's εσονται plus clarifies the potential confusion at the end of the verse; MT's בהם refers back to the land forms (hills, channels, etc.) while εν σοι in the LXX confuses the syntax. p967's text is probably an inner-Greek addition to clarify the syntax of the verse.

38:20 – Recognition Formula

p967	ινα γνωσιν παντα τα εθνη εμε εν σοι ενωπιον αυτων
MT	(minus)
	ινα – αυτων 967] (minus) Z rel. = MT

p967's "nation recognition" formula in v. 20 is unattested by any other witnesses. JGK suggest that it has been lifted from v. 16.[243] While possible, it is more important to note that within the "nation-recognition" *Tendenz*, textual alignment among the witnesses is notably inconsistent. There is no textual basis to suppose that this phrase occurred in the Hebrew *Vorlage*; it was probably a Greek addition found only in p967's text. (See discussion of 38:18 below for additional considerations.)

39:4 – και ου βεβηλωθησεται το ονομα το αγιον

p967	και ου βεβηλωθησεται το ονομα το αγιον
MT	(minus)

[243] JGK, 131.

και – αγιον 967 cf.[39:7]] (minus) Z rel. = MT

p967 is unsupported in its seven word plus. As in 38:20, the phrase is probably a harmonizing addition, anticipating 39:7.

39:8 – εσται

p967 ιδου ηκει και εσται
MT הנה באה וְנִהְיָתָה

εσται 967] וְנִהְיָתָה MT | γνωση οτι εσται Z rel. (cf. *scies quia erit* La^{Sg} *scies quoniam erit* La^{H})

p967 is alone among the versions in its reading εσται. However, this reading comes closest to the MT וְנִהְיָתָה. The Niphal of היה is rare in the MT; p967 probably (mis?)-translated its Hebrew *Vorlage*, while Z rel. represent either a variant *Vorlage* or a developed Greek text.

24:1, 27 and 38:14, 18 – Four Variants Related to "On that Day"

24:2 p967 γραψον εκει σεαυτω εις ημεραν
MT כתוב לך את שם היום

εκει 967] (minus) Z rel. | το ονομα *lII* Tht. = שֵׁם MT cf. *omnia (nomen?)* La^{S}

24:27 p967 (minus)
MT ביום ההוא

(minus) 967] εν εκεινη τη ημερα ZB *L*'' La^{CS} Tht. | εν τη ημερα εκεινη rel. = ביום ההוא MT

38:14 p967 και εν τη ημερα εκεινη εν τω κατοικισθηωαι μου τον λαον ισραηλ επ ειρηνης εγερθηση
MT הלוא ביום ההוא בשבת עמי ישראל לבטח תדע

και εν τη ημερα εκεινη 967] ουκ εν τη ημερα εκεινη Z B *O*' 106 198 239' | ουχι εν τη ημερα εκεινη rel. | *in die non* La^{W} | *nonne in die illa* La^{Amb} = הלוא ביום ההוא MT

εγερθηση 967 Z rel. (recon: תֵּעֹר)] εξεγερθηση A΄΄; απαντηση 46; γνωση και εγερθηση L΄΄ Tht. | תדע MT

38:18	p967	και εσται η ημερα εκεινη εν η αν ελθη γωγ
	MT	והיה ביום ההוא ביום בוא גוג

και εσται 967Z rel. = והיה MT] (minus) Peshitta
η ημερα εκεινη εν 967] εν τη ημερα 534 La^{W} Peshitta| εν τη ημερα εκεινη εν ημερα Z rel. = ביום ההוא ביום MT

24:2 – εκει

p967 differently interpreted the unvocalized Hebrew text, reading שָׁם where MT has שֵׁם.

24:27 – minus: εν τη ημερα εκεινη

p967's minus in 24:27a, as with its minus in 20:6a, stands against Z's εν εκεινη τη ημερα. However, Z's word order is inverted from MT. The order, εκεινη + ημερα appears only in 24:26 and 45:22 in p967. Elsewhere, the order ημερα εκεινη occurs, which is more reflective of the Hebrew phrase, occurs (see 29:21; 30:9; 38:10, 14, 18, 19; and 39:11). Indeed, Allen determines that "on that day" in 24:27 is the result of a marginal gloss.[244] It is not possible to adjudicate Allen's proposal on the basis of this evidence; however, p967 may not be an erroneous omission.

38:14 – και

In 38:14, και stands alone in p967. All other witnesses to Ezekiel 38:14 render "on that day" with the negative particle. JGK explain p967's omission: "it seems that

[244] He does so on two bases: the chronological problem already set up in v 26 between the fall of Jerusalem and Ezekiel's dumbness "as the Aram. inf להשמעות 'to cause to hear' suggests (Fohrer, 143; cf. Zimmerli, 503…)." Allen, 56.

Sch. [p967^{Sch}] was based on a text in which הלוא, on account of its resemblance to what precedes and follows, was omitted through haplography."[245] However, neither ουκ nor הלואresemble the words immediately surrounding them (Heb: יהוה הלוא ביום and Greek: κυριος ουκ εν τη) necessary to make an evaluation based on haplography. There is no basis, at least according to textual criteria, for error in p967's text.[246]

Grammar and syntax, as well as the second half of the verse, warrant viewing p967 as a viable text with a variant Hebrew *Vorlage.* First, the Hebrew "הלוא is sometimes used with a certain exclamatory nuance."[247] Likewise the negative particles ουκ and *nonne* expect a positive response.[248] Thus, the interrogative negative particles in MT and La^{Amb} support the syntax of p967 and may have been variant readings differing only in emphasis. However, the Greek particles ουκ and the more emphatic ουχι would expect a positive answer only if the context dictates they be understood interrogatively. Since the context does not demand the interrogative, the Greek negative particle could also represent a contrary to fact declarative statement, as La^{W} seems to take it.[249] These grammatical considerations at least show that p967 is not as singular a reading as the tables of alignment would indicate and is certainly not necessarily an erroneous text.

Second, v. 14b is the statement to which the contested phrase is directed. p967's εγερθηση likely read תדע as תֵּעֹר. The metathesis of ע and ד could have been the mistake

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[245] JGK, 130.

[246] In fact, some critics believe the negative particle is a later addition. For redaction-critical reasons, Zimmerli takes vv. 14-16 as the interrogative reflection of a later redactor, noting that the "introductory formula has therefore been changed from the normal form, והיה ביום ההוא ('and it will be on that day') to the question הלוא ביום ההוא ('will it not be on that day?')," (Zimmerli, 2: 312).

[247] Joüon and Muraoka, vol. 2 §161c, 610. Gesenius §150e.

[248] Smyth, §2651.

[249] Smyth, §2688, b.

of the translator; however, given that no other versions follow MT, the error likely occurred in the Hebrew. This may be supported by the mediating role of the later Lucianic witnesses, which preserve *both* p967 and the MT's readings as viable textual traditions.

In conclusion, the variant in v. 14b probably arose during Hebrew stages of transmission, which strongly suggests that the v. 14a variant did as well.

38:18 - η ημερα εκεινη εν

In 38:18, the syntax of p967 modifies the expected formal phrase εν τη ημερα εκεινη / ביום ההוא. However, Z rel. and MT expand the phrase with an added εν ημερα / ביום, syntax unattested elsewhere in neither Z nor MT.[250] Because the Greek witnesses provide strong testimony for MT, we should examine the divergence in the Greek first.

The syntax of both p967 and Z makes sense. p967 starts with a temporal phrase και εσται η ημερα εκεινη followed by a relative-prepositional construction εν η and a subjunctive verb αν ελθη to complete the temporal clause. The translated phrase runs "it will be that day, whenever Gog comes up."[251] This Greek temporal clause is more vivid. It is also definite, indicating that "that day" *will* occur. Yet it leaves open the possibility

[250] Allen notes the accentuation in v 18a, but refers to Zimmerli. (Allen, WBC, 2:202). Cf. Zimmerli, 2:288. Cooke decides, "for the softening of expressions regarded by the versions as unsuitable, see notes on 8:1 11:24; 20; 43:2; 44:7," (Cooke, 417). However these citations do not provide much clarity for Cooke's point. Crane dismissed Eichrodt's posposal to see a gloss here. However, Crane overlooks the textual evidence of the Peshitta, and offers no study for the varied syntax in the Greek. Crane, 166.

[251] The temporal condition is set by the verb εσται, a future indicative, and refers to a definite future. However a temporal clause with a future verb is rare in Greek "because it does not make clear the difference between action continuing and action simply occurring in the future," (Smyth §2398). The principle clause that follows uses αν plus a subjunctive and as a "future more vivid" clause, refers to the future indefinitely. For more on the differences between definite and indefinite temporal clauses, see Smyth §§2390-2394.

that "Gog coming up" recurrs as a "repeated customary action or a general truth."[252] Thus, in its syntax, p967 captures the anxiety of an impending one-time invasion versus a continuous mythic but real threat; in both cases, the (repeated) event(s) will be on "that day," the day predicted across the book of Ezekiel.

Z does not provide an immediate predicate for its definite future verb εσται; *what* will be is unidentified, leaving the future to the same rhetorical forces as summoned by the phrase elsewhere in Ezekiel. Probably, in the last part of the verse, the future indicative phrase αναβησεται ο θυμος μου provides the *what*: "my wrath."

Turning to the Hebrew, the syntax of MT 38:17-19 is uncertain because of אם לא in v. 19. There are two equally valid possibilities: (1) אם לא is to be understood as a conditional construction, with אם לא ביום ההוא as the protasis. The phrase omits the verb, but because of ביום ההוא, refers back to והיה ביום ההוא (v. 18). As in Z above, והיה implies תעללה חמתי (v. 18bβ). Thus, the conditional clause implies the protasis, "if my wrath does not go up on that day." The apodosis commences in v. 19bβ with the imperfect יהיה רעש.[253] The meaning of the entire conditional construction would thus be: "my wrath will flare on the day Gog invades; if it does not flare up, there will be a great shaking."[254] (2) אם לא refers to the self-imprecation of God's speech in v. 18bβ and thus functions as the oath formula "certainly."[255] In this meaning, God *certainly* promises a seismic event on the day Gog invades, but this event is to be understood as the *fulfillment* of God's wrath.

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[252] Smyth §2409.

[253] Gesenius §159rb.

[254] The latter event, the great shaking, implies the divine intervention that produces the good end for Israel, that Gog is thwarted and conquered on the land of Israel.

[255] Gesenius §149a.

Because the Hebrew grammar invited two interpretations of vv 17-19, we can now correlate the syntax of #1 with Z's translation. p967 does not follow option #2, and is thus likely an inner-Greek reinterpretation of Z's syntax. The following explanation can also explain p967's unique plus of the recognition formula in v. 20 as well.

In v. 18aα, p967's unique temporal construction is oriented towards a desired interpretation of v. 18 in order to appreciate the possible repeatability of Gog's invasion (see above). With this modification, p967 severed ει μην εν τη ημερα εκεινη in v19bα from και εσται εν ημερα εκεινη in v. 18aα. Thus, the ει μην required an innovative interpretation. p967 probably read ει μην as "except," a modification of the protasis. This syntax would then point to p967's unique recognition formula plus in v. 20. Thus we read "except on that day there will be a great shaking…in order that they will know."

It is possible that a Hebrew *Vorlage* lay beneath p967's syntax. ει μην in v. 19 could have translated כי אם. η ημερα εκεινη εν η could have translated היום ההוא באשר.[256] The Peshitta reading in v. 18aα (Syriac for εν τη ημερα), partially supported by 534 and La^{W}, could not syntactically correlate with v. 19's ει μην εν τη ημερα εκεινη, just as in p967.[257] However, these speculations cannot compare with the safer conclusion, namely that p967 is an inner-Greek reinterpretation of the Greek syntax.

4.3.1.1. Summary of Results

[256] Cf. 2Ch 18:24 and 1Ki 22:25.

[257] Zimmerli notes the connection here with the Peshitta's reading in 38:10 as well. Zimmerli, 2:288.

Above, I analzed thirteen of the eighteen isolated p967 readings; three more receive more extensive discussion below in §4.4. Of these thirteen, five are definitely or arguably based on a Hebrew *Vorlage*: 24:2; 24:14; 32:6; 38:14; 38:14. Four more *could* reflect a Hebrew *Vorlage*: 22:15; 24:27; 32:24; and 39:8. Four were most likely inner-Greek developments: 35:8; 38:20; 38:18; and 39:4.

4.3.2. Variants between p967 and B

In the following variants, p967 has manuscript support but reads against B.

	p967 relative to B's reading with alignment of MT
12:28*	(minus)] ου μη μηκυνωσιν ουκετι παντες οι λογοι μου ους αν λαλησω λαλησω και ποιησω λεγει κυριος = MT
16:59	(minus)] ταδε λεγει κυριος = MT
20:5	(minus)] λεγων εγω κυριος ο θεος υμων = MT
20:5-6	(minus)] (v. 5) τη χειρι μου αυτων λεγων εγω κυριος ο θεος υμων (v. 6) εν εκεινη τη ημερα αντελαβομην = MT
20:24	καρδιων] πατερων = MT
21:3(8)	(minus)] και ερεις προς την γην του ισραηλ = MT
21:3(8)	ταδε λεγει κς = MT] (minus)
21:12	(minus) = MT] πασα σαρξ και
22:13	χειρα μου προς] (minus) = MT
24:9	δαλον] λαον | MT
26:1	δεκατω] ενδεκατω = MT
26:20	της] γης = MT
27:18	(minus)] πασης | MT
28:26	(minus) = MT] και ο θεος των πατερων αυτων
29:1	δεκατω = MT] δωδεκατω
30:20	δεκατω] ενδεκατω = MT
31:1	δεκατω] ενδεκατω = MT
32:17	δεκατω] δωδεκατω = MT
32:18	τα εθνη τας θυγατερας νεκρας] tr. τα εθνη / τας θυγατερας | MT
32:21	(minus)] σοι | MT
32:25*	(minus)] εν μεσω τραυματιων
33:21	δεκατω] δωδεκατω = MT
34:8	(minus)] εις προνομην και γενεσθαι τα προβατα μου ≈ MT
34:15	(minus) = MT] και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κυριος
37:1	κυ = MT] κυριος = MT (יהוה MT)
37:1	(minus) = MT] ανθρωπινων
38:16	γωγ = MT] tr.[v. 17]

38:16 (minus)] εμε = MT
38:21 παν φοβον μαχαιρας] και παν φοβον | MT
39:12 γαι = MT] τε

20:5-6 – (minus) 967

See discussion of 24:27 in §4.3.1 above.

21:3 (MT v. 8) – 967 vs. B^{txt} in three prophetic speech formulae

p967 [2] και προφητευσον επι την γην του ισραηλ [3] ταδε λεγει κς ιδου εγω προς σε
MT והנבא אל אדמת ישראל [3] ואמרת לאדמת ישראל כה אמר יהוה הנני אליך [2]

(minus) 967 48 *C*'-233 544 Sa Tyc.] και ερεις προς την γην του ισραηλ Z rel. = ואמרת לאדמת ישראל MT (אל אדמת $HUBP^{III\text{-}G\text{-}BEb\ 22}$)
ταδε λεγει κς 967 B^{mg} rel. (ast. Q) = כה אמר יהוה MT] (minus) Z B^{txt} 106 | כה אדני יהוה $HUBP^{III\text{-}150}$| כה אמר אדני יהוה $HUBP^{III\text{-}30,\ 93,\ 96,\ G\text{-}BEb\ 22}$
ιδου εγω 967 Z rel. = הנני MT] (minus) B^{txt}

Of the three prophetic formulae in v. 3, B^{txt} and p967 preserve exact opposite elements, but together translated the MT. ואמרת לאדמת ישראל is represented in B^{txt} with και ερεις προς την γην του ισραηλ, and כה אמר יהוה הנני אליך is represented in p967 with ταδε λεγει κς ιδου εγω προς σε.

All three prophetic formulae are likely additions, an accretion of prophetic forms onto an originally short text. MT preserves some textual variety that hints at types of Hebrew development. אל אדמת in ms. G-BEb 22 not only brings the morphology closer to v. 2(7)b והנבא אל אדמת, but it suggests a clarification of the object of הנני אליך later in v. 3(8). Likewise, ms. 150 reflects a text in which the messenger formula was not present, since its reading brings emphasis instead to the subject, כה אדני יהוה הנני. MT could have corrected to the standard messenger formula, while four Hebrew manuscripts: 30, 93, 96, and G-BEb 22, probably over-compensated for the Hebrew reading.

The only phrase that is well-supported is הנני אליך / ιδου εγω προς σε. Even B provides partial support for the phrase, omitting only ιδου εγω. B^{txt} lone προς σε elicited the marginal correction ιδου εγω to make sense of B's text. Also, the Hebrew variants just discussed are all oriented towards clarifying הנני אליך, suggesting that this phrase generated the scribal editing. Probably, the asterisked messenger formula was ultimately an attempt to harmonize the form of הנני אליך with the rest of Ezekiel.[258]

Most likely, p967 and B both preserve their respective Hebrew *Vorlagen*, although B required some inner-Greek correction. Nevertheless, the B^{txt} likely reflects a variant *Vorlage* which omitted כה אמר יהוה הנני אליך on account of perceived Hebrew corruption. This text either added ואמרת לאדמת ישראל for clarity, or incorporated a gloss.[259] Needless to say, these proposed Hebrew stages of scribal activity lie behind our current witnesses. However, the simplest explanation for the MT is that it combined *both* Hebrew readings, resulting in the longer Hebrew edition. According to this solution, p967 and B reflect variant Hebrew *Vorlagen*.

21:12 – (minus) 967 vs. πασα σαρξ και B

παν πν̄α̅ (πνευμα) 967 = כל רוח MT] (obel. *O*) πασα σαρξ και παν πνευμα Z rel. | παν πνευμα πασα σαρξ 62

p967 agrees with the MT; however, there is no reason to suppose Z rel. added πασα σαρξ, especially since the phrase receives the obelus. Likely, both Greek readings reflect alternate Hebrew *Vorlagen*, although the evidence cannot provide any certainty either way.

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[258] As Zimmerli points out, 13 of the 14 times, the messenger formula precedes הנני אליך in Ezekiel. Zimmerli, 1:175 comments on 5:8.

[259] The phrase re-asserts that the oracle that follows should be understood as directed at the "land" of Israel, perhaps to distinguish from Israel as "the people" who were usually addressed by הנני אליך.

22:13 – προς χειρα μου 967 vs. (minus) B

p967	επαξω χειρα μου προς χειρα μου
MT	הכיתי כפִי
	χειρα μου προς χειρα μου 967 Z rel.] χειρα μου B V 490 Co = כפי MT

The reconstructed *Vorlage* of p967 probably agrees with the Hebrew of 21:22 אכה כפִי אל כפִי. There, only in ms. 89 do we find the same reading, (minus אל כפִי) as the MT of 22:13. With its considerable support from other witnesses, p967 probably reflects a variant Hebrew *Vorlage.*

24:9 –δαλον 967 vs. λαον B

δαλον 967 Z rel.] λαον B 130 La^{S} | המדורה MT | תברה HUBP$^{I\text{-}Tar}$ | *m'mr'* HUBP$^{I\text{-}Peshitta}$ (minus) 967 ZB *lI* La^{SW} Sa] (ast. O) ουαι πολις των αιματων rel. = אוי עיר הדמים

δαλον in p967 is the majority reading and best represents the Old Greek. B's λαον can be explained as inner-Greek error: a metathesis of α and λ and a dropped δ, a reading taken up by a few witnesses.[260]

The more difficult variant lies between p967 and the MT. מדורה is only translated in one other LXX book, Is 30:33. There the translation of the verse is not word for word, and in any case, the Greek scribe, who used the verb κειμαι, seems to have misread מְדֻרָתָה as a verbal form of ירד (a Polal passive fem. pl. participle, reconstructed מְדוֹרָתוֹת). A better solution lies in a variant Hebrew *Vorlage* to the Old Greek δαλον (firebrand), a literal translation of האור (firebrand) in lieu of המדורה in the MT.

[260] So Cooke, who calls B's reading "τον λαον ? a corruption of τον δαλον," (Cooke, 274.)

Two textual issues in the surrounding context support this evaluation. The MT plus in the first half of the verse, אוי עיר הדמום, which is likely a post-OG addition to the Hebrew, further suggests that the verse was edited in Hebrew stages of the textual tradition.[261] Second, the MT's use of דור as a verb, "pile up," in v. 5 is not only a hapax, but all Greek witnesses translate υποκαιε "burn".

26:20 – τηϛ 967 vs. γηϛ B
επι $^{\text{τηϛ}}$ ζωηϛ 967 *lI* 91-764] επι γηϛ ζωηϛ Z ≈ rel. = בארץ חיים MT

p967's reading τηϛ appears above the line as a secondary correction in the manuscript. The corrector brought p967's reading into agreement with texts like *lI* 91-764 and not the MT or Z rel. The graphically similar substitution in the phrase επι γηϛ/τηϛ ζωηϛ recurs four other times in Ezekiel with inconsistent renderings across the versions:

	γηϛ	τηϛ
32:23	Z B	967 A
32:24	Z	967 BA
32:26	Z	BA (context of p967 minus)
32:32	Z	967 BA
26:20	Z BA	967

With considerable support in 26:20, Ziegler understandably reads γηϛ with BA. However, the textual evidence in 32:23, 24, 26, 32 should have the OG reading τηϛ, against Ziegler. p967's correction to τηϛ, as well as the evidence from the verses in ch. 32 suggest that here in 26:20, p967 corrected its text to reflect the reading of the OG.

[261] On the MT plus in v 9a, Allen takes it to be a later "mechanical assimilation" to v 6, Allen WBC, 2:55. So also Cooke, 268; and following Cornill, Bertholet, and Fohrer, also Zimmerli, 1:494.

27:18 – (minus) 967 vs. πασης B

See discussion of 27:16 in §4.3.3.1 below.

28:26 –(minus) 967 vs. και ο θεος των πατερων αυτων B

p967	και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κς $^{\text{o }\theta\varsigma}$ αυτων
B	και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κυριος ο θεος αυτων και ο θεος των πατερων αυτων
MT	וידעו כי אני יהוה אלהיהם
	(minus) 967 62 = MT] (obel. $O^{\text{-Syh}}$) και ο θεος των πατερων αυτων Z rel.

p967 lacks the Z rel. plus και ο θεος των πατερων αυτων. In its shorter reading, the corrected p967 probably represents the OG, since there is no good reason for MT or p967 to have eliminated the phrase. B, supported by most of the versions, shows expansion of θεος αυτων with a common formula.[262] θεος αυτων / אלהיהם is not a common form for the recognition formula and may have invited such emendation.[263] Since the B reading has an obelus in the Hexaplaric tradition and is supported by so many witnesses, the addition may have occurred in a now lost Hebrew text, although inner-Greek activity is also possible.

32:18 – τα εθνη τας θυγατερας νεκρας – 967 vs. B on Word Order

967	και καταβιβασουσιν αυτης τα εθνη τας θυγατερας νεκρας
B	και καταβιβασουσιν αυτης τας θυγατερας τα εθνη νεκρας
MT	והורדהו אותה ובנות גוים אדרם
	αυτης 967 Z rel. ≈ tr. $L^{\text{'-46}}$ Arm Tht.Hi.] אותה MT | אַתָּה $\text{HUBP}^{\text{III-30}}$
	τα εθνη 967 ≈ tr. Z rel.] tr. גוים אדרם MT | גוים אֹרִידִים $\text{HUBP}^{\text{III-96}}$
	τας θυγατερας νεκρας 967 ≈ tr. Z rel.] tr. בנות MT

[262] The phrase, θεος των πατερων / ...אלהי אבי appears frequently in the Exodus chapters distinctly related to the revelation of the divine name, thus the association with the recognition formula.

[263] אלהיהם appears in the recognition formula only in 34:30; 39:22; and 39:28; θεος αυτων in these three verses and 35:15.

p967 and B differ only in word order. However, neither translates the MT exactly. The MT is to be questioned here, not only for its disagreement with all of the versions, but also because of the meaningful variants in mss. 30 and 96, discussed below. Since B follows the word order of MT, it more likely represents a correction back to the MT, while p967 is closest to the OG. It is possible to explain all of the variants among the witnesses with the following reconstruction. Largely on the basis of p967, I propose a hypothetical *Vorlage* to illustrate the developments that are textually supported by Hebrew witnesses.

Vorlage: והורדוה הגוים את הבת המתה
OG: και καταβιβασουσιν αυτης τα εθνη της θυγατρος νεκρας

At least two developments could have occurred in the Hebrew, as evinced in mss. 30 and 96. If correct, the two hypothetical developments could explain MT's text. First, a scribe could have written אורידֵם "I will bring them down" in the margin. This paratextual note indicates that the nations fall by God's agency, not on their own, as p967 and its proposed *Vorlage* would have it. Manuscript 96 likely reflects this reading in its variant אֹרִידִים.

Then, a scribe could have re-arranged words and slightly emended the consonantal text to give the agency to Ezekiel.

והורדהו אתה את בנות הגוים	you, bring him down with the daughters of the nations

Manuscript 30, which preserves אַתָּה, supports this proposal. The emendations necessary were metathesis of ו and ה on the end of the verb to create a 3ms direct object and to harmonize the verb with the 2ms pronoun. אתה may have been the result of a

transposition and emendation of the graphically similar המתה. In keeping with this explanation, MT's reading mediates among these developments. Most creatively, MT took אורידֵם as the adjective אַדִּרֵם for modifying הגוים.

The Greek is easier to explain. p967's θυγατερας is simply the plural of θυγατρος. Whether by mistake or intentionally, the change was in part allowed by the adjective νεκρας, which is the same in the Gen. f. singular or plural. B rel. is the result of changed word order to bring the Greek closer to the Hebrew of the MT, although νεκρας was not exchanged for an equivalent of אַדִּרֵם.

34:8 - (minus) 967 vs. εις προνομην και γενεσθαι τα προβατα B

967	του γενεσθαι μου τα προβατα εις καταβρωμα
MT	היות צאני לבז ותהיינה צאני לאכלה
	(minus) 967 26 306* 410 La^{CS} Aug.] (ast. 88) εις προνομην και γενεσθαι τα προβατα (subst. ποιμνια *L´´*) μου Z rel. ≈ לבז ותהיינה צאני MT | לבז ותהיינה (om. צאני) HUBP^{III-96}

Ziegler's apparatus attributes p967's minus of the phrase εις προνομην και γενεσθαι τα προβατα μου, found in B and the MT, to homoioteleuton. However, p967 does not replicate B's word order for "my sheep." The text places the possessive pronoun before the article: μου τα προβατα. Thus, p967's text cannot have produced scribal parablepsis to lead to its current minus. The MT does reproduce צאני in both instances. However, additional considerations obviate parablepsis in the Hebrew as well. First, the verbal elements are quite different, היות and ותהיינה. Second, the second צאני is omitted in ms. 96 and is otherwise textually suspect. Not only do the Lucianic witnesses show variance for this term, but later in the verse, MT's רעי was "wrongly changed" from

רעים(ה) according to most critics.[264] The weakness of the homoioteleuton argument, as well as the asterisk in the B reading, suggests that p967's minus represents the OG.

37:1 – κυριου 967 vs. κυριος B

πνι κυ (πνευματι κυριου) 967 rel.] πνευματι κυριος ZB A' 62' Tert.Ambr.Ir.[lat] | πνευματι τω αγιω κυριου Q[mg] | πνευματι Or. Lo. | רוח יהוה MT

The syntax of MT in 37:1 is ambivalent, leading to the two possible interpretations reflected in p967 and B's readings. רוח יהוה as a construct chain reflects p967's translation πνευματι κυριου. The second option is for יהוה to be the subject of the earlier verb ויוצאני. B reflects this interpretation. Though an accurate translation of the Hebrew, p967 probably reflects an inner-Greek development; B is more reflective of the OG.

37:1 – (minus) 967 vs. ανθρωπινων B

οστω(ν) 967 Tert.Ir.[lat]Consult = עצמות MT] οστων ανθρωπινων Z rel.| οστων ανθρωπων *L*'' 130*-534-403' Bo Arm Or.Tht.Hi.

The adjective ανθρωπινος in B is likely a stylistic modification on L's οστων ανθρωπων. It is possible that a variant Hebrew lay beneath this stream in the Greek.[265] What is more certain is that p967's shorter reading, reflecting the MT, derives from a Hebrew *Vorlage*.

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[264] Zimmerli, 2:206. Allen, 2:157. The un-suffixed conjecture is supported by all LXX mss., the Latin, and the Peshitta.

[265] The MT plus in 34:31 אדם אתם "you are men" and in 36:37 כצאן אדם "like a flock of men," both promise oracles leading up to chapter 37, make the proposal quite possible that the Hebrew of 37:1 once included the term אדם.

39:12 – γαι 967 vs. τε B
γαι 967 Z rel. = גיא MT ≈ γε *O* (γη Syh) *C*'$^{-233}$ 410 La^{S} (*ge*) Arm Ambr.Hi.] τε B 26 Cyr.[266] | (minus) 106 Arab

B is easily explained as an error, reproducing τε as opposed to γε. p967's γαι reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* and is probably earliest, although the variant spellings may not require a textual explanation. Both γαι and γε are transliterations for the Hebrew גיא so variety can be expected.

4.3.2.1. Summary of Results

Thirteen of the 30 variants between p967 and B, where p967 has some textual support, were analyzed above; for one more see §4.4.2 below.[267] Of these 13 variants, seven definitely or arguably reflect variant Hebrew *Vorlagen*: two in 21:3(8); 22:13; 24:9; 26:20; and 32:18. Four more likely reflect variant Hebrew *Vorlagen*: 21:12; 27:18; 28:26; 34:8. One more, 37:1, shows that the Greek witnesses propagated two valid interpretations of the Hebrew; thus there was only one Hebrew *Vorlage*. The only other variant that cannot reflect two variant Hebrew *Vorlagen* is in 39:12.

As the above discussion indicates, the B reading could often be attributed to a variant Hebrew text, twice in 21:3(8); 21:12; 22:13; 24:9; 26:20; 27:18; 28:26; 32:18; 34:8; and 37:1. Twice, B can be explained as a correction towards the MT, with p967

[266] B in v. 11 - τε = "and" enclitic weak particle

[267] Six additional variants are date references. Except in 26:1, they are difficult to adjudicate textually, thus were not dealt with here. Even before p967's witness, a textual problem was already recognized for the year in 26:1. Allen points out that the MT עשתי עשרה "the eleventh year" renders the ordinal differently than elsewhere in Ezekiel אחת עשרה (30:20; 31:1), (Allen, WBC, 2:71.) Most take עשתי as a corruption of שתי "twelfth," (All following Carl Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in da AT mit einem Anhang über die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen* (Tübingen, 1912), 576. Zimmerli, 1:26; Cooke, 288, 294; Allen, 2:71.) This same mistake also occurred in 40:49 which increases the likelihood that twelfth was original. Bewer, who also prefers the twelfth year, does so only on the basis of A's witness, (Bewer, *English Bible* (Harper's Annotated Bible Series; New York: Harper and Bros., 1950), 2:15.)

representing the OG (32:18 and 34:8). Twice, B's reading was shown to be an inner-Greek error (24:9 and 39:12). I did not find one instance where a p967 reading resulted from an error. However, in three cases, p967 definitely or arguably represents a corrected text, twice to the Hebrew in 37:1 and once to the OG in 26:20.

4.3.3. MT and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of p967

4.3.3.1. p967 Variants based on a Variant Hebrew *Vorlage*

Several variants provide strong evidence for editorial activity in the Hebrew. The following variants shed light on the relationship between p967, the MT, and the Hebrew *Vorlage* to the Old Greek.

4:4-6 p967 not preserved; B] MT (presented below)
13:2 προς αυτους 967] לנביאי מלבם MT
24:10 (minus) 967] והעצמות יחרו MT
24:14 διαστελω 967] אפרעMT
ουδε μη ελεησω 967] ולא אחוס ולא אנחם MT
26:10 εκ πεδιου 967] מְבֻקָּעָה MT
27:16 ανθρωπους 967] ארם MT
απο πληθους του συμμεικτου σου 967] מרב מעשיו MT
32:30 στρατηγοι ασσουρ 967] צִדנִי אַשֶׁר MT
32:32 πληθος αυτου 967] המונה MT
36:5 (minus) 967] כל לבב MT
εν προνομη 967 = MT] לבב $HUBP^{III-93}$
37:7 τα οστα 967] עצמות MT
39:11 ονομαστον 967] שֵׁם MT
39:28 εν τω επιφανηναι με 967] בהַגָּלותי MT
(minus) 967] וכנסתים על אדמתם ולא אותיר עוד מהם שם MT

13:2 – אליהם

p967 και ερεις προς αυτους
MT ואמרת לנביאי מלבם

προς αυτους 967 (obel. O) ZB Sa Hi.] (ast. O) τοις προφηταις τοις προφητευουσιν απο καρδιας αυτων rel. θ'α' ≈ לנביאי מלבם MT | אליהם לנביאי מלבם $HUBP^{III-96}$

אליהם in ms. 96 strongly suggests that p967 and B's προς αυτους was originally a Hebrew reading; p967 and B probably reflect their *Vorlage* faithfully. The Hexaplaric obelus makes it difficult to determine the OG; however, p967 and B are certainly closer to it than rel θ'α'. Thus, the OG *Vorlage* and MT represent variant texts. The MT's לנביאי מלבם is likely the later development, according to the loosely translated asterisked reading of the Hexaplaric texts: τοις προφηταις τοις προφητευουσιν απο καρδιας αυτων.

24:10 – העצם

p967	και πληθυνω τα ξυλα και ανακαυσω το πυρ οπως τακη τα κρεα οπως ελαττωθη [ο] ζωμος
MT	הרבה העצים הדלק האש התם הבשר והרקח המרקחה והעצמות יחרו

τα ξυλα 967 Z rel. = העצים MT] העצם HUBP^{III-93} ≈ *ossa* Vul.
(minus) 967 ZB *II* 106 La^{SW} Co Ambr.] (ast.*O*) και τα οστα συνφρυγησονται rel. = והעצמות יחרו MT

Manuscript 93 is alone in reading העצם, although the Vulgate suggests a similar reading העצמות. The weight of evidence indicates that the MT העצים represents the *Vorlage* to the OG τα ξυλα. Thus, ms. 93 is a later Hebrew variant, easily explained as an error except for the second half of the verse. The same lexeme is contested at the end of the verse in the MT plus והעצמות יחרו. However, here too, p967 and B indicate the phrase was probably missing in the *Vorlage* to the OG. Taken together, והעצמות יחרו in MT (an asterisked reading) and העצם in ms. 93 testify to a *Tendenz* in the Hebrew transmission involving the lexeme עצם.

24:14 – ולא ארחים

p967	ου διαστελω ουδε μη ελεησω
MT	לא אגרע ולא אחוס ולא אנחם

διαστελω 967 Z rel.] אפרע MT | אמנע TarJ | *’rḥp* Peshitta | אגרע HUBP^{III-96}
ουδε μη ελεησω 967 Z rel.] ου φεισομαι ουδε μη ελεησω *L* 86 | ουδε μη ελεησω (ast. *O*) ουδ ου μη παρακληθω O^{-62} Arm Hi. ≈ ουδε φεισομαι και ου μη παρακληθω 62 *lII* Tht. ≈ ולא אחוס ולא אנחם MT | ולא אחוס ולא אנחם ולא ארחים HUBP^{I-TarJ} = HUBP$^{I-Peshitta}$

p967, B, and several other witnesses that read ουδε μη ελεησω omit the second expression in MT’s phrase ולא אחוס ולא אנחם. ולא אנחם cannot have been in the OG, especially as it is variously represented among the versions in which it appears.[268] The Hexaplaric manuscripts translate אנחם with the asterisked παρακληθω, reading a Piel אֲנַחֵם “I will comfort” where MT vocalized a Nifal אֶנָּחֵם “I will be sorry.”

Missing from the OG, the נחם-expression was probably a later Hebrew addition.[269] Such an evaluation is made more likely by the fourth term in TarJ ולא ארחים “and I will not have compassion” which is likely the result of an accretion of similar expressions in the Hebrew. Variety in the first Hebrew term, MT’s פרע “to let go,” TarJ’s מנע “to withhold,” and ms. 96’s גרע “to diminish/restrain,” similarly shows fluidity in the Hebrew.[270] The latter two may lie behind φειδομαι “to spare,” which appears in *L* 86 and is transposed in 62 *lII* Tht. as a Greek correction back to the Hebrew.

[268] Zimmerli, noting its omission in the Greek and Latin witnesses, determines that ולא אנחם “is certainly an addition, since it adds a third statement to the two preceding parallel expressions.” (Zimmerli, 1:496).

[269] While Allen asserts the originality of the expression in the Hebrew, his reasons may equally apply to a later addition. He makes the case that a word-play exists in chap 24 on the consonants חם, focusing poetic attention on the divine חמה. Allen prefers אנחם in order to fulfill the חם-word-play. (Allen, 58).

[270] גרע appears in 5:11 in a similar sequence of divine promises about the efficacy of prophecy. מנע has no association with the content or form of 24:14, however it is used in Ezekiel with respect to *Sheol* in 31:15. MT’s פרע has invited some critical comments. Zimmerli gratuitously notes in his textual comments that the verb does not appear elsewhere in Ezekiel (Zimmerli, 1:496). Cooke supplies more relevant information about Rabbinic sources that noted and discussed the verb (Cooke, 275).

26:10 – מבקעה
εκ πεδιου 967 Z rel. (recon. מִבְּקָעָה)] מְבֻקָּעָה MT

εκ πεδιου in the LXX witnesses reflects a variant pointing of בקעה. The MT "breached" is a 3fs Pual ptc. of בקע pointed מְבֻקָּעָה. The Greek translated εκ πεδιου "from the plain" and reads a noun with a prefixed preposition: מִבִּקְעָה. It is possible this vocalization represented a Hebrew tradition, although no textual evidence can yet prove the matter.

27:16 – כל הון **and** מרב

p967	ανθρωπους εμποριαν σου απο πληθους του συμμεικτου σου
MT	ארם סחרתך מרב מעשיך
	ανθρωπους 967 Z rel. (recon. אָדָם)] ארם MT | εδωμ Peshitta (recon. אֱדֹם)
	απο πληθους του συμμεικτου σου 967 Z rel.] מרב מעשיו MT | מרב כל הון HUBP^{III-30}

Several textual issues are involved in the evaluation of 27:16. MT's מרב מעשיך is translated in all versions as απο πληθους του συμμεικτου σου. Cooke reconstructs the Hebrew *Vorlage* of συμμεικτου σου as מערבך and cites vv. 17 and 19 for support; we should add vv. 27(2x), 33, and 34 as further evidence.[271] In all these instances, συμμικτος "comingled" translates מערב, probably working from the Hebrew עֵרֶב "mixed company," although the Aramaic מְעָרַב, a Pael pass ms. ptc meaning "mixed" is even more similar.[272] The root מערב has several meanings in the Hebrew, as the Greek indicates in v. 9 δυσμη "west" and v. 13 εμποριᾳ "business," both literal translations. The context of 27:16 warrants the translation "merchandise," which εμποριᾳ would have

[271] Cooke, 310. Allen and Zimmerli do not comment. Zimmerli, 2:47-8. Allen, 2:82.

[272] This term is found twice in Daniel, 2:41, 43, to describe the mixed materials of the statue representing the four kingdoms.

best captured. Nevertheless, all LXX witnesses read συμμικτος, and this, with Cooke, probably indicates a variant Hebrew *Vorlage*. Manuscript 30's כל הון for מעשיך affirms that the Hebrew was somewhat fluid (cf. 27:18 where MT reads מרב כל הון). Additionally, two verses later in v. 18, the phrase ברב מעשיך (corrected in ms. 30 to מרב, partially supported by ms. 93) is not attested in the best Greek witnesses. These anamolies suggest that the Hebrew of the MT in 27:16 was fluid, even after the OG translation.

If p967 accurately reflects its *Vorlage* and מערבך lay in Hebrew, as I am suggesting, the similarity of מערבך to מרב, the MT's *nomen regens,* may have produced the MT reading. Further, based on כל הון in ms. 30 (and v. 18), it is possible that the graphically similar המון, a common Hebrew equivalent for πληθος, was also a part of the expression in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. If the *Vorlage* to the OG read מהמון מערבך, the Hebrew readings can both be explained through (deliberate?) haplography, although this proposal is purely speculative. What is certain is that the Greek witnesses point to a Hebrew text different from that of MT.

32:30 – צדנֵי
στρατηγοι ασσουρ 967 Z rel.] צִדנִי אַשֶׁר MT | צִדנֵי אַשֶׁר HUBP$^{III\text{-}G\text{-}BEb\ 10}$ | σιδωνιοι α'σ' | σεδεκ θ' | *venatores qui* Vul

Zimmerli raises the possibility that LXX misread צדני as a plural construct form of סרני "tyrants/governors" to produce its reading στρατηγοι. Cooke determines that Zimmerli's explanation offers the decisive solution. However, across the LXX, στρατηγος as the translation of סרן occurs only once, and never in Ezekiel. Instead we

find αρχων (4 times) or σατραπης (8 times) across the LXX. Much more commonly, we find סגן beneath στρατηγος, most importantly three times in Ezekiel (23:6, 12, 23).

Zimmerli's hesitation, signaled by his question mark, is prudent. סגני is not similar enough to צדני graphically to explain on the basis of error. Hence, it is better to conclude with Zimmerli, that "the whole expression [צדני אשר וכל] has surely been added secondarily."[273] How the reading was produced is now lost to us, although a certain factor is variant interpretations of the unvocalized אשר: a proper noun in LXX and the relative particle in MT. The reading צדנֵי in ms. G-BEb 10 reflects a now lost construct chain, providing additional Hebrew support to LXX's reading. However the witness neither equals the Greek, nor understands אשר as a proper name. Nevertheless, interpretive fluidity in the Hebrew best explains the Greek variant.

32:32 – המונו
πληθος αυτου 967 Z rel. = המונו HUBP$^{\text{III-G-BEb 10 (sm)}}$ | המונה MT (q המונו /k המונה HUBP$^{\text{III-G-BEb 10 (pm)}}$)

The *ketib-qere* reading in ms. G-BEb 10 (pm) המונו supports the ms possessive pronoun of the Greek witnesses. This constitutes important evidence suggesting that the LXX variant was based on a different Hebrew text from the MT.

36:5 – לבב
(minus) 967 Z rel.] εξ ολης καρδιας 62 *L´*$^{-46}$ Tht. = כל לבב MT
εν προνομη 967 Z rel.] εις προνομην 147´ 46 *cII* = לבז MT | לבב HUBP$^{\text{III-93}}$

The textual information supplied by ms. 93's reading לבב is relevant to the LXX minus in the beginning of the verse. לבב could be explained as an erroneous reproduction

[273] Zimmerli, 2:168-169.

of לבז. However, taking all the textual information together, ms. 93 complies with the *Tendenz* found in the MT plus כל לבב in the first half of the verse. More likely, לבב was an intentional modification of לבז. In the first half of the verse, p967 Z rel.'s minus accurately reflects its Hebrew *Vorlage* as a variant Hebrew edition.

37:7 – העצמות
τα οστα 967 Z rel. = העצמות HUBP$^{\text{II-PirkeRE32(201)} \approx \text{MasEzek}}$] (minus) HUBP$^{\text{III-96}}$ | עצמות MT

LXX is based on a Hebrew text type represented by the supplied article in ms. PirkeRE32(201) (partially supported by MasEzek).[274] The minus in ms. 96 suggests that a shorter Hebrew text circulated, once again, affirming fluidity in the Hebrew.

39:11 - מקום שֵׁם קבר
τοπον ονομαστον μνημειον 967 Z rel. = *locum nominatum*... La^{S} Vul ≈ מקום שֵׁם קבר HUBP$^{\text{III-96 G-BEb24}}$ | τοπον εκει ονομαστον μνημειον 62 cf.$^{\text{MT}}$ | מקום שָׁם קבר MT | קבורא אתין לגוג אתר כשׁר (לבית Tar (אתר כשׁר cf. שָׁם MT)

The Hebrew that likely lay beneath 967 Z rel.'s ονομαστον occurs in ms. 96 G-BEb24 with שֵׁם. Manuscript 62 harmonizes between the two vocalizations of שם by supplying both εκει and ονομαστον. MT's שָׁם is only loosely supported by the Targum's phrase אתר כשׁר "a fitting place" which captures the sense. The two Hebrew manuscripts 96 and G-BEb24 show that the LXX reflects a vocalization alternative to the MT tradition, and based on the testimony across the versions, likely preceding it.

4:4-6 – The Number of Years for Israel's Guilt

[274] Manuscript 96's minus raises some question about the originality of the term, especially since עצם has been identified as the theme word for the Bones-*Tendenz.*

4:4
Z και συ κοιμηθηση επι το πλευρον σου το απιστερον και θησεις τας αδικιας του οικου ισραηλ επ αυτου κατα αριθμον των ημερων πεντηκοντα και εκατον ας κοιμηθηση επ αυτου και λημψη τας αδικιας αυτων
MT ואתה שכב על צדך השמאלי ושמת את עון בית ישראל עליו מספר הימים אשר תשכב עליו תשא את עונם

πεντηκοντα και εκατον Z rel. (obel. *O*) (967 not preserved)] ενενηκοντα και εκατον *O* Q^{mg}-147 538 534-239'-710 | ενενηκοντα και τριακοσιας 410 | (minus) *C'* = MT

4:5
Z και εγω δεδωκα σοι τας δυο αδικιας αυτων εις αριθμον ημερων ενενηκοντα και εκατον ημερας και λημψη τας αδικιας του οικου ισραηλ
MT ואני נתתי לך את שני עונם למספר ימים שלש מאות ותשעים יום ונשאת עון בית ישראל

init. Z rel. MT] ואני נתתי לך את עונם $HUBP^{III-30}$
ενενηκοντα και εκατον Z rel. (967 not preserved)] ενενηκοντα και τριακοσιας *C'*-403' 410 Hi. = שלש מאות ותשעים MT
δυο Z rel.] שני MT (שְׁנֵי) | שתי $HUBP^{III-96}$ | om. V
αδικιας αυτων Z rel.] עונם MT | עולם $HUBP^{III-G-BEb61}$
εις αριθμον Z rel.] למספר MT | מספר $HUBP^{III-30}$

4:6
Z και συντελεσεις ταυτα παντα και κοιμηθηση επι το πλευρον σου το δεξιον και λημψη τας αδικιας του οικου ιουδα τεσσαρακοντα ημερας ημεραν εις ενιαυτον τεθεικα σοι
MT כלית את אלה ושכבת על צדך הימיני שנית ונשאת את עון בית יהודה ארבעים יום יום לשנה נתתיו לך

το δεξιον Z rel. (967 not preserved)] το δεξιον (obel. *O*) δευτερον *O*-62 Arm = הימיני שנית MT ≈ *L*''-311 Tht. 147'
ιουδα Z rel. = יהודה MT] יהוהה $HUBP^{III-93!}$| ישראל $HUBP^{III-96}$

Critics have long known that variants exist between the LXX and MT in 4:4-6; p967, missing in these chapters, does not provide any new information. Nevertheless, the textual issues resemble those examined above.

In v. 4, LXX πεντηκοντα και εκατον is a plus over MT. In v. 5, LXX has ενενηκοντα και εκατον for MT's שלש מאות ותשעים.

Two scholars come to opposite conclusions about the text of vv. 4-6. Zimmerli takes the MT to be an expanded form of an originally unspecified sign action, but in a

form earlier than Z.[275] Brownlee concludes the opposite, taking the 190 days in Z v. 5 and consequently v. 4, as the original.[276]

As Brownlee points out, the variation between the numbers in MT and Z are, at least in part, the result of two valid readings of שני עונם in v. 5: "both sets of their iniquity" and "the years of their iniquity." Z, supported by all of the versions, reads the former for שני, δυο "two."[277] In accordance with this reading, v. 5 reports the total of the two date reckonings: "150" (v. 4) plus "40" (v. 6) = 190 (v. 5).[278] Thus, Z exhibits arithmetic coherence not explicitly found in MT and would therefore represent the *lectio facilior*. Additionally, the variant readings in v. 4, πεντηκοντα και εκατον (150), ενενηκοντα και εκατον (190), and ενενηκοντα και τριακοσιας (390), all pluses, indicate that the Greek tradition splintered into different interpretative calculations. These two considerations seem to indicate that the Greek scribes were responsible for the textual variance in these verses.

However, there are several indications that scribal activity occurred in the Hebrew stages and produced the present variant editions. Manuscript 96 shows how the Greek reading δυο in v. 5 could be the product of Hebrew activity. The scribe substituted שתי, the *feminine* construct form of שני for the masculine noun, עון, in order to guarantee the

[275] Zimmerli, 1:165-168.

[276] Brownlee, 60 n6b, 68.

[277] While rare, the numerals between 2-10 can take a singular object, as is the case with עונם, (Gesenius §134e). The Greek cannot be considered a mistake.

[278] Brownlee notes that vv. 4-6 would make more sense in a different order – such that v. 5 was displaced from after v. 6, obscuring its role as the total of vv. 4 and 6. The displacement occurred so that Jerusalem (v. 7) could come immediately after Judah (v. 6) – preserving geography, but not arithmetic. (Brownlee, WBC 1:64).

contested reading, "two punishments."[279] Later in v. 6, ms. 96 substitutes "Israel" for "Judah," perhaps to eliminate the problems with the "house of Israel" throughout the three verses. These two Hebrew variants show how generative interpretations occurred in Hebrew stages of scribal transmission. Further, an unusual density of Hebrew variance in v. 5, including an entire phrase in ms. 30, show there was fluidity in Hebrew stages. The obelus reading in v. 4 ενενηκοντα και εκατον (190) may also be adduced in support.[280]

Finally, Z is not the *lectio facilior*; MT also presents a similar interpretive scheme for its numbers. As Zimmerli points out, the number forty in v. 6 plays an important role in the Exodus narrative. In MT, "390" of v. 5 and "40" of v. 6 add up to 430, which, given the context of Egypt, is probably a reference to the same number in Exodus 12:40.[281] While "accurate" arithmetic explained Z's readings, *meaningful* arithmetic can explain MT's variant numbers.

Zimmerli may be correct that the unspecified number in MT v. 4 מספר הימים "the number of days" was original to an early proto-type of the passage:[282]

> It appears probable that we are not dealing with one single addition, made at one time, but that several phases of such activity are discernible. In the different numbers given in MT and LXX, which are not simple scribal errors, we can follow still further the interpretive work which molded the text.[283]

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[279] Not common in Ezekiel, שתי in Ezek 35:10, refers to the two nations of Israel like the sign act in Ezek 4:4-6. For the opposite position to my evaluation, see Cooke, 64. On the issue of gender disagreement between numerals and their nouns, see Gesenius §97a.

[280] Indeed, Z's 150 is probably the result of Greek activity, "obtained by subtracting the 40 years of Judahs' captivity (v 6) from the total 190," with Cooke, (Cooke, 52).

[281] Zimmerli, 1:167.

[282] Zimmerli, 1:165-66.

[283] Zimmerli, 1:164.

In sum, the disagreements among the witnesses show a protracted phase of scribal activity. Some of this variation could have occurred in the Greek process of transmission. However, it is clear that significant activity occurred in the Hebrew stages as well, especially the important development of "two punishments" as represented by the variant in ms. 96. The variants between the MT and LXX largely reflect variant Hebrew editions.[284]

4.3.3.2. *Pseudo-Ezekiel*: A Variant Hebrew Literary Edition of Ezek 37:2-10

In addition to the 12 verses just discussed for their relationship to the Hebrew, four variants in Ezekiel 37 will benefit from text-critical comparison with *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. *Pseudo-Ezekiel* was found in several copies among the Dead Sea Scrolls.[285] 4Q386 preserves the unambiguous evidence from three successive columns of the text whose sequence is based on Ezekiel. Its contents include a paraphrase of the valley of dried bones in column i, a gathering on the wasted land of Israel, and the oppressive

[284] One suggestion is that the phrase at the end of v 4 תשא את עונם (with copula in ZB rel.) could be the basis for MT's unique ותשעים in v 5. There may also be a key to development of the different numbers in v 4 with the obelus reading ενενηκοντα και εκατον "190" and 410's variant ενενηκοντα και τριακοσιας "390," both occurring in v 5 of Z and MT respectively.

[285] Devorah Dimant offers a reconstruction of the manuscripts and fragments into six columns to reflect one singular composition of Pseudo-Ezekiel. There are five fragments of Pseudo-Ezek., 4Q385, 4Q386, 4Q387, 4Q388, 4Q391. Dimant reconstructs Pseudo-Ezekiel with 4Q385 based on its six fragments in combination with 4Q386 and 4Q388. The three manuscripts all share the paraphrase of the vision of the dried bones, but the remainder of their contents cover separate portions of Dimant's reconstructed text. See especially Dimant's graphic though partial reconstruction in Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4 XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 18. Hartmut Steggemann proposed a different order for 4Q385's fragments wherein the valley of dried bones in fragment 2 appears in the last column of the work. Thus 4Q385 would represent a variant edition and sequence from 4Q386. Reference to Steggemann's work appears in D. Dimant and J. Strugnell, "4Q Second Ezekiel," *Revue de Qumran* 13 (1988): 45-46 note. 1a. I have not been able to locate his proposal elsewhere. Given the importance of this question, I will follow Dimant's reconstruction only of columns I-IV. "The reconstruction of cols. I-IV rests solely on material grounds, and therefore may be considered certain. The remaining columns in the restoration, designated cols. V-VI, lack this material certainty, but display other features which permit their placement in the sequence with a high degree of plausibility." Dimant, *DJD*, 19.

threat of Belial in column ii. 4Q385 also preserves the edition of Ezekiel 37. Because *Pseudo-Ezekiel* has been characterized as "rewritten Scripture,"[286] it does not represent a "textual witness" to Ezekiel in the traditional sense. However, rewritten scripture can still provide important text-critical information, especially in study of variant literary editions. Kristen De Troyer critiques the text-critical distinction between rewritten Scripture and Scripture, arguing that the same compositional effects we see in so-called "rewritten Scripture" may closely resemble those we see *within* our canonical text-traditions.[287] The copies of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* found at Qumran are all written in Hebrew, a fact which underscores the kind of fluidity we have been exploring in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel. Since Ezekiel's text became an active site of scribal expansion, interpretation, and/or composition, a manuscript like *Pseudo-Ezekiel* holds important information for text-critical analysis of variant literary editions.[288] 4Q385 and 4Q386 are below compared with four variants from the *Tendenzen* data set: 37:4, 7, 9, and 10.

37:4 (4Q 385 line 5a and 4Q386 line 4)

MT	ויאמר אלי הנבא על העצמות
4Q385 and 4Q386	ויאמר בן אדם הנבא על העצמות
p967	και ειπεν προς με προφητευσον επι τα οστα

προφητευσον 967 ZB A V-449 Bo Aeth Or.IV 210 Tht.Tert.GregEl.Ambr.Ir.[lat]Consult =

[286] George Brooke includes both Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Apocryphon of Jeremiah in his discussion of Rewritten Bible. Brooke, "Rewritten Bible," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* vol. 2, (eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, New York: Oxford Press, 2000), 779.

[287] Working with George Nickelsburg's discussion of the terms, rewritten, expanded, and supplements in apocryphal literature, Detroyer notes that supplements resemble what textual critics call interpolations. She asks, "could some of these supplements not be seen simply as the further literary development of the biblical text itself?" While Detroyer does not apply this insight directly to the case of variant literary editions, her discussion pushes some of the boundaries that double literary editions, by nature, defy. (De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text,* 4).

[288] See also Dimant, who edited *Pseudo-Ezekiel* for the DJD series and suggests that a host of unexplored manuscripts can help us further understand the types of "scribal interpretive functions" that would have produced variant literary editions. Devorah Dimant, "Literary Typologies," 73.

הנבא MT] προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου *L*'-403 Or.XI 387 Lo. | προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου προφητευσον 26 544 613 | (obel. Q) υιε ανθρωπου προφητευσον rel.
επι τα οστα ταυτα 967 Z rel. = על העצמות האלה MT] επι τα οστα ταυτα προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου V-449 Tht. | (minus) *L*'-46 Or.XI 387 Lo.

Both *Pseudo-Ezekiel* manuscripts contain the title בן אדם in place of MT's אלי. Although transposed, the title is present in the L- and O-groups in a plus over p967, B, and the MT. The title receives the obelus in manuscript Q, which indicates that Origen considered it a faulty Greek reading. The term בן אדם / υιε ανθρωπου is also transposed/plus in Greek witnesses to 37:9 and 12 as well.

The επι τα οστα minus in L remains a divergent reading, since על העצמות is present in 4Q385 and 4Q386.

37:7 (4Q 385 frag. 2 line 5b and 4Q386 frag. 1 line 5)

MT	ותקרבו עצמות עצם אל עצמו
4Q385 and 4Q386	הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק אל פרקו
p967	και προσηγαγεν τα οστα εκαστον προς τη αρμονιαν αυτου

τα οστα 967 Z rel. = העצמות HUBP$^{\text{II-PirkeRE32(201)} \approx \text{MasEzek}}$] (minus) HUBP$^{\text{III-96}}$ | עצמות MT
εκαστον προς τη αρμονιαν αυτου 967 Z rel.] οστεον προς τη αρμονιαν αυτου *O* (Q$^{\text{mg}}$) *C*'-130'-239'-403' 410 Arab Arm | οστεον προς οστεον εκαστον *L*''$^{\text{-48-46}}$ Tht. = עצם אל עצמו MT

The *Pseudo-Ezekiel* reading is strikingly different from MT and the versions. However, the Greek and Hebrew diverges enough to warrant the comparison. Indeed, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* provides some important but partial support for both Hebrew and Greek readings. It lacks העצמות like ms. 96; it agrees with MT's עצם אל עצמו which is taken up in L's reading οστεον προς οστεον εκαστον; and פרקו shows that Hebrew scribes

produced the reading present in p967: αρμονιαν αυτου "its joint."[289] These types of inner-Hebrew variants demonstrate the probability that p967's variants were present already in its Hebrew *Vorlage.*

37:9 (4Q 385 line 7b and 4Q386 line 8b)

MT	מארבע רוחות
4Q385 and 4Q386	על ארבע רחות השמים
p967	εκ των τεσσαρων σου πνευματω(ν)

σου πνευματω(ν) 967] πνευματων Z rel. = רוחות MT] ανεμων 407 36^{txt}-V | ανεμων του ουρανου A'' Arab Ambr.Spec.Aug.

Pseudo-Ezekiel השמים provides warrant for A's reading του ουρανου "of heaven". p967's unique σου remains unsupported.

37:10 (4Q385 lines 8-9 & 4Q386 lines 9b-9c-10)

MT	ויעמדו על רגליהם חיל גדול מאד מאד
4Q385 & 4Q386	ויעמד עם רב אנשים וברכו את יהוה צבאות אשר חים
p967	και εστησαν επι των ποδων αυτων συναγωγη πολλη σφοδρα

συναγωγη 967 Z rel.] δυναμις 87-91 Syh = *valentia* Tert. = חיל MT
πολλη 967 Z rel.] μεγαλη A''-106'-403' Bo Tert. = גדול MT
σφοδρα 967 Z rel.] σφοδρα (ast. *O*) σφοδρα *O*-62' 534 Arab Arm^{p} Hi. = מאד מאד MT

4Q385 and 4Q386 read עם רב אנשים instead of MT's חיל גדול מאד מאד. p967 Z rel.'s reading does not match either, although its term πολλη comes closer to רב then MT's גדול. While genetic textual agreement is not justified here, 4Q385 and 4Q386 prove that the term for *who* was raised in the bones-vision was in flux in the Hebrew literary tradition.

[289] Dimant, *DJD: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*.

In 4Q385 and 4Q386, a unique plus follows וברכו את יהוה צבאות אשר חים "and they blessed the Lord of Hosts who brought them to life." This plus is not found in our manuscripts of Ezekiel. However, elements of it anticipate the literary *Tendenz* of p967's reading. p967 and Z rel.'s term συναγωγη is more in keeping with an act of blessing the Lord, which is described in 4Q385 and 4Q386's edition.

4.3.3.3. Summary of Results

I analyzed eighteen variants which support the argument that behind p967's text lies scribal activity in the Hebrew. In all 18 instances, p967's reading is closest to the OG.

Fifteen cases definitely or arguably reflect two variant Hebrew texts for the Greek tradition: 4:4-6; 13:2; 24:10; 24:14; 27:16; 32:32; 36:5; 37:4; 37:7; 37:7; 37:9; 37:10; 39:11; and 39:28. The remaining three cases could possibly reflect variant Hebrew texts: 26:10; 32:30; and 37:10. In almost all of these cases, the MT represents the more developed text. Only in 24:10 and 37:9 can MT be considered the earliest reading.

4.4. Textual Discussion of 12:26-28, 32:24-26, and 36:23c-38

4.4.1. Introduction

The final text-critical objective of the present chapter is to evaluate the case for error in p967's text. Specific attention must be paid to 12:26-28, 32:24-26, and 36:23c-38. These three variants serve as "intertextual centers" in chapter 5's literary analysis. Hence, their status as "intentional" or what I call "viable" textual readings requires analysis and defense.

4.4.2. Ezek 12:26-28

p967
[25] διοτι εγω κς λαλησω τους λογους μου λαλησω και ποιησω και ου μη μηκυνω ετι οτι εν ταις ημερας υμων οικος ο παραπικραινων λαλησω λογον και ποιησω λεγει κυριος [26-28] (minus) [13:1-2] και εγενετο λογος κυριου προς με λεγων υιε ανθρωπου

MT
[25] כי אני יהוה אדבר את אשר אדבר דבר ויעשה לא תמשך עוד כי בימיכם בית המרי אדבר דבר ועשיתיו נאם אדני יהוה [26] ויהי דבד יהוה אלי לאמר [27] בן אדם הנה בית ישראל אמרים החזון אשר הוא חזה לימים רבים ולעתים רחוקות הוא נבא [28] לכן אמר אליהם כה אמר אדני יהוה לא תמשך עוד כל דברי אשר אדבר דבר ויעשה נאם אדני יהוה
[13:1-2] ויהי דבר יהוה אלי לאמר בן אדם

Floyd Filson's 1943 study made the case for error in p967's text, pointing out the repeated phrases in 12:25bβ -12:27aα' and 12:28-13:2aα' (ועש... נאם אדני יהוה ויהי דבר יהוה אלי לאמר בן אדם) for a total of 11 words.[290] According to Filson, the scribe of p967 omitted the verses through parablepsis.[291] When Jahn re-published p967[Köln], he independently agreed that the omission was "per homoioteleuton."[292] Filson suggests that such an error may have been facilitated by the fact that the verses *might* have filled nearly an entire column.[293] However, I agree with Lust that that this later consideration is of little to no text-critical value since the conjecture is probably materially incorrect.[294]

[290] Filson, "Omission," 28.

[291] Filson follows JGK's general observation that the p967 manuscript contains many errors through omission. However, the present study evaluates many of these "omissions" differently.

[292] Jahn, 23. For a thorough presentation of the commentaries on this passage, some with awareness of the issue presented by p967, see Lust, "Major Divergences," 86, n. 86.

[293] Filson adduces the speculative reconstruction, by JGK, that the dimensions of p967's base-text indicated that the present minus filled a little over a column; however, the speculative nature of his evidence renders the argument untrustworthy (Filson, 28). See JGK, 8.

[294] See Lust, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments," 24-25.

Nevertheless, the *homoioteleuton* argument is quite strong for this variant and understandably holds many adherents.[295]

Lust mounted counter-arguments with equal merit.[296] He adduced literary and linguistic features to support the integrity of p967's text.[297] For discussion of Lust's literary arguments, see chapter 5 of the present study (§5.2.1). Indeed, the literary arguments against text-critical evaluations for error in p967's text are strong. Thus, an argument for an *erroneous* minus is weakened, although adjudication between literary and textual arguments is not straight-forward.

In addition to a literary argument, Lust found linguistic reasons to see the section as a late addition to the Hebrew text. Four specific phrases occur within the MT plus - "vision" (חזון), "times" (עתים), and "for many years ahead" (לימים רבים) - appear only in later works like Daniel, and Chronicles.[298] Moreover, "for distant times" (לעתים רחוקות) is a *hapax.*[299]

Textual critics have also long noted the difficulty in v. 28 with the phrase לא תמשך עוד כל דברי אשר אדבר דבר ויעשה. Syntactically problematic, לא תמשך is repeated from v. 25 where it is often called "formally neutral."[300] However, this explanation only mollifies

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[295] Several scholars have taken up Filson's evaluation for error in p967, including Brownlee's critical, eclectic translation on the basis of Filson's 1943 study, (Brownlee, WBC, 1:182). See also Zimmerli, 1:283.

[296] While p967 is alone among the witnesses, La^{W}, which attests other p967 minuses, does not preserve this section.

[297] Lust, "Major Divergences," 85-86; *idem*. "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments," 24-26.

[298] Lust is careful to point out that "vision" is not a new term, but has the connotations common of later apocalyptic works, (Lust, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New," 26).

[299] For Lust's analysis of the Greek of this passage, see *ibid*, 26.

[300] So Zimmerli, 1:283; see also Ehrlich, 43; Cooke, 137.

the textual difficulty. At issue is the 3fs conjugation of the verb תמשך without a corresponding subject in either context. In v. 25, the 1cs divine speech yields to the 3ms subject דָּבָר once, but the noun requires a 3ms conjugation. Likewise, in v. 28, two options for the subject present themselves. Syntactically, כל דְּבָרָי ought to serve as the subject. However, the *nomen regens* כל is an attribute of the genitive, such that "the predicate usually agrees in gender and number with the genitive," which in this case is a masculine *plural* noun.[301] The other option is syntactically problematic: דָּבָר stands in the following clause; however, as in v. 25, it is a *masculine* singular noun.

The phrase in question, לא תמשך עוד כל דברי אשר אדבר דבר ויעשה in v. 28 is not present in the A-group manuscript 410. Many critics evaluate for error in 410's text.[302] However, 410's "error" may reflect the grammatical difficulty with the phrase. As a divergent minus from p967, 410's reading stands as a textually independent witness to the difficulty with v. 28b. Thus three textual factors warrant further inquiry into the reliability of p967 as an early witness: Lust's late linguistic argument, the case of the verb תמשך, and the independent reading of 410.

Formally, the literary unit that begins in 12:17 is structured by the phrase και εγενετο λογος κυριου προς με λεγων υιε ανθροπου which is repeated four times (12:17, 21, 26, and 13:1). Each instance serves as the introduction to a new disputation on the subject of prophecy. p967's text omits the entire third section running from vv. 26-28. The argument from form *counters* Filson's argument for *homoioteleuton* given the form-critical role of the phrase in question.

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[301] Gesenius §146c. In the cases of exception, the verb is masculine.

[302] Ziegler's apparatus attributes 410's omitted phrase to homoioteleuton; however, this would place the burden of parablepsis on the largely dissimilar כה אמר אדני יהוה and נאם אדני יהוה, weakening the basis for his evaluation.

Verses 27-28, the content of the third disputation, are largely a catena of phrases and words from the immediate context. According to Zeigler's Greek text, v. 27 includes four common theme-words from its surrounding context: ορασις (vv. 22, 23), ημερας (vv. 22, 23, 25), καιρους (v. 23 in L), and μακρους (v. 22). Verse 28, the disputation, offers even greater repetition; whole phrases repeat from the context:

v. 28aα	δια τουτο ειπον προς αυτους ταδε λεγει κυριος
v. 23aα	δια τουτο ειπον προς αυτους ταδε λεγει κυριος
v. 19aα	και ερεις προς τον λαον της γης ταδε λεγει κυριος
v. 28aβ	ου μη μηκυνωσιν ουκετι
v. 25bα	ου μη μηκυνω ετι
v. 28bβ	λαλησω λαλησω και ποιησω λεγει κυριος
v. 25bβ	λαλησω λογον και ποιησω λεγει κυριος
v. 25aβ	λαλησω και ποιησω

The Hebrew of v. 28 runs even more closely with the parallel phrases listed above: תִּמָּשֵׁךְ lies beneath both μηκυνωσιν (v. 28aβ) and μηκυνω (v. 25bα), and אֲדַבֵּר דָּבָר lies beneath both λαλησω λαλησω (v. 28bβ) and λαλησω λογον (v. 25bβ). The Hebrew, like the Greek, also preserves the perfect repetition between vv. 28aα and 23aα. Thus three shared phrases suggest that v. 28 is constructed from material lifted from its surrounding context, either directly or mediated as glosses.

In short, v. 28 is quite probably a later addition, especially in light of its content, which is repeated from the context. The previous textual, form, and redactional considerations support the view that p967 represents a phase when vv. 26-28 did not yet appear in Ezekiel 12. As I will demonstrate below (§4.4.3) a possible rationale for the insertion of the verses might be found in the word-play with the verb משך "Meshech." The plus material in MT v. 28 affirms that God's word would not *meshech* (stretch out) any longer.

4.4.3. Ezek 32:24-26

32:24bβ – 26

p967 [24bβ] οι δεδωκοτες τον φοβον αυτων επι της ζωης αυτων (39-word minus) [26bα] παντες απεριτμητοι τραυματιαι απο μαχαιρας οι δεδωκοτες τον φοβον αυτων επι γης ζωης

B [24bβ] οι δεδωκοτες τον φοβον αυτων επι της ζωης αυτων και ελαβοσαν την βασανον αυτων μετα των καταβαινοντων εις βοθρον [25] εν μεσω τραυματιων (24-word minus) [26] εκει εδοθησαν μοσοχ και θοβελ και πασα η ισχυς αυτων περικυκλω του μνηματος αυτου παντες τραυματιαι αυτου παντες απεριτμητοι τραυματιαι απο μαχαιρας

L'' 62' [24bβ] οι δεδωκοτες τον φοβον αυτων επι της ζωης αυτων και ελαβοσαν την βασανον αυτων μετα των καταβαινοντων εις βοθρον [25] εν μεσω τραυματιων εδοθη κοιτη αυτης συν παντι τω πληθει εκαστου περικυκλω η ταφη αυτων (+ παντων) απεριτμητων τραυματιων μαχαιρα (13-word minus) [26] εκει εδοθησαν μοσοχ και θοβελ και πασα η ισχυς αυτων περικυκλω του μνηματος αυτου παντες τραυματιαι αυτου παντες απεριτμητοι τραυματιαι απο μαχαιρας

MT [24] אשר נתנו חתיתם בארץ חַיִּים וישאו כלמתם את יורדי בור [25] בְּתוֹךְ חֲלָלִים נתנו משכב לה בכל המונה סביבותיו קברתה כלם ערלים חללי חרב כי נתן חתיתם בארץ חיים וישאו כלמתם את יורדי בור בתוך חללים נתן [26] שָׁם מֶשֶׁךְ תֻּבַל וְכָל הֲמוֹנָהּ סְבִיבוֹתֶיהָ קִבְרוֹתֶיהָ כֻּלָּם עֲרֵלִים מְחַלְלֵי חָרֶב כִּי נָתְנוּ חִתִּיתָם בְּאֶרֶץ חַיִּים

p967 lacks 39 words of MT's text in 32:24bβ-26. While only p967 lacks this much text, it is partially supported by B's 24-word minus in overlapping material. p967's text is certainly connected with the evidence not only from B, but also from L's 13-word minus. Previous textual study has only focused on B's minus, but a rehearsal of that discussion will prove helpful towards understanding p967's text.

B lacks most of v. 25. Ziegler considered B the OG reading in his critical text. Previous textual explanations accepted Ziegler's estimation that B represented the OG and sought to explain only the extra MT material in v. 25 from נתנו משכב לה to the end. Because v. 25 is variously represented in the versions, Zimmerli proposes that it is a

doublet of secondary status, derived from v. 26 and v. 24. Indeed, the material in v. 25 is highly repetitive; vv. 25 and 26 are especially similar as the following table shows:

	v. 25	v. 26
aα	בתוך חללים נתנו	שם
aβ	משכב לה בכל המונה	משך תבל וכל המונה
aγ	סביבותיו קברתה	סביבותיו קברותיה
bα	כלם ערלים חללי חרב	כלם ערלים מחללי חרב
bβ	כי נתן חתיתם בארץ חיים	כי נתנו חתיתם בארץ חיים
bγ	וישאו כלמתם את יורדי בור בתוך חללים נתן	
bδ	בתוך חללים נתן	

In direct contrast to Zimmerli, Allen, following Rost, considers v. 26 the secondary verse, added as an annotation on v. 25 and comprised of corrections.[303] Allen tabulates 6 variants in v. 26, showing how they could be viewed as a corrected edition of v. 25. Allen presents his argument for reconstruction thoroughly, and not without evidence. Here follows my rendering of his data:[304]

(i) נתן for נתנו: v. 25bδ בתוך חללים נתן and v. 25aα בתוך חללים נתנו.
(ii) משך תבל in v. 26aβ for the graphically similar משכב לה in v. 25aβ.
(iii) וכל for בכל: v. 26aβ וכל המונה and v. 25aβ בכל המונה.
(iv) קברותיה for קברתה: v. 26aγ סביבותיו קברותיה and v. 25aγ סביבותיו קברתה.
(v) What Allen calls a mistaken correction, מחללי for the preferred חללי: v. 26bα מחללי חרב and v. 25bα חללי חרב.
(vi) נתנו for נתן: v. 26bβ כי נתנו חתיתם and in 25bβ כי נתן חתיתם.

[303] Allen, citing the 1904 work of Rost, argues that "v 25a-bγ was heavily annotated and now stands as v 25bδ-26," (Allen, WBC, 2:135n25a).

[304] I follow Allen's enumeration, but the versification is my own, consistent with the preceding table.

In fact, there is manuscript support for five of Allen's six variants, most obviously for (iii), (v), and (vi). Three HUBP Hebrew variants in v. 25 show the corrections offered by v. 26 which Allen postulated:

(iii) in v. 25aβ בכל MT] וכל HUBP$^{\text{III-96 150}}$ (cf. v. 26aβ)
(v) in v. 25bα[305] חללי MT] מחללי HUBP$^{\text{III-30}}$ (cf. v. 26bα)
(vi) in v. 25bβ נִתַּן$^{\text{1st}}$ MT] נתנו HUBP$^{\text{96 G-BEb 10(pm) Eb 16}}$ (cf. v. 26bβ) | נָתַן HUBP$^{\text{III-G-BEb(sm?) 10}}$

Textual information indirectly supports (i) and (ii) as well.

(i) in v. 26aα
שם משך MT] εκει εδοθησαν μοσοχ Z rel. | (minus in context 967)

In v. 26aα, εδοθησαν is a plus in all Greek witnesses (except p967 which does not contain its material). The reconstructed phrase in Hebrew would thus be שם נִתָּנוּ משך. The reconstructed נִתָּנוּ obviates Allen's suggestion that v. 25bδ corrects v. 25aα. Instead, v. 26aα שם נִתָּנוּ משך corrects v. 25aα בתוך חללים נתנו, harmonizing with the formally consistent (ה)שם found also in vv 22, 24, 29, and 30 for the national population register.[306]

(ii) in v. 26aβ
משך תבל וכל MT] μοσοχ και θοβελ και πασα Z rel. (cf. MT + copula) | *cubile eorum* Hi. σ'θ' (HUBP$^{\text{V-recon.}}$ משכבם/משכב להם) cf. v. 25aβ

Jerome, represented in Symmachus and Theodotian reads *cubile eorum,* which HUBP$^{\text{V}}$ reconstructs as משכבם/משכב להם. The similarity with v. 25aβ משכב לה is striking,

[305] Despite Allen's determination that מחללי was a mistake, ms. 30 shows it as a variant for חללי, in keeping with the same in v 26.

[306] The extraneous בתוך חללים נתן found in v 25bδ may have been the introduction to v 26 before the speculated משכבם became משך תבל.

and strongly supports my earlier proposal that the MT reading משך תבל was either a correction or a word-play on v. 25aβ.

From the text-critical discussion and density of evidence, Allen's proposal is probably correct, that v. 26 is the later addition, based on v. 25. It is quite possible that משכב לה in v. 25 provided the opportunity to add Meshech and Tubal to the population of the pit, and thus occasioned the Hebrew addition. This type of scribal innovation should not surprise. As Block points out, Ezekiel has a "penchant for using words with more than one sense in a given context."[307] The idea that later scribes would capitalize on the double significations of language like משכב / משך is in keeping with the style of the book of Ezekiel.

As for Zimmerli's evaluation, it is less likely to be correct. However, the Greek witnesses in v. 25, p967, B, and L require an explanation. It is most probable that the three witnesses represent three stages of growth, from the 39-word minus of p967 to the 24-word minus of B to the 13-word minus of L. As v. 25 grew longer through in-line additions, the marginal corrections were absorbed, explaining the origins of v. 26. These stages likely reflect the stages of growth in the Hebrew of the proto-MT.

4.4.4. Ezek 36:23c-38

We have already mentioned the arguments for error in the case of p967's minus of 36:23c-38 in chapter 2 (§2.5). The Princeton editors, Filson, Wevers, and Spottorno argued for various mechanical explanations for the omission which were found

[307] Block, 1998, 469.

unsatisfactory.[308] Filson makes the case that the scribe of p967's text is the culprit of the omission.[309] Hence, his argument requires parablepsis of *p967's* last line in v. 23b with the end of v. 38:

v. 23b in p967	και γνωσεται τα εθνη οτι εγω ειμι κυριος
v. 38b in A	και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κυριος
v. 38b in BQ	και γνωσονται οτι εγω κυριος

Filson reveals his arguments' own weaknesses in his discussion. First, he states, "in some way which we cannot reconstruct with certainty, the scribe was led by *homoioteleuton* to omit 36:23c-38."[310] In this statement, he implied his previously discussed proposals for a scribe skipping a page or for a lost leaf in p967's parent codex. In fact, the correlation of *both* a lost leaf *and homoioteleuton* seems quite unlikely. This would require that the exact phrases perfectly aligned atop two separate columns of Greek text. Second, Filson overstates the case for the extent of the phrase for *homoioteleuton*. He claims:

> the fact that the part of verse 23 which it [p967] does contain ends with words which are identical with the ending of v. 38 in A and almost identical (the last word *is* identical) with the ending of verse 38 in B and Q.[311]

A's reading is not identical with p967, though they do share the last four words (οτι εγω ειμι κυριος). p967 contains the term τα εθνη in v. 23b, which is lacking in v. 38 of BAQ. Not only are the phrases in p967 and BAQ dissimilar, B's reading in v. 38b diverges even further from A's. B is the closest text-type to p967's and would more likely correspond to p967's parent text. Hence, Filson's *homoioteleuton* argument is weakened for its basis

[308] J. W. Wevers, *Ezekiel* (NCB; London: Nelson, 1969), 273. M. V. Spottorno, "La omisión de Ez. 36, 23b-38 y la transposición de capítulos en el papiro 967," *Emerita* 50 (1981): 93-99.

[309] Filson, "Omission," 31.

[310] Ibid., 31.

[311] Ibid., 31.

in A. Additionally, Lust argues that an omission of 1451 letters is unprecedented for parablepsis in Ezekiel's text.[312] The appeal to *homoioteleuton* is, therefore, unsatisfactory.[313]

The second set of arguments for error in p967 which carry some merit concern the break at v. 23b. Block raised the question as to whether the oracle in 36:16-23b is sufficiently long to be an oracular unit unto itself. In p967, 36:16-23b serves as the final utterance before ch. 38 and the Gog-Magog oracles. Block argues that leaving these eight verses alone makes for a "very short, fragmentary oracle" that is "bland and truncated."[314] According to Block, vv. 23c-38 extend the chapter into an oracle of sufficient length, and therefore must have been original to ch. 36. However, as Lust points out, vv. 16-23b is by no means the shortest oracle in Ezekiel. Immediately preceding it, vv. 13-15 comprise a two-verse oracle unit.[315] Crane adds multiple other cases of short oracles in Ezekiel.[316] Further, in Lust's 1981 study, he adduces the evidence from the Coptic-Sahadic manuscript published by A. Erman.[317] Among its three complete Ezekiel oracles, the manuscript contains 36:16-23b as a stand-alone oracular unit. This evidence confirms, at the very least, that these short verses could be

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[312] Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 520.

[313] For an extended and thorough discussion of these arguments, see Crane, *Israel's Restoration*, 211-216. Crane finally agrees with Lust that p967's omission is not erroneous.

[314] Block, 341.

[315] Lust also challenges Block's "truncated" critique, that 36:16-23b does not articulate how Yhwh will vindicate his holiness. The silence is equally true of vv. 13-15. This oracle also lacks word of how Yhwh will fulfill his promises. Lust, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments," 30.

[316] Crane, 295.

[317] A. Erman, *Bruchstücke der oberägyptischen Übersetzung des Alten Testaments (Nachrichten von königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Universität Göttingen 12*; (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1880).

taken as an independent oracular unit, and provides further evidence that Ezekiel originally lacked 36:23c-38.[318]

A related concern was raised with the separation of content between v. 23b and c.

MT v. 23a וקדשתי את שמי הגדול המחלל בגוים אשר הללתם בתוכם
v. 23b וידעו הגוים כי אני יהוה נאם אדני יהוה
v. 23c בהקדשי בכם לעיניהם

All manuscripts contain the "recognition formula" וידעו הגוים כי אני יהוה / και γνωσεται τα εθνη οτι εγω ειμι κς . Immediately following, נאם אדני יהוה appears in verse 23b in the MT, but λεγει αδωναι κυριος, well supported by the versions, is missing in p967. The combined formulas mark the end of the oracle in 36:16-23b, and, as Lust states, "the 'recognition formula' followed by *ne'um Yhwh* in v. 23b makes a good conclusion."[319] According to Lust's argument, the Hebrew scribe responsible for the MT provided the preceding material with a suitable formulaic ending (doubling the prophetic ending with the declarative formula) before adding the new oracular material in vv. 23c-38. The double formula was taken up in all Greek manuscripts except p967. p967's text testifies to the earlier oracle, which, according to Lust, ended only with the recognition formula.

Lust's reasoning about the double formula raised a critique from Block who shows that the "recognition formula" can often appear in the *middle* of an oracle in Ezekiel.[320] Block tried to eradicate the significance of the formal oracle unit in MT vv. 16-23b by showing that such formulae do not always signify an ending. However, Block

[318] Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 525.

[319] Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 525.

[320] Block, 340,

misses the point. The reading at issue is not the *recognition* formula alone, but the addition of the *declarative* formula, which constitutes the variant between the MT and p967. Lust's original point was that the *combination* of the "recognition" and "declarative" formulas makes for a fitting conclusion.[321] Crane carries Lust's point further and shows that the combined "recognition" and "declarative" formulas *never* appear in the middle of an oracle in Ezekiel.[322]

Additionally, several factors argue *for* p967's text. First, H. St. J. Thackeray's linguistic analysis of 36:24-38 concluded that its text-type was foreign to all but Theodotian's text. Two of his examples: (1) in 36:24, הארצות is translated των γαιων/γεων in BAQ where χωραι would be expected. Indeed, Theodotian employs γαια again in Ezek 29:12 against LXX's χωρα. (2) In v. 25, גן עדן is translated κηπος τρυφης in θ' and BAQ. However in this construction, גן is always rendered with παραδεισος in BAQ; only in Theodotian is κηπος τρυφης repeatedly used (cf. Ezek 28:13; 31:8).[323]

Second, the linguistic argument applies to the Hebrew of 36:23c-38 as well. Thackeray pointed to several *hapax legomena* in this section of text,[324] and late linguistic features such as אנכי "I" in v. 28, מעלל "deed" in v. 31, תחת אשר "instead" in v. 34, and הלזו"this" in v. 35.[325] Lust telescopes the significance of this fact, pointing out that 36:23c-38 "has the character of an anthology. Most of its expressions are to be found elsewhere in Ezekiel. In such a pericope one does not expect to find so many *hapax*

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[321] Lust, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New," 29.

[322] Crane, 290-291

[323] See H. St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators," 407.

[324] H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, 126.

[325] Taken from Zimmerli's review of the four most impressive cases. Zimmerli, Vol. 2, 245.

legomena."[326] Lust adds to these examples a short study of the correspondences between 36:23c-38 and Deuteronomistic language in Jeremiah.[327]

Third, and especially interesting for the present project, are the three cases Lust identifies in which linguistic correspondence may be found between 36:23c-38 and other MT pluses. Lust's clearest example draws on the shorter text in LXX and especially on P. –M. Bogaert's evidence in the Latin witnesses.[328] The MT plus in 34:31 אדם אתם, "you are men," occurs in the context of a promise oracle using a parable about Israel dispersed and gathered as sheep. This addition corresponds with the phrase in 36:37 כצאן אדם, "like a flock of men," where the pastoral metaphor also applies to restored Israel.

Fourth, the MT plus begins in v. 23b with נאם אדני יהוה. As the *Tendenzen* of the present project reveal, the formulae for divine speech comprise a larger set of variants in prophetic formulae across the text of Ezekiel. Especially important are the four instances in which a prophetic formula marks the beginning of a more significant MT plus. The MT plus in 43:12, הנה זאת תורת הבית begins with the formula "behold!" The MT plus in 36:23b נאם אדני יהוה והשיבו וחיו begins with the formula for a divine saying, the same phrase which opens 36:23c-38. Finally, MT's 28-word plus in 33:25 opens with the divine messenger formula כה אמר אדני יהוה. Thus, a certain coherence in form exists among these MT pluses which begin with a prophetic form.

Fifth, the above introduction to the *Tendenzen* (chapter 3) shows that the alignment for the recognition formula was highly divergent among the witnesses. p967,

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[326] Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 521-522.

[327] Ibid., 522-524. So also Nicholson, who demonstrates connections between Ezekiel 36 and Jeremianic passages where Dtr. influence is most probable: Jeremiah 31:31-34; 32:37-40. E.W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles* (Oxford, 1970), 81-84.

[328] P. –M. Bogaert, "Le témoigne de la Vetus Latina," 390-391.

MT and B all contain independent occurrences of the phrase against the other two. The MT plus in 36:23c-38 supplies the content for the nation-recognition formula, clarifying the event which would produce recognition. The fluidity of the formula elsewhere supports viewing it similarly here at the beginning of the textual variant.

Sixth, Lust rightly points out the requirement on textual critics to consider p967's edition, lacking of 36:23c-38, together with its unique chapter order. [329] The fifth century Latin manuscript Wirceburgensis shows p967's chapter order for Ezekiel 37-39.[330] La^{W} is an independent witness giving stronger support to p967's text. On the basis of the length of the non-extant sections, P. –M. Bogaert observes that the Latin manuscript probably also lacked 36:23c-38, which would provide otherwise unattested manuscript support for p967's minus.

Finally, it should be noted that the content of all three pluses discussed in the present section (12:26-28; 32:25-26; 36:23c-38) are phrases repeated from elsewhere in Ezekiel. In preceding discussions, I showed that 12:25 probably served as the basis for most of 12:28, and that 32:26 was copied almost word-for word from 32:25. Ezekiel 36:23-38 is also highly repetitive of material from elsewhere in Ezekiel. The full comparison is taken up in chapter 5's literary discussion (especially §5.4.1), but is well recognized by most critics.[331] In addition, all three variants show some connection to the term "Meshech." While the term does not occur in 36:23c-38, it is significant to the transposition of chs. 38-39, a textual feature that is arguably connected to 36:23c-38.

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[329] Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 520.

[330] Johnson et al., *The Scheide Papyri*, 11-13, 42-48; P.-M. Bogaert, "Le témoignage de la Vetus Latina," 384-395; Lust, "The Sequence of Ez," 45-46

[331] See Lust and Zimmerli, op. cit.

One may conclude that p967 is a viable edition of Ezekiel 36. The real debate now should be whether p967 is a reliabile witness to an early Hebrew *Vorlage*. Some data concerning this issue have been presented above.

Thackeray's linguistic argument suggests that 36:23c-38 was not in OG. Rather, it was inserted into the Greek tradition based on an edition like Theodotian's. Although circumstantial, additional evidence suggests that the Hebrew *Vorlage* also lacked the passage. Thackeray and Lust's work with the late linguistic features and *hapax legomena* in the Hebrew of 36:23c-38 as well as the later Jeremianic language suggests redaction in the Hebrew textual tradition. Finally, the plus in 36:23c-38 participates in a trend within the MT to begin plus material with a prophetic formula (See chapter 5 §5.2.3.)

Only one piece of evidence could suggest activity in the Greek text-tradition; it is the use of the recognition formula. Because B, MT, and p967 show such divergent alignment in pluses or readings with this formula, a unique problem presents itself. A text-critical explanation for the variety may not be possible. However, the phenomena seem inter-related in ways that other literary variants are not, as if the Greek and Hebrew traditions remained in active flux about the instances which occasioned knowledge of the divine.

4.5. Conclusions

Before drawing text-critical conclusions from the preceding analysis, I want to accurately reflect on the specific data set. The data set is comprised of variants that participate in literary *Tendenzen*, which I will examine from a literary perspective in chapter 5. Any text-critical conclusions offered here apply only to those variants which

demonstrably differentiate p967 from MT's edition. The text-critical analysis above is contingent on the success of the literary arguments in chapter 5. Taken together, the two chapters offer a stratum or strata of variants which most likely result from scribal activity. Thus, the conclusions here reflect text-critical observations about the variant literary editions. I offer several text-critical conclusions about this data set.

First, p967's meaningful variants do not support mechanical arguments for error. The three variants in 32:24-26 and 36:23c-38 (as well as the transposition of chapters in 37-39) offer no evidence to otherwise discount p967's witness as a text of Ezekiel. Further, none of the 44 minor variants analyzed in this chapter presented a case for mechanical error in p967's text. In the final analysis, an exclusively textual argument for error in 12:26-28 still holds some merit,[332] but far more often, p967 demonstrated itself to be a reliable witness to Ezekiel, what I have called a "viable" text.

Second, text-critical analysis did not overwhelmingly clarify the relationship between p967 and B. Previous scholarship already held that the two witnesses best reflect the Old Greek and yet frequently diverge from one another. While no great advances have been made on these conclusions, some light was shed on a few specific issues. More often than not, a variant Hebrew text lay beneath the divergence between B and p967, (see 11 examples in §4.3.2). This trend is striking. It implies a close connection between the Greek text-tradition (both the OG and subsequent corrections,) and the developing Hebrew text. Inner-Greek error only accounts for two of the

[332] In addition to the arguments mounted above in §4.4.2, a set of variants in the MT that display coherence with 12:26-28 (presented in chapter 5 §5.2.2.1) leads me to conclude that even in 12:26-28, p967 represents a viable text in which the verses did not appear. So while I recognize that text-critical arguments for error are strong, the weight of evidence from multiple angles of analysis, like form and redaction-criticism as well as a wider scope of thematically related variants, present the better case in favor of p967's text.

divergent readings: both of B's mistakes in 24:9 and 39:12. In a few cases, it was possible to discern which text was likely corrected back to the more developed Hebrew text represented by MT: three times in p967 and twice in B. Perhaps most importantly, B represented the more strongly supported reading over isolated p967 pluses in 35:8; 38:20; 38:18; and 39:4. While B is certainly to be trusted in these four cases, the origin of p967's reading cannot be known from the available textual data, especially given other evidence supporting p967's reliability and relationship to the Hebrew. This leads directly to the next conclusion.

Third, p967's readings frequently reflect a variant Hebrew *Vorlage*. Of the 44 minor variants analyzed above, p967 could arguably reflect a variant Hebrew *Vorlage* 38 times, many with considerable certainty.

Fourth, at many points, MT appears to reflect a more developed textual stage of Ezekiel beyond that of the Old Greek. The weight of evidence from Origen's asterisks indicates that the MT readings are developed beyond OG: in 63 out of 64 cases. MT presents an isolated reading, unsupported by any of the Versions, 68 times; p967 just 31 times. Additionally, OG could be shown to reflect a variant Hebrew *Vorlage* from MT with great certainty; in all 18 cases, the MT was best explained as the more developed text (see §4.3.3).

An enduring question that remains is: how often does p967 represent an innovative text in the Greek tradition? A case can be made for this position, namely that p967 results from inner-Greek development. In 35:8, p967 presents a one-word plus; in 38:20, a 10-word plus; and in 39:4, a 7-word plus. These unique pluses along with p967's essentially unsupported minuses in 12:26-28; 32:26; and 36:23c-38 could indicate

the maverick status of p967's Greek text. It *is* possible for a manuscript to have an Old Greek text-type, strongly reflect a Hebrew *Vorlage,* and yet still be a developed Greek literary edition.[333] In point of fact, p967 Daniel fits this description. Its text-type is Old Greek but its literary edition reflects Theodotian's LXX Daniel. Thus, p967's unique pluses and minuses in 35:8; 38:20; 39:4; 12:26-28; 32:26; and 36:23c-38 could reflect inner-Greek development on a very early text-type of Ezekiel. However, in Ezekiel, this is probably not the case for two major reasons.

First, the above analysis did not examine p967's text-type primarily but rather sets of meaningful variants characterized by literary *Tendenzen.* According to the coherence approach, described in chapter 3, the nature of the data set already presupposes compositional issues, not solely transmissional ones. In light of the inherent compositional possibilities in this data set, p967's imunity from arguments for error takes on increased significance; p967's readings are reliable in 40 of 44 minor variants. So while *four* isolated variants could reflect inner-Greek development, *nine* isolated variants showed that p967 reflected a variant Hebrew text (see §4.3.1). This means that in 9 out of 13 instances (77.7%), an isolated p967 reading reflects not a developed Greek text, but a variant Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Second, the discussions in §4.4 showed that 36:23c-38 and 32:26 were not inner-Greek developments. Rather they were probably Hebrew developments with p967 reflecting its shorter Hebrew *Vorlage*. Analysis of 12:26-28 suggested the same.

One outstanding problem that is raised by this chapter is: how do critics adjudicate between types of arguments in the case of variant literary editions. In the

[333] Refer to Gehmans' work, presented in chapter 2, for the correlation of p967's text –type with a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the MT.

analyses of §4.4, several types of arguments apply to p967's major textual variants. Linguistic, formal, redactional, and exegetical analysis revealed information obscured by text-critical analysis alone. For example, in 12:26-28, the *homoioteleuton* argument suggested a possible parablepsis, however on the basis of the exact phrases that provide the unit its formal structure. From an exclusively textual point of view, the data point to a mistaken omission. However, from a formal and redactional point of view, the data points to the insertion of a similar formal unit, suggesting that p967's shorter text reflects the earlier edition of the disputations. In the case of 32:24-26, the issue was easier to decide in favor of p967's text. 32:24-26 provided no strong argument for textual error; on the contrary, the versions presented many different readings of the verses which probably signal a fluid textual tradition. In addition, the Hebrew data provided evidence for diachronic development. Finally, textual data showing correction of the letters מֹשֶׁךְ hinted at a redactional rationale for editorial activity: the character of "Meshech".

Adjudication among options requires a strongly weighted matrix of evidence. The case of 36:23c-38 is exemplary: after several considerations, the weight of evidence developed towards a probable conclusion. Formal analysis of prophetic and recognition formulae explained the textual break at v. 23c. Redaction arguments for Jeremianic language suggest late editing. Linguistic evidence shows translational anomalies and late Hebrew forms.

In addition to textual, linguistic, formal, and redactional arguments, the study of literary *Tendenzen* provides another layer to the matrix. Literary *Tendenzen* will show that additional MT pluses, beyond just the one in 36:23c-38, begin with prophetic formulae. Literary *Tendenzen* also show that divine speech and the temporality of

prophecy carry 12:26-28's concerns into the smaller details of MT's scribal variants. The collation of variants into literary *Tendenzen* provides a different type of lens onto textual data. By demonstrating coherence, the variants become knit into a scribal phenomenon of meaningful change instead of surgically removed on the basis of transmission mechanics, where change is always only the result of error. Text-critical analysis of variant literary editions requires a dynamic model of author-transmitters.

In the final analysis, p967 has proven a formidable text. Its literary edition of Ezekiel is more often than not faithful to a Hebrew *Vorlage*, lacking in textual errors, and rarely reflects Greek innovation. Though the case-by-case evidence continues to require individual attention, a more general conclusion is possible. Where once Tov declared it "a far reaching assumption" that p967's text reflects an accurate Hebrew *Vorlage*, the above analysis strongly suggests that p967 frequently reflects an early edition of a Hebrew text that differs from the MT.[334]

[334] Tov, *The Hebrew & Greek Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 409.

Chapter 5:
Literary and Exegetical Readings of p967 and MT

5.1. Introduction

As indicated in chapter 3, the present chapter will present readings of a specific set of variants between MT and p967. The data set derives from a comprehensive examination of variants that distinguish MT and p967's editions according to *Tendenzen*. This chapter will answer the question: what types of literary, thematic, or ideational features distinguish p967 from MT?

The four main *Tendenzen* which organize the exegetical readings in this chapter characterize the "intertextual centers" as well. The intertextual centers, as indicated in chapter 3, each contain a major variant that Lust already deemed significant in his work with p967 as a variant literary edition. Hence, the presentation begins with an exegetical analysis of the intertextual center, proceeded by exegetical readings of the variants associated with its *Tendenzen*. The selected terminology, "intertextual centers" and "*Tendenzen*" point to the principle of coherence that grounds the argument of the chapter. By intertextuality, I mean the interdependent ways in which texts (and textual variants) relate meaningfully to each other.[335] So for example, a density of terms, themes, and

[335] On the development of intertextuality more generally, see Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (New York: Routledge, 2000). My usage is quite mundane and distanced from highly theoretical notions that have been taken up in many diverse areas of literary and cultural studies. However, one theoretical concept that is relevant to the present analysis is the movement away from intertextuality as the determination of diachronic relations. Rather, as Julia Kristeva points out intertextuality in this new sense involves a synchronic appreciation of texts as embedded within a field of discourse; the question of priority falls away. To a large extent, this is the type of intertextual analysis advanced in the present chapter, one that operates in a model of non-linear textual production. See Julia Kristeva, "Word, Dialog, Novel" in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed., Leon S. Roudiez; New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 64-91.

meaningful exegetical connections constitute strong evidence for the type of intertextuality examined here.

To take an example developed further below, Ezekiel 12-13 forms an intertextual center about the nature of prophecy. The *Tendenzen* associated with the center involve such themes as prophecy-fulfillment and the role of delay in Ezekiel's prophecies. Indeed, a wider scope of variants was identified that relate to the *Tendenz* of "Prophetic Temporality." Thus, the readings of the variants in this *Tendenz* explore how strong the variants' intertextual features are.

Ultimately, the readings that follow inquire whether a proposed *Tendenz* is strong enough to differentiate MT from p967's editions of Ezekiel. Thus the question becomes: from an exegetical/intertextual perspective, do the variants of any specific *Tendenz* form a layer of coherent features that distinguish MT and p967 as two different editions of Ezekiel?

One final comment, by way of introduction: the larger project has dealt, at times, with the question of the diachronic development in Ezekiel's textual tradition. Indeed, it is difficult to focus squarely on variants and to refrain from commenting on impressions of editorial intent or even priority. Because p967 is most often the shorter text, it is conventionally simpler to speak about how MT differs from the shorter text. Hence, I have been careful about describing the MT variants as pluses (not additions) and the variant readings as differences or substitutions (and not changes).[336] On a few occasions, the impressions of editorial activity are strong enough that I suggest redactional dynamics; however, literary analysis alone is ill-equipped to determine textual questions

[336] See Tov, *TCHB*, 236.

such as priority. I intend to provide some comments on the issue of priority in the conclusion. Only there, upon appreciating the full significance of the previous textual studies, and the forthcoming codicological analysis, can questions of priority be duly addressed.

It is to a literary analysis of p967 and MT that I now turn.

5.2. "Prophecy" *Tendenzen*

5.2.1. Intertextual Center – Disputation on Prophecy in Ezekiel 12-13

The textual situation found in chapters 12-13 justify calling it an intertextual center for variants about prophecy. In MT, Ezek 13:2, 3, and 7 contain pluses in the chapter's discussions about prophecy. The proceeding chapter also concerns prophecy and hosts one of the major variants, Ezek 12:26-28, material missing in p967. In addition to this textual evidence, most redaction critics of MT find a strong case for editorial layers in chs. 12-13. They argue without reference to the textual variants just listed. Merely on the basis of redaction cues in the chapter, critics concur that chapter 12 in MT is updated from an earlier prophecy of Ezekiel to affirm a prophecy and fulfillment scheme.[337] Specifically, Ezekiel's sign act in 12:3-7 about an exile's baggage is interpreted in 12:10-16. In vv. 10-16, up-dating touches specify Ezekiel's originally vague or open sign actions such that they predict the events of Zedekiah during the Babylonian invasion of Jerusalem, *ex eventu*.[338]

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[337] The updating concerns modifications to the sign-act in ch.12 to describe Zedekiah's departure from Jerusalem. Zimmerli cites the then recent work of Hölscher, Cooke, van den Born, and Fohrer as a consensus position that material about Zedekiah's inconspicuous departure by night was added to account for the exile of both Israel and the "prince" (Ezek 12:10). See Zimmerli, 1:267.

[338] There is a modest textual basis for redaction arguments here, however incoherently preserved. For example 12:4b-6a presents slight variants: [MT] "in their sight" versus [Greek] "before them" (three

The four textual variants about prophecy, as well as the independent conclusions about redaction in MT strongly suggest that Ezekiel 12-13 became a site for editorial activity about the nature of prophecy in general and Ezekiel's prophecies in particular.

Turning to a literary analysis, the MT plus in 12:26-28 is a self-contained unit within a series of prophetic disputations concerning prophecy and fulfillment. Lust argued that vv. 26-28 were an insertion on the basis of several factors one of which is the standpoint of literary analysis.[339] He demonstrated that the verses cohered with what he found to be the broader historicizing character of MT's variants.[340] The following analysis of *Tendenzen* defends a similar case for coherence, although on different bases.

Form-critical analysis highlights the significance of vv 26-28 as a unit. The material in 12:17-28 is structured by the phrase "and the word of the LORD came to me saying, 'son of man,'" (ויהי דבד יהוה אלי לאמר בן אדם). The phrase, which repeats four times in the larger unit (12:17, 21, 26, and 13:1), provides literary structure for the passage's form-critical breaks. Each instance of the phrase serves as the introduction to a new disputation on the subject of prophecy.[341] p967's text omits the entire third section running from vv. 26-28.

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times), [MT] "in the dark" versus [Greek] "in secret", and [MT] "carry it (baggage)" on your shoulders versus [Greek] on shoulders "you will be lifted up." These variants in the description of Ezekiel's sign act do provide some indication of scribal activity, but such activity largely lies in stages behind our present manuscript witnesses.

[339] Lust also argued that the MT plus was a later insertion. We have already discussed his late linguistic evidence in chapter 3.

[340] Ezekiel 12:26-28 advances the claim that God's prophecies are true and immediately fulfilled, which is in keeping with Lust's larger diagnosis of the MT's historicizing tendencies. In light of the literary context, linguistic factors, and the wider horizon of coherence with other variants, the above discussion demonstrates that the textual evaluation for error in p967 in this passage should not be maintained.

[341] The content of vv. 17-20 is not properly a disputation. However, its structure is continuous with the disputations that follow. For the form-critical term "disputation" see Zimmerli, 1:36 and 283.

Structurally, the content of 12:21 – 13:7 can be broken up as follows:

12:21-25	A disputation of the proverb, "days are prolonged and visions come to nothing," raising issues of fulfillment and false prophecy.
12:26-28	A disputation of the saying, "the vision that he sees is for many years ahead; he prophecies for distant times."
13:1-7	A woe-oracle against false prophets.

Lust argued that 12:26-28 interrupts the thematic development of chs. 12-13.[342] Before examining the case for interruption, it should be pointed out that vv. 26-28 are not utterly foreign to their context. Ezekiel 12:21-25 is a disputation about a lack of true prophecy. Chapter 13's oracles against false prophets immediately follow the variant. Because 12:26-28 also concerns prophecy, the context retains its topical coherence. Thus, while topically coherent, Lust contends that a *thematic* interruption isolates vv. 26-28.

Thematically, Ezek 12:21-25 refutes a proverb about the futility of visions. The retort insists on fulfillment (v. 23, 25) and the eradication of false prophecy from the house of Israel (v. 24). The passage amounts to a vigorous defense of the potency and truth of prophecy, concerns which are carried into ch. 13's oracles against false prophets. These verses directly confront the threat of false prophets to true and potent prophecy. Lust argues that 12:26-28 interrupts this thematic coherence since the verses debate not *false* prophecy, but *Ezekiel's true* prophecy. The saying in 12:27 does not confront the unreliable prophecy that is bemoaned in the surrounding context. On the contrary, it deals with the temporal aspect of *reliable* prophecy, presenting two opposing positions

[342] For his original work with this variant, see Lust, "Major Divergences," 85-86; idem, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments," 24-26.

about how correctly to interpret reliable prophecy. Further, the saying in v. 27 specifically concerns the prophecies of *Ezekiel*, "the vision that *he* sees is for many years ahead." The verse affirms prophetic potency as fulfillment in the immediate present, not the distant future. Reference to Ezekiel and the disputations about true prophecy are lacking in the surrounding context.[343] In these two details, vv. 26-28 do establish different themes than those developed in the surrounding context.

However, Lust's claim for thematic interruption does not extend to all aspects of the MT plus. Especially problematic is the repeated notion about fulfillment in vv. 23, 25 and 28. In fact, vv. 25 and 28 contain virtually the same language: "words will no longer be delayed." Both the context and the MT plus affirm the immediate fulfillment of prophecy. Thus, it is problematic to argue for disruption on the basis of theme, when theme can also be adduced to show continuity among the verses.

Lust is no doubt correct that the verses stand out against the surrounding context. However, his focus on theme does not sharply distinguish the unit. Instead, attention to the rhetorical context highlights the fractures introduced by the MT plus. The first disputation (vv. 21-25) addresses a faltering confidence in the validity of prophecy. Specifically, the audience rejects visions as empty, having waited on them without result. Then the woe oracles in 13:1-7 address false prophets who deliver such empty visions as in 13:6, "and yet they [the false prophets] wait for the fulfillment of their word." In both rhetorical contexts, an impatiently waiting audience finds no basis to trust unfulfilled prophetic visions.

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[343] So Zimmerli, who emphasizes the independence of the disputation as "thematically separate throughout." However, he concludes, with Filson, for scribal error in p967, (Zimmerli, 1:283).

A different rhetorical situation is assumed in 12:26-28. The implied audience asserts that visions *require* distended periods of time for fulfillment. Not only is the audience immune from the context's disappointment in waiting, it relishes the postponed, future-orientation of visions.[344] Additionally, the issue in 12:26-28 is specific to *Ezekiel's* visions. From a rhetorical perspective, 12:26-28 implies a new audience who is engaged in a different debate from that of the context.

Finally, a philological feature shows that the content of the disputation in vv. 26-28 belies a later concern, suggesting again that the MT plus is secondary. The verses contain a third-person reference to the prophet. As just mentioned, the debate in vv. 26-28 concerns Ezekiel's prophecies, specifically. Rather than merely a debate about the fulfillment of visions in general, the audience is engaged in a debate concerning the specific visions of Ezekiel. Such a debate implies some notoriety for Ezekiel's prophecies, a situation which is likely to have developed over time. Elsewhere in the book, Ezekiel speaks in the first person, breaking this style only a handful of times (e.g. 1:2-3 and 24:24). Thus the third person reference to the prophet in 12:26-28 is all the more indicative of later discussions about him. Further the debate in vv. 26-28 concerns the time-delay of Ezekiel's visions. Such a debate would not arise until such a point when fulfillment and its timing would become an issue. Both the specific focus on Ezekiel's visions and a concern for time-delayed fulfillment suggest a later audience concerned with the reception of Ezekiel's visions. Hence, the secondary nature of the MT plus is strengthened by the nature of its content.

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[344] On the basis of this future-orientation, Lust argues that this second disputation deals with apocalyptic interpretation of visions. He points out that certain terms in vv. 26-28 occur in Daniel, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, in one case as characterizing Danielic interpretation of visions. (See chapter 3 above.) Lust, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments," 26.

5.2.2. "Prophetic Temporality" *Tendenz*: Time and Fulfillment in Ezekiel

One significant issue that emerges from the MT plus in 12:26-28 is time. The disputations involve debates about the fulfillment of Ezekiel's visions and reflect a more general concern for the temporal dimension of prophecy. A number of textual variants across Ezekiel affect both the theme of time, but also the book's temporal structure. All of these variants participate in the *Tendenz* of "Prophetic Temporality."

5.2.2.1. Programmatic Statements about Prophecy and Fulfillment

Programmatic statements about prophecy rarely occur in the book of Ezekiel. Nevertheless, the few occasions in which Ezekiel muses about the nature of prophecy, textual variants occur. An important programmatic statement about prophecy for Ezekiel is the phrase "my eye will not spare, I will not have pity." Often found in conjunction with details about divine judgment, the phrase underscores the fixity of the divine intention. The phrase occurs seven times in Ezekiel;[345] four of these instances present textual variants:

1) Ezekiel 7:4 and 9

Ezekiel 7:5-14 is not extant in p967. However, the textual issues between B and MT have led some critics to consider it the *main* basis for two editions of Ezekiel.[346] Its importance to MT's edition of Ezekiel warrants its consideration here.

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[345] Ezek 5:11; 7:4, 9; 8:18; 9:5, 10; 24:14.

[346] Tov, *TCHB,* 333-4.

Ezekiel 7:5-14 contains two instances of the phrase "my eye will not spare, I will not have pity." This section of text is animated by several textual issues, over which much ink has been spilled.[347] A significant transposition (vv. 3-6aα occurs after v. 9 in B), and several pluses and variants indicate that 7:5-14 was heavily worked over. The main theme in this section of text is "the end" and its approach and arrival. The textual variants in this section deal with the issue of the fixity of the end. Thus, the temporal aspect of prophecy warranted scribal re-working, although the precise distinction between the LXX and MT is not clear.

2) Ezekiel 8:18

Immediately following the shared phrase in 8:18a "I will act in my wrath; my eye will not spare, nor will I have pity…," MT presents significant plus material over B.

MT	וקראו באזני קול גדול ולא אשמע אותם	and though they call in my hearing with a great voice, I will not listen to them.

The MT plus further underscores deity's intention to act. The people cannot persuade God away from his fixed determination.

3) Ezekiel 24:14

Ezekiel 24:14 represents the most programmatic formulation of Ezekiel's philosophy of prophecy outside of 12:21-13:23. It does so by rendering God as the subject of a longer list of verbs, all expressing the fixity of the prophecy. For example, it

[347] J. A. Bewer, "On the Text of Ezekiel 7:5-14," *JBL* 45 (1926): 226-231; J. Goettsberger, "Ezek 7:1-16 textkritische und exegetisch untersucht," *BZ* 22 (1934): 195-223; Zimmerli, 1:193-4.

includes, "I will act." The MT list is longer, with a plus over p967/B ולא אנחם, "I will not relent."[348]

Even beyond these four variants that occur in programmatic statements about prophecy, MT presents the stronger philosophy of prophecy-fulfillment in several other places. The idea that God will not relent is a common theme in other MT variants as well. In 7:13, the second half of the verse in MT is a unique plus.

כי חזון אל כל המונה לא ישוב ואיש בעונו חיתו יתחזקו
For the vision concerns all its horde, it will not be revoked, and each man will not stand firm because of his iniquity

In the verse preceding, MT reads הגיע היום "the day *draws near*," while B merely states ιδου η ημερα "*behold the day*." The idea of the day drawing near is reminiscent of קרבו הימים "the days draw near" in 12:23, examined above.

Similarly, in 21:7, MT is the longer text once again,

ונהיתה and it will be fulfilled

p967/B lack the phrase ונהיתה which would emphasize fulfillment. This same construction ונהיתה, occurs in 39:8 where the MT presents the more emphatic edition with regard to prophecy.

MT ונהיתה
and *it will be fulfilled*
967 και γνωση οτι εσται
and you will know that *it will be*

All of the above variants share an emphasis on the fixity of prophecy. The extended section of textual variation in chapter 7 contained two instances of the phrase "my eye will not spare." Two additional MT pluses in the context of the statement "my eye will

[348] "LXX* omits the last clause, but in favor of its retention (contra Zimmerli, 496 et al.)," Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, (Vol. 29; *WBC*; Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 55.

not spare," show the significance of fixity to MT's edition. Outside of these otherwise rare statements of fixity, MT offers increased assurance of fulfillment in six additional instances. In comparison with the shorter Greek text (always B, and p967 where extant,) the MT presented the more emphatic edition, one that articulates a stronger belief in the fulfillment of prophecy.[349]

5.2.2.2. Date Reckoning

The date references assigned to specific oracles fall into the "Prophetic Temporality" *Tendenz*.[350] A full seven of the eleven date references extant in p967 diverge from those in MT: 26:1; 29:1; 30:20; 31:1; 32:1, 17; 33:21.[351] In MT, these dates all share the distinction of falling between the 10^{th}-12^{th} years after the deportation of Jehoiachim in 597/6. Thus they fall within the crucial years immediately before and after the 587 destruction of Jerusalem.[352]

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[349] Because p967 is not extant in chs.1-11, some of this evidence only distinguishes MT from B. As the discussion in chapter 2 showed, B and p967 do diverge from one another, and cannot thus be said to reflect the same Greek text. However, it is true that B and p967 agree against MT more often (see chapter 3); Hence, B's evidence is more likely to reflect p967's text. Regardless of the conjecture about p967's text, MT's consistent divergence from the Greek tradition within this *Tendenz* remains important information about *MT* as a unique literary edition.

[350] Many redaction studies of Ezekiel rely on the dates offered in Ezekiel. See Zimmerli, 1: 1-3, 8, 73, and especially pp. 9-11. Eichrodt, *OTL*, 18-22. Irwin, 263-268. See especially Torrey and Howie's critiques of Torrey for two opposing positions, (C. C. Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, 58-70; C.G. Howie, *Date and Composition of Ezekiel*, (JBLMS; Vol. IV; Philadelphia: SBL, 1950), 27-34. Few commented on the differences between the Greek and Hebrew. When Cooke offered his textual analysis of date reckoning in 1936, he suggested that some of the differences between the then extant Greek and Hebrew witnesses were intentional; however, he was not only unfamiliar with p967 but unfortunately refrained from further comment, (Cooke, xvii).

[351] There are fourteen altogether, but Ezek 1:1, 3:16, and 8:1 fall in the missing chapters of the p967 manuscript.

[352] For the logic of the date reckoning in Ezekiel, see Zimmerli, 1:9-11.

In contrast, the *tenth* year is particularly significant in p967; six of its seven divergent date references occur in the tenth year. In 29:1, p967 reads with MT, "tenth year". In the other five cases, p967 *alone* among the major codices and MT reads "the tenth year:" 26:1; 30:20; 31:1; 32:17; 33:21. The prominence of the tenth year in p967 suggests a temporal trend. The variant chronologies in p967 and MT are as follows:

p967's Chronology

Year	Month	Day	Citation and Episode
7	5	10	20:1 – Historical review of Israel's rebellion (focus on Egypt)
9	10	10	24:1 – Babylon begins its siege; metaphor of the burning pot
10	1	7	30:20 – Egypt's arm is broken, never to be strong again
10	1	15	32:17 – Pharaoh relegated to the PIT of Nations
10	3	1	31:1 – Pharaoh and hordes: symbolic tree of Assyria scattered
(10	5	7)	----- 587 destruction of Jerusalem[353]
10	10	5	33:21 – Announcement of Jerusalem's fall
10	12	1	29:1 – Against Pharaoh – Israel will never again rely on Egypt
10	?	1	26:1 – Tyre's permanent destruction (chs. 26-29)
12	12	1	32:1 – Lament, Egypt strewn on field
25	1	10	40:1 – Temple Vision
27	1	1	29:17 – Tyre under siege of Nebuchadrezzar

MT's Chronology

Year	Month	Day	Citation and Episode
7	5	10	20:1 – Historical review of Israel's rebellion (focus on Egypt)
9	10	10	24:1 – Babylon begins its siege; metaphor of the burning pot
(10	5	7)	----- 587 destruction of Jerusalem
10	10	12	29:1 – Against Pharaoh – Israel will never again rely on Egypt
11	1	7	30:20 – Egypt's arm is broken, never to be strong again
11	3	1	31:1 – Pharaoh and hordes: symbolic tree of Assyria scattered
11	?	1	26:1 – Tyre's permanent destruction (chs. 26-29)
12	10	5	33:21 – Announcement of Jerusalem's fall
12	12	1	32:1 – Lament, Egypt strewn on field
12	(12?)	15	32:17 – Pharaoh relegated to the PIT of Nations
25	1	10	40:1 – Temple Vision
27	1	1	29:17 – Tyre under siege of Nebuchadrezzar

[353] Zimmerli, 1:9-16.

Several observations pertain to these dates. First, 24:1 places the announcement of Babylon's siege of Jerusalem in the ninth year in both MT and p967. The next year, in the tenth year, Jerusalem and her temple falls to the Babylonians. Of the variant dates in p967, all but one (32:1) occurs in the same year as the 587 destruction of Jerusalem, most of them immediately preceding Ezekiel's receipt of the news.[354] This temporal simultaneity in p967 may indicate the strength of Ezekiel's prophetic timing for p967's edition. Though he is in Babylon and knew nothing of the events in Jerusalem, his visions and oracles are dated such that they coincided with the one-year window of events that led up to Jerusalem's fall. Such simultaneity bespeaks a view of Ezekiel's word as immediately potent. The dates also contribute to the portrait of Ezekiel as a visionary, able to see events though he is spatially removed from them. In addition to authorizing Ezekiel's prophetic office, the temporal simultaneity points to the dramatic focus in p967. p967's dates collect in the year of Jerusalem's greatest trauma. The largess of that violent destruction dominates the dramatic world constructed in p967, drawing increased focus on the judgments of God in that year.

Second, all but one of p967's variant dates occur in oracles against foreign nations. 26:1 is an oracle against Tyre and 29:1; 30:20; 31:1; 32:1; and 32:17 fall in oracles against Egypt. Variance between p967 and MT in this context suggests that the oracles against foreign nations were not "set" in time;[355] editorial activity gave different interpretations of especially Egypt's role in the 587 destruction of Jerusalem.

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[354] Ezek 29:1 is dated to the 12th month of the tenth year in p967, which is two months after Ezekiel receives the news in Ezek 33:21.

[355] The variant date references in Ezekiel's oracles against foreign nations may represent a similar phenomenon as the rearrangement of chapters in Jeremiah's variant editions of the oracles against foreign nations.

Third, the sequence of Egypt's fate presents an important detail. In MT, the last two oracles against Egypt occur in the twelfth year at 32:1 and 32:17. Fifteen days likely separates the two oracles, for although the month is not specified in 32:17, the twelfth month in 32:1 likely extends through the chapter. In this sequence, the final oracle against Egypt reports the apocalyptic end of the nation in the Pit of 32:17-32. This oracle acquires prominent significance in the discussion below where the fate of enemies will be discussed in greater detail (§5.3). Here it is enough to note that MT places the Pit in a culminating position. p967, on the other hand, dates the Pit to *before* Jerusalem's destruction. Further, p967 contains several oracles against Egypt that are subsequent to the apocalyptic Pit, (31:1, 29:1, and 32:1). Hence, in p967, the Pit cannot represent a truly apocalyptic end to Egypt, given her continued role in Ezekiel's oracles of judgment.

5.2.2.3. Ezekiel's Temporal Structure

The date references are not the only temporal differences between MT and p967.[356] In 4:4-6, MT and LXX manuscripts offer alternate accounts for the discrete number of years that Israel must endure her guilt. p967 is not preserved in these early chapters. However, the matter still merits consideration in order to further illumine MT's temporal features. Ezekiel 4:4-6 is concerned with fixing the number of years of Israel's guilt. In most LXX manuscripts, v. 4 reads "150 years" which is a minus in MT. Verse 5 then expands: the LXX providing 190 years vs. MT 390 years for the house of Israel.[357] I

[356] For the theory that the date reckoning of oracles was a later redactional fiction, see the famous arguments in Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, 58-70.

[357] In v. 6, all witnesses agree that the house of Judah will endure forty years of guilt.

agree with Zimmerli's assessment that this section of ch. 4 is layered with additions and interpretation, all afforded by an originally unspecified מספר in v. 4.[358]

> It appears probable that we are not dealing with one single addition, made at one time, but that several phases of such activity are discernible. In the different numbers given in MT and LXX, which are not simple scribal errors, we can follow still further the interpretive work which molded the text.[359]

While the full significance of these differences remains elusive, for the present discussion it is enough to note the inadequacy of mechanical explanations for error to explain them (see ch. 3). The MT's temporal scheme regarding the period of guilt is different from that of the LXX tradition.

In addition to variants in date reckoning, the textual tradition shows some manipulation with regard to the phrase "on that day." The phrase "on that day" (ביום ההוא) has long occupied a special place in redaction-critical arguments in prophetic books. As early as Duhm's work in Isaiah, scholars have seen in the phrase an attempt by later redactors to update prophecies for their times, often extending the prophecy to an eschatological horizon.[360] As Joseph Blenkinsopp has stated, "this formula provides us with a distinct possibility of tracing a line of development in the editorial history of prophetic books."[361]

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[358] Zimmerli, 1:165.

[359] Zimmerli, 1:164.

[360] The idea may have originated with Bernhard Duhm in his now famous redaction-critical studies of the prophets, especially Isaiah. Bernhard Duhm, *Jesaia.*(Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892, 4d., 1922). See also idem, *Jeremia* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1901). Most scholars now just assume this to be the case, so Hibbard who states "this rubric [ביום ההוא] marks off a particular kind of exegetical expansion of or comment on earlier material," James Todd Hibbard, *Intertextuality in Isaiah 24-27: the Reuse and Evocation of Earlier Texts* (FAT 16; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 71.

[361] J. Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Revised and enlarged; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 233. According to Blenkinsopp, the phrase served but is not limited to its function as an early prototype to *pesher* interpretation in which an early passage was interpreted in light of contemporary events or future/eschatological horizons. Following Blenkinsopp's suggestion, we could approach "on that day" as a shared literary convention between biblical authors and tradents or

The phrase appears in four MT pluses and in three alternate readings.[362] Since the phrase, ביום ההוא appears in MT only 13 times, a large percentage of cases are affected. Not surprisingly, the phrase is most prominent in chs. 38-39 which describe the day of Gog's invasion; There it occurs five times. However, these instances of the phrase are consistent in MT and p967, except for a small variant in 38:14 about what will happen with Gog on that day.

The main variation between p967 and MT in the phrase "on that day" occurs in chs. 20-24. There, MT presents the phrase in four pluses. An interest in Egypt is prominent across these variants. The MT plus in 20:5-6 describes God helping the Israelites while they are in Egypt. The MT pluses in 23:38, 39 group the sins of Oholah and Oholibah into one day's events, sins that are intimately related to their fornications with Egypt. These pluses reinforce the focus on Egypt in two "on that day" phrases that are shared by MT and p967. In 29:21, when Egypt is plundered to supply military wages for Nebuchadrezzar's invasion of Tyre, the oracle proclaims that a horn will spring up in Israel "on that day." Then in 30:9, "on that day" marks the destruction of Egypt, a more clearly eschatological passage owing to the presence of the additional phrase, "behold it comes" (הנה באה). While the last two instances of the phrase also occur in p967, MT's pluses in 20:5-6, 23:38 and 39 contribute to an Egyptian-orientation for the eschatological phrase. "That day" appears to be one of divine aid to Israel while in Egypt

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copyists who edited texts, what S. Talmon calls "biblical stylistics." Talmon, "Textual Study of the Bible: A New Outlook," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (eds. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 321-400.

[362] p967's minuses occur in Ezek 20:6; 23:38, 39; and 24:27. p967's alternate readings occur in Ezek 24:2a, 2b; 38:14; and 40:1. (Ezek 24:2a-b offer alternate readings of היום הזה, and thus should not be counted among the MT's thirteen instances of ביום ההוא.)

(20:5-6) but of judgment and destruction for Egypt (23:38, 39; 29:21; 30:9). This Egyptian-orientation, while not absent in p967, is more pronounced in MT.

One additional factor may be involved in the MT's unique uses of the phrase in chs. 20-24. "On that day" uniquely marks the temple desecration in MT. Ezekiel 23:38 and 39 both use the phrase to temporally correlate acts that defiled the sanctuary. Additionally, in 24:27, "on that day" qualifies the temporal prediction about when Ezekiel's mouth will be opened: the day he learns that his judgment oracles against Jerusalem and its temple were fulfilled. These three MT pluses are fruitfully read alongside the phrase "on that day" in 45:22 where the prince supplies a sin offering to make atonement for himself and the people. This sacrifice is legislated to occur during Passover, two weeks after the purification of the temple.[363] Thus, MT presents three pluses of the phrase "on that day" in passages describing the temple's defilement, possibly as a complement to the phrase's significance in Ezekiel 45 regarding the purification of the temple and the people.

In addition to a general focus on Egypt and the destruction of the temple, MT seems to place notable emphasis on a quite specific event: the moment when Ezekiel receives his speech. First, MT *uniquely* marks the moment with "on that day" (24:27). Second, MT dates that event to the 12th year as opposed to p967's date in the 10th (33:21-22). In this alternate dating, MT dislocates "that day" further from the actual destruction of the temple in the 10th year. Instead, MT forges a possible connection between the *speech* of Ezekiel and "that day." In contrast, p967 lacks the phrase "on that day" for

[363] Ezek 45:18 and 21 prescribe the purification of the temple and the Passover atonement sacrifice for the first and the fourteenth days of the first month.

Ezekiel's speech, but by its dating achieves temporal simultaneity between Ezekiel's speech and the destruction of the temple.

One possible conclusion from the variant dates and uses of "on that day" is that MT imagines the "opening" of Ezekiel's mouth in a time after the first temple's destruction. As a metaphor, the opening of Ezekiel's mouth signifies the potency of Ezekiel's oracles. Certainly, Ezekiel produced oracles before his muteness is said to have ended (i.e., the ones dated to before the 12th year). Hence, his returned speech marks the moment at which these "mute" oracles achieve their potency as prophetic utterances. That is to say, Ezekiel's muteness may represent the dormancy of his prophecy, whereupon a second "speaking" is possible with the return of the prophetic voice.[364] Since his returned speech is dated to the 12th year in MT, two years after the destruction of the temple, Ezekiel's prophetic words must refer beyond that event.[365]

5.2.2.4. Summary of "Prophetic Temporality" *Tendenz*

The topic of prophetic temporality was not just an isolated concern in MT 12:26-28. The *Tendenz* characterized a wider range of variants across Ezekiel. p967 and MT's date reckoning as well as the phrase "on that day" extend the editorial reach of the *Tendenz*. Programmatic statements in 14:7 and 7:13 further supported the presence of the *Tendenz* in MT pluses and variant material.

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[364] A similar philosophy of the prophetic word can be found in 1QpHab 7, which holds that the true meaning of prophecies was not revealed to the original prophet, but required an intended time-frame before their meaning could be known.

[365] If "that day" is read synchronically as an eschatological day, then further speculation is possible. "That day" could refer to the events of a second invasion (chs.. 38-39) by a ruler from the north which involves events in Egypt and the desecration of the temple. A speculative reading to be sure, MT does generate more of a basis for the later application of Ezekiel's oracles through its date reckoning and extra uses of "on that day."

The MT edition of Ezekiel shows a considerable interest in the immediate fulfillment of prophecy. Some hint, however, did emerge in the above analysis regarding how MT dealt with delayed fulfillment. Through the MT's use of "on that day" with Ezekiel's speech, MT creates a period of delay. Almost like a time release capsule, Ezekiel's oracles linger until "that day" arrives in which they are activated. The activation "on that day" seems to involve events in Egypt and the desecration of the temple.[366]

However, some inconsistencies with date reckoning and the phrase "on that day" render the MT less than clear. Perhaps primary is the issue of the 12th year in MT.[367] As discussed above, several prophecies are dated to the 12th year, two years after Jerusalem's fall. However, these same prophecies contain the phrase "on that day" to refer to events in Jerusalem's temple, a temple which, given the date, cannot still be standing. This inconsistency suggests one of two interpretive options: Either we should not impose eschatological synchronicity onto all "on that day" passages (i.e., one "on that day" may refer to an isolated event and not a cosmic day of the Lord) or we should not read the date reckonings as literally referring to the years after the first deportation in 597 BCE. Whatever the case, the MT pluses and variants examined under the heading "Prophetic Temporality" *Tendenz* certainly throw light on the distinguishing temporal features of p967 and MT. The dislocation of some of Ezekiel's prophecies from the 10th year destruction of Jerusalem does not necessarily undercut the MT's philosophy of immediate fulfillment; I proposed that the return of Ezekiel's speech allows for delayed

[366] Adding the conclusions drawn above from the MT's date references, the final demise of Egypt also occurs subsequently to the 587 B.C.E. destruction (the twelfth year in Ezek 32:1 and 32:17).

[367] The dates could hold numerological significance, as suggested more generally of numbers in prophetic books by Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 450.

actualization of dormant oracles in a one-time fulfillment event. From this perspective, MT presents a prophetic book that has already exhausted its fulfillment applications. However, it does so by creatively maintaining its programmatic statement about the immediate fulfillment of Ezekiel's prophecies through concern for Ezekiel's muteness and speech. p967, in comparison, offers no such programmatic statement about immediate fulfillment.

5.2.3. "Divine Speech" *Tendenz*: Prophetic and Oracle Formulae

Programmatic statements about temporality are not the only variants represented in the intertextual center. Ezekiel 12-13 contains variants that deal with the nature of divine speech. Specifically, MT is host to three pluses in vv. 2, 3, and 7 which develop the topic. In all three verses, the MT plus, loosely supported by various versions (often the hexaplaric notations) reads against p967, B, and various Latin texts.[368]

v. 2 Son of man, prophesy against the prophets of Israel; Prophesy and say to *those who prophesy from their own heart*[369] "Hear the word of the LORD."

v. 3 Thus has the LORD said, *Woe to the foolish prophets who follow their own spirit*[370] without having seen anything.

v. 7 Have you not seen delusive visions and spoken lying oracles and said "oracle of the LORD" when I have not spoken?[371]

The three pluses evince a similar scribal tactic of incorporation through subtle expansion of an idea. The addition in v. 2 specifies the problem with false prophets who rely on their heart. Then in v. 3b, MT presents a variant that avoids the redundancy with

[368] Note that p967 is damaged and therefore does not preserve Ezek 13:7.

[369] p967 substitutes: *them*.

[370] p967 substitutes: *Woe to those who prophesy out of their own hearts*

[371] Ezek 13:7b is a minus in B; p967 is not preserved.

v. 2. Thus, where v. 3b read (following p967) "woe to those who prophesy out of their own hearts," MT creates a pair with v. 2 by including the spirit. Similarly, v. 7b builds on the indictment in v. 6 against false prophets. False prophecy in v. 7 refers specifically to those who claim their specious speech to be an "oracle of the Lord." The plus, then, extends the prophetic disputes to include the specific problem of the way that traditional prophetic formulae can be used to authorize the speech of false prophets.

The three variants in ch. 7 of MT do not radically change the overall meaning of 13:1-23, which inveighs against sources of alternate inspiration than the LORD himself. The variants in MT do, however, strengthen and specify the critique. Particularly relevant to the present study is the MT's anxiety over the spurious attribution of נאם יהוה to false oracles.[372] A concern for deceptive speech attributed to the divine voice differentiates the MT edition from p967.

In light of the editorial concern for spurious use of divine speech, particularly the use of oracle formulae to authenticate false prophecies, I turn next to examine prophetic formulae. In several cases, the witnesses reveal editorial activity surrounding the use of oracle formulae, including but not limited to נאם יהוה.

5.2.3.1. Formulae for Prophetic Speech

Any variant having to do with phrases as common as "oracle of the Lord" in prophetic literature must first be placed into larger perspective. What follows here is a list of variants dealing with phrases like כה אמר אדני, וידעו כי אני יהוה, and נאם אדני. In Ezekiel, כה אמר אדני appears upwards of 110 times and I will present only three or four of

[372] This is captured more formally in Q and Theodotian, which uncharacteristically translate נאם אדני as φησιν κυριος instead of the expected λεγει κυριος.

those cases. The statistics are similar for the phrase, נאם אדני. Hence, before proceeding, we should pause to appreciate the overwhelming consistency between the editions of p967 and MT of Ezekiel's oracles. Nevertheless, variants in formulaic material are highly relevant for the *Tendenz* of divine speech. In fact, variants in formulaic material are all the more significant given the otherwise remarkable consistency of use.

Redaction critics often rely on prophetic formulae as aids in determining the fractures in the development of a text. As Zimmerli has pointed out for Ezekiel,

> An external help towards a more penetrating analysis of the sections, behind which such a process of growth lies hidden, is to be found in the formulaic material of the prophetic sayings. Its consideration can occasionally (but by no means always) point to seams and gaps in the text.[373]

In chapter 3, I listed 19 variants in prophetic formulae. From these we discover an important pattern. In ten cases, p967 lacks a formulaic phrase that is present in MT (16:59; 36:7; 18:32; 36:23c; 25:7; 37:2; 43:12; 34:9; 33:25; and 33:27). In eight of those cases, p967's minus is supported by B. Once, B reads alone (16:59), and once it agrees with MT (18:32). There are no cases where MT lacks a formulaic phrase that is present in p967.

MT is the more expansive text, more liberally using prophetic formulae throughout the divine speeches in Ezekiel. At the most basic level, this could point to a scribal trend to provide section breaks or to "close" and "open" oracles.[374] However, these statistics may not be very meaningful in distinguishing the two editions of Ezekiel

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[373] Zimmerli, 1:26.

[374] Insufficient study renders these options speculative. However, see John Olley's contribution to the correlation between prophetic formula and paragraphing in 1QIsa[a]: John W. Olley, "'Hear the Word of Yahweh': The Structure of the Book of Isaiah in 1QIsa[a]," *VT* (1993): 34, 44-45. For different views, although not ones specific to prophecy, see Emanuel Tov, "The Background of the Sense Divisions in the Biblical Texts," in *Delimitation Criticism* (eds. Korpel and Oesch; *Pericope I*; Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 2000), 336-341.

unless the formulae correspond with other variant readings or pluses. Indeed, we are especially interested in those cases where a prophetic formula authorizes content that is not unanimously attested in our texts. Hence, the correlation between formula and variant content can shed light on potentially contestable uses of Ezekiel's speech. There are four cases where this correspondence obtains. In each one, MT is the longer text.

1) Ezekiel 18:32 (נאם אדני יהוה)

Ezekiel 18 is a didactic refutation of the proverb in v. 2. The overall point of the chapter deals with the individual responsibility to do righteousness and not sin. Adherence will lead to life rather than death. The chapter ends in MT with the following addition (in v. 32)

> v. 31 Cast away from yourselves all your transgressions by which you transgressed, and make for yourselves a new heart and a new spirit. Why will you die, O house of Israel?
> v. 32 For I do not delight in the death of the one who is dying, <u>says the Lord. Turn then, and live.</u>

Following the divine saying, λεγει (αδωναι) κυριος / נאם אדני יהוה only MT and Theodotian/L expand. MT provides a summative statement of the point of the entire chapter with the words "turn then, and live" (והשיבו וחיו).[375] p967, on the other hand, finishes the chapter on a less emphatic note. Indeed, emphasis appears to characterize this variant, given MT's use of an imperative verb which is a unique verbal form in the chapter.

2) Ezekiel 36:23c-38 (נאם אדני יהוה)

[375] See discussion of this variant below in the "New Life" *Tendenz* in §5.3.2.5.

The MT plus in 36:23c-38 contains promises to Israel concerning her return to the land and new life there. This material is treated more thoroughly elsewhere (see text-critical discussion in ch. 4 and below in §5.4). However, because the plus is introduced by a prophetic formula, it deserves mention here.

The declarative formula, נאם אדני יהוה appears in v. 23b in MT right before its multiple verse plus. The formula is missing in p967's shorter text. Interestingly, although B reads with p967 in the minus, λεγει αδωναι κυριος is well supported by several other Greek witnesses and versions. Immediately before the contested formula, all texts, including p967, contain the "recognition formula" וידעו הגוים כי אני יהוה / και γνωσεται τα εθνη οτι εγω ειμι κυριος (in v. 23a).

In MT, the combined formulas in v 23 mark the end of the oracle in 36:16-23b. As Lust states, "the 'recognition formula' followed by *ne'um Yhwh* in v. 23b makes a good conclusion."[376] According to Lust's argument, the Hebrew scribe responsible for MT provided the preceding material with a suitable formulaic ending (doubling the prophetic ending with the declarative formula) before adding the new oracular material in vv. 23c-38. The *double* formula was taken up in all Greek texts except p967 and B.

Lust's reasoning that the MT's double formulae provided a prophetic *ending* was critiqued by Block who shows that the "recognition formula" can often appear in the *middle* of an oracle in Ezekiel.[377] Block tried to eradicate the significance of the formal oracle unit in MT vv. 16-23b by showing that the recognition formula need not mark a break within the longer oracle unit of vv 16-32. However, Block missed Lust's point.

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[376] Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 525.

[377] Block lists Ezek 28:22; 35:12; 37:13; 38:23; and 39:28 and cites an independent study by Samuel A. Meier, *Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible*, (Vetus Testamentum Supplement 46; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 230-242. Block, 2:340.

The reading at issue is not the "recognition formula" alone, but the coordination of it and the "declarative formula," the latter of which constitutes the variant between MT and p967. Lust's original point was that the *combination* of the "recognition" and "declarative" formulas makes for a fitting conclusion.[378] Hence, Block's critique carries no weight. On the contrary, Crane carries Lust's point further and shows that the combined "recognition" and "declarative" formulae *never* appear in the middle of an oracle in Ezekiel.[379]

3) Ezekiel 33:25 (כה אמר אדני יהוה)

p967 and B preserve a minus of 28 words in 33:25-27 against MT. The MT plus opens and closes with the divine messenger formula; chapter 4 of the present work already showed the weakness of the *homoioteleuton* argument for explaining the minus even here where the full phrase is repeated at the opening and close of the MT plus.

The content of the MT plus provides the rationale for the surrounding pronouncements of judgment against those who inhabit the waste places of Israel. The list of abominations include shedding blood, idolatry, and relying on swords. Both vv. 25 and 26 end with a rhetorical question "will you possess the land?" Thus, the MT plus concerns competing claims to the land and provides a rationale to exclude those dwelling in the waste-places of the homeland.

4) Ezekiel 43:12b (הנה)

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[378] Lust, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New," 29-30.

[379] Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 290-291.

The case of Ezek 43:12b involves the MT plus "behold this is the law of the house" (הנה זאת תורת הבית). In MT, "This is the law of the house" is a repetition of the same phrase in v. 12a, but is here introduced by the prophetic formula הנה. The particle of attention, הנה appears frequently in chs. 40-48, usually as an object clause (a non-verbal clause) and 43:12 is no exception.

Verse 12b in p967 lacks the prophetic formula and MT plus. Additionally, in v. 12a, p967 refers to the ***diagram*** (διαγραφη) of the house as opposed to the MT's ***law***. These seemingly minor variants have interpretive significance for the issue of genre. Specifically, is the genre of the unit that begins in Ezekiel 43:12 that of a *law-code for* the temple or a *diagram of* the temple. Indeed, Ezekiel 43:12b marks an important transition in the content of Ezekiel's temple vision. While chs. 40-43 are solely concerned with the temple architecture, the material that runs from 43:13 – 44:31 combines architectural design with legal/ritual material.[380] The MT reading in 43:12b serves to introduce 43:13-44:31, indeed to draw attention to it as the "law" and not the "diagram" of the temple.[381] In contrast, p967 does not bring emphasis to the legal elements in its introduction to 43:13-44:31. Instead, p967 characterizes it as the *diagram* of the temple. Hence, the two editions differ about which aspects of the temple are emphasized in Ezekiel 43-44.

5) Ezekiel 24:14 An Exception (δια τουτο)

[380] See Zimmerli's comments on the ritual character of these laws in Zimmerli, 2:430.

[381] So Michael Fishbane and Shemaryahu Talmon who argue that the formula here "this is the torah of…" operates like a title-line or colophon. See Michael Fishbane and Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Structuring of Biblical Books: Studies in the Book of Ezekiel," *ASTI, X* (ed. B. Knutsson; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 129-153; esp. 138-153.

I earlier examined cases in which an MT plus included *both* a prophetic formula and a textual plus. The four cases highlighted the editorial function of prophetic formulae, as a scribal convention for expansion, most likely. In every case, p967 was the shorter text. However, in working with the formulae, a notable pattern emerged that would serve as the only exception. In five cases where p967 reads δια τουτο, MT preserves a minus where we would otherwise expect to see לכן.[382] This situation is never reversed. While δια τουτο is not exactly a prophetic formula, it plays an important role in the syntax of prophetic speech. Additionally, it is often combined with prophetic formulae, i.e., "*therefore*, thus says the Lord." It bears considering here.

The striking presence of δια τουτο in the Greek textual pluses may signal a scribal convention unique to the Greek, or even one characteristic of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG. As above, I will consider the one case where δια τουτο introduces a more extensive plus against MT. In 24:14, p967 reads,

> I, the Lord, have spoken; and it shall come, and I will do it. I will not delay, neither will I have any mercy. I will judge you, says the Lord, according to your ways, and according to your devices. Therefore (δια τουτο) I will judge you according to your blood, and according to your devices you will be judged, says the Lord, you unclean, notorious, and abundantly provoking one.

Verse 14 culminates the unit of vv. 24:3-14. The p967 plus highlights the metaphor of the cooking pot as symbolic of God's actions to clean Jerusalem of its uncleanness and abominations. The literary context and content of this verse will be discussed in greater detail in §5.3.2.4. The effect of the additional sentence in p967, however, heightens the significance of v. 14aβ. It also adds blood to the list of reasons Jerusalem will be judged.

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[382] In the sixty cases where the Greek reads, δια τουτο, fifty-eight times לכן occurs in the MT, while the other two read על כן (in Ezek 22:4 and 42:6).

In light of the earlier discussion of MT and p967's prophecy-fulfillment themes, the shared text of v. 14aα refers to prophecy and fulfillment. Due to the p967 plus, the two editions differ in *emphasis*. Both texts include a sequence of short statements emphasizing the certainty of God's intentions to fulfill his word (i.e., "I will do it. I will not delay.") Only the final statement "I will judge you" strays from the pattern of succinct statements to include two short prepositional phrases "according to your ways and according to your devices." Thus ends the oracle unit in MT. p967's plus does not extend this theme of fulfillment that characterizes each short statement. Rather, p967's plus extends the concept of judgment to include additional rationale, "blood" and "devices." The emphasis shifts from the promise of God's action to the behaviors and identity of the people who, in p967's concluding words, are called the "unclean, notorious, and abundantly provoking one."

Since both editions share God's fulfillment statements, both p967 and MT relate the same ideas about the viability of prophecy. Both editions affirm the fulfillment examined above in the Prophecy Temporality *Tendenz*. However, in MT's edition the oracle culminates with this theme. As we will see below, variants in Ezekiel 24 throw light on this prophecy. For now, it is enough to note that p967's plus shifts the emphasis onto the judgment of Israel as opposed to the viability of God's word.

By way of conclusion, variants involving prophetic formulae, while not numerous, were illuminating. Above, I have examined four instances where MT plus material included a prophetic formula.[383] In one case, p967 exhibited the same

[383] One important observation made in this section is that the presence of a prophetic formula at the beginning of variant/minus material is not a strong basis to evaluate for *homoioteleuton*. Consciousness of scribal conventions must accompany the textual evaluation of scribal mistakes. In this case, we have the basis to assume a scribal practice of inserting (excluding?) material under the heading of prophetic formula.

phenomenon using terminology seemingly distinctive to the Greek tradition (δια τουτο). In the modest number of cases adduced here, there was certainly enough of a trend, in terms of distribution, to say that MT and p967 witness to possibly different conventions for expansion/editing using different formal conventions: δια τουτο for p967 and כה אמר אדני יהוה, נאם אדני, and הנה for MT.[384]

5.2.3.2. Recognition Formula: "They/you will know that I am the Lord" (και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κ̄ς ο θ̄ς / וידעו כי אני יהוה)

The recognition formula merits separate treatment from the other prophetic formulae for two reasons. First, the Greek and Hebrew traditions *both* contain the phrase in plus material. In this uneven distribution, the recognition formula is distinct from other prophetic formulae just examined. The use of the recognition formula may still be a scribal convention, but it would be one shared across language. Second, the recognition formula interacts with its context differently than the previously considered formulae. The formulae of divine speech attribute oracles to the mouth of God.[385] In contrast, the recognition formula is directed at audience perception. It throws light on particular knowledge as more accurately or effectively revealing God. In this sense, the recognition

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As already pointed out, we detected the possibility of such scribal conventions in the Hebrew or the Greek. It is possible that all of the MT pluses derive from intentional Greek omission. However, the far more likely conclusion is for a Hebrew scribal convention that expanded content under the heading of a prophetic formula.

[384] While p967 and MT can be distinguished according to their use of prophetic formulae, a brief examination of the Greek textual tradition shows that Greek witnesses (especially L) contain pluses in prophetic formulae. For example, B and L present an asterisked plus "thus says the Lord" in Ezek 21:3(8).

[385] הנה is an exception. It does not introduce divine speech, but it is typical to the formal presentation of Ezekiel's visions, giving it some role, albeit more modest, in indicating divine content (i.e., significant elements of the vision.)

formula operates quite similarly to how Fishbane describes inner-biblical exegesis of prophecy:

> The initial oracle retains its authoritative status as a divine word – but requires redirection, respecification, revivification.[386]

The formula, if inserted, can shift the emphasis of an oracle onto a specific sentence or phrase. Indeed, material associated with the recognition formula enjoys a special kind of highlighting. Even if the dominant themes in a unit differ, the recognition formula directs the implied audience towards a specific prophetic message. Hence, the formula can redirect the message of an oracle.

The recognition formula, "you/they will know that I am the Lord" appears roughly 72 times in MT of Ezekiel.[387] Some redaction critics have suggested that it was a late editorial feature in Ezekiel. Although the textual evidence cannot substantiate the claim in most instances, it does provide some warrant for this view.[388] MT has the phrase in a unique plus twice, while p967 had a unique plus only once. The greatest number of unique variants occurred in B against MT and p967, with three occurrences. While the *variants* just listed are interesting, each of the editions (MT, p967, B) has one unique *plus* of the whole formula. It is these three cases which are discussed here.

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[386] Fishbane, "Revelation and Tradition: Aspects of Inner-Biblical Exegesis," *JBL* 99 (1980): 355.

[387] For accurate numbers of "pure" and adapted formulae, see Zimmerli, 1:38. Cf. idem, *I am Yahweh*. (Trans. Douglas W. Stott; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982).

[388] See, for example, Gustav Hölscher, *Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch* (BZAW 39; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1924). Hölscher is not the only one to suggest the view, and while his work was stimulating, it was reductive and largely rejected (see Zimmerli, 1:4-6). In fact, on redaction critical grounds alone, the arguments are based on debated points. For example, Blenkinsopp points out that the phrase "already occurs in these early prophetic legends [the Elijah and Elisha narratives]," (Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel*, 177). Similarly, Zimmerli argues that the formula "consists of two parts, which from a form-critical viewpoint each have a different origin and setting in life." He goes on to show similarities with H material, the Joseph story, and self-revelation proclamations associated with Sinai, (Zimmerli, 1:37). All of this evidence, even the Elijah and Elisha narratives, are subject to redaction-critical debates. Nevertheless, one cannot argue that the phrase is *always* late on redaction criteria alone.

1) Ezekiel 20:26 in MT

> I defiled them through their very gifts, in their offering up all their firstborn, in order that I might horrify them, *so that they will know that I am the Lord*.

In Ezek 20:26, MT claims that Israel has been defiled, despite obedience to God's ordinances, (i.e., child sacrifice). The recognition of God is linked to Israel's horror upon realizing what she has done and become.

2) Ezekiel 38:20 in p967

> The fish of the sea will quake at the presence of the Lord, and the birds of the sky and the wild beasts of the field, and all the reptiles that creep upon the earth, and all the men that are on the face of every land; and the mountains will be rent, and the valleys will fall, and every wall on the land will fall, *and the nations will know that I am the Lord.*

In 38:20, p967 claims knowledge of God for the nations. Verse 20 describes the nature-upheaval characteristic of day of the Lord imagery: quaking fauna, rent mountains, and destroyed walls.[389] The context connects the day of the Lord with the outworking of God's wrath upon Israel by means of the invasion of Gog-Magog. According to p967, this event causes the nations to know God.

It is probably significant that the next verse (v. 21) speaks about God summoning against Gog "every fear of the sword" (παν φοβον μαχαιρας.) μαχαιρα is a p967 plus in 38:21. Both the ideas of "fear" and "sword" are important in 32:17-32, another passage about international judgment. There, the portrayal of Assyria (v. 23), Elam (v. 24), and God through Pharaoh (v. 32) included the spread of their "fear [φοβον] in the land of the

[389] The imagery combines the Gen 1 taxomony of the natural world with a matrix of destruction images, found in such texts as Isa 2:12-17; 37:36; and Ezek 13:12-13, among many others.

living." Further, 'sword' (μαχαιρα) plays an instrumental role as the means of death for most of the nations in the pit (vv. 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32).

By means of the recognition formula and the reference to sword in v 21, p967 forges the stronger intertextual connection between 38:20-21 and ch. 32. Both units implement apocalyptic imagery, respectively the day of the Lord and the underworld, imagery that is embellished in p967.

3) Ezekiel 34:15 in B

> I will feed my sheep and give them rest *and they will know that I am the Lord.*

Ezekiel 34:15 develops the allegory of Israel as lost sheep. In v. 15, B claims that Israel will know God when Israel is fed and resting. A textual variant in v. 15a differentiates B further from MT.[390] Where B reads "I will feed my sheep," MT says "I am a shepherd of my flock." The difference is subtle: B's text draws greater attention to the way that God satisfies the people in their basic human needs.[391]

5.2.3.3. The Nation-Recognition Formula

As we just saw, p967's unique recognition formula referred not to Israel but to the nations. The "nation-recognition" formula occurs five times in the Hebrew Bible, all in Ezekiel, clustered in chs. 36-39. Two of these instances in MT occur in 36:23c-38. Thus, while p967 uniquely contains the phrase in 38:20, MT also presents the phrase in

[390] p967 supports B in this variant.

[391] B might be connected to 34:23-24, already appreciated for displaying Septuagintal interest in messianic reflection. See Lust, "Le Messinaisme et la Spetante D'Ézékiel," in *Messianism and the Septuagint: Collected Essays by J. Lust,* (ed., K. Hauspie; BETL 178; Leuven: Leuven University press, 2004), 32-33; repr. from *Tsafon* 2/3 (1990).

material unique to its edition. Because the phrase occurs so infrequently, it strongly distinguishes MT and p967 as variant editions.

In 36:23c, the nation-recognition formula appears as the last line of the text shared by p967 and MT, immediately before the contested נאם אדני יהוה (see §5.4.1.1.3). The MT plus begins with a qualifying temporal clause, "when through you [Israel] I display my holiness before their [the nations'] eyes." This qualification is further specified in vv. 24-28 which refers ahead to ch. 37. A second nation-recognition formula occurs within MT's plus (v. 36).

In p967 and MT, different events prompt the nations to recognize God. p967 points to God's summoning of Gog against Israel as the protracted outworking of God's wrath. p967's divine fulfillment uses the instrument of the invading army: εν σοι, "through you," referring to Gog.[392] Alternatively, MT stresses that nation-recognition will occur "through you [Israel]" in 36:23c. Ezekiel 38:18-25 portrays Gog's invasion with imagery of the day of the Lord.[393] Hence, p967 forges a strong connection between nations' knowledge of God and the apocalyptic day of the Lord depicted in Ezek 38. In contrast, the MT points to ch. 37 and the vision of dried bones as the event that will inspire the nations to knowledge of God. Specifically, God will be known to the nations through *Israel*'s miracle (MT), and not *Gog's* invasion and destruction (p967).

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[392] The nation-recognition formula here touches on the issue of prophecy and fulfillment as well. In p967's plus at Ezek 38:20 depicts God's fulfillment using the instrument of the invading army: εν σοι, "through you," refers to Gog. Alternatively, MT stresses that nation-recognition will occur "through you [Israel]" in Ezek 36:23c. We have already seen a similar distinction in (§5.2.2.1) where the MT asserted that God would fulfill prophecies himself. In Ezek 14:7, p967's variant explains that he will answer "through him" (Ezek 14:7). p967's nation-recognition plus in Ezek 38:20 is consistent with the variant from Ezek 14:7, advancing a theology in which God uses mediating devices to fulfill his purposes.

[393] See especially Zimmerli who characterizes Ezek 38:18-25 as apocalyptic material that was not penned by Ezekiel. His discussion points out resonances with later apocalyptic-cosmic imagery. Zimmerli, 2:312-314.

In conclusion, the recognition formula occurred in contexts of significant scribal editing. We saw evidence of the *Tendenz* in many of the witnesses, marking the formula as a wide-spread scribal technique. Both the Hebrew and Greek editions produced evidence for editorial activity. The straight recognition formula in MT and p967 did not produce coherently differentiated readings. However, a meaningful divergence is more likely in the case of the nation-recognition formula. MT and p967 can be sharply distinguished, offering different perspectives on the events of chs. 36-39.

5.2.4. Summary of Section: "Prophecy" *Tendenzen*

The major variant in 12:26-28 does not represent an isolated MT plus about prophecy. The foregoing analysis showed the extent of textual variants which differentiate p967 from MT according the Prophecy *Tendenz*. Especially pronounced were variants related to the temporal features of prophecy and fulfillment. The MT plus in ch. 12 provided its edition with a programmatic statement about the immediate fulfillment of Ezekiel's prophecies. Likewise, in ch. 7, an MT plus offered a similar statement about visions, namely, that they are irrevocable. Such statements become particularly significant in light of the variants in ch. 4 concerning the number of years of Israel's guilt. Variation in the number of years suggests that oracles were modified *ex eventu* to comply with a particular fulfillment interpretation.

The Prophecy *Tendenz* also highlighted differences in the temporal structure of the book. The date of Ezekiel's oracles in p967 clustered around the tenth year, the same year as the destruction of Jerusalem. MT spread the same oracles over the eleventh and twelfth years. Additionally, the temporal phrase "on that day" was deployed more

frequently in the MT's edition. In some cases, the correlation of "on that day" with date references complicated the temporal structure of MT's edition. Nevertheless, some emphases were discernible in the MT's alternate temporal structure. For example, MT dated Egypt's apocalyptic demise in the Pit last among the Egyptian oracles, underscoring the finality of Egypt's fate.

In addition to differences in prophetic time, the Prophecy *Tendenz* also encompassed variants dealing with prophetic speech. The issue was already present in the intertextual center, especially in MT's edition of 13:7. The MT plus in v. 7 warned about false prophets using prophetic formulae to authorize speech derived from their own hearts and spirits as opposed to that from divine origins. In the forgoing analysis, this MT statement introduced analysis of variants in prophetic formulae across the book. The patterns among the small percentage of variant material yielded a striking trend. MT uses divine speech formulae more frequently than p967.[394] Further, it did so in conjunction with content-pluses in four instances. This evidence raises the intriguing question about whether these content pluses in MT can be seen as candidates for the claim of false-speech prohibited in Ezek 13:7. That is to say, in these content-pluses, we may be looking at prophetic debate in action, staged by scribes on the site of the text itself. Arguing against this intriguing possibility is the significance of 36:23c-38 to the MT edition, for example. It is unlikely that the MT plus in ch. 36 was viewed as specious speech, authorized falsely by the divine oracle formula, particularly as it deals with the reanimation of the very heart and spirit denounced in 13:2-7. However, the example does

[394] The only exception was δια τουτο, discussed in §5.2.3.1.

throw light on how 36:23c-38 participates in a wider trend in the MT's more expansive edition of Ezekiel, a trend which correlated content-pluses with prophetic formulae.

In contrast to the differentiation between p967 and MT according to speech formula, the recognition formula formed a complex pattern among the witnesses. MT, p967, and B presented plus material, differently signaling content that would stimulate knowledge of God. Most notably, MT and p967 differ about what scenario would produce nation-recognition: p967 in the Gog invasion and MT in the valley of dried bones.

5.3. "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen*: Filling the Plains, Valleys, and Pits

The prophecies of Ezekiel devote substantial attention to death. Specifically, the prophecies exhibit a concern for the *location* of slain bodies (חלל/τραυματιας), both native and enemy bodies, variously in Sheol, the Pit, valleys, graves, plains, on the mountains, and other locations.

Frequently, the material that exhibits a concern with the slain also serves as a site of textual divergence between MT and p967. In chapter 3, these variants were grouped as the "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen.* The present discussion returns to those passages in which the *Tendenz* occurs to give an exegetical account of their meaning and literary function in Ezekiel.

The most prominent locus of the fate of the slain *Tendenz* appears in 32:17-32. One of p967's notable minuses (32:24bδ-26) occurs in this passage. However, additional textual issues in the immediate context and elsewhere participate in the *Tendenz* as well.

I will deal with 32:17-32 as an intertextual center for the *Tendenz* and then turn to the more isolated occurrences elsewhere.

5.3.1. Intertextual Center: The Pit in Ezekiel 32:17-32

Ezekiel 32:17-32 hosts several variants that fall into the "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenz*: Its very topic is the descent of Israel's enemy slain into the underworld. Specifically, vv. 18-32 describes the underworld, introducing a spatial cosmology characteristic of the apocalyptic genre.[395] Verse 17 frames the description within a "lament" oracle over Egypt's fate.[396] Verses 17-32 are separated from what precedes by a new date formula in v. 17, but the first half of the ch. 32 is also a lament for Egypt. In the main, the lament consists of a register of the nations who already populate the Pit (vv. 22-30). Then in vv. 31-32, Pharaoh responds to the events just described to him, and God's instrumental role is emphasized. The general point of the lament is to predict and perform Egypt's fated descent into the Pit.

MT is the more expansive text. Most notably, Ezek 32:24bδ-26 is plus material in MT. Accordingly, MT's edition relegates Meshech and Tubal to the underworld. They join a register of Israel's otherwise historical enemies: Assyria, Elam, Edom, and the Sidonians.

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[395] See Collins whose seminal classification of "apocalyptic literature" is still useful. In his definition, he recognized the significance of the spatial cosmos to the genre. J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Inagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2d edition; Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 1-42, especially 5.

[396] In v. 18, the son of man is exhorted to lament (נהה/θρηνεω) over the hordes of Egypt.

Ezekiel 32:17-32 is structured by a poetic refrain, a refrain that bears on the extent of MT's plus in vv. 24bδ-26. In fact, Hölscher's analysis of MT led him to solve the textual difficulties in 32:17-32 using poetic analysis; He isolated the refrain,

> All of them slain, fallen by the sword
> Who caused terror in the land of the living
> And they bear their shame with those who have gone down to the Pit.[397]

Hölscher conjectures that the text of 32:17-32 once repeated the entire refrain, but as it currently stands, 32:17-32 only shows a repetition of quite similar phrases throughout 32:22-30. Even if Hölscher's reconstruction is unlikely, he is correct to note the way the repeated phrases provide a stylistic structure to the passage.[398] The repeated phrases in vv. 24bγ and 26bβ follow Hölscher's refrain closely; other verses repeat only segments of this refrain.[399]

Lust analyzed the MT plus in 32:24bδ-26 and connected it with a wider scope of editorial activity in MT.[400] For Lust, the MT's plus cohered with its divergent views on the eschaton, owing mostly to the mention of Meshech and Tubal. Lust pointed out that the same protagonists of Ezekiel 38-39 also occurred in MT's edition of the Pit, hence

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[397] Hölscher proposed such a poetic analysis for the textual difficulties in vv. 19-22 and 25, (Hölscher, *Hesekiel*, 1924). I extend Hölscher's observation to the situation in vv. 26-28, which was not known by him in 1924. Cooke adopts Hölscher's "experiment" in his discussion of 32:17-32, (Cooke, 350). See also Boadt, who comments "the passage does not lack order, but the opposite," Lawrence Boadt, *Ezekiel's Oracles Against Egypt: A Literary and Philological Study of Ezekiel 29-32* (BEO 37; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 151.

[398] The refrain is partially or wholly present in vv. 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, and 30.

[399] In light of the textual debates presented in chapter 4, it should be pointed out that vv. 24bγ and 26bβ, which frame the MT plus in Ezek 32:25-26, form the repeated phrases adduced in arguments for *homoioteleuton.* Such textual evaluations, which operate in isolation from literary analysis, fail to consider the literary role of stylistic features. Rather than conclude that our texts are erroneous, an evaluation already greatly problematized in chapter 4, we should appreciate the refrain as an opportunity for scribal elegance. That is to say, a scribe would have added (removed?) material in keeping with the poetic structure of the context.

[400] Lust, "Major Divergences," 87-89.

demonstrating coherence between 32:26-28 and the alternate sequence of chapters 37-39.[401] By including Meshech and Tubal among the company of Israel's *historical* enemies in chapter 32, MT characteristically presents the more "historicizing" interpretation of the eschatological invasion in Ezekiel 38-39.[402] Indeed, the issue of historical vs. mythic enemies constitutes perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the MT's list of nations.

Undoubtedly, any literary analysis must address the connection between Meshech and Tubal in both chapters 32 and 38-39. However, Lust did not examine the variants in the immediate context of chapter 32. The section is textually difficult, compounded by the fact that "individual verses swarm with difficult grammatical relationships."[403] Daniel Block notes the textual dilemmas astutely

> Seldom since Ezekiel's opening vision has a unit been plagued by such a concentration of truncated sentences, grammatical inconsistencies, and redundancy … The plethora of deviations from the MT in the LXX suggest that the Alexandrian translators… were as frustrated with the text as modern interpreters are. On the one hand, this early Greek version omits 15-18 percent of the material found in MT; on the other hand, it fills in several lacunae.[404]

The textual issues have been difficult to solve. However, p967's new evidence for an even shorter Greek edition of the passage sheds new light on the whole, suggesting that some of the textual issues derive from an editorial process, upon which p967 may shed some new light.

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[401] See also Marco Nobile, "Beziehung zwischen Ez 32, 17-32 und der Gog-Perikope (Ez 38-39) im Lichte der Endredaktion," in *Ezekiel and His Book* (ed. J. Lust; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986), 255-59.

[402] Lust, "Major Divergences," 87.

[403] Boadt, *Oracles Against Egypt* , 151.

[404] D. I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 2:212. So Blenkinsopp who says it is "more than usually corrupt." Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1990), 141.

MT's plus in 32:24-26 extends the list of national bodies, beyond that of p967, who are fated to the Pit. However, this variant is by no means an isolated phenomenon in 32:17-32. Slain bodies play a significant role in differentiating MT from p967's editions of this lament, justifying the designation of 32:17-32 as an intertextual center for the "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenz.* Issues such a nationality, circumcision, and notoriety become the salient categories for identifying bodies fated to the Pit.

5.3.1.1. Exegesis of Ezekiel 32:17-32 in p967

In p967's edition of the lament, descriptions of the giants are more central than in MT; additionally, they form something of an inclusio for vv. 21-28. p967 opens its list of nations with the giants (v. 21). In between the scenes involving the giants (vv. 21 and 27), the lament describes Assyria and Elam's existence in the Pit.

The ancient giants preceded the rest of the company in p967's Pit, having descended "long ago" (v. 27).[405] They speak a direct address "to you" in v. 21, commanding "be in the Pit" and "go down and lay with the uncircumcised." In addition to these commands to Egypt, the giants ask a rhetorical question "than whom are you better?" This question signals to Egypt that they are in no better repute than the list of nations, and thus Egypt's fate is deserved.

The report at the beginning of v. 27 joins Assyria and Elam with the giants: "and *they* were laid with the giants who fell from long ago, the ones who went down to Hades." "They" probably refers to *both* Assyria and Elam. After this concise and neatly

[405] απο αιωνος in p967 differs from the MT מערלים. The significance of the uncircumcised ערלים will be discussed below. Zimmerli emends the MT on the basis of this Greek reading. Zimmerli, 2:168 n27b.

structured episode, v. 28 resumes its direct address to Pharaoh, alerting him, as anticipated by the rhetorical question, that Assyria, Elam, and the giants will be his nether-neighbors.

Somewhat unexpectedly, vv. 29-30 resume the list, adding the "rulers of Assyria" and the "rulers of the North, all the commanders of Assyria."[406] In these verses, p967's edition emphasizes two different categories of Assyrian leadership, rulers and commanders, perhaps providing specificity to the statement already made in v. 22, "Assyria and *all his company*."[407] The descriptions of these Assyrian cohorts follow the poetic refrain from the previous list in vv. 21-28. Thus, while vv. 29-30 share stylistic structure with vv. 21-27, they are set apart by virtue of coming after the *inclusio* about the giants in v. 28.

Aside from the tight literary structure of vv. 21-28, few other details emerge to organize p967's edition. The poetic refrain repeats its phrases throughout, "those slain by the sword," and "those who lay down with those descending to the Pit." Elam (v. 24) and the rulers of Assyria (v. 29) are described as uncircumcised, undoubtedly bringing greater ignominy to the "othered" status of the Pit.

A final detail worth mention is the variety of Greek terminology used for the underworld. The passage locates Egypt and the first mention of Assyria in the "depth of the Pit" (εν βαθει βοθρου), Elam in the "under-world" (εις γης βαθος), and the Assyrian

[406] Many critics have noted that v. 28 (even in MT) seems a fitting conclusion. They are struck by the structural shift, which is even more pronounced in p967. See Wevers, 244; Cooke, 354; Zimmerli, 2:779.

[407] It may also be significant that the lament in v. 17 is directed to Egypt and its hordes, while the end of the lament specifically mentions Pharaoh in v. 31. Perhaps at some point, a redaction of the lament saw fit to emphasize leadership, and thus returned to Assyria's rulers and commanders in order to underscore the address Pharaoh specifically.

rulers and commanders in the "Pit" (εις βοθρον). In v. 27, Elam is laid to rest with the giants from long ago in "Hades" (αδης). Perhaps these terms refer to levels of ignominy, with the giants occupying the extreme, or perhaps they preserve cultural ideas about death.[408]

5.3.1.2. The Population in the Pit: MT and p967

The MT's Pit is a busier place. The nations depicted in its underworld are: Assyria (vv. 22-23), Elam (vv. 24-25), Meshech and Tubal (vv. 26-28), Edom (v. 29), and the Sidonians (the "princes of the North" in v. 30). Preceding all of these, in v. 21 are the "mighty men," to be discussed in more detail below. While p967 lacks Meshech and Tubal and presents a truncated version of Elam's paragraph, still further differences exist. p967 does not list Edom or the Sidonians in the Pit. Instead, the list of nations in p967 focuses on Assyria and more specific categories of the Assyrian cohort.[409]

In terms of geography, p967's edition of the nations is the more consistent of the two, though it is not without problems. Elam allied itself with its neighbor Babylon and

[408] I.e., the Greek giants in Hesiod are located in Hades.

[409] The importance of Assyria may also be seen in the MT expansions in vv. 22-23. MT plus of most of v. 23 is asterisked in Origen's Hexapla and Hi as well as Lucian mss, but is lacking in B p967 and Co. The reason these are minuses and not variants of the same verse is because of the Lucianic and Hexaplaric decision to include both verses – meaning these early witnesses understood the two verses as *meaning* differently enough to retain the two. Allen's explanation is appealing in that it explains all of the phrases in the MT plus, and it may explain the misreading of בירכתי in v. 23 by all the Greek readings, εν μηροις λακκου (among the thighs/leg bones of the pit) as an interpretive interpolation. However, it is difficult to explain the Lucianic plus at the end of v. 23 with Allen's theory since its material does not repeat anything in the preceding verses. Allen does hit upon a section of text, however, in which corrective, clarifying glosses do accrue, although I see interpretive and compositional interpolations as well, like in the Lucianic reading just mentioned. Again, the variant material deals with the pit and its contents, having to do with Assyria.

Also, possibly relevant to the "Bones" *Tendenz* (§5.3.2.4), is the Greek reading εν μηροις λακκου (among the thighs/leg bones of the pit).

fought against Assyria in the 7th century BCE. Thus, all of p967's nations come from remote locations in the wider ancient Near Eastern geography.

Compared with p967, MT brings the national identity of the slain into closer geographical proximity. In place of the Assyrians in vv. 29-30, MT reads Edom and the Sidonians, respectively, which brings the geographical focus of these isolated verses (discussed above) closer to the regions of ancient Israel/Palestine. The difference in geography between the two editions likely bespeaks different historical horizons against which the lament for Egypt is articulated.[410]

Finally, even already in 32:18, at the start of the prophetic lament over Egypt, the editions exhibit a variant concerning the population of the Pit.

v. 18[411] και καταβιβασουσιν αυτης τα εθνη τας θυγατερας νεκρας
And her nations will bring down *the dead daughters*

v. 18 והורדהו אותה ובנות גוים אדרם
And bring it [the crowd of Egypt] down with her and *the daughters of the majestic nations*

In p967, Egypt's dead (νεκρας) daughters are brought to their fate in the Pit at the hand of the nations. Conversely, in MT the prophet pronounces the descent of two parties, the crowd of Egypt and the daughters of majestic nations.

[410] Elam and Assyria are easiest to locate historically since the height of Assyria and Elam's struggles occurred in the 7th century BCE. Edom and the Sidonians were active political forces during the Babylonian period. However, it is difficult to determine "what actual political polemic is involved" for the Sidonians (צדני), (Zimmerli, 2:177). According to Miller and Hayes' discussion of this period, a six-nation conclave met in Jerusalem (597 B.C.E.) which included Edom and Sidon, to plot a rebellion against Babylon. However, in 587 when Zedekiah and Judah rebelled, records suggest that only Ammon and Tyre carried out rebellions. Edom and Sidon's adherence to the alliance is entirely unknown. However, given this and other periods of political inter-action, the referents were likely generated from historical events. In contrast, Meshech and Tubal remain anomalies as mythic figures.

[411] I translate "her nations" for p967 because αυτης is in the predicate position and probably modifies "nations," although the different syntax in B probably reads "*the* nations bring down *her* dead daughters."

5.3.1.3. Emphasis of MT: The Uncircumcised

p967's edition of the pit mentions circumcision, but not consistently. Elam and the commanders of Assyria (v. 30) were marked as uncircumcised, increasing their condemned status in the Pit. However, there is no mention of uncircumcision in the earlier reference to Assyria in v. 22 or the rulers of Assyria in v. 29. The term does not occur in these verses of p967.

In striking contrast, MT constructs a *systematic* narrative of the Pit with respect to the status of circumcision. Uncircumcision is definitional for the shameful death attributed to those fated to the Pit.[412] This is signaled by the beginning of the lament in v. 19: "Be laid to rest with the uncircumcised" (והשכבה את ערלים). The point is seconded by the speech of the *Gibborim* (גבורים) in v. 21. In their opening line, they introduce the list of nations with the statement "they have come down, they lie still, the uncircumcised, those killed by the sword" (ירדו שכבו הערלים חללי חרב). Hence, the MT edition frames the list of nations by identifying the Pit as a site of uncircumcision.

The term "uncircumcision" (ערלים) occurs five more times in MT than p967.[413] By increasing the density of the term, MT explicitly indicates each nation's relationship to circumcision.[414] Elam (vv. 24, 25), Meshech and Tubal (v. 26), and the princes of the North (v. 30) are described as uncircumcised. Egypt (vv. 19, 28, 32) and Edom (v. 29)

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[412] Elsewhere in MT, uncircumcision holds significance that is not attributed to it in p967. In Ezek 44:7, the MT and all other Greek witnesses disallow people "uncircumcised in heart and flesh" into the temple. In the same phrase, p967 is only concerned to exclude those uncircumcised in heart. Fleshly circumcision is only an issue in MT. (For more on 44:7a, see §5.4.2 on the "Heart" *Tendenz*.)

[413] The MT addition in vv. 24b-26 contains the word twice. It also appears as a single-phrase plus in vv. 27 and 29. The fifth MT plus occurs in v. 21b, where the phrase in the Greek is a *translocution* of vv. 19-20.

[414] The only exception is Assyria in vv. 22-23.

will descend into the Pit "*with* the uncircumcised."[415] Thus, either by nature or by association, the nations in the Pit are brought to shame through uncircumcision.

One group in MT, the *Gibborim* (גבורים), has a unique relationship with the shame of uncircumcision. MT attributes to the גבורים their traditional status of valor in v. 27b, where their death is described in arguably honorable terms.[416] Additionally, several textual critics have seen allusions to Gen. 6 in v. 27a with the term נפלים.[417] MT points נֹפְלִים while Cornill, Ehrlich, and Herrmann read נְפִלִים, the famed *Nephilim*, warriors of renown from Israel's primeval history.[418] In an unvocalized text, of course, both options would be possible. It seems that MT capitalized on the association with the *Nephilim*. For the MT, the association emphasizes the identity of the *Gibborim* as Israel's men of valor. Supporting this positive interpretation of the *Gibborim,* the heroes are nowhere shamed by uncircumcision in MT. On the contrary, the heroes of antiquity are granted a space in v. 27a which is *exempt* from uncircumcision's shame.

v. 27a ולא ישכבו את גבורים נפלים מערלים

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[415] Grammatically, vv. 19 and 29 render "with (את)" while vv. 28 and 32 have "in the midst (בתוך)." The MT inclusion of Sidon (the princes of the North) and Edom, apparently cultures that *practiced* circumcision, as did the Egyptians to whom the lament was directed, groups them with those punished and separated as unclean in death. See Zimmerli, 2:173-4.

[416] Their swords are placed under their heads and their "shields" upon their bones. The translation "shields" is based on a reconstructed text taken up by Zimmerli and initially proposed by Cornill who read צנותם (their shields) for עונתם (their iniquities). Zimmerli, 2:168 n27c. Cornill, 390. This conjecture will be challenged below in §5.3.2.4.4. Compare Isa 14:11 "your pride is brought down to Sheol, along with the sound of your harps, worms were spread out beneath you and weevils are your covering."

[417] We would expect to see a form of the verb ירד which is used consistently elsewhere in the pericope to describe the descent into the pit (vv. 18(2x), 19, 21, 24(2x), 25, 27, 29, 30(2x)). The verb נפל occurs five times in Ezek 32:17-32: here, and four other times always describing death by the sword, with the phrase, "falling by the sword" (vv. 20, 22, 23, and 24). Thus, נפלים in v. 27a is a semantic anomaly for the chapter.

[418] Zimmerli, 2:168 n27b. Zimmerli states "the negation in missing in LXX, La^{C}, and Peshitta, and this considerably alters the meaning."

> And they will <u>not</u> lie with the heroes, those who fell ***<u>apart from (מן) the uncircumcised</u>***.[419]

The unique variants in MT's edition make a spatial distinction within the Pit by means of the partitive מן, quarantining apart the heroes.[420] The spatial distinction sets up, as Zimmerli argues, a space for an honorable death of the heroes (of old) and the dishonorable death of everyone else in the Pit.[421] The descent of Edom in MT captures the significance of this division. Edom, a nation which was known to practice circumcision, could on that basis, join the heroes in being set apart from those uncircumcised nations in the Pit. However, the MT plus in v. 29 את ערלים (with the uncircumcised) clarifies to which space in the Pit this circumcised nation will go namely, to the space of shame. Thus, Elam is guilty by association, unlike the *Gibborim*.

MT offers a systematic account of the ritual status of the bodies in the Pit. Just as it systematically identifies the "uncircumcised," MT is also more direct about the shame associated with these ritual/political identities. The phrase "they bear their shame" (וישאו כלמתם) occurs three times (vv. 24, 25, 30) and "ashamed" (בושים) occurs once (v. 30) in MT's edition. In contrast, p967 does not mention "shame" at all in its edition. In three of these cases, MT is the longer edition. As for the fourth variant in v 30, where MT reports that the Sidonians bear their ***<u>shame</u>***, p967 reads "they bear their ***<u>torment</u>***" (και απηνεγκαν

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[419] "They" refers to the uncircumcised, Meshech and Tubal from v. 26.

[420] The partitive *mem* could also mean "some from." However, the context renders this option nonsensical, particularly given the negative particle, a unique plus in MT's edition. Zimmerli relies solely on the partitive construction here to develop his notion of an underworld with spatial distinctions. While I happen to agree with him, it should be noted that he ignores his own textual decision to read with the LXX here, substituting מעולם for מערלים, (Zimmerli, 2:168 n27b). He does so in order to strengthen his referential preference for "heroes of old" as opposed to "giants." He considers the MT variant about circumcision to "represent an accommodation to the context: the heroes of old lie apart from the uncircumcised," (Zimmerli, 2:176.)

[421] Zimmerli, 2:176.

την βασανον αυτων).[422] Thus, through its pluses and variants, MT characterizes the Pit as a place of shame emphasized by the uncircumcised status of its inhabitants. Only the heroes of old enjoy a death in the underworld without shame. In this regard, it is perhaps significant that MT reserves the term *Sheol* for the "mighty men" (Greek "giants"). Otherwise, MT overwhelmingly uses "Pit" (בור).[423]

5.3.1.4. The Giants in p967

According to p967, the "giants," along with everyone else in the Pit, descend to their ignominy. p967's negative characterization, captured in part by the Greek translation οι γιγαντες (v. 21), is consistent with the traditio-development of these primeval beings.[424] Traditionally, the *Gibborim* גבורים were associated with Israel's ancient heroes.[425] However, the "giants" came to be associated with the illicit sexual transgression of heaven and earth, described without judgment in Gen 6:4. Indeed, in Ezek 32:27a, p967 describes them as απο αιωνος, an allusion to the antiquity of the Genesis characters. In a large body of Second Temple Jewish literature, the giants became emblems of evil on the earth. No longer "men of renown," their destruction is

[422] βασανος occurs seven times in the LXX of Ezekiel. Four of those cases translate כלמה (Ezek 16:52, 54; 32:24, 30). However, the *Vorlage* is not consistent: once דאגה (Ezek 12:18) and twice מכשול (Ezek 3:20 and 7:19).

[423] בור occurs in vv. 18, 23, 24, 25, 29, and 30; while שאול occurs in the two verses about the heroes in vv. 21 and 27. The only other term for the underworld is ארץ תחתיות in v. 24, but the verse also uses בור. As mentioned above, p967 displays various translational terms, but does not maintain the consistency of the giants in שאול the MT.

[424] This translation is consistent with the LXX of Gen 6:4, where the Greek witnesses read οι γιγαντες for both הגברים and הנכלים.

[425] The LXX translates the נפלים with οι γιγαντες. The גברים only secondarily acquired the valences ascribed to the נפלים in Genesis by association.

described in extensive detail in works such as Jubilees and 1 Enoch.[426] Some of the textual variants in Ezek 32 reflect these negative characterizations.

Indeed, rather than open up a space of honorable burial, the giants reinforce the negative valences of the Pit. Verse 27a, which in MT served to differentiate two types of burial, offers no such distinction.

> v. 27a και εκοιμηθησαν μετα των γιγαντων των πεπτωκοτων απο αιωνος
> and they were (minus) laid with the giants, the ones who fell *from of old*.

The uncircumcised nation joins the giants in the Pit.[427] p967 lacks the negative particle and the partitive construction that were present in MT. Thus, p967 maligns all the company in the Pit; there is no place of honor in the underworld. The uncircumcised nations join the giants in one undifferentiated space of banishment.[428]

5.3.2. "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen:* Variants across the Rest of Ezekiel

[426] See J. VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second Century Sources," *JBL* 13 (1978):229-251, and also George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Hermeneia; Mineapolis: Winston, 1985), 165-169. Some support for understanding the גבורים as giants may be found in Ezek 27:19 where MT reads "Uzal" (אוּזָל), a maritime source of wrought iron. A reads "Asael" (ασαελ); (p967 reads ασηλ). The Shemihazah and Asael narratives are combined in 1 Enoch 6-11 as an etiology for the origins of evil on the earth. The giants, born of the transgressions of the former, are responsible for the havoc on the earth.

[427] For p967 which lacks vv. 25-26, this nation is Elam. This change n subject does not bear on the issue of circumcision, however, given that Elam is described as uncircumcised in v. 24.

[428] Indeed, Zimmerli has to go to great lengths in order to exegetically maintain the honorable death for the mighty men in the MT. He emends the text צנתם or צנותם on the basis of conjecture in v. 27, "their ***shields*** lie on their bones" where all the versions attest עונתם "their iniquities". (Zimmerli, 2:168). Additionally, v. 27 ends with the phrase, כי חתית גבורים בארץ חיים (for the terror of the heroes was in the land of the living). Zimmerli, recognizing this phrase challenges his exegesis, pointed out that all other villainous nations actively spread terror (נתנו חתית) in vv. 23, 24, 26(25). Zimmerli demotes the causal כי to a neutral clause and rests his exegesis on the passive nature of the heroes' terror. Both decisions are dubious and seek to eradicate the clear presence of judgment against the heroes, even in the current form of the MT.

Chapter 32 showed a concern for the fate of enemy nations, particularly those slain by the sword and condemned to a disgraceful death in the Pit. This concern participates in a wider scribal *Tendenz* across the book of Ezekiel to locate the slain, in valleys, on plains, in Pits, on mountains, in the sea, and sometimes to distinguish whether they received proper burial or lay unburied.

5.3.2.1. Tyre's Fate in the Midst of the Sea

The oracles against Tyre occur in chs. 26-28. According to 28:8 in both editions, Tyre comes to its end in the midst of the sea. Zimmerli sees merely a reference to the geography of Tyre as an island city.[429] Of the two editions, p967 comes closer to Zimmerli's claim, where Tyre's fate resembles that of a sinking island. In contrast, MT contains four variants that construe Tyre's fate in parallel terms to Pharaoh's in the pit of 32:17-33, the passage just examined. Three of these variants occur in 28:8-10.

First, p967's edition:

v. 8 They will bring you down, and you will die the death of the slain in the heart of the sea.
v. 9 Will you indeed say before your killers, "I am God." But you dress like a man[430] and not God.
v. 10 You will die among a multitude of uncircumcised by strange hands.

According to p967's edition, the island city of Tyre will fall in an invasion of strangers. On account of Tyre's boasting and claims to divinity, the oracle pronounces Tyre's death with condemning language. They die the death of the slain and die among the uncircumcised.

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[429] Zimmerli, 2:78-79.

[430] p967's text presents a curious variant here. συ δε ει ανθρωπος in BAQ follows MT. However, p967 uniquely reads συ δε ησθα ανθρωπος. I take ησθα as a 2pf. pass. 1cs of εννυμι. (2pf. affixes –α as opposed to –κα, according to Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §561).

The MT edition contains the following relevant two pluses and one variant:

v. 8 To the Pit they will bring you down, and you will die the death of the slain in the heart of the sea
v. 9 by the hand of the ones slaying you; will you really say "I am God" before your killers? You are a man and not God.
v. 10 You will die *the death of the uncircumcised* by the hands of strangers.[431]

MT contains similar phrases and ideas as the description of Israel's enemies in the Pit of ch. 32. The verb ירד and the "death of the slain (חלל)" were already extant in p967 (καταβιβαζω and τραυματιας). However, MT brings these and two other details into close alignment with the Pit of ch. 32. The most striking MT plus occurs in v. 8, where it explicitly describes Tyre's descent (ירד) as "to the Pit" (v. 8).[432]

The other variants more subtly shift the emphasis towards the Pit of ch. 32. The MT plus in v. 9 uses the verb חלל (to slay) to re-emphasize the type of death Tyre will suffer. Additionally, MT rephrases p967's "among a multitude of uncircumcised" as "the death of the uncircumcised." p967's participial phrase shames by association, while MT shames through identity, expressed through the predicate construction. Given the importance of uncircumcision in ch. 32, particularly in MT, the following tabulation of parallels reveal striking connections.

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[431] 28:8 και καταβιβασουσιν σε και αποθανη θανατω τραυματιων εν καρδια θαλασσης
And they will throw you down; and you will die the death of the slain in the heart of the sea.
לשחת יורדוך ומתה ממותי חלל בלב ימים
To the pit they will bring you down; and you will die the death of the slain in the heart of the sea.
28:10 απεριτμητων απολη εν χερσιν αλλοτριων
You will die by the hand of (uncircumcised) strangers
מותי ערלים תמות ביד זרים
You will die the death of the uncircumcised by the hands of stangers.

[432] The specific term שחת is not used in ch. 32. However, as we saw earlier, both editions employ various terms for the pit in ch. 32; שחת is one of those terms in MT. The MT characterizes the sea as the pit in this verse for two reasons. First, the MT adds a stronger critique of Tyre's sins against God in this passage, where Tyre is accused of claiming to "be a god" (vv. 2, 6, and 9). Second, in 28:2, Tyre claims to be a god, reigning in the heart of the seas. The MT "pit" ensures that the sea is not taken as a place of power to reign, but rather as the shameful fate of enemy nations.

Tyre in ch. 28	Nations in ch. 32	Term/Phrase in MT
v. 8 (Hiphil impf.)	v. 18 (Hiph. impv.) v. 18, 24, 25, 29 (Qal ptc) v. 19, 27, 30 (Qal impv.) v. 21, 24 (Qal pft.)	thrust down (ירד)
v. 8	vv. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25(3), 26, 28, 29, 30(2), 31, 32	death of the slain (חלל)
v. 8 (שחת)[433]	vv. 18, 24 (ארץ תחתיות) vv. 18, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30 (בור)	to the Pit
v. 10	vv. 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32	death of the uncircumcised (ערלים)

Tyre's fate at the end of ch. 27 also echoes the death of Pharaoh from ch. 32. A rhetorical question posed to Tyre in 27:32, parallels the question posed to Egypt in 32:19. Both questions are pluses in MT, and both introduce the quoted speech opening an oracle of lament.[434] In 27:32, the mariners (v. 29) raise up laments (בניהם and קינה) and chant dirges (וקוננו) over Tyre. They open with the question "who was destroyed like Tyre in the midst of the sea?"[435] The answer comes in 28:8-10: *Egypt* was destroyed like Tyre. Egypt suffered the death of the uncircumcised, was slain, and fell into the Pit. In these details, Tyre's fate closely parallels the descent of nations into the Pit of ch. 32.

[433] The noun is rare in the MT: Ezek 19: 4, 8, and the present verse. Translation studies would be especially helpful with the many words for underworld; unfortunately McGreggor does not deal with the noun שחת, but only the verb (McGregor, *The Greek Text*, 25-26).

[434] p967 opens with a question as well, "How large is your reward which you have found in the sea?" All critical texts leave an LXX minus in v. 32b and a plus in v. 33a to signal the meaningful variant between MT and the Greek. In any case, p967's question is directly related to its immediate context and does *not* echo the fate of Egypt in ch. 32.

[435] In Ezek 27:32, p967 is a minus, while MT reads מי כצור כדמה בתוך הים.

In addition to these parallels with ch. 32, one additional variant in ch. 26 amplifies the significance of Tyre's fate, raising some as yet unseen issues.

26:20-21

οπος μη κατοικηθης μη δε ανασταθης επι $^{\text{της}}$ ζωης απωλειαν σε δωσω και ουχ υπαρξεις ετι

so that you would not be inhabited nor ***arise into life***;[436] I will make you a destruction and you will never exist again.

למען לא תשבי ונתתי צבי בארץ חיים בלהות אתנך ואינך ותבקשי ולא תמצאי עוד

in order that you will not remain and ***I will give beauty*** in the ***land*** of the living; I will make you a destruction until you no longer exist, and though you will be sought after, you will never be found again

Of the two editions, MT emphasizes the good conditions in the land of the living after Tyre's ultimate end. The MT plus in v. 21 indicates that some continue to search for the nation, despite the finality of Tyre's absence. p967, the briefer of the two editions, pronounces the finality of Tyre's fate against a different idea, namely that Tyre will not rise, presumably from its permanent place in the underworld.[437]

5.3.2.2. "Hordes" *Tendenz*: The End for Enemy Hordes

The variants between MT and p967 frequently differ about the fate of enemy hordes. The Hebrew term המון, usually meaning "horde" or "crowd" (metonymically standing for the noise a crowd makes), connotes a military entourage. The oracle of 32:17-32 is addressed to Egypt *and her hordes* (32:18, 20, 31, 32). The MT plus in vv.

[436] B reads, οπος μη κατοικηθης μη δε αναστης επι της γης ζωης "so that you would not be inhabited nor that ***you would rise up*** on the ***land*** (BAQ) of the living." The definite article in p967 is written in secondarily as a super-script, probably a correction.

[437] Perhaps a similar concern is expressed in the variant of 39:6 about "coastlands/islands." The MT reads "I will send fire against Magog ***and against*** the inhabitants of the islands (ובישבי האיים) while LXX (cf. Latin) reads "I will send fire on Magog; and the islands ***will be*** inhabited (και κατοικηθησονται)."

25-26 locates the hordes of Elam, Meshech and Tubal in the Pit. Thus, the term המון is amply reflected in the MT edition of 32:17-32.

There are seven instances in which המון stands in an MT plus. All seven pluses amplify or extend the militaristic context onto an apocalyptic temporal or spatial plane. MT's Pit of ch. 32: 17-32 uniquely acts as a repository for the המון of enemy nations. Further, המון shows up in the Day of Yahweh against Egypt (30:1-19) and in similar eschatological expressions in ch. 7. p967 is the shorter text in these instances. However, p967 does contain "horde" pluses against MT as well, mostly focusing on Tyre.

5.3.2.2.1. Hordes in the Pit of Chapter 32

In the twenty-four instances of the term המון in MT of Ezekiel, only one does not refer to the captivity or death of masses of people in a military context.[438] The term actually serves such an etiological function in Ezek 39:11 where Gog's burial place is named גיא המון גוג "the valley of Hamon-gog" or the "horde of Gog." In MT, the term dominates in the oracles against Egypt, referring to Egypt's military entourage in chs. 29-32. Ezekiel 30:10 offers a paradigmatic use, "I will destroy the *hordes* of Egypt by the hand of King Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon."

p967 translates המון with πληθος in Ezek 30:10, 15; 31:2, 18; 32:32. This is a common Septuagint translation for המון, especially in Ezekiel.[439] However, the Greek

[438] In Ezek 23:42, the harlot plays with a carnavalesque horde. In a small number of instances of the term "horde," the meaning is more vague. Even still, the association with military death is strong. So, in 26:13 where המון refers to the "sound" of Tyre's harps, Ezekiel's oracle is about silencing the harps in a final battle. Finally, it is possible to translate המון as "wealth" in a few cases (Ezek 29:19; 30:4, 15), but given the military context, captive slaves are arguably also in view.

[439] המון occurs in MT Ezekiel twenty-four times, the most of any biblical book. πληθος is by no means the only translation equivalent for המון, but πληθος is the most common translation in Ezekiel, (Hatch and Redpath, "Appendix A," 250).

terminology for המון varies significantly in the other instances. Whereas MT denotes a fallen military entourage, p967 often translates with a more general term, such as "strength." While this may be the mere effect of a translator, its literary significance is nevertheless, significant.[440]

In the apocalyptic space of ch. 32's Pit, MT frequently uses "horde" to describe the entourage of the descending enemies. MT addresses the oracle of 32:17-32 to the "hordes" of Egypt and offers Elam (twice) and Meshech and Tubal's hordes as examples of an apocalyptic fate in the Pit.[441] By way of contrast, p967 does not use the term "horde (πληθος)" frequently; it only occurs in v. 32 in the summative statement at the end of the passage. Otherwise, Egypt's "horde" is translated "strength (ισχυν)." Thus, p967 lacks the opening rhetorical address that would interpolate Egypt's horde into the Pit. Indeed, the 'horde' does not appear *within* the Pit either. p967 lacks the two occurrences of Elam and Meshech and Tubal's "horde" in the vv. 25-26 minus. Even in p967's extant description of Elam (v. 24), where MT used המון, p967 reads δυναμις (power). These Greek terms do not denote the concept of a multitude. Egypt's *strength* is addressed while Elam's *power* descends into the graves of the Pit. Thus, p967 obscures the MT's semantic reliance on the term through an inconsistent translation of MT's המון. However, the lexical consistency in MT, as well as the MT המון-pluses in vv. 25-26 make the Pit a site of the hordes' end.

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[440] In the "Hordes" *Tendenz*, some of the variants can be attributed to translation as opposed to "redactional" or "compositional" activity. However, because the variants effect the literary editions of MT and p967, they are treated among the data set of variants. This example serves as an important reminder that translation is difficult to distinguish from composition in some cases. The translation issue with המון will be discussed briefly below.

[441] Neither MT nor p967 describe Assyria (vv. 22-23), Edom (v. 29), or the princes of the North (v. 30) as surrounded by a horde. Assyria does descend with an entourage, but the term used is קהל / συναγωγη.

The wordplay just described, and p967's use of "power" and "strength" convey a different interpretation of the population in the Pit. Generally, p967 condemns national political traits, "strength" and "power." In contrast, MT seems to imply a more literal understanding of national strength, specifically condemning the military entourage to the pit. Overall, the "hordes" *Tendenz* in the Pit owes to dynamics of translation. However, the translation issue here coheres with textual variants elsewhere, as the following discussion will show.

5.3.2.2.2. Hordes of Egypt

p967 locates Egypt's fallen horde on the mountains. We already saw that in ch. 32, p967 lacks the term horde (πληθος), despite MT's repeated use of המון in the Pit. Instead, p967 mentions the πληθος of Egypt in its unique plus earlier in the chapter, in 32:6:

p967 απο του πληθους επι των ορεων
(And the land will be drenched from your excrement) *as a result of the multitude on the mountains*; (I will fill the ravines because of you.)
MT מדמך אל ההרים
(And I will drench the land with your flowing blood,) *your blood (will flow) to the mountains*. (And the ravines will fill because of you.)

In contrast, MT displays two המון-pluses concerning the fate of Egypt's hordes. The MT המון-pluses occur in 29:19 and 30:4.

1) Ezekiel 29:19

p967 (minus)
(Behold I will give the land of Egypt to Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon and) (minus) (he will plunder her plunder and spoil her spoil; it will be the wages for his power.)
MT ונשא המנה

(Behold I am giving the land of Egypt to Nubuchad king of Babylon.) And he will carry off her horde, (he will plunder her plunder and spoil her spoil; and she will be the wages for his army [power].)

2) Ezekiel 30:4

p967 (minus)

(And the sword will fall on Egypt and disorder will emerge in Ethiopia and the slain will fall in Egypt) (minus) (and her foundations will collapse)

MT ולקחו המונה

(And the sword will come upon Egypt and anguish will emerge in Cush when the slain fell in Egypt) when they take her hordes (and her foundations are thrown down.)

These two MT pluses occur in close proximity to each other. Chapter 30 takes the mundane military report of ch. 29 and infuses it with more cosmic imagery of destruction. Both contexts involve Egypt's hordes. In 29:19, King Nebuchadrezzar carries off Egypt's horde along with plunder and spoil, as God's payment on behalf of Babylon's labor.[442] Then in 30:4, Egypt falls, slain by the sword, and her hordes are carried off. Both of these contexts seem to have a form of captivity in view where the fate of Egypt's hordes lies in exile. The latter MT plus occurs in a passage with similar "day of the Lord" phraseology as found in ch. 7.[443]

5.3.2.2.3. Hordes on the Day of the Lord in Chapter 7

[442] Perhaps relevant to the larger significance of the enemy nations, v. 18 clarifies that Nebuchadrezzar's army "labored hard against Tyre" and required funds. God promptly solicits Egyptian plunder for Babylonian reserves. According to the MT plus, it seems that the Egyptians were probably indentured into Babylon's army as it pursued Tyre.

[443] Note especially the phrase "the day is near" יום קרוב in Ezek 30:3 and 7:7. These are the only two instances of the phrase in Ezekiel; (and the only two instances of the word קרוב).

Chapter 7, while not extant in p967, presents three MT המון pluses against the LXX and should be considered here for their relevance to the "hordes" *Tendenz* in MT's edition.

1) Ezekiel 7:12
   MT בא העת הגיע היום הקונה אל ישמח וחמוכר אל יתאבל כי חרון אל כל המונה
   The time comes, the day draws near; let not the buyer rejoice and let not the seller mourn, <u>for wrath is upon all its horde.</u>

2) Ezekiel 7:13
   MT כי המוכר אל הממכר לא ישוב ועוד בחיים חיתם כי חזון אל כל המונה לא ישוב ואיש בעונו חיתו לא יתחזקו
   For the seller shall not return to the merchandise as long as they are among the living, <u>for the vision concerns all its horde, it will not be revoked; and each man will not stand firm because of his iniquity</u>.

3) Ezekiel 7:14
   MT תקעו בתקוע והכין הכל ואין הלך למלחמה כי חרוני אל כל המונה
   They blew the trumpet and fixed everything; <u>but no one goes to battle for my wrath is upon its whole horde.</u>

These pluses in MT expand on the notion of the fate of the "hordes". The hordes are the object of God's wrath according to Ezekiel's reliable and permanent visions. Given the apocalyptic context in which the pluses appear (i.e., בא העת הגיע היום in v. 12), the mythic trope strengthens the divine word (visions) and the divine intentions (wrath). In these three ways, the fate of the hordes is sealed in permanent eschatological destruction.[444]

5.3.2.2.4. Hordes and Tyre

"Horde" (πληθος) occurs in four p967 pluses and signals a wider interpretive pattern that differentiates p967 from MT. The pluses in Ezek 27:25; 28:10, and 17

[444] This section of ch. 7 contains a dense set of references to the eschatological "day" discussed above in the "Prophetic Temporality" *Tendenzen.* See especially §5.2.2.3.

concern the oracles against Tyre. These instances amplify the already dense pattern of πληθος-use in chs. 26-28. In what seems to be a play on words, the Tyrians are characterized as traders of economic *abundance* (πληθος – 27:12, 16, 18, 25+, 33) and then indicted for the *abundance* (πληθος) of their iniquities (28:10+, 16, 17+, 18).[445] Finally, Tyre is said to be destroyed by *hordes* (πληθος – 26:10; 28:9).

The same play on words does not exist in MT.[446] Tyre's aggressor in 26:10 is called שפעת "an abundance." Further, in 28:9, p967 retains the wordplay when Tyre is killed and humiliated εν πληθει "by the horde," whereas MT reads ביד מחלליך "by the hand of those who slay you." MT retains a more modest lexical consistency in the wordplays regarding economy (27:12, 16, 18, 33) and iniquity (28:16, 18), but switches terms from המון to רב. p967's pluses reinforce the strong pattern of wordplay with the term πληθος. Its edition makes a stronger connection between Tyre's fate at the hand of a horde, and Tyre's economic sins. This pattern of p967's use of πληθος could reflect ideas about economic conduct and divine retribution, in that Tyre falls to the same power that characterized its economic excesses.[447]

5.3.2.3. "Death on the Field" *Tendenz*

[445] Where + signifies pluses in p967 using the term πληθος.

[446] המון, like the Greek πληθος, can mean "abundance" or "horde" and thus serve the same play on words.

[447] We already saw (in §5.3.2.2.3) that the MT edition of ch. 7 contained three "horde" pluses. In the immediate context, vv. 12-13 deal with mercantile life and the rest of the chapter goes on to indict additional economic practices. It is worth noting this connection in the MT between "hordes" and economics, in light of p967's edition of Tyre in chs.. 26-28. We might have expected the word plays in MT chs.. 26-28 to be as strong or even stronger than p967 as a result. As a result of this failed expectation, the המון-pluses in ch. 7 probably do not intertextually refer to issues with Tyre.

Among the issues that have emerged in the "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenz* thus far, location has been significant. The underworld of chapter 32 summoned many issues related to the "slain" including circumcision, the status of military hordes, and geography. However, all of the variants in the intertextual center reflect an interest in the "pit" as the final destination for Israel's enemies. In addition to the pit of ch. 32, other locations became relevant for the fate of the slain; for instance, p967 reports that Egypt's hordes find their end on the mountains. Another location that is differently emphasized in MT and p967 is the field.

πεδιον (field) occurs 29 times in the LXX of Ezekiel.[448] The occasions on which it is used may be divided into three types: 1) the site of a vision;[449] 2) an agricultural reference (for example, beasts or trees of the field);[450] and 3) the site of death, usually by the sword or by animals. The last is the most common occurrence.

The third category, death on the field, first occurs in 7:15 which is missing in p967. Ezek 7:15 speaks about the mythic "end" and reports that he who is on the field will die by the sword.[451] Though the chapter is replete with a rapid sequence of mythic references (i.e., phrases related to the day of the Lord), here the sword can *also* be understood in its mundane military sense. Indeed, v. 14 introduces the context of battle

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[448] Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, "πεδιον," in *A Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 1114.

[449] Ezek 3:22, 23; 8:4; 37:1, 2.

[450] Ezek 17:5, 8, 24; 31:4, 5, 6, 15; 34:8, 27; 38:20; 39:4, 10, 17.

[451] Incidentally, some variation exists with the word "sword." Not only in the sword song in ch. 21:8-17 which is very broken and the subject of numerous isolated textual studies (see Freedy, 142; Driver, 67-68; J. Noel Hubler, "Introduction to Iezekiel," *A New English Translation of the Septuagint,* (eds., Albert Pietersma, Benjamin G. Wright; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 946), but the term "sword" proved to be involved in several other textual variants as well. Among eight or so instances, p967 reflects a plus of the word "sword" in Ezek 26:15, a description of the fall of Tyre. MT, on the other hand, reflects a plus of the word "sword" in Ezek 32:20 and 32:31, both about the fate of Egypt and Pharaoh.

and invokes the "four-fold judgment" scheme for both those who remain and those who escape the city during its siege.[452] In other sections of Ezekiel, most notably the sword-song in ch. 21, the sword takes on a mythic status as God's instrument of judgment.[453] Thus, the phrase in 7:15 about those who die on the field could likewise be understood as invested with mythic significance.

In the present reading, "Death on the Field" acquires at least some of its significance because of the πεδιον in chapter 37. The significance of ch. 37 to "death on the field" is certainly not exhaustive nor exclusive. However, the revivification of bones scattered on a field (בקעה / πεδιον) increased the importance of this locale for an intertextual reading of Ezekiel's oracles. It is to this issue that we now turn.

The announcement of death on the field occurs ten times, all of which use πεδιον for "field".[454] MT reads שדה in all but two cases where the term for a "channel" (אפיק) occurs instead. Several parties suffer death on the field: Israel (7:15; 16:5; and 33:27), the daughters of Tyre (26:6, 8), Egypt (29:5; 32:4; and implied in 31:12), Assyria (31:12), Edom (35:8), and Gog (39:5).[455] All of these parties, except for Israel, also end up in MT's edition of the Pit in 32:17-32.[456]

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[452] The four-fold judgment here is modified into a binary one: those inside and outside the city die different deaths. See Zimmerli, 2:208.

[453] See especially Ezek 21:14-15.

[454] p967 has nine; since the manuscript is not extant in Ezek 7:15. All LXX witnesses read πεδιον.

[455] In all these instances, the party dies by the sword except in Ezek 29:5; 32:4; and 39:5. In these three cases, the party's death is not reported, but the corpse is left for the birds and beasts to consume.

[456] Egypt, Assyria, Edom, and Gog were discussed in detail in §5.3.1.2. Assyria offers additional echoes, where in Ezek 31:12, a similar rhetorical moment obtains. Chapter 31 symbolizes Assyria as the great tree that is cut down on the field. Egypt is called to watch Assyria's fall (31:2-3) just like it is called to watch the nations descend into the Pit in ch. 32. Compare MT's edition, where, as we saw in §5.3.2.1, Tyre's fate was schematized towards the Pit of ch. 32.

A few of these instances of death on the field are variants and thus fall into the "Fate of the Slain"*Tendenz*.

5.3.2.3.1. Egypt and Pharaoh in Ezekiel 29:5

p967 επι προσωπον του πεδιου σου πεση ου μη συναχθης ουδ ου μη περισταλης τοις θηριοις της γης και τοις πετεινοις του ουρανου δεδωκα σε εις καταβρωμα
on the face of your field you will fall; you will not be assembled nor shall you be buried.[457] To the animals of the earth and to the birds of heaven, I gave you as food.

MT על פני השדה תפול לא תאסף ולא תקבץ לחית הארץ ולעוף השמים נתתיך לאכלה
On the face of the field you will fall; you will not be assembled nor gathered. To the animals of the earth and to the birds of the heaven, I gave you as food.

Verse 5a in MT and p967 read essentially the same, indicating that Egypt will fall on the field (πεδιου/שדה).[458] However, the reading in p967 disallows Egypt's burial using a negated passive of περιστελλω "you shall not be wrapped." "Wrapped" or "taken care of" supply the simple sense of the verb, although the connotation of dressing a corpse is probably in view; thus, "buried."[459]

5.3.2.3.2. Edom in Ezekiel 35:8

και εμπλησω των τραυματιων σου τους βουνους και τας φαραγγας και εν πασι τοις πεδιοις σου εσονται τετραυματισμενοι μαχαιρα πεσουνται εν σοι
And I will fill (minus) *the* hills and your valleys with *the* slain *and they will be in all your fields*; those slain by the sword will fall *in you*

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[457] Also "wrapped as a corpse."

[458] The change of tense within the verse, though shared by both MT and p967, remains curious.

[459] The Greek verb only occurs four times in the LXX according to Hatch and Redpath, 1126. Once it stands for אסף (Isa 58:8) and Hatch and Redpath list Ezek 29:5 as קבץ. Sirach and Tobit do not have Hebrew counterparts, but the context of Tobit 12:13 concerns death (νεκρος). In Attic and Herodotus' Greek, the term simply means "to bury."

ומלאתי את הריו חלליו גבעותיך וגאותיך וכל אפיקיך חללי חרב יפלו בהם
And I will fill *its [Edom's] mountains with its* slain, your hills and your valleys *and all your channels*; those slain by the sword will fall *in them*

MT provides the more expansive list of locations for the slain Edomites: mountains, hills, valleys, and channels. p967 omits mountains and presents the variant "plains" (πεδιον) as opposed to "channels" (אפיק).[460] The syntax of p967 creates a new clause with the phrase "they will be in all your fields." p967's edition syntactically isolates the death on the field where MT's undifferentiated list does not anywhere imply "field."

5.3.2.3.3. Exegetical Significance of Death on the Field

Earlier, I suggested that p967's "field" of ch. 37 may help to explain the significance of death on the field in its edition. Through the lens of ch. 37's revivification, it is thus quite significant that p967 leaves Egypt, Edom and Gog on the open field. Likewise, Edom, Gog, and the hordes of Egypt do not appear in p967's underworld (in ch. 32). Thus, nothing in p967's edition eliminates their candidacy for the miracle of ch. 37. By way of contrast, MT runs no risk of revivifying enemy nations. All of them are in the Pit: Edom and Gog on account of the MT plus (see §5.3.1.2), and Egypt's hordes, as discussed in §5.3.2.2.2 above.

The MT's term for "field" in ch. 37 further disallows ambiguity about the identity of those on the "field." MT's term in 37:1, 2 is בקעה, a "valley-plain" or a "broad valley." In MT, this term is always (and only) associated with the site of one of Ezekiel's

[460] p967's "field" (πεδιον) and MT's "channel" (אפיק) represent a translation which is unique to Ezekiel and even there only occurs twice. Hatch and Redpath, "πεδιον," 1113-4. φαραγξ is otherwise expected for אפיק in Ezekiel (five times according to Hatch and Redpath, "φαραγξ," 1424).

visions (3:22, 23; 8:4; 37:1, 2). p967 does not distinguish between the type of field for visions and for death; it uses πεδιον in all instances. Thus, MT makes a strict spatial distinction between the visionary geography of Ezekiel's oracles for Jerusalem (and the judgments and promises therein) and the oracular pronouncements of death for nations on the fields of battle. p967 does not manifest the same terminological distinction.

It seems that the interpretive tradition, as captured by the Masoretic system of pointing, also eliminated any foreign candidates from the "field" of ch. 37's vision. A textually interesting verse in MT involves an alternate pointing of בקעה. MT of 26:10b reads "he enters your gates as men enter a breached city." "Breached" is a 3fs Pual ptc. of בקע (מְבֻקָּעָה). The Greek translated with εκ πεδιου, "from the plain," reading the Hebrew as if it was a noun with the prepositional מן (מִבְּקָעָה). The significance of this translation lies not in whether the Greek *misread* the Hebrew, but in the ambiguity of the Hebrew consonantal form. Rather than the Greek misreading, it is possible that the Masoretes pointed the phrase to ensure against the reading "from the plain" and hence to maintain the distinction regarding Ezekiel's visions that occur on the בְּקָעָה. In this scenario, p967 would preserve a possible original meaning; of course, this cannot be known for sure.

Nevertheless, a distinction in MT between שדה and בקעה is all the more possible given one of the observations made by Crane about the editions of Ezekiel 36-39. He showed that the implied Davidic ruler in MT was a militant leader and that ch. 37 depicts the revivification of an "exceedingly great army (חיל גדול מאד מאד)" (37:10).[461] If the field-vision revivifies a great army, it is crucial to MT that the vision *not* empower an

[461] Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 251-252, and especially 255

enemy's national military. This could explain why MT reserves the term for visions concerning Jerusalem and its people. We already see this clarification in 37:12 where an MT plus adds עמי.[462] "My people," that is, those identified by the deity, will be revivified, implying that enemy nations will not.[463] Thus, when read in this light, the Masoretic pointing for מבקעה "from the field" in 26:10b would allow for the renewal of an enemy nation, not associated with "my people." The specific context of ch. 26 refers to the king of Babylon coming against Tyre. MT, perhaps, did not want a resurgence of this particular kingdom from the North. p967's more broad use of "field" in both instances, at the very least, leaves its edition open to interpretation. While much of the preceding discussion is merely suggestive, one final fact brings increased significance to the militaristic meanings of the vision of ch. 37. In Ezek 37:10, MT revivifies a "great army," whereas p967 reads "συναγωγη πολλη σφοδρα, a great congregation." p967's congregation could imply a bold vision of the inclusion of foreigners.[464]

5.3.2.4. "Bones" *Tendenz*

[462] Already in Ezek 37:11, both MT and p967 identify the bones as the "whole house of Israel" whoever that may include. The added emphasis in MT moves beyond simply the social designation to ensure the *spiritual* identity, namely the relationship between God and *his* people. It is probably important that both of these identifiers occur in the interpretive frame for the vision (Ezek 37:12-14), material that follows the basic vision (Ezek 37:1-10). Who is included in the "house of Israel" (a political term for regional jurisdiction in most periods)? MT clarifies, only "my people."

[463] See Crane who makes the same point about Ezek 37:12, (Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 104-105).

[464] p967's congregation is characterized by what Crane calls p967's call to purity within the new "covenant of peace" (Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 251-252). Possible indications of p967's inclusive vision would be the variant in Ezek 44:7a, discussed below in §5.4.2.2. MT excludes all uncircumcised from the temple, while p967 only excludes those not circumcised of heart. p967's spiritual understanding of purity and identity is perhaps an indication that right-hearted foreigners were accepted in the "navel of the earth" (i.e., Jerusalem's temple).

As just discussed, the site of the vision in Ezekiel 37 may hold significance for the "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen*. p967's deaths on the field would allow for the resurrection of foreign bodies, while MT's carefully distinguished spaces only permit "my people" Israel. Ezekiel 37 is, indeed, a chapter about the fate of the slain, albeit one that moves from death to life. The most prominent symbol for death in Ezekiel's vision is the dry bones. Thus, variants about bones take on increased significance in light of the intertextuality of death and the "Fate of the Slain *Tendenzen* already examined. Outside of Ezekiel 37, the term "bone" only occurs a few times, most densely in chapter 24. Several of these occurrences represent variants between p967 and MT.

5.3.2.4.1. Bones in the Pot of Ezekiel 24

Ezekiel 24 presents an allegory of a boiling pot.[465] The chapter uses the image to vividly depict the fate of Israelites in Jerusalem; hence, the chapter already lends itself to ideas about the fate of slain bodies.

In Ezekiel 24, the MT edition of the cook pot allegory exaggerates the bones. p967 and MT present variants in vv. 2, 4, 9, 10, and 11, all of which affect the specific allegory of the cooking pot. The end result is two different editions of the allegory, including alternate interpretations with different horizons of significance for the wider book of Ezekiel.[466] In p967, the pot retains general symbolic significance for the

[465] For a thorough discussion of the image and style of 24:1-14, see Brownlee, "Ezekiel's Copper Cauldron and Blood on the Rock," in *For Me to Live: Essays in Honor of James Leon Kelso* (ed. R. A. Coughenour; Cleveland: Dillon/Liederbach, 1972) , 24; and L. C. Allen, "Ezekiel 24:3-14: A Rhetorical Perspective," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 410.

[466] In considering the scribal phenomenon evinced by these variants, I was reminded of the apocalyptic mode of dream- or vision-interpretation. For example, the generic juxtaposition of dreams and interpretations, particularly characteristic of Daniel, takes the interpretation of symbols as divine revelation. (See J.J. Collins, "The Court-Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic," JBL 94 (1975): 218-

destruction of Jerusalem. MT, on the other hand, specifies the intertextual horizon towards Ezekiel 37 through the symbol of the stewing bones.

Ezekiel 24:1-14 is an allegory (*mashal*) about a burning cauldron. The interpretation of the *mashal*, offered by means of prophetic address and invective, concerns the destruction of Jerusalem and the fate of its inhabitants.[467] The controlling metaphor of a burning pot continues throughout. Within specific sections, however, the allegory is specified by two different images: a cooking pot for meat and a smelting pot for metals. For the most part, the images are artfully woven together. Nevertheless, inconsistencies are introduced by the two competing images, leading many commentators propose redaction solutions.[468] While some differences of opinion persist, most agree that the core *mashal* in vv. 3b-5 was inspired by a domestic culinary setting. For instance, Freedy calls it a "secular cook song figuratively applied to the fate of

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234, esp. 234.) The idea that later scribes redacted symbolic visions for the sake of apocalyptic interpretation finds precedent in 1QpHab. Timothy Lim, Brownlee, and Stendahl have pointed out the eccelctic textual nature of 1QpHab's biblical citations. Lim and Brownlee suggest that scribes altered the base text for the sake of their interpretive interests. The parade example occurs in the pesher on Hab 2:17, discussed in Timothy Lim, "Eschatological Orientation and the Alteration of Scripture in the Habakkuk Pesher," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 49 (1990): 185-194, esp. 190-191. K. Elliger develops a theory of interpretation that similarly correlates Hellenistic notions about revelation and dream interpretation. Elliger attaches his theory to the scribal eclecticism of 1QpHab. K. Elliger, *Studienzum Habbakkuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, (Tübingen, 1953), 155. In short, textual variants between the versions may reflect stages in the development of Jewish visions due to the effects of scribes adopting apocalyptic modes of interpretation.

[467] The interpretation of the metaphor of the cooking pot is also offered in Ezek 11:3, היא הסיר ואנחנו הבשר "[the city] is the pot, we are the meat."

[468] Freedy thinks that we have two originally separate images/allegories, brought together because of the shared metaphor of the cooking pot, (Freedy, 139-140, n. 2). Zimmerli speaks of an everyday work song about a cooking pot for vv.3b-5 as the משל with vv. 6-14 serving as its interpretation. However, Zimmerli breaks the interpretation into vv. 6-8 and vv. 9-14. Zimmerli admits that the section in vv. 6-8, mostly adds metallurgy to the allegory and does not properly interpret what precedes. "Thus the original interpretation of the משל of vv.3b-5 is to be found in vv.9b-10a, whilst vv.10b, 11ff contain the development of the interpretation in regard to vv. 6-8," (Zimmerli, 1:497).

Jerusalem."[469] Whatever the redaction history may be, it is interesting to note that p967 stands closer to the mundane cook-pot imagery than MT, as the following discussion will show.

The *mashal* of the stewing pot begins in vv. 3b-5 and expands in vv. 9b-10. Verses 3b-5 describe setting the pot, pouring water in it (v. 3b), filling it with meat (v. 4) and bringing it to a boil (v. 5). Then vv. 6-8 recast the metaphor for the smelting cauldron working off the same term in v. 6 for pot (סיר / λεβης) as in v. 3. Ironically however, this section does not emphasize the requisite levels of heat required to smelt rust from a cauldron. It is not until vv. 9-10 and the return to the metaphor of the cooking pot that the images of raging heat begin to reach such levels. Both editions share this same basic content and structure.

The pertinent variant material occurs in vv. 2, 4, 9, 10, and 11.

v. 4b	εξεσαρκισμενα απο των οστεων	(the parts) being stripped off the bones
	מבחר עצמים מלא	*fill it with choice **bones***
v. 9aβ	(minus)	(minus)
	אוי עיר הדמים	woe to the bloody city
v. 10a	και πληθυνω τα ξυλα	I will multiply the wood
	הרבה העצים	multiply the ***bones***
v. 10bβ	οπος τακη τα κρεα και ελαττωθη ζωμος	in order that the meat would melt, the sauce would be diminished
	והרקח המרקחה והעצמות יחרו	*spice the ointment pot; the **bones** will be scorched*
v. 11a	και στη επι τους ανθρακας	stand it upon the coals
	והעמידה על גחליה רקה	stand it **empty** upon the coals

[469] Freedy, 139, n.2. So Zimmerli who cites the study of van den Born attributing vv. 3b-5 to an originally oral work song, (Zimmerli, 1:496). Even Greenberg points out stages of composition to assist his literary reading, calling vv. 3-5 "a ditty," in poetic verse without reference to the subsequent stages of the allegory, (Greenberg, 2:503).

p967's edition presents as the more mundane cooking allegory to make a general point. This is especially clear in v. 10 which reads, "I will multiply the wood and flame the fire, in order that the meat would melt, the sauce would be diminished." Here in v. 10, the increased heat enriches the stew. Complementing this image, v. 4 depicts the original placement of the meat in the stew pot, describing the shoulder and loins as "being stripped off the bones". Special bones from the choice of the flock are added in v. 5, which is text shared by both editions. These bones are seamlessly integrated into the mundane cook allegory to add "strength and flavor to the broth".[470] p967 only refers to the bones as incidental objects from which choice meat is stripped; its edition does not mention the bones again. In contrast, MT presents four instances where the word 'bones' appears in a plus. In an allegory, details take on increased importance as elements of signification. Thus, the dense use of עצם over p967's edition warrants attention.

MT's edition emphasizes the great volume of bones in the pot. Verse 4b supplies a unique imperatival clause, "fill it with choice bones." In meaning, this reads quite against p967 which replaces the imperative "fill" with adjectival participle to describe the meat "*being stripped off* the bones." As a result, MT *fills* the pot *with bones* while p967 takes the meat *off the bones*. The same difference occurs in v. 10. MT reads, "multiply the *bones*…; the *bones* will be scorched" where p967 reads, "multiply the wood…the sauce will be diminished."[471] Especially in this verse, MT bestows particular significance

[470] Zimmerli, 1:499. Most commentators take this detail for granted.

[471] Most commentators emend MT on the basis of the Greek to read "the logs", so the NRSV. However, the more difficult reading coheres with the "bones" *Tendenz* proposed here, and therefore represents a possible early reading.

on the bones, as Zimmerli remarks, "there also appears a new emphasis here which breaks up the image: the destruction of human bones by burning them."[472]

The MT reading in v. 10 acquires added significance as being part of the woe oracle against the bloody city (vv. 9-13). The woe-form of the prophetic invective sets a tone of doom that was not present in the earlier, neutral presentation of the *mashal* (vv. 3b-5). The content of vv. 10-11 reinforces this tone of doom by bringing the image to a climax in description. Verse 10 describes flaming fire and the disappearance of flesh. This imagery goes well beyond the earlier description of melting the meat and boiling the sauce (v. 5). The verb חרר (to burn) in v. 10 especially raises the invective tone since burnt bones would hardly be consistent with the mundane culinary image. Indeed in v. 11, MT expresses the desired result of v. 10's burning, "stand it *empty* upon its coals". The word "empty" is an MT plus, as is the woe-form in v. 9.[473]

At the basic, most obvious level of the allegory, MT's edition of vv. 9-13 assigns unparalleled significance to the bones. The woe-oracle (v. 9) and the emphasis on burnt bones and the *empty* pot (v. 10) amplify the prophetic invective. Because the bones are featured in MT's edition, the judgment falls upon them and calls for their total incineration.

The present metaphor of the cooking pot draws on an earlier use of the same in chapter 11, where the pot is a metaphor of safety for the people. Ezekiel 11:7-11 describes how some Israelites will die *outside* of the pot/Jerusalem where they will be killed by the sword. The MT variants in ch. 24 make the allegory include this category of

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[472] Zimmerli, 1:495.

[473] Freedy argues that the word "empty" was added when the two images in vv. 3-11 came together. Kenneth S. Freedy, "The Glosses in Ezekiel I-XXIV," *VT* 20 (1970):139.

Israelites, those who were killed outside of Jerusalem, among the bones. Just as MT harmonizes the fate of those outside the pot with ch. 11, it re-interprets the fate of those within. The empty pot annihilates that category of Israelites; their fate is destruction not protection. p967's edition of ch. 24's pot only re-interprets; it does not harmonize with ch. 11.

As an allegory, details take on increased exegetical significance; the *location* of the bones may be as significant as the bones themselves. The extra bones in the MT edition of the pot (ch. 24) are variously located with respect to the pot. This detail is likely significant given the prominent theme of the location of Israel's fate in Ezekiel. What may be called the "four-fold judgment" theme may shed light on the locative significance of ch. 24's bones. Secondly, additional textual evidence in the interpretive frame of ch. 24 forms an intertextual horizon of interpretation with ch. 37. Both avenues will be addressed below.

5.3.2.4.2. Location in the Pot Allegory

The book of Ezekiel develops a four-fold understanding of Israel's fate. A paradigmatic statement of it occurs in 14:21 where the Lord names his "four deadly acts of judgment" on Jerusalem: sword, famine, wild animals, and pestilence. Different iterations occur in 5:1-2; 5:12; 6:11-13; 7:15; and 33:27. These subtract or substitute 'judgments', adding fire and a scattering to the list of so-called 'four-fold' judgments.

Frequently, the act of judgment is associated with a location. This is especially the case where in 5:1-2, Ezekiel performs the sign-act of shaving his head, in order to demonstrate that 1/3 of the people will burn *within the city*, 1/3 will fall by the sword *all*

around the city (סביבותיה), and 1/3 will be *scattered to the wind*. Of the latter category, 5:12 qualifies that even those scattered abroad will be followed by the sword. Of course, the locations are far from systematic. In 6:12, those scattered abroad die of pestilence, not the sword. In 7:15, those in the *field* die by the sword. While no coherent pattern exists across Ezekiel, it is clear that Ezekiel's prophecies attach locative significance to the various judgments of God that overcome various groups of Israelites.

Returning to ch. 24 with these observations as a lens, some subtle issues of syntax between MT and p967 take on greater significance. In v. 5aβ, MT reads, "and *also* pile the bones under *it*" וגם דור העצמים תחתיה while the Greek reads, "and burn the bones beneath *them*" και υποκαιε τα οστα υποκατω αυτων. The MT image of piling bones beneath the pot has troubled textual critics. Most read, העצים (sticks) instead of העצמים.[474] However, the emendation obscures the very allegorical element that begs interpretation in MT. The Greek likely envisions placing the bones beneath the choice (pl) cattle meat, all *within* the cauldron. On the other hand, the Hebrew certainly envisions some of the bones on the *outside* of the cauldron, being scorched by the fire below the pot. This is partially emphasized by the וגם that isolates the clause from the preceding one (only attested in late witnesses like V and Tht. with the translation καιγε); but also by the verbs (υποκαιε vs. דור) and the direct objects (sing. vs. plural). Thus, combining the images from vv. 4 and 5, MT depicts choice bones within, and bones under the pot, while p967B only has bones within the pot.

As noted earlier, ch. 24 develops the metaphor already presented in ch. 11. The earlier metaphor of the cooking pot suggested that only those *outside* the pot would suffer

[474] Driver, 175. This emendation is taken up in the NRSV.

destruction, implying that the meat within the pot would be safe. The MT edition of ch. 24 harmonizes the fate of those outside the pot with ch. 11, even as it re-interprets the fate of those within the pot as destruction, not protection.

The lens of the four-fold judgment heightens the allegorical importance of location in ch. 24. Since the pot stands for Jerusalem, MT depicts bones within and around the city. Presumably, all the bones are scorched, but certainly the ones in the pot are incinerated, due to the MT plus, "empty" discussed above. While the fate of the bones within the pot is sure in MT, the only thing we can say for certain about those outside is that they are numerous. In v. 9, MT declares that God will make great the pile, המדורה, (whose root is the same as the verb דור "to pile up" that was significant in MT v. 5aβ). p967 makes great the δαλον (firebrand), an image of a hot and robust flame, certainly more in keeping with the original, mundane song.[475]

5.3.2.4.3. An Interpretive Frame to the Pot Allegory

As an allegory, ch. 24's bones are difficult to interpret without a prophetic explanation of their role in the *mashal.* However, some additional textual evidence concerning bones suggests that their role is highly significant to the MT's edition. The first few verses of ch. 24 provide the prophetic frame for the allegory. While the introductory frame is not the same, form-critically, as a prophetic interpretation found so frequently after a *mashal* in Ezekiel,[476] it still indicates a form of interpretation.

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[475] In this variant, B, supported by a few versions, is exceedingly interesting – reading λαον. Perhaps this reading responds to MT's specific judgment on a certain group of Israelites by universalizing God's favor to the entire people.

[476] Chapters in Ezekiel that include *mashal* explanations or interpretations of visions are Ezek 15, 17, and 37.

In MT 24:2-3a, Ezekiel is summoned to write down the day of Babylon's siege of Jerusalem and to utter the cooking-pot allegory to the rebellious house of Israel. These two exhortations frame the allegorical description and judgment that takes place in vv. 3b-13. By means of this frame, Ezekiel links Babylon's siege *of Jerusalem* with the destruction of the bones *within the Jerusalem* (the pot). In the same way that MT raised the significance of the bones to the allegory by means to pluses and variant readings, it also assigns significance to them in the announcement of destruction in v. 2. Verse 2 includes two variants about bones.

v. 2aβ	της ημερας ταυτης	that day
	עצם היום הזה	that **very** (*'tsm*) day
v. 2bβ	απο της ημερας της σημερον	from that same day
	בעצם היום הזה	on that **very** (*'tsm*) day

Twice, verse 2 utilizes an idiom of Late Biblical Hebrew, "that very day," which deploys the term עצם. Neither instance in the Greek translates literally with οστεον. Indeed, if the Greek merely understood the idiomatic meaning of the phrase, we should not expect to find οστεον here.[477] However, if the Greek intended to extend the allegorical significance of the term "bones" to the interpretive-frame, it may have elected to include the term οστεον. MT once again, exaggerates the phrase with the term. In v.

[477] The adverb σημερον occurs in the Greek three times as a translation of the Hebrew idiom: Jos 10:27; Ezek 2:3, and here. However, in Ezek 24:2, the translation order της ημερας της σημερον suggests that the בעצם was not in the original translation, and that σημερον translates הזה. This is increasingly likely since a ב is not generally represented by απο. In cases where the Greek translates the Hebrew idiom literally, supplying translation equivalents for each term in עצם היום הזה the two examples are in Gen 17:26, τω καιρω της ημερας εκεινης and four places in Lev 23:14, 28, 29, 30 with only case variation from that in v. 14, αυτην την ημεραν ταυτην. In these two instances, the Greek used καιρος and the intensive use of the Greek pronoun to translate עצם. It is not clear whether σημερον (today) ever represents עצם. The two other instances of σημερον in Jos 10:27 and Ezek 2:3 are unclear. Did εως της σημερον ημερας in Jos 10:27 have the idiom in its source text? Either the Greek translator followed word order, translating σημερον for עצם and just left off the Hebrew הזה at the end. In support of this is the correct translation of the preposition, εως for עד. However, the Greek idiom could just as easily have been chosen to translate היום הזה. The exact situation obtains (in Hebrew and Greek) in Ezek 2:3 as Jos 10:27.

2aβ, עצם is certainly an MT plus. I assert that the MT's two deployments of עצם here represent scribal pluses and not just non-literal translation issues, particularly for v. 2aβ.

The significance of the MT's twice repeated phrase עצם היום הזה in 24:2, if I am correct about their status as scribal pluses, lies in its location. As part of the prophetic date-reckoning introduction to Ezekiel's prophetic words, the twice-repeated terms establish the thematic significance of the bones for what follows. They introduce the allegory as a "day of bones".

Additionally, the two phrases bookend the announcement of Babylon's siege of Jerusalem. Such repetition may be considered a highlighting device to emphasize the interpretation of the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem for the bones in the pot-allegory.

The עצם-pluses in v. 2 gloss the allegory as a destruction of bones in Jerusalem. What happens when we read this allegory alongside ch. 37, where bones are an obvious feature of the vision?

5.3.2.4.4. Bones in Ezekiel 37 and 24

One of the most important visionary settings for the image of bones in all of Ezekiel is ch. 37. In this vision (37:1-10), dried bones strewn about a valley/plain (בקעה / πεδιον) are raised into a great living, breathing, fleshly company. The interpretation of the vision follows (vv. 11-14) whereby the revivified company signifies the whole house of Israel, having been raised up from their graves (קרב / μνημα).

Arguably, the MT edition of ch. 24 has ch. 37 in view.[478] Out of twenty-one occurrences in MT Ezekiel, the word "bone" occurs ten times in ch. 37:1-11 and six times in ch. 24:1-10 (MT). In the former, the vision revivifies the bones. In the latter, the vision incinerates the bones. Through allegorical elements, the incineration in ch. 24 excludes the Jerusalem-population from the restorative vision of ch. 37.

The same exemption of bodies can be seen elsewhere. Indeed, the Pit of ch. 32 serves the same function, removing unwanted enemies from the face of the land to a permanent fate far beneath the earth. In most cases, the graves of each enemy are depicted within Sheol, erasing their chances of being among those who are raised up from their graves (37:12, 13). In one instance in the Pit, iniquity is said to rest upon bones (ותהי עונתם על עצמותם).[479] This is the only place in all of Ezekiel in which bones hold iniquity. Otherwise, the body is susceptible or holds iniquity in the heart, the eyes, the face, the forehead, etc.[480] However, only within the Pit are bones described as bearing iniquity.

5.3.2.4.5. Summary of "Bones" *Tendenz*

The MT edition of ch. 24 contains four extra instances of the word "bones" and several variants that affect the allegory of the cooking pot for Jerusalem's destruction. I

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[478] So Rendtorff, who notes the terminological connection, R. Rendtorff, "Ez 20 und 36, 16ff im Rahmen der Komposition des Buches Ezechiel," in *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and their Interrelation,* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986), 261 n5.

[479] Ezek 32:27 refers to the iniquity that rests on the bones of the heroes of old. Many commentators emend עונתם in order to read "their shields were upon their bones," but this proposal lacks a textual basis. So Zimmerli, 2:168, though he finds Cornill's solution "fully satisfactory."

[480] The phrases that address body parts as the basis for judgment are numerous: idols in the heart (14:3), hard-hearted (3:7), lifting up eyes to idols (33:25), don't see with eyes (12:2), stumbling-block before the face (14:3), hard forehead (3:7), hands commit iniquity (18:17), evil hands (34:10), evil mouths (34:10), do not hear with ears (12:2).

have argued that MT forges an interpretive-horizon between the frame of ch. 24 and the vision of bones in ch. 37. Additionally, the allegory in MT takes special care to distribute bones within and outside the pot, drawing on the locative significance of Ezekiel's four-fold judgments. These locations create categories of Israelites and either exempt or elect them for participation in ch. 37's revivification. Lacking all of these editorial elements, p967's connection to ch. 37 is not as strong.[481]

The specific referents for MT's allegory are not clear. The incineration of "choice" bones in MT ch. 24 definitely annihilates one category of Israelites from the promised fate-reversal to take place in ch. 37. The bones *within* the pot are scorched and ultimately destroyed, leaving the smoldering pot *empty*. The bones without are piled up beneath the pot, presumably succumbed to the intense heat of the stewing pot. Both groups' bones are emphasized. The former, those who died *within* Jerusalem, leave no trace. Since even their skeletons burn up, they cannot benefit from the revivification of ch. 37. However, the fate of the many who died outside of is not particularly clear in ch. 24's allegory. On the one hand, their fate is embedded into a woe-oracle form, which suggests a negative fate. On the other, the variants in MT do not make any definitive claims on them, unlike those inside the *empty* pot. Would not the variant material emphasize such an important point if it were there to be made? Regardless, those bones which pile up outside the pot are given special attention, and thus the question is raised in MT: how does this category relate to the vision of bones in ch. 37?

[481] Zimmerli's interpretation of Ezek 24:1-14 insightfully speaks about the way the pot-image is reversed from that in ch. 11, which could point to the function of p967's edition of the pericope, (Zimmerli, 1:496-501, esp. "Aim," 499-500).

5.3.2.5. "New Life" *Tendenz*

The fate of the slain in Ezekiel 37 does not end with dried bones, of course, but reverses the finality of death towards life. The concept of new life also characterizes a set of variants between p967 and MT. Indeed, there are ten cases where the theme of new life characterized variant material. However, these variants exhibited an unusual pattern across the witnesses: 1) p967 refers to the *Tendenz* against MT in four cases and 2) MT refers to the *Tendenz* in two cases.[482]

5.3.2.5.1. "New Life" *Tendenz* in MT

MT presents two cases where the "New Life" *Tendenz* occurs:

1) Ezekiel 18:32

In 18:32, MT includes a plus phrase about new life (examined already in §5.2.3.1 above). Verse 32 is the final verse in chapter 18, a section of Ezekiel about retribution. The chapter moves between life and death, repeatedly answering questions with dictums about life-resulting or death-resulting actions. Verse 31 forms a theological conclusion for the chapter, equating Israel's casting off transgressions with its reception of a new heart and spirit. The verse goes onto ask "why will you die?" In p967, the rhetorical question of v. 31 is followed only by the terse statement (v. 32) that God does not desire death. MT, however, adds a final imperative, "so turn and live."[483] The imperatival form is unique and breaks the rhetorical-voice/audience developed throughout the chapter.

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[482] Two additional variants in the section in vv. 6-8, present odd situations, yet are not significant enough to discuss here.

[483] 62 *L′*' Arm Tht. share MT's imperatival phrase, but contain additional content about casting off iniquities, elaborating even further on the MT's conclusion.

2) Ezekiel 33:5

In 33:5, p967 lacks another new-life phrase (v. 5b) which is present in MT. The first half of the verse assigns blood-guilt to Israel. p967 uses αν with subjunctive clauses to communicate contingency of guilt in vv. 2-4. But v. 5a contains a rare declarative statement (οτι-clause) about those Israelites who must bear their blood-guilt because of their actions. In MT, this statement is followed by v. 5b, "but if he had taken warning, he would have delivered his soul (נפש)." MT makes amends for those among the guilty who took warning. Essentially, this holds out the possibility for life for people that would otherwise have been condemned by their blood-guilt.

5.3.2.5.2. "New Life" *Tendenz* in p967

The new life Tendenz occurs four times in p967 variants:

1) Ezekiel 17:23

In 17:23, p967 seeks to save some of the branches of the vine: "and his branches will be restored" (και τα κληματα αυτου αποκατασταθησεται). A restoration of the Davidic line can be read here. Other elements of the chapter gloss 'life' as an important theme of vv. 11-24: twice repeated is ζω εγω (חי אני) (vv. 16, 19). Verse 22 was already featured in the heart/spirit-*Tendenz* above.

2) Ezekiel 26:20

In 26:20, discussed in §5.3.2.1, we already noted that with this variant, p967 ensures that Tyre would not rise to life again; "nor will you rise to life." MT reads instead "and I will give beauty in the land of the living."

3) Ezekiel 31:17

In 31:17, p967 reads "in the midst of his life they were destroyed." MT reads "in the midst of the nations." The verse is about the tree of Assyria descending into the Pit, while the specific phrase-variant refers to those who lived under her shade. MT is the mundane description while p967 spiritualizes the phrase.

4) Ezekiel 38:14

38:14 begins the second strophe of the Gog-Magog episode. Verses 14-16 are the proof for the nation-recognition statement in v. 16. However, v. 14 in MT already introduces a recognition fragment תֵּדָע "you will know." p967 reads "you will be woken up" (εγερθηση). While many textual critics believe MT should have read תֵּעֹר "you will arouse yourself," the lexeme εγειρω is frequently used to mean awaken.[484] There is not enough information to determine the intended sense in p967. However, it is possible that Gog's invasion was understood as a revivification of the enemy from the North.

5.3.2.5.3. Summary of the "New Life" *Tendenz*

The *Tendenz* of "new life" was certainly worth exploring, however, the variants yielded little coherence. The two verses in MT which exhibit the theme *did* both concern Israel, while three of p967's variants concerned the life of enemy nations: Tyre, nations protected by Assyria, and Gog. The conclusion to be made about the "New Life"

[484] Henry G. Liddell and Robert Scott, "εγειρω," in *Greek-English Lexicon* (Cambridge: Clarendon Press, 1959), 469. According to Hatch and Redpath, the most common Hebrew *Vorlage* is קום "εγειρειν," 364.

Tendenz is that it does not represent a strong intertextual tendency and therefore does not sharply distinguish MT from p967.

5.3.3. Summary of Section: "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen*

The intertextual center for the "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen*, Ezekiel's Pit (32:17-32), proved its importance to the alternate literary editions in two respects. First, the well-known major variant at 32:26-28 was not an isolated feature; additional variants differente MT's edition of the Pit from p967. MT's description of the Pit itself differed in several significant respects from p967's shorter text. Second, variants across Ezekiel shared the theme of death and cosmic fate. For this reason, it was helpful to identify 32:17-32 as an intertextual center.

p967 and MT dealt differently with, not only the death of Israel, but also of Egypt, Tyre, Edom, Gog, hordes, and the like. The fate of these slain nations frequently emphasized specific locations: the Pit served as the most important location for enemy nations. Indirectly, it also provided a mythic schema that could animate more mundane locations, such as MT's edition of Tyre's death "in the middle of the sea."

The MT edition of the Pit was the more expansive text. This was most obviously the case with the major plus in vv. 26-28, where Meshech and Tubal joined the list of enemies. MT variants also included Edom and the Sidonians in the population. These nations were systematically identified by their relationship to circumcision. A space of shame opened for *both* those uncircumcised nations that did not practice circumcision *and* those who acquired the status through proximity and association. The only exception in MT was the differentiated space for the death of Israel's heroes, who were separated

from the uncircumcised. MT stands out as the edition that ritualizes the cosmic space for death on the basis of this Jewish practice.

MT also emphasized the shameful condition under which the nations descended to their fate. The reproach (כלמה) borne by the nations, distinctive to the MT, conveyed this edition's stronger indictment against foreigners, generally. Significant to the intertextual whole of MT's edition, 39:26 announces that Israel will bear her reproach (כלמה/ατιμια) in the restored land, not in the Pit, as is the case for the nations on the Pit's list of nations. Thus, the divine reproach against the nations bears them to the underworld while Israel's divine reproach remains upon her as she returns to her life in the land.

The shorter edition in p967 simplifies the ignominy of the Pit in two distinct ways. First, p967's focus on Assyria, her commanders, her leaders, and her neighboring war-state Elam, characterizes the Pit as *geographically* remote. Second, p967's references to the giants "of old" bring a *temporal* remoteness to the Pit as well. Already, the concept of the Pit as underworld occupies a cosmically remote position. The cosmic, geographic, and temporal remoteness of the population in the Pit heightens its otherness. Particularly p967's interpretation of the giants as the progenitors of the Pit's negative valences generates a totalizing ignominy, without nuance or distinction.

The two editions bore traces of different ideas about the death of foreign nations. It was clear that the MT edition brought the fates of Egypt and Tyre into closer and stronger association with the Pit. MT's ch. 28 rendered Tyre's death in the midst of the sea in terms of the שחת. Further, MT's Pit was uniquely the site for the fate of Egypt's hordes. Egypt's fate was certainly a pre-occupation for the scribes who differentiated the

two editions. While MT placed Egypt's hordes in the Pit, p967 avoided interpolating Egypt's hordes into the Pit. Instead of Egypt's hordes, spiritualized concepts such as Egypt's "strength" (ισχυν) as well as Elam and Assyria's "power" (δυναμις) are relegated to the Pit. In p967, Egypt's "horde" does not lie in the Pit, but rather on the mountains (32:6). Further, p967 leaves Egypt unburied on a field in 29:5. While both of these details are suggestive of ch. 37, the connections are not strong enough to make claims about scribal intention.[485] Nevertheless, p967's edition opens itself to a provocative intertextual connection between Egypt's unburied status on the field and the revivification of dried bones in chapter 37.

In examining the significance of the site of chapter 37's vision, MT, once again, introduced spatial distinctions that were not present in p967. The Hebrew term בקעה is reserved for the site of Ezekiel's visions of Jerusalem, while שדה was the location of the enemy slain. Several enemy nations died on the field (שדה): Egypt, Assyria, Edom, Gog, and their daughters. These same nations were placed in MT's edition of the Pit, suggesting an intentional attempt to disallow their participation in Israel's restoration.[486] A similar dynamic was observable in MT's edition of the Pot allegory in chapter 24, where those who died in Jerusalem were incinerated and preemptively excluded from

[485] The mountains play an important role in the restoration. See Jon Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48,* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 10; Cambridge: Books on Demand, 2006), 37-42. Particularly relevant to this passage about Egypt, Ezek 37:22 describes the restored nation on God's holy mountain. This location is significant elsewhere to the restoration vision as well. Ezek 34:13-14 predicts that God will feed his sheep on the mountains; and 36:8 describes how the mountains will yield fruit for Israel who will come home. However, none of these references indicate any special significance for those who *die* on the mountains (except for ch. 37, indirectly,) merely for those Israelites who return to the mountains.

[486] See Nobile who discusses the significance of the seven peoples in MT's underworld of chapter 32 with the seven nations in Gog's entourage in 38:2-6. Nobile, "Beziehung zwischen Ez 32, 17-32 und der Gog-Perikope (Ex 38-39) im Lichte der Endredaktion," in *Ezekiel and his Book* (ed., J. Lust; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1968), 256.

chapter 37's vision of restoration. Hence, not only foreign nations, but categories of Israelites fall into the "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen.* This problem with foreign nations characterized additional details in MT as well. In ch. 44, MT pronounced those uncircumcised in heart *and flesh* from entrance into the restored temple. Additionally, MT included the caveat in ch. 37 to specify that the vision referred to "my people."

In contrast to this anti-foreigner vision of restoration, the openness of p967's edition comes into greater focus. p967 does not locate Gog or Edom in the Pit; neither does it strongly depict Egypt's presence in ch. 32. In fact, a p967 plus in 35:8 indicated that Edom died on a field. The oracle against Mt. Seir (Edom) in ch. 35 strongly suggests that Edom is not favored by Ezekiel's book. However, the same harsh tone found within judgment oracles is levied against Israel as well. If a reversal of judgment to mercy is possible for Israel, it is perhaps possible for Edom as well. MT, by including Edom in the Pit, annihilates that possibility. However, p967's edition is ambiguous about Edom's role in the restoration vision.

Additionally, p967, unlike MT, did not restrict the vision in chapter 37 to "my people." p967's openness extends even to Gog-Magog. According to p967's chapter order, the revivification of bones occurs after the Gog-Magog battle. In 39:5, Gog is said to fall on the open field (שדה/πεδιον). While the chapter does go on to depict Gog's burial, its bones placed in a mass grave, p967 is characteristically ambiguous about whether the drama of chapter 37 could include Gog and his entourage. Just as Gog's death occurred on the field, so the revivification occurs on a πεδιον; and Meshech and Tubal are not in p967's Pit. Of course, both editions share the scene in 39:15-16 where the Israelites carefully collect the enemy's bones from the battle field. Especially in

p967's edition, this scene cannot be understood apart from Ezekiel 37 which immediately follows. It captures the Israelite desire, shared in p967 and MT, to exclude military invaders from the population of revivified Israel. However, MT presents the more emphatic edition on this point.

5.4. *Tendenzen* Related to Ezekiel 36:23c-38

Ezekiel 36:23c-38 constitutes the most substantial variant between p967 and MT. Missing in p967, MT is the longer text by fourteen and a half verses. Up until now, no study has thoroughly examined the exegetical significance of the variant to the two editions.[487]

5.4.1. Intertextual Center: The Promises in Ezekiel 36:23c-38

Chapter 36 falls in the section of the book dealing with restoration from exile. In content, the chapter provides several details about the return of Israel as well as a divine motive for the event. Ezek 36:23a locates this motive in God's need to sanctify his name and display his holiness in the sight of the nations. These aspects of chapter 36 are shared by MT and p967.

While the oracles in chapter 36 concern the return of Israel to the land, the direct promise to the people occur in the MT plus (vv. 23c-32). Previously in the chapter, promises were made to the mountains of Israel in 36:8-12 that the children of Israel would "soon come home" (v. 8). This is an indirect promise to the people of Israel, treating them as instruments of the restoration of the *land.*

[487] See my critique of Crane in chapter 1.

The promise to the *people* of Israel in 36:23c-32 is embedded in a nation-recognition formula. Verse 23c provides a temporal clause to qualify the nation-recognition formula begun in v. 23a. It states, "when ***through you*** I display my holiness." By embedding the promise in the nation-recognition formula, Israel's restoration serves specific purposes in the dramatic plot of *God's* restoration. In this sense, the people are promised their return indirectly, as 36:22 indicates, "it is not for your sake that I am about to act."

In very general terms, the Lord's display (v. 23a) is the restoration of Israel after the exile. Verses 23c-38 are comprised of two oracular units which specify this concern. The first in vv. 23c-32 extends the preceding oracle that began in v. 22. Verse 22 and the end of the oracle in v. 32 are structured with an inclusio-like statement, "it is not for your sake that I am about to act." The act is performed in order to "display my holiness before their eyes" (v. 23). Thus, vv. 24-32 describe restoration as God's display to foreign nations.

Verse 33 begins a second promise; hence, it does not participate in the nation-recognition formula from v. 23a. Nevertheless, the oracle in vv. 33-38 is in service of watching eyes. Verse 34 summons "the sight of all who pass by" and v. 36 emphasizes that the nations will know that it was God who rebuilt the land. The whole of v. 35 contains the quoted reaction of those for whom God's restoration is performed. Clearly here, as above, a specific promise to Israel is not prominently in view.

Thus, while the two oracles in vv. 22-32 and vv. 33-38 contain promises to the people of Israel, the promises are largely indirect. Rather, the focus of the oracles is on the divine plan for the restoration of the land and the sanctification of God's name. The

role of the people is subsumed to these larger divine concerns. Indeed, vv. 22-38 contains two promises and present two solutions to two different problems. As the following discussion will develop, the MT plus develops a "two-aspects" vision of restoration.

The two oracles present different promises. Verses 24-30 promise agricultural health, both through the productivity of vegetation and through the cessation of famines. In contrast, the second set of promises (vv. 33-35) focuses on architecture: Waste places will be rebuilt and towns refortified. The different types of promises reinforce the two-aspect nature of the restoration.

The passage should also be considered in light of the various problems and solutions it envisions. In vv. 25-30, the solution is quite clear; the verses describe an act of cleansing the people from their uncleanness (טמאה). God provides a *new* heart and *his* spirit to replace the problem of the old, unclean body (vv. 26-27). The problem is undeniable: the people need to be cleansed from their uncleanness (v. 29). This cleansing will mark the beginning of a new era of vegetation in which the people will not suffer famine again (vv. 29-30). This aspect of the restoration "solves" the problem of Israel's uncleanness (טמאה) for the sake of the land.

The second aspect is alluded to in v. 31 where a new problem surfaces. Despite her new "clean" constitution, Israel must remember and loathe her evil ways (דרכי הרעים), bad practices (מעללים אשר לא טובים), iniquities (עונות), and abominations (תועבות). The verse is dense with heightened condemnatory language. These problems endured beyond, and thus are not solved by, the cleansing in vv. 26-27.[488] Thus we are left with

[488] The cleansing is described in v. 25 as a sprinkling of water. Num 19:19-20 describes an act of sprinkling water on an unclean person, where the terms טמא and טהר (unclean and clean) are also used.

two problems, uncleanness and evil iniquity, the latter of which seems to follow Israel into her restoration. She is called to remain ashamed and dismayed at these problems, as indicated in the final sentence of the promise oracle (v. 32). Thus, the oracle ends on a negative note, despite the fact that this is the first promise addressed directly to the people of Israel. This negative conclusion further indicates the incompleteness of Israel's return, a return which, as we saw earlier, God largely performs for the nations.

Indeed, elsewhere in Ezekiel, we are led to believe that restoration does not imply Israel's immediate or total perfection. In 34:17-22, the first stage of restoration is assumed since the flock of Israel is already grazing on the land (v. 12-13). Then in v. 17, God addresses the sheep directly, accusing them of trampling and fouling their water. God announces his intent to judge between "sheep and sheep" (v. 17), "rams and goats" (v. 17), and "fat and lean sheep" (v. 20). The judgment also targets the strong who ravage or push out the weak. Thus we have the post-restoration announcement that the bad sheep will be weeded out (cf. 20:38).

Returning to 36:23c-38, vv. 37-38 invoke the sheep allegory just discussed. According to v. 37, post-restoration Israel seeks increase like a flock. The image of increasing a flock, seen through the lens of chapter 34, summons two meanings: continued "gathering" of the scattered sheep, and weeding out bad sheep. Both seem to be in view in chapter 36 as God grants their request, saying that he will increase Israel like a flock *for sacrifices*. Invoking "sacrifices" strongly implies that increasing Israel

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According to this ritual, the one who is not sprinkled with water is unclean טמא (v. 20). Relevant to the context in ch. 36, the passage in Numbers does not indicate whether cleansing a person also solves the problem of human iniquity and abomination.

involves handing some sheep over to death, albeit a sacrificial one.[489] In short, while the intertextuality between the sheep in 36:37-38 and 34:17-22 is merely suggestive, it would only reinforce what was already clear in MT's vision of restoration: Israel will be cleansed for her return to the land, but the problem of iniquity will continue to vex the restoration of Israel. The problem of iniquity does not preclude the death of the unrighteous. The purity concerns involved in MT's two-aspect vision of restoration will become significant again in the analysis below.

5.4.1.1. Literary Function of 36:23c-38 in MT

Some have called 36:23c-38 a fitting introduction to chapter 37. Lust argued that 36:23c-38 was composed as a link between chapters 36 and 37.[490] He adduced several unique literary-linguistic parallels. Most significantly, the promise of "his" [i.e., the Lord's] spirit in 36:27 matches Ezek 37:14 "where God is said to give *his* spirit to the people."[491] The triple set of verbs for the return "לקח, קבץ, and בוא (Hif.)" only appear together in 37:21 and 36:24. Finally, the unique combination of purity and divine deliverance is shared by the two chapters.[492] Several other phrases increase the amount

[489] This idea is found already in Ezek 34:20-21, that God is on the side of the weak sheep and will feed the strong with judgment, ארענה במשפט.

[490] Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 525-27. While I happen to agree with Lust on this issue, his position about the priority of the shorter text where 36:23c-38 is absent has been challenged, most significantly by Block. See Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 341-42. Lust responded decisively in 2002 saying that once the editorial character of the section is proven, which he largely accomplished on the basis of a neutral philological argument, it is perfectly reasonable to recognize its bridge function, subsequently. See Lust, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments," 30.

[491] Italics original to emphasize that elsewhere in Ezekiel we read "new spirit," "one spirit," and "another spirit" (see Lust, "Ezekiel 36-39," 526).

[492] See especially in Ezek 36:29 and 37:23.

of shared material of the two passages.[493] All of this evidence does suggest a close compositional connection between the two chapters, particularly 36:23c-38 and the second half of chapter 37.

Ashley Crane, who likewise envisions a late editorial function for 36:23c-38 agrees with Lust. His study focuses only tangentially on the literary structure and function of the so-called insertion;[494] among his very few comments about 36:23c-38, he speculates,

> those changing the chapter order now insert 36:23c-38 as support for their chapter reorder.[495]

Unlike Lust, however, Crane bases his exegesis on speculative, though stimulating, historical-critical arguments.[496] He envisions the major editorial activity in MT occurring during Hasmonean times and calls the MT's alternate sequence of chs. 37-39 a "call to arms."[497] However, according to Crane, 36:23c-38 was inserted as a call to purity. Significant for Crane's argument is the fact that chapter 37 precedes the military invasion and victory described in chapters 38-39. Thus, ch. 36:23c-38 smoothes the introduction to chapter 37 and secures the purity of messianic Israel's militant cause.[498] Thus Crane glosses the passage as a call to purity, although he seems to hold that chapter 37 wholly

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[493] See Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 525-527.

[494] See my critique in chapter 1.

[495] Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 255.

[496] In all other cases in chapters 36-39, Crane used his text-comparative method (see chapter 1). However, with the MT plus in chapter 36, Crane switches to a different mode of analysis.

[497] Crane, *Israel's Restoration,* 255. Many would challenge this historical proposal; these scholars have dated the redaction activity "not beyond the period of the exile" (Allen, *WBC*; 176-178). See also Zimmerli, 1:9-16.

[498] Although, the content of 36:23c-38 lacks a basis for Crane's claim to see Davidic national unity in its vision of restoration.

accomplishes Israel's purification. It is difficult to engage Crane further; his discussion is too truncated to discern the full significance of his observation. Suffice it to say, he finds 36:23c-38 to be a fitting introduction to chapter 37 in MT.

While ch. 36:23c-38 does serve to introduce chapter 37, especially in light of Lust's observations, one glaring discontinuity involves the prediction of a new heart (36:26). Certainly, the new heart is important to the MT plus; 36:26 mentions the heart three times. Verse 26b reads:

> והסרתי את לֵב האבן מבשרכם ונתתי לכם לֵב בשר
>
> I will remove from their flesh the heart of stone and I will give them a heart of flesh.

However, chapter 37 nowhere contains the word לֵב, much less the phrase לֵב חדש. Most commentators assume the flesh (בשר) that re-assembles on the bones of chapter 37 includes the "heart of flesh לֵב בשר" from 36:26b, and by extension, the "new heart" of 36:26a.[499] However, it is striking that 36:23c-38, presumably composed after chapter 37 was set, presents a linguistic emphasis on the heart that is lacking in chapter 37. Indeed, a comprehensive linguistic analysis of 36:26 and chapter 37 reveals no shared phrases regarding the heart.[500] Since the promise of the new heart is significant in ch. 36:23c-38,

[499] So Greenberg who describes the heart's purification as a return to flesh, "the same element as the body" (Greenberg, *Ezekiel*, 730). Ezek 37:23 does speak about purifying the people, which as Block argues, "had associated the experience with a heart-transplant [from 36:25-28]," (Block, 2:355). Jaqueline Lapsley , whose study is strong in the main, does not deal with the distinction between heart and sprit. Instead, she considers the new spirit in ch. 37 to be the fulfillment of 36:27's promise of a new heart and new spirit. In her defense, she was focused on intractable impurities requiring a new moral self which, in ch. 36 is an external gift. Hence, a new heart and spirit had to come from outside. Jacqueline E. Lapsley, *Can These Bones Live?: The Problem of the Moral Self in the Book of Ezekiel* (New York: de Gruyter, 2000), 169-171.

[500] Additionally, the term "new spirit" in 36:26a does not occur in chapter 37's ten uses of רוח. As Lust pointed out, only the construction in 36:28 'my spirit' (רוּחִי) is parallel, in 37:14.

talk about the heart is unlikely to be *only* or even *primarily* an introduction to chapter 37.[501] The explanation for the new heart in 36:23c-38 must lie elsewhere.

In point of fact, Ezek 36:23c-38 has been called an "anthology of expressions found elsewhere in Ezekiel."[502] Rolf Rendtorff's redaction-critical study concludes that 36:16-38 takes up material found in ch. 20.[503] He argues that similar phrases and "die gleiche Einteilung der Geschichte in zwei Epochen findet sich nun auch Kap. 20 einerseits und 36,16ff anderseits."[504] The epochal shift occurs within the *Bundesformel*, or the changed relationship between God and the people. Divine anger marks the patterns in Israel's history until a new epoch of knowing God's holy name begins. For

[501] Paul Joyce considers Deuteronomistic and Jeremianic influence in 36:23c-38 to explain the presence of language about the heart and the spirit. Joyce concludes that Ezekiel was very much influenced by the "deuteronomistic movement" and Jeremianic ideas here. However, overall Ezekiel's emphases focus more on the spirit language and a radical theocentricity, (Paul Joyce, *Divine Initiative and Human Response in Ezekiel*, JSOTSuppl. 51; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989, 122-124). Several have closely examined the connections with Jeremiah. Lust lists several phrases which secure this connection, (Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 52-533. Likewise, Tov develops the argument, (Tov, "Recensional Differences between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Ezekiel," in *The Hebrew and Greek Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint; VTSuppl* 72; ed. E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 1999; 397-410). However, much less work has been done to view the insertion intertextually *within* the book of Ezekiel.

[502] Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40," 525. Leslie Allen concentrates on the way in which 36:16-38 carries the salvation message forward by repeating terms and ideas from Ezekiel 34-35. Allen, *WBC*, 180. Some scholars think ch. 36:23c-38 is intertextual with Jeremiah primarily. Lust lists several phrases which secure this connection; Likewise, Tov contributes to this perception. (Crane, 222-223) While these connections stand and remain important, they do not serve the present project directly. More important here, few have bothered to see the intertextual nature of the insertion with material *within* the book of Ezekiel.

[503] R. Rendtorff, "Ez 20 und 36, 16ff," 260-265.

[504] "the same organization of history into two epochs may be found in both ch. 20 and 36:16ff." Rendtorff, "Ez 20 und 36, 16ff," 261. Rendtorff's overall argument maintains that 36:16-28 (possibly to v. 32) was never an independent unit. Rather, it consists of collected material (from chs.. 20 and 11 primarily) in order to produce a composition of the genre 'Prophetenbuch'. His primary analysis shows how 36:16ff (by which he generally means vv. 16-23,) serves as a continuation of the pattern laid out in ch. 20. According to the pattern, God holds generations of Israelites under judgment in the wilderness (his anger in 20:8, 13, 21 and 36:18). God's announcement of anger is coupled with his announcement of the rationale: for the sake of his holy name (20:9, 14, 22 and 36:20). Ezek 36:19, a verse about scattering, finds its parallel in 20:23. Rendtorff then connects the 'Bundesformel' with the purification of the wicked cult (36:25); cf. 11:20; 14:11; 37:23-27. The 'Bundesformel,' is the changed relationship between God and Israel and includes their inheritance of the land of their fathers (36:28).

Rendtorff, 36:16-38 brings the periods of judgment to completion following the pattern laid out in chapter 20, and marks the beginning of a new epoch for Israel in the land.

Rendtorff's work on chs. 36 and 20 offers insight into a possible intertextual relationship between 36:23c-38 and ch. 20. In his analysis, he also mentions the significance of chapter 11 to Ezek 36:16-38. In fact, Rendtorff and Lust *both* pointed out the connections between the two passages, such as the word for word repetition between 11:17-19 and 36:24-26. Because of its significance, chapter 11 merits a more thorough analysis, especially since Ezekiel 11 mentions the "heart".

5.4.1.4. Ezekiel 36:23c-38 and Chapter 11 in MT

Commentators have long noted the connection between 36:26 and 11:19.[505] Closer inspection reveals that the surrounding verses in each passage are even more extensively related.[506] All of the verses in 11:16-21 show thematic and/or linguistic parallels with chapter 36. Further, the passages follow the same order of presentation. Both of these claims require some justification. Thus, the relevant phrases from each verse are listed and analyzed below,

Chapter 11		Chapter 36	
16	…though I removed them far away among the nations, and though I scattered them among the countries כי הרחקתים בגוים וכי הפיצותים בארצות	19	I scattered them among the nations, and they were dispersed through the countries ואפיץ אתם בגוים ויזרו בארצות

[505] Lust, "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments," 30. Most commentators point this out as well. So Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 355. Greenberg, *Ezekiel*, 730. Zimmerli, 2:249.

[506] Rolf Rendtorff identifies a correspondence in the nation-covenant formula between 36:28 and the end of chs.. 8-11 in his redaction-critical study of ch. 36, a verse that is not under discussion here. He includes a brief discussion of the correspondences to 11:17-20. See R. Rendtorff, "Ez 20 und 36, 16ff," 260-265, esp. 263.

17	I will gather you from the peoples and assemble you out of the countries where you have been scattered, and I will give you the land of Israel וקבצתי אתכם מן העמים ואספתי אתכם מן הארצות אשר נפצותם בהם ונתתי לכם את אדמת ישראל	24	I will take you from the nations and gather you from all the countries and bring you into your own land. ולקחתי אתכם מן הגוים וקבצתי אתכם מכל הארצות והבאתי אתכם אל אדמתכם
18	When they come there, they will remove from it all its detestable things and all its abominations ובאו שמה והסירו את כל שקוציה ואת כל תועבותיה ממנה	25	I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you וזרקתי עליכם מים טהורים קטהרתם מכל טמאותיכם ומכל גלוליכם אטהר אתכם
19	I will give them one heart and put a new spirit within them; I will remove the heart of stone from their flesh and given them a heart of flesh ונתתי להם לב אחד ורוח חדשה אתן בקרבכם והסרתי לב האבן מבשרם ונתתי להם לב בשר	26	A new heart I will give you and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will remove from your body the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. ונתתי לכם לב חדש ורוח חדשה אתן בקרבכם והסרתי את לב האבן מבשרכם ונתתי לכם לב בשר
20	So that they may follow my statutes and keep my ordinances and do them. And they will be my people and I will be their God. למאן בחקתי ילכו ואת משפטי ישמרו ועשו אתם והיו לי לעם ואני אהיה להם לאלהים	27b-28	…and make you follow my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances and do them. (28) and you will dwell in the land that I gave your fathers; and you will be my people and I will be your God. ועשיתי את אשר בחקי תלכו ומשפטי תשמרו ועשיתם (28) וישבתם בארץ אשר נתתי לאבתיכם והייתם לי לעם ואנכי אהיה לכם לאלהים
21	But as for the heart that goes after their detestable things and their abominations, I will bring their deeds upon their own heads ואל לב שקוציהם ותועבותיהם לבם הלך דרכם בראשם נתתי	31	Then you will remember your evil ways and your dealings that were no good, and you shall loathe yourselves for your iniquities and your abominable deeds וזכרתם את דרכיכם הרעים ומעלליכם אשר לא טובים

			ונקטתם בפניכם על עונתיכם ועל תועבותיכם

Several of the verses show *direct* parallels. There is a particularly close correspondence (nearly word for word) between 11:19 and 36:26.[507] Both 11:20 and 36:27-28 contain the *Bundesformel*, also called the renewed covenant.[508] 11:16-17 are respectively parallel with 36:19, 24 in both theme and language, referring to the scattering and gathering of the people.[509] Finally, the triple set of verbs for obeying the divine ordinances, (הלך, שמר, and עשה) repeat in both chapters.[510]

Two sets of verses, 11:21/36:31 and 11:18/36:25, while connected in theme, are more indirectly related. Each deserves more extended discussion. First, the pair, 11:21/36:31, deals with how the people relate to moral wrongs *after* their return to the land (which happened in 11:18 and 36:28 respectively). In this sense, the two verses agree. However, they are also in tension. Ezekiel 11:21 speaks about the לב that returns

[507] Ezek 36:26 uses 2mpl possessive and independent pronouns while 11:19 uses 3mpl (except for one 2mpl that is, however, not attested by all Hebrew witnesses). Further, 36:26 contains את the direct object marker once over against 11:19. The only literary difference is one/new heart. 36:26 reads חדש; Witnesses for אחד in 11:19 vary, although MT has it. One witness does read חדש (see v. 19(3) in HUBP^{IV}, page לח).

[508] This is Rolf Rendtorff's term for the changed relationship that allows the people to inherit the land, (R. Rendtorff, "Ez 20 und 36, 16ff," 262-263). Zimmerli simply designates "covenant formula," but always relies on Jeremianic understandings of the concept to explain Ezekiel, (Zimmerli, 1:262; 2:249).

[509] Both communicate the idea that the people were scattered among the nations and then gathered on the land. The verbs פוץ and קבץ repeat, as do the nouns גוים, ארצות (twice in both), and אדמה .

[510] Discussing Ezekiel 11:20 and 36:27, Joyce likewise concludes that the new heart and new spirit refer to "the gift of a renewed capacity to respond to Yahweh in obedience." Joyce does not emphasize the significance of the purity language here, as my analysis will argue, (Paul Joyce, *Divine Initiative and Human Response in Ezekiel*, 111).

to wicked dealings, focusing on the bad outcome of restoration. 36:31 calls for *remembrance* (זכר) of wicked dealings and hence focus on a good outcome.[511]

11:21a (For) the heart that goes after	שקוציהם	and	תועבותיהם
11:21b I will give them	דרכם בראשם		
36:31a You will remember	דרכיכם הרעים	and	מעלליכם אשר לא טובים
36:31b You will loathe yourselves for	עונתיכם	and	תועבותיכם

Second, the pair, 11:18/36:25, raises an even larger issue. Both verses share the theme of purification.[512] Moreover, the two verses share the idea of abominable dangers to purity. However, the two chapters demonstrate a different understanding of purity and restoration. In ch. 11, the purity of the land is the concern, as 11:18 indicates, "they will remove from it [the land] all its detestable things." The people serve an instrumental function; an act is required of them, to remove the dangers posed to the land's purity.[513] The new heart and spirit of vv. 19-20 promote their *maintenance* of that purity. However, the post-restoration threat (presumably to the land) lies in those Israelites whose heart persists in abominable deeds in v. 21.

The sets of verses in chapter 36 cover much the same general plot, but re-interpret the "mechanics" of purity. Ezekiel 36 is also concerned with the land.[514] Verse 25 announces how God intends to ensure the land's purity, by cleansing the people of their

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[511] On the semantic level, the לב of 11:21a corresponds with the verb זכר in 36:31a. In the Hebrew lexicon, the heart is the site of intellectual capacities, including perception, insight, deliberation, and *memory*. See F. Stoltz, "לב Lēv heart," in *TLOT* (eds. Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann; trans. Mark E. Biddle; vol. 2; Peabody, Ma: Hendrickson, 1997), 639.

[512] The contamination of the land is a common concern of priestly theology. Lev 18:24-30 is especially important in this regard, a passage which correlates human conduct with defilement of the land, the subsequent solution to which is vomiting the people from the land.

[513] Lev 18:3b-4, 24-28 and 20:22-24 describe the land's reaction to the defilement caused by its inhabitants. Lev 25 describes the year of release (Jubilee), though Ezekiel does not seem to draw strongly on the concept. Similarly, Ezekiel does not seem to draw on the concept of the Sabbath years that, according to Lev 26:34-43, come after the people are expunged from the land,

[514] Note especially the promise oracle to the land in vv. 6-15 and the claim in v. 17 about the land.

uncleanness (36:26-27). Hence, in ch. 36, the people are cleansed in order to *be able to* dwell on the land which happens subsequently (v. 28). The implication is that the land is not filled with detestable things (as in 11:18), but rather has already achieved a new clean status that requires preservation. The insurance against post-restoration abominable acts is memory (36:31) and shame (36:32) regarding past wrongs. Presumably, these emotional and intellectual states would not be possible without the clean heart and spirit granted them in vv. 26-27. However, the ability to obey divine ordinances here (36:27) is contingent on *memory* and not, as in chapter 11, on the *will* to follow the good as opposed to the bad heart.

Thus, to summarize, the connections between 11:16-21 and 36:24-32 concern restoration and purity. The shared language and order of presentation between 11:16, 17, 19, 20 and 36:19, 24, 26, 27, 28, suggests that chapter 36 is a reinterpretation of ch. 11. In chapter 11, the people *actively cleanse the land* of impurities. For their post-restoration life, they receive a new moral self but face an old moral drama based on the *will* of the heart. In contrast, chapter 36 cleanses the people *in order to bring them* to the land, but initiates a new understanding of the moral self as lying in memory and shame. Remarkably, chapter 36 distinguishes yet correlates the relationship between the people's cleanness and their freedom from abominations.[515] Chapter 11 is not interested in the people's cleanness; it does not even employ the lexeme (טהר).[516] The MT plus in Ezekiel

[515] According to Klawans, one who is morally impure is not also ritually impure; the concepts are distinct in the Hebrew Bible, (Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21-32 and 36-38). However, Klawans argues that in the Qumran literature the two become "one conception of impurity that has both ritual and moral connotations," (Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 68; see also 67-68 and 75-88). The MT plus in Ezekiel 36 approaches this latter conceptualization.

[516] The concept of cleanness occurs surprisingly infrequently in Ezekiel. The verb טהר occurs only thirteen times, eight of which are in 36:23c – ch. 48. The lexeme does not occur anywhere in chs. 1-21.

36 then, follows and interprets 11:16-21 very closely. Linguistic parallels as well as views of restoration, purity, and the roles of the people and the land resonate between them.

Returning to the claim that 36:23c-38 is an "anthology of expressions," we may go even further. 36:23c-38 interweaves and reinterprets previous passages and serves as a lens through which to read the remainder of the book. Lust's work showed its bridge function to chapter 37. Rendtorff's analysis of the significance of chapter 20 may also shed light on the break in p967 at 36:23b. As it stands, p967 completes the patterns Rendtorff identified in chapter 20, bringing Israel up to the potential brink of a new epoch in which God will, once again, act on behalf of his holy name. In MT, 36:23c-38 converts the *potential* of this new epoch into an actual one, filling in its details with ideas, theology, and predictions from typical divine utterances elsewhere in Ezekiel. It draws on chapter 37 and updates material from chapters 11 and 20 in order to redefine the temporal, religious, social, and cultic significance of the restoration period. It serves as an exegetical interpretation of Ezekiel's prophecies from earlier in the book and as a lens through which to understand Israel's restoration as stages of purification.

5.4.1.3. Ezekiel 36 as a Transition to Chapters 38-39 in p967

In p967, verse 23b concludes chapter 36 and hence immediately precedes Ezekiel 38-39. Ezekiel 36:1-23b is a unit that introduces the Gog-Magog drama. As noted above, some of the main themes among the promises in 36:1-23b are the profanation and sanctification of God's holy name and the promise of Israel's return. These two themes function prominently in Ezekiel 38-39 as well. God announces that his holy name will be

sanctified in 38:16 and 23 on the occasion of Gog's invasion and destruction. An even stronger connection with Ezekiel 36 comes in 39:27 where God announces:

> when I have brought them back from the nations, and gathered them out of the countries of the nations: and I will be sanctified among them in the presence of the nations.

This verse shows the same connection between the promise of Israel's return to the land and God's sanctification as already found in 36:1-23b.

The connection between Israel's return and the sanctification of God's name is echoed elsewhere in Ezekiel. For example, in Ezek 20:41 and 28:25, the promise to gather Israel to the land involves the sanctification of God. These instances of the combined promise in chapters 20, 28, and 38-39 are amplified in the promises of Ezek 36:1-23b. The importance of both themes is underscored through dense repetition in chapter 36: God's "name" occurs four times in vv. 20, 21, 22, and 23, and the promise for Israel's return occurs three times in vv. 10, 11, and 12.[517]

In p967, 36:1-23b → 38-39 unpacks the dramatic significance of Israel's return for the holiness of God. Specifically, chapters 38-39 provide the event which enacts the combined promises of return and divine sanctification. Similarly, as discussed in §5.2.3.3, the transition also underscores the significance of the Gog-Magog battle for the nation-recognition formula in 36:23.

The transition from 36:1-23b to chapters 38-39 in p967 promotes dramatic anticipation. Nowhere in the book of Ezekiel does a reader ever find anything specific about how God will accomplish his promise to sanctify himself. In p967, the repeated phrases in chapter 36 give way to the unfolding event in chapters 38-39 without any other

[517] Israel's return is twice more implied in vv. 8 and 9 which are promises about recultivating and building the land.

warning or signal. Hence, Gog's invasion and defeat achieve a heightened dramatic effect with respect to the fulfillment of God's promises.

The most obvious difference between MT and p967 with regard to the transition between chapter 36 and the rest of the book is the alternate chapter order. For p967, as just discussed, the drama of the Gog-Magog invasion becomes the occasion for God to sanctify his name in the sight of the nations. Ezekiel 36:23a provides the frame for this understanding of chapters 38-39. In contrast, MT's plus in 36:23c begins "when I display my holiness through you before their eyes" (בהקדשי בכם לעיניהם). The plus goes onto describe the two-aspect vision of restoration and then immediately proceed into the vision of the bones in chapter 37. Hence, MT indicates that Israel will be the instrument through which God makes his holiness known, suggesting that not the Gog-Magog battle, but the revivification of dried bones will induce this knowledge (see §5.2.3.3).

5.4.2. "Heart/Spirit" *Tendenz*

The new heart and spirit of 36:26-27 form the dominant lens through which the people of Israel are to understand their role in restoration. Indeed, there are eleven variants that contain reference to the heart/spirit. Some are very strongly connected to the theme/theology developed in chapter 37, others less-so. This makes sense since the distribution of the variants among the witnesses did not yield any significant pattern. 1) MT included the *Tendenz* over p967 six times; 2) p967 over MT four times; and 3) once MT and p967 agree against other Greek versions. Thus, the variants do not support viewing ch. 36:23c-38 an intertextual center for the *Tendenz* in any coherent way. A brief examination into their character will support this thesis.

5.4.2.1. Heart/Spirit-*Tendenz* in MT

MT contains six variants in the *Tendenz:* 1) 13:2, 2) 13:3, 3) 16:30, 4) 31:10, 5) 36:5bβ, and 6) 36:5bγ.

1 & 2) Ezekiel 13:2 and 3

Chapter 13, already examined above in §§5.2.1 and 5.2.3, evinces special attention to the heart and spirit's role in prophecy on the part of MT. Two variants in vv. 2 and 3 serve to critique illicit prophecy that incorrectly stems from the heart and spirit.

3) Ezekiel 16:30

The variant in 16:30 concerns the heart of personified Israel. p967 asks about making a perpetual covenant with her daughters, in keeping with the allegorical genre of the chapter. However, MT renders the same phrase, "how sick is your heart?" Thus, in MT, the problem with Israel's heart is more squarely in view, while p967 makes no connection between the practices of chapter 16's unfaithful wife and the drama of the heart developed later in the book.[518]

4) Ezekiel 31:10

The MT reference to heart in 31:10 also occurs in an extended allegory. Pharaoh is presented with the allegory of Assyria as the enormous cedar in order to describe its

[518] The other Greek witnesses show significant development. Manuscript 62 reads "in order that I should make a covenant with your heart," while the Lucianic and Theodotian witnesses ask "why should I purify your heart?" The latter's concern with purification of the heart makes it most obviously connected with the issues developed in 36:23c-37:28, more-so than MT.

fall and perform Egypt's fall, ultimately into the Pit, according to chapter 32. 31:10 serves as the transition from the dirge describing the tree's glory (vv. 3b-9) to God's specific actions of judgment against such trees. The variant in 31:10 is the content of the divine motivation clause which begins with "because" (ανθ ων/ יען אשר). p967 merely describes the tree's self-exaltation (και ειδον εν τω υψωθηναι αυτον) while MT specifies the problem "his heart was proud of its height" (ורם לבבו בגבהו).[519]

5) Ezekiel 36:5bβ

The MT variant in 36:5bβ talks about Edom and other historical enemies as whole-heartedly joyous about Israel's fall. p967, which is well-supported by a number of Greek witnesses, lacks the construction "whole-hearted."[520]

6) Ezekiel 36:5bγ

The variant in 36:5bγ about the heart was a rare example of inner-Hebrew disagreement among the witnesses. Hebrew manuscript 93 reads "in order that its heart would be expelled."[521] p967 reads with Z "to destroy it by plunder."

From these six cases, some words of synthesis may be offered. MT locates the problem with Israel in its sick heart (16:30) and rejects prophetic activity that speaks incorrectly from the heart/spirit (13:2, 3). The other three cases concern the heart of

[519] Greek manuscript 46 combines the heart *and the spirit* in this instance.

[520] The MT, supported once again the Lucianic mss. and Tht. include the heart-reading.

[521] MT reads "in order that her open land would become plunder." HUBP^{II-93} is quite odd, possibly indicating that Edom's heart will be removed in the same way as promised to Israel in the same chapter (36:26-27).

enemy nations, locating the basis for their judgment in their hearts, Assyria and Edom specifically.

5.4.2.2. Heart/Spirit-*Tendenz* in p967

Four variants occur in p967: 1) 17:22, 2) 20:24, 3) 22:15, and 4) 44:7.

1) Ezekiel 17:22

The variant in 17:22 occurs in the eagle and the vine allegory. Verses 22-24 focus on the branches of the vine and are commonly taken as a later messianic allegory.[522] p967 speaks about the sprig Yahweh will replant on Mount Zion (v.22b) as "the highest point of their heart". It is probably significant that the Greek tradition speaks about the sprig as "choice" through the lexical term επιλεκτος (vv. 3, 22). The MT's reading in v. 22 is more in keeping with the mundane level of the allegory, retaining a literal description of the tree's sprig as "from the topmost of its tender twigs". In neither v. 3 nor v. 22 does MT describe the branch as "chosen".

2) Ezekiel 20:24

The variant in 20:24 provides the divine rationale for the dispersal of Israel among the nations (v. 23). Verse 24 accuses Israel of disobeying divine commands on account of

[522] See Zimmerli, 1:367-368. The shoot symbolically stood for the exaltation of the Davidic line. Slight variants in Ziegler's LXX favor a Christian messianic interpretation, though p967 probably preserves the pre-Christian Greek. See Lust, "Messianism in LXX-Ezekiel," 418; and his earlier idem, "Ezek 17:22-24 and Messianism in the Septuagint," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, (ed. B. A. Taylor; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1997), 231-250.

the "thoughts of their hearts". In contrast, MT locates the root cause of Israel's disobedience in the "idols of their fathers."[523]

3) Ezekiel 22:15

The variant in 22:15 occurs in another verse about the scattering of Israel. In this instance, God's intentions for those Israelites living among the nations drive the variant. p967 reads "and *your heart* will leave from you" while MT reads "and *your uncleanness* (טמאה) will leave from you." While the textual analysis presented in §4.3.1 showed that p967 could be an error/inner-Greek development, the context in MT showed textual fluidity with the term טמאה. Hence, the MT's variant merits further literary analysis here.

By speaking about uncleanness, MT diagnoses dispersed Israel with the problems identified in chapters 24 and 36. Indeed, chapter 22 is an oracle of judgment against the bloody city and uses metallurgic imagery to communicate the modes of purification (vv. 17-22). In these details the chapter is highly intertextual with chapter 24. Additionally, uncleanness (טמאה) is a repeated concern in 36:23c-38 (vv. 25-29). Outside of these three contexts, 22:15, and chapters 24 and 36, the noun only occurs one other time.[524] Thus this variant achieves significance in *both* p967 and MT by means of its intertextual connections with other chapters in which *Tendenzen* have been identified. Specifically, while it is p967 that speaks about the heart of Israel, MT reinforces its purity concerns for the restoration of Israel.

[523] Z synthesizes the two readings, "the thoughts of their fathers."

[524] The noun occurs in 39:24, which is sometimes taken to be the latest redactional composition, written to connect the Gog-Magog oracles with the rest of Ezekiel's book.

4) Ezekiel 44:7a

The heart-variant quoted in 44:7 is quite important and merits presentation:

p967 του μη εισαγαγειν υμας υιους αλογενεις απεριτμητους καρδια του γεινεσθαι εν τοις αγιοις μου.
In order that you ***not*** admit[525] foreigners who are uncircumcised in heart to be in my sanctuary.

MT בהביאכם בני נכר ערלי לב וערלי בשר להיות במקדשי
When you admit foreigners, uncircumcised in heart ***and flesh***, to be in my sanctuary.

Both MT and p967 exclude foreigners from the temple who are not circumcised in heart. The verse goes on to explain how these people from v. 7a will profane (חלל) God's house. However, MT includes the qualification of fleshly circumcision, indicating that exclusion from the sanctuary is not merely a matter of the heart. Indeed, MT reinforces its focus on fleshly circumcision using the same flesh plus in 44:9 as well.

The four p967 variants about the heart in 17:22; 20:24; 22:15; and 44:7, 9 occur in contexts about foreignness. The first three are explicitly contexts of dispersal and return. The fourth is about foreigner's access to the temple. The first three variants especially do not demonstrate a clear connection with the theology of chapters 36-37. They do, however, reflect an interest in the state of the Diaspora's heart.

5.4.2.3. "Heart/Spirit" *Tendenz*: Two Cases Where p967 and MT Agree Against Other Greek Witnesses

Two verses contain the variant in which p967 and MT agree: 1) 21:12(7) and 2) 29:16.

[525] The genitive of the articular infinitive is used to express purpose, often a negative purpose. Smythe, §2032e §1408.

1) Ezekiel 21:12(7)

In 21:12(7), p967 and MT essentially read together "every spirit will expire." The connotation in p967 is certainly death (i.e., breath its last), while the MT verb (מסס) refers more to weakening. The full list of weakened body parts in v. 12 (7) is: "every heart, all hands, every spirit, all knees." The notable difference, however, occurs in B which adds "all flesh." This addition in the list forms a unique dual subject for the verb εκψυχω: "and all flesh and every spirit will breathe its last," (και εκψυξει πασα σαρξ και παν πνευμα).

Verse 12 occurs in the context of the sword song of Ezekiel 21. Israel is commanded to moan in grief for the destruction rendered against her by the sword. Theologically, the idea that the heart is weakened by this mourning, repeated in vv. 12(7) and 20 (15), may serve an important role towards the change of heart expected in chs. 36-37, although nothing in the chapter indicates as much. However, in adding flesh to the list of expired body parts, B emphasizes the bodily failure of Israel. Such a corporal notion of the problem and solution is characteristic of Ezekiel 37.[526]

2) Ezekiel 29:16

The second variant in which MT and p967 agree is in 29:16. The verse runs, "The Egyptians will never again be the reliance of the house of Israel; they will recall

[526] p967 lacks "flesh" and abbreviates the term πνευμα here. If this abbreviation is supposed to refer to a divine name, then either p967 has not understood the context, or a curious theological assertion is being made; "the Spirit will expire". Perhaps B adds "flesh" in order to clarify that the term for spirit, (unabbreviated according to Z,) refers to human life.

their iniquity, when they follow after them." A, however, reads "when they follow after the hearts."

The two variants shared by MT and p967 do not generate any trends worth noting. While disappointing in terms of meaning, it is important information to see that p967 and MT do not overwhelmingly share theology, though they may have shared readings in these two cases.

5.4.2.4. Summary of Section: "Heart/Spirit" *Tendenz*

All of the instances of heart-variants in p967 concerned the Diaspora heart. Where 22:15 claimed that the Diaspora heart would leave, a Hebrew reading in 36:5bγ says the same of Israel's. Both editions contain variants stating that a bad heart is a problem: MT in 16:30 that a sick heart is connected to sin; and p967 in 20:24 that Israel was cast into dispersal because of the thoughts of her heart.

The two MT heart-variants depict life as an achievable goal of a penitent agent. Especially in 18:32 and 33:5, the agent may live by turning from iniquity. This theology, as Jacqueline Lapsley suggested, is not connected with that in chapters 36-37 regarding the source of human's moral capacity.[527] In chapters 36-37, the capacity for moral change lies in God and God's actions towards his guilty people.

5.4.4. Summary of Section: *Tendenzen* Related to Ezekiel 36:23c-38

[527] It more strongly resembles the notion in chapter 11, where the agent could choose one heart over another, whereas chapter 36-37 affirm the need for cleansing by granting a "new heart." See J. E. Lapsley, *Can These Bones Live?*.

Ezekiel 36:23c-38 provides MT with a two-aspect vision of restoring the purity of the land, of God's name, and of the people. As shown above, 36:23c-38 draws on the theology and structure of chapter 11 to develop a more complex notion of human agency and purity. While 36:23c-38 does provide an introduction to chapter 37, it also draws on elements in chapters 11 and 20 to form a larger lens through which to read MT's edition of restoration. The detail of the new heart, promised in 36:23c-38 especially demonstrated this. The new heart in MT chapter 36 represented a re-crafting of chapter 11, more than an introduction to chapter 37. Examination of "heart" variants demonstrated, at least, that MT's variant features do not exhibit a coherent theology of the heart. Further, p967 exhibited its own distinctive uses of heart. This complex and incoherent set of variants actually helps to show that human moral constitution is not largely at stake in differentiating p967's edition from MT. Instead, it supports viewing 36:23c-38 as a reinterpretation of the heart passage in chapter 11, a reinterpretation that included the heart, but did not invest greater significance to it as a coherent principle to be spread more widely throughout MT's edition.

5.5. "Gog-Magog" *Tendenzen*: Variants Related to Ezekiel 38-39

Ezekiel 38-39 describe the invasion of Gog-Magog into the restored nation of Israel. Because p967 and MT present a different arrangement of chapters 36-39, the Gog-Magog events occur at different moments in the plot of restoration. Additionally, Gog's army captain, Meshech, appeared in an MT plus in another intertextual center, 32:17-32. Indeed, variants related to Gog-Magog occur across the book of Ezekiel,

further distinguishing p967 from MT along the lines of what is here called the "Gog-Magog" *Tendenzen.*

5.5.1. Gog's Entourage of Nations

In chapter 38, Gog descends on Israel accompanied by an entourage. Strikingly, Gog's living army is never called a horde (המון) in MT. The term *is* used in association with Gog, but only as the name of his burial ground. 39:11 and 15 prescribe the name for the grave-site as "the valley of Hamon-gog" (גיא המון גוג). 39:16 sounds yet another affirmation, calling the name of the "city" Hamonah (המונה). Thus, Gog's "horde" denotes his *slain* entourage, those with whom he is buried. Gog's *living* entourage is described as "many peoples" (עמים רבים);[528] "peoples" (עמים);[529] an "assembly" (קהל);[530] "bands" (אגפים);[531] a "great army" (חיל רב);[532] and "brothers" (אחים).[533]

In addition to the nomenclature for Gog's armies, specific nations are named as part of his entourage: Meshech and Tubal (38:2); Persia, Ethiopia (Cush), and Put (Libya) (38:5); Gomer and Beth-togarmah (38:6). Additionally, Sheba, Dedan, and Tarshish (38:13) are on the scene during his invasion, questioning his militant motives. We have already examined the hordes in §5.3.2.2. However, there are a few instances where these geographic names appear in variants elsewhere.

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[528] Ezek 38:6, 9, 15, 22

[529] Ezek 39:4

[530] Both noun and verbal forms of this root are found in Ezek 38:4, 7, 13(2), 15

[531] Ezek 38:9, 22, and 39:4

[532] Ezek 38:15

[533] Ezek 38:21

The oracles against Tyre (chs. 26-28) associate the economic island state with several of Gog's associates. Both MT and p967 list the nationalities of some of Tyre's warriors in 27:10 as Persia, Lud, and Put(Libya). Additionally, in 27:14, both editions report that Beth-togarmah's horses and horsemen join Tyre's army. Tyre's military entourage in ch. 27 and Gog's in ch. 38 comprise shared material in MT and p967.

MT furthers the intertextual resonances between Tyre and Gog's associates. Chapter 27 recounts a 21-verse list (vv. 5-25) of all the nations who traded with Tyre.[534] Among them, MT lists Dedan (v. 15), Sheba (v. 23), and Meshech and Tubal (v. 13). In lieu of these, p967 reads Rhodes (v. 15), a minus (v. 23), and "the whole world" (v. 26), respectively. There are no variants that work the other way: to bring p967's edition closer to the entourage of Gog. Thus, MT manifests a sharper connection between the Tyrian oracles and chapters 38-39.

The intertextuality between the two episodes is made all the more striking given the echoes between Tyre's fate in the sea and the nations' fate in the Pit. We saw that Tyre's fate in the sea was shaped in MT to more strongly parallel the description of ch. 32's Pit. (§5.3.2.1). Indeed, just as Meshech and Tubal appear in MT's Pit (32:26), they show up here in the Tyrian traders' list of chapter 27. The Tyrian trade-list culminates in v. 27 with the fateful declaration that everyone involved in Tyre's economic engine will "sink into the heart of the seas on the day of your [Tyre's] ruin." The last colophon of v. 27 "and with all the company that is within you," implies the whole list of traders that preceded it.[535] Thus, MT allegorically sinks Gog's entourage and associates from

[534] This trade-list is often taken to be secondary. See Zimmerli, 2:63.

[535] So Zimmerli, Zimmerli, 2:69. For a different interpretation, Block seems to see all of Tyre's trade partners as grouped with those who mourn in vv. 28b-32a. Block's interpretation, however, does not

chapters 38-39 - Dedan, Sheba, and Meshech and Tubal - into chapter 27's heart of the sea.[536]

A much more modest variant involving Dedan occurs in 25:13. A brief oracle against Edom, 25:12-14 prophesies Edom's fall at the hands of *Israel*. The agency of Israel here is "remarkable" according to Zimmerli, and to Wevers "a notion otherwise completely foreign to the book of Ezekiel."[537] MT signifies the range of Edom's collapse in v. 13 using the metonym "from Teman to Dedan." [538] In contrast, p967 narrates "those who are pursued from Teman." Not only does MT include Dedan, one of Gog's associates in chs. 38-39, but it does so in the context of an oracle in which Israel uniquely plays a role in the military victory. Here, too, we can see the parallel with chapters 38-39, which strongly imply that Israel participates in her defense against the Gog invasion.

5.5.2. Wordplays with Meshech (מֹשֶׁךְ)

Earlier in §5.3.1, I suggested that the verb מָשַׁךְ in 32:20 was used in a deliberate wordplay. There, the nations "drag" (מָשַׁךְ) Egypt and its hordes into the Pit. It is certainly striking that the verb occurs in an intertextual center in which Meshech and Tubal are important variants. The deliberateness of wordplays can only ever be made

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eliminate the intertextuality between the population in the Pit and Tyre's fall into the sea. It does, however, shift the emphasis onto the generic as opposed to the allegorical parallels. In other words, the intertextual parallel becomes that of the lament genre and the rhetorical strategy of interpolating the narrative audience, (i.e., the trade-list observers in ch. 27 and Egypt in ch. 32). Block, 2:84-85.

[536] Both editions of ch. 27 list Sidon, Edom, and Egypt among Tyre's traders. These nations also went down into MT's pit in ch. 32:17-32. For a thorough discussion of the trade-list, its historical setting, and its redactional features, see Greenberg, *Ezekiel,* 2:568-569.

[537] Zimmerli, 2:16-18. Wevers, 198. Greenberg and Block note the distinction, but in passing. Greenberg, 2:523. Block, 2:25.

[538] The expression is curious to all commentators, but that the two geographic names are associated with Edom is certain.

suggestively, but since the verb occurs in one other salient intertextual center, I consider the possibility here.[539]

In chapter 12, the verb מׁשך is used in an MT plus within the intertextual center on prophecy. 12:28 reads "none of my words will be delayed (תמׁשך) any further." The Niphal of מׁשך meaning "be delayed" refers to the temporal issue addressed in the disputation on prophecy. The same construction occurs in v. 25, the line immediately before the MT plus. Were the MT plus a later addition and the wordplay intentional, v. 25 provides an opportune location for a disputation on temporality in prophecy, particularly if the addition was made in conjunction with the alternate sequencing of chapters 38-39 and 37 as Lust originally suggested. If all of these possibilities were true, MT may have used the wordplay with מׁשך to historicize one of Ezekiel's more apocalyptic prophecies.

The present study cannot do more to support the proposal for wordplay with Meshech. However, that these are the only three instances in Ezekiel where the verb appears (12:25, 28 and 32:20) and that they do so in intertextual centers is both striking and evocative.

5.5.3. Plunder and Spoil

Ezekiel's military judgments often include the threat that Israel would become spoil and plunder. A survey of the dynamics of plunder reveals that the term charts an important reversal for Israel's fate. In ch. 36:4-5, the mountains of Israel were devastated

[539] Neither of these word-plays is possible in the Greek, since μοσοχ is not semantically related to the concept of dragging. It is *possible* that p967 harbors its own play on words in 39:18, where victorious Israel eats her victor. The word for young bull (μοσχος) is phonetically similar enough to Meshech so as to raise the possibility; μοσχος occurs twice in the verse.

as the plunder (בז/προνομη) of the enemy nations. In a parallel fashion, the threatening plan of Gog's invasion in 38:12-13 includes his intentions to take Israel as both plunder and spoil (שלל/προνομη and בז/ σκυλα). In chs. 38-39, Israel was at risk of becoming plunder once again. However, the reversal of the plunder-dynamic occurs in chs. 38-39 as part of the more dramatic reversal of Israel's status, fate, and relationship with God. God destroys Gog and instructs Israel to burn the weapons and bury the remains of Gog. In 39:10, Israel directly participates in the reversal of her fate through the directive to plunder and spoil (שלל/προνομευω and בזז/σκυλευω) those who plundered Israel.

Because chs. 38-39 reverse this theme for Israel, the variants dealing with plunder merited consideration among the "Gog/Magog" *Tendenzen.* One particularly important plus in MT establishes this reversal in an oracle of promise to Israel, a promise that is lacking in p967. In 34:8, a set of promises to Israel (allegory of the sheep), MT alone includes a provision that *Israel will not become spoil* (בַּז). Here in 34:8, p967 and MT promise the sheep that they would not suffer this form of post-mortem disgrace as food for wild animals. MT expands to include immunity from plunder as well. The MT plus adheres to its theory of prophecy. The promise of reversal in ch. 34 is fulfilled in ch. 39, immediately and without delay.

Two other "plunder" variants concern Egypt but split between p967 and MT.[540] In 30:24, the two editions report the king of Babylon's invasion into Egypt. In a p967 variant, the verse extends to say that he will "plunder its plunder and spoil its spoil." MT on the other hand, reads, "and he will groan before him with groans of the slain." The second variant, an MT plus, also occurs in a passage about Egypt. The shared text of

[540] The third plunder-variant in 26:12 will not be discussed here since MT and p967 were in agreement against B. Ezek 26:12 concerns Tyre's horde.

29:19 speaks about Egypt as plunder and spoil to Nebuchadrezzar's army. In MT, the phrase is preceded by "he will carry off his horde (ונשא המנה)." We saw in §5.3.2.2.2 that the horde of Egypt in 29:19 involved another prophecy and fulfillment pattern. In 29:19, King Nebuchadrezzar carries off Egypt's horde along with plunder and spoil, as God's payment on behalf of Babylon's labor. Verse 18 clarifies that Nebuchadrezzar's army "labored hard against Tyre" and required funds. God then promptly solicits Egyptian plunder for Babylonian reserves. The MT plus implies that Egyptians were probably indentured to Babylon's army in their continued quest against Tyre. This oracle is fulfilled in 30:4 when Egypt's hordes are carried off by the Babylonian army. In 30:4, two features affirm the prophecy-fulfillment pattern. First, the hordes of Egypt are an MT plus, fulfilling the MT plus in 29:19. Second, the lexemes for plunder and spoil (שלל and בזז) do not occur in this verse. In fact, the lexemes do not occur again in Ezekiel's book with reference to Egypt. Thus, only the horde-prediction, and not the plunder-prediction, is fulfilled in MT.

The contrast with p967 becomes clearer at this point. p967 depicts a different fate for Egypt's horde. 32:6 reports that Egypt's horde (πληθος) would drench the land with blood from the mountains, a reading not found in MT. Additionally, we saw too that Egypt's horde does not appear in p967's edition of the Pit in ch. 32. By way of contrast, MT addresses the Pit oracle to Egypt's hordes explicitly.

5.5.4. Summary of Section: "Gog-Magog" *Tendenzen*

With respect to the variants in the Gog-Magog *Tendenz*, MT is the more expansive text. Gog's entourage was more closely replicated in the Tyrian trade-list of

chapter 27. Israel's agency against Edom in 25:12-14 mimicked her role in chapters 38-39 against Gog. The MT edition of the Edom oracle also echoed Gog's associates. We may see here the influence of the MT's theory of prophecy and fulfillment. The dynamics of plunder provided us a specific instance where MT's concern for fulfillment was clear. MT hosted a unique promise to Israel in chapter 34 that would be fulfilled in chapters 38-39. The same prediction-fulfillment was seen with regards to Egypt's hordes in chapters 29-30. Though the shared text predicted that Egypt would become plunder and spoil, MT's two pluses emended *both* the promise and the fulfillment to be about Egypt's horde. In this last point, the significance of p967's edition of the fate of Egypt's horde was made clearer.

The important role played by prophecy-fulfillment in the MT variants increases the significance of the proposed word plays with the verb משך. The verb is deployed only three times in MT: all in intertextual centers, twice in unique MT variants, and twice to directly refer to the immediate fulfillment of prophecy. These highly freighted resonances now appear to be stronger indications that MT may have applied its theory of prophecy, articulated in ch. 12:26-28, to both the fate of enemies in the Pit and to the Gog-Magog episode in its edition of chapters 32 and 38-39, respectively.

5.6. Summary of Chapter: p967 and MT as Variant Literary Editions

We began the present analysis with two guiding questions: 1) in what sense are p967 and MT variant literary editions? 2) what is the scope and nature of the variants that distinguish them? Examination of the *Tendenzen* sheds new light on both questions. For example, analysis of the *Tendenzen* revealed sets of variants that, though numerous,

did not produce coherent exegetical readings and cannot therefore be used to sharply distinguish the editions. For example, *Tendenzen* like "New Life" and "Heart," did not produce a coherent relationship to one another or to the intertextual centers. Compounding the matter, these two *Tendenzen* characterized *both* p967 and MT variants; this uneven distribution did not help to crystallize any strongly distinguishing features between p967 and MT's editions of Ezekiel.

Other *Tendenzen* did show coherent trends, but did not foster coherent exegetical readings. This was the case with MT's dating scheme and its more frequent use of "on that day." In the case of dating, it seemed likely that p967's tenth year increased the dramatic effect of the destruction of Jerusalem in correlating oracles with that same year. However, MT's dating scheme was more idiosyncratic, which probably means a different logic is at work in them.[541] Both MT's dating, and its use of "on that day" represent strongly distinguishing trends, but the preceding analysis did not uncover overwhelmingly striking exegetical meanings for these differences.

Several *Tendenzen* constituted a set of variants with strongly intertextual features which may therefore be used to distinguish p967 and MT as variant literary editions. One general theme which *did* distinguish MT's edition from p967 was its interest in spatial distinctions, particularly for the sake of purity. Drawing on the Ezekelian notion of the four-fold fate for Israel which endowed significance to locations, MT emphasized spatial locations for death and life. Several details underscored this emphasis: 1) MT's distinction between the שדה as the site of enemy slain and the בקעה as the field for

[541] One obvious possibility is that they reflect actual dates, which would therefore, not necessarily possess a strong "literary" structure. Alternatively, the dates could hold numerological significance. See Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 450.

Ezekiel's visions; 2) MT's creation of two locations in the Pot-allegory of chapter 24; 3) MT's more abundantly filled pit in chapter 32; 4) MT's spatial distinction within the pit of chapter 32 according to the status of uncircumcision; 5) MT's relegation of Egypt's "hordes" to exile in 29:19 and 30:4, and to the pit in ch. 32; and finally 6) MT's attention to cleansing the people for the sake of the purity of the *land* of Israel in 36:23c-38. In addition to these spatial distinctions, MT and p967 occasionally differed about the location of enemy slain: so 32:6 and 35:8.

A second theme that sharply distinguished the two editions was the treatment of foreign nations. The nation-recognition formula is quite significant on this point: in p967, the nations will come to know God as catalyzed by the Gog-Magog invasion and defeat. Indeed, that knowledge will be achieved when "through you [Gog-Magog]" (38:20) God reveals his holiness. In contrast, MT's edition privileges the vision of dried bones and the restoration of Israel as "my people" (37:12) through whom God' holiness is revealed. In comparing p967 and MT's understandings of the nation-recognition, a striking sense of debate emerges. Indeed, the instrument of God's self-revelation to the nations is cast in exactly the same terms, "through you." For p967, εν σοι occurs in 38:20 referring to Gog-Magog. For MT בכם occurs in 36:23c referring to Israel. Both occur in plus material. This subtle detail takes on greater significance in light of the different chapter order: p967 and MT place different emphasis on chs. 37 and 38-39 as fulfilling the divine requirement for self-sanctification.

Beyond the different use of the nation-recognition formula, p967 and MT treat foreign nations differently. p967 presented the edition that seemed more amenable to the inclusion of foreigners in Israel's restoration vision. In comparison, p967's ambiguous

presentation of foreign bodies strewn about the lands yields the impression that MT sought to tidy up the land. Most significantly, p967 did not explicitly disallow Edom or Egypt's hordes from inclusion in the reversal of fate that takes place in the vision of dried bones. For p967's edition, the "field" represented an undifferentiated space of interpretive potential. This seems more likely given the emphasis placed on picking up Gog-Magog's bones from the "field" in both editions. MT looks like a swift refutation of national inclusion compared to p967's more open edition. MT ensured Gog-Magog's fate in the grave by relegating the enemy from the North to the pit. Egypt's "hordes" and Edom were similarly relegated to the pit. The exegetical significance for this understanding of MT is entirely comparative, since the meaning of MT derives from differentiation with p967. Nevertheless, the two editions can be distinguished on this point. MT presents an edition that fastidiously ensures the fate of bodies: foreign enemy nations to the pit, Israel to the land of Israel. In fact, MT displays further specificity. According to MT's edition of the Pot allegory in ch. 24, MT restricted the surviving bones to those "outside the Pot." Thus, MT prepared a negative fate for the bodies that died in Jerusalem; their fate was utter incineration. While the historical referents are difficult to determine, it is clear that identity was at issue in MT's edition of restoration. MT's plus in Ezekiel 37 of "my people" seemed to have as its corollary**, v**ariants that determined who are *not my people*, as well.[542]

In addition to these general issues over foreign nations, the editions showed some differentiation with respect to their treatment of Tyre and Egypt, and to a lesser extent,

[542] Some hint about the issue of identity may lie in MT's manifest concern with circumcision. Both its edition of the pit, and its plus in 44:7 show a concern with this ritual marker of identity. See §5.3.1.3.

Edom. The oracles about Tyre showed several differentiating features between MT and p967's editions. While they do not necessary present an obvious "reading" of Tyre, the frequency of Tyre's involvement in the variant editions deserves a summary presentation: 1) MT fused Tyre's fate (especially in 28:8) with the apocalyptic end of enemy nations in the pit of ch. 32; 2) Tyre's fate *could* be in view again when in 32:18 an MT variant places the "daughters of the majestic nations" (בנות גוים אדרם) into the pit;[543] 3) MT's edition of the Tyrian trade-list in ch. 27:5-26 includes three variants that bring Tyre's economic allies into alignment with Gog-Magog's entourage, including Meshech and Tubal (27:13). This further underscores the associations in the MT between Tyre and Gog-Magog; 4) In p967, the "hordes" (πληθος) wordplay underscored Tyre's sin and resultant fate with respect to economic overindulgence;[544] 5) In 26:20-21, MT and p967 both offer variants about life after Tyre. In p967 we find a simple promise that Tyre would not rise again. However, MT elaborates that beauty will return to the land and Tyre, as an object of desire, will be defunct; and finally, 6) The Tyrian oracles (chs. 26-29) are dated in p967 to the tenth year and in MT to the eleventh.

Similarly, the oracles about Egypt displayed variant material. Egypt has been discussed more thoroughly than Tyre above, thus the following summary will be brief: 1) The alternate dating between p967 and MT especially affected the oracles against Egypt. MT placed the Pit of 32:17-32 last in the sequence of Egyptian oracles, perhaps to emphasize the apocalyptic finality of Egypt's fate; 2) Four MT pluses of the phrase "on

[543] The suggestion is based on reading Ezek 32:18 in light of Ezek 26:6 and 8 where the "daughters of Tyre" die on the field. (The readings in Ezek 26:6 and 8 are not variants between MT and p967.)

[544] While more pronounced in p967, MT captured some elements of this wordplay, and could therefore, be significant to MT's three pluses in chapter 7 concerning the economic sins and apocalyptic destruction of "hordes."

that day" concerned Egypt;[545] 3) Egypt's "hordes" suffered captivity by the Babylonian army and went into exile in MT pluses (29:19 and 30:4); 4) MT frequently repeated that Egypt's "hordes" went down to the pit, while the translation Egypt's "strength" occurred in p967; 5) The significant differences in the pit of Ezekiel 32:17-32 all affect Egypt, over whom the lament is uttered; and 6) According to p967, Egypt's death in 29:5 does not involve "wrapping" the corpses, leaving the bodies exposed on the field.

Temporal matters distinguished the two editions as well. Certainly, the different chapter orders (MT 37→38-39 and p967: 38-39→37) affect the plot for Israel's restoration. The alternate date references and instances of "on that day" similarly affect the editions' temporal structures. Perhaps most significantly, MT offered a more explicit philosophy of prophecy in the plus at 12:26-28. This philosophy of immediate fulfillment extended to several other MT pluses and variants as well. These represented a strong set of coherent variants, and thus perhaps the strongest *Tendenz*. In other words, the *Tendenz* was numerously attested and widely distributed in MT's edition. The variants between MT and extant Greek witnesses in ch. 4:4-6 showed that prophecy and fulfillment produced variant assertions for the length of Israel's exile.[546] An additional example of MT's implementation of the prophecy-fulfillment pattern occurs in the variant in ch. 34:8 where MT promises that Israel will not become plunder; a promise which is fulfilled in chs. 38-39. Thus, MT presents the edition that more strongly and frequently articulates its ideas about prophecy and fulfillment.

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[545] The MT plus in ch. 29:21 referred, not only to the plundering of Egypt, but indicated that a "horn would spring up."

[546] However, as was the case with several of the variants in the "Prophecy-Fulfillment" *Tendenz*, MT can only be distinguished from the best witnesses to the Old Greek and not p967 in these chapters.

The plus material in MT affects the issue of prophecy in two specific ways. Perhaps most obviously, the pluses in 13:2 and 3 specify the "mechanics" of false visions. That is to say, false visions come from prophets who look to the musings of their own hearts (v. 2) and spirits (v. 3). Such false prophets not only get the mechanics of visionary experiences wrong, but they are further condemned for speaking in the name of Yahweh without having been sent for the task (v. 3). Second, the MT plus in 12:26-28 affirms new aspects of visionary prophecy.

In the same passage, chs. 12-13, MT presented more material from which to reflect on the nature of the prophetic "vision" חזון. The proverb in 12:22 reveals that people are frustrated by the time-delay of visions. They are left to conclude that visions eventually just expire. 12:23-24 affirm three points in the face of this problem: 1) visions are robust, their fulfillment is trustworthy; 2) the time of fulfillment is "near;" 3) there is no such thing as a false vision in Israel "anymore." In direct contrast to the last statement, false visions are the very problem in 13:1-7 which warrant condemnation. Ezekiel 13:3 speaks about prophets who have not seen anything, and again in v. 6, those who envision emptiness. So while 12:21-28 affirm the robust nature of visions, 13:1-7 still sees fit to deal with the threat of false visions. The false visions of ch. 13, and the expired visions of ch. 12 both threaten prophetic expectation and crush people's confidence in visions.

As a final note of conclusion, the role of literary genre played an important role in the preceding discussion of variants. Especially noteworthy, textual variants in Ezekiel's "allegories" warranted exegetical attention. For example, in the allegory of the cooking pot in ch. 24, the vision of dried bones in ch. 37, and the metaphor of the sheep in ch. 34,

variant details took on increased significance.[547] An allegory, by definition, structures details for figurative meanings.[548] Ezekiel is arguably meant to be read through the lens of its allegories;[549] indeed, in one instance of first-person speech in Ezekiel, the prophet asks "Ah Lord God, they are saying of me 'he is just a maker of allegories'" (20:49).[550] However one appreciates the role of allegory for understanding the entire book of Ezekiel, specific allegories within the book featured several important textual variants. This suggests that allegories became one specific site for interpretation and editorial activity. Perhaps most importantly, the genre of allegory plays a central role in the MT of chs. 12-13 about the nature of Ezekiel's "visions" (חזון).

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[547] For example, of ch. 24, critics widely agree that the details in the pot allegory almost overload the production of meaning. See Allen who states "the allegorical text seems to bombard a hearer with too much material to assimilate at once" (Allen, 57). So Zimmerli, 1:497.

[548] For example, Northrop Frye comments on allegory in the Bible:

> In allegory this harmonic chord is the symbol…Note that allegory may be polyphonic, like Spencer's, or romantic and evocative, like Shelley's. The sense of infinite meaning we derive from symbols is partly the romantic sense of vague or indefinite meaning (Frye in *Northrop Frye's Notebooks and Lectures on the Bible and Other Religious Texts*; eds. Northrop Frye and Robert D. Denham; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003, 53 §133).

In speaking about symbol as polyphonic, Frye uses the notion of harmony (similar to how I have used "intertextuality") to evoke the way in which an allegory constructs figurative meanings from the sets of symbols it employs. That is to say, symbols are static details in the production of the "harmonies" of allegorical meaning. For a textual critic, variants in detail are thus, of increased significance.

[549] For comments about the role of allegory in Ezekiel specifically, see Joel Rosenberg, "Jeremiah and Ezekiel," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (eds., Robert Alter and Frank Kermode; 2d ed.; Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1990), 194-204.

[550] Such a comment resembles a strikingly rare instance, where the prophet is spoken of in the third person: 12:26-28 in MT states "the visions that *he* sees are for distant times." See the discussion of this variant in chapter 4 and §5.2.1above. For a discussion of first-person speech in Ezekiel, see Zimmerli, *The Fiery Throne: The Prophets and Old Testament Theology* (ed., Kenneth C. Hanson; FCBS; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 2003), 107-108.

Chapter 6: Codicological Analysis of p967 Ezekiel

> Manuscripts have many stories to tell if you listen closely to the sounds of the details they preserve for today's world, such as the forms of letters, their layout, their being part of a collection, the other texts written down either on the same or reverse side of a leaf, or the background of their provenance if known.[551]

6.1. Introduction

Textual critics focus narrowly on the text of manuscripts and in an even greater act of abstraction, the *Ur*-Text. These texts, one reified and one ideal, continue to dominate the interests of those who work with ancient manuscript evidence. The situation is so entrenched that often the critical edition of a "text" will not even include other manuscript information such as reading marks, as is the case with Jahn's publication of $p967^{Köln}$.[552] Codicology, the study of the text in its codex-form, reminds us that what scholars isolate as textual histories should be understood in light of literature-production and use.

The discipline of codicology can open up scholarship beyond text-myopia where manuscripts are viewed as merely conduits of an earlier text. The text is a *physical* object, and its various features can shed light on the communities who used the text and how the text was read and understood. As Gamble has noted,

> By observing precisely how the text was laid out, how it was written, and what it was written on, one has access not only to the technical means of its production but also, since these are the signs of intended and actual uses, to the social

[551] T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, "The World of NT Manuscripts: 'Every Manuscript Tells a Story'," in *New Testament Manuscripts: The Texts and the World* (eds. T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas; TENT 2; Boston: Brill, 2006), 4.

[552] Jahn, *Der griechische Text.* The same problem motivated J. W. Olley's "Texts Have Paragraphs Too: A Plea for Inclusion in Critical Editions," *Textus* 19 (1998): 111-125.

> attitudes, motives, and contexts that sustained its [a codex's] life and shaped its meaning. [553]

In this chapter I will present, analyze, and assess p967's codicological features towards understanding how its text of Ezekiel was read and understood.[554] This approach to the manuscript of p967 coheres with the interest in literary and interpretive history at the heart of the larger project. For instance, chapter 3 explored how text-criticism may be a tool towards greater understanding of the literary interests affecting Ezekiel's later textual development. In the present chapter, I will use codicology in order to understand p967's reading community.[555]

All aspects of the codex will be presented, focusing on the Ezekiel portion. Once the descriptive work is complete, I will examine features which shed light on interpretive/exegetical interests and reading function. For instance, Ezekiel's text is more densely marked with marginal notations than Daniel and Esther providing a more significant lens into its readership. In light of these conclusions, I will then devote some discussion to the way in which Daniel and Esther participate in the readership of the codex.

6.2. Description of p967 Codicological Features

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[553] Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 43. See also Steve Delamarter, "Communities of Faith and Their Bibles: A Sociological Typology." The study of Medieval manuscripts supplies several examples of the type of sociological studies possible. See Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West: Towards a Comparative Codicology* (The Panizzi Lectures, 1992; London: The Brittish Library, 1992), especially 1-24 and 79-103. See also Colette Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (ed. and trans. Nicolas de Lange; Cambridge: University Press, 2002).

[554] This chapter is similar to the subject area of biblical studies usually referred to as the *Nachleben* of a book. However, I would distinguish the approach in this chapter as the *Leben* of the p967 text.

[555] Hereafter "reading community," "the readers," or "the community".

For the codicological features, I follow the checklist outlined by Robert Kraft.[556] The six major categories to be considered are, 1) Manuscript Identification, 2) Overall Form and Format, 3) Overall Style of Writing (Within Blocks of Text), 4) Use of Internal Spacing (Absence of Ink), 5) Explicit In-Line Marks (Presence of Ink), and 6) Marginal Markings (Outside of Blocks of Text). These categories are detailed below for p967.

6.2.1. Manuscript Identification

The Ezekiel manuscript is known by several different names: p967, Chester Beatty IX-X,[557] and the Schiede manuscript.[558]

6.2.1.1. Circumstances and Origins of Discovery

Little is known about the discovery of the codex except that it came from Egypt and is connected to the larger manuscript collection represented by the Chester Beatty library.[559] In 1930, Mr. A. Chester Beatty acquired 12 manuscripts in Egypt which

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[556] Robert A. Kraft, "The 'Textual Mechanics' of Early Jewish LXX/OG Papyri and Fragments," in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text* (eds. S. McKendrick and O.A. O'Sullivan; New Castle, De.: Oak Knoll Press, 2003), 70-71. Kraft's checklist is roughly based on the previous checklist of Aland.

[557] The number assigned by Sir Frederick Kenyon.

[558] The manuscript of p967 Ezekiel is housed in four international locations, as indicated in chapter 2. Images of the Ezekiel pages are available in various locations. $p967^{Köln}$ was made available on-line in 2001. [cited 24, October, 2008]. Online: http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Ezechiel/bildereze.html. The plates of $p967^{CB}$ are available in F. G. Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII: Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther* (Vol. 2, PLATES; London: Emery Walker Limited, 1937). The plates of $p967^{Sch}$ are available in Johnson et. al., *The John Schiede Biblical Papyri*. I have not been able to acquire the plates for $p967^{Mad}$ as of 10, Feb. 2009.

[559] For a detailed discussion of Egyptian codices and archeology, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 76-88.

included portions of Ezekiel.[560] The discovery was announced for the first time on November 19th, 1931.[561] In the London Times, F. G. Kenyon noted that their provenance was not known with certainty, but then in his 1933 *General Introduction* to the collection, he says,

> From their character, however, it is plain that they must have been discovered among the ruins of some early Christian church or monastery; and there is reason to believe that they come from the neighbourhood of the Fayum.[562]

Van Haelst provides a good summary of the subsequent theories of origins for the Chester Beatty manuscripts.[563] In 1931, C. Schmidt reported having spoken with the venders and named Aphroditopolis as the region of the church ruins.[564] Later, H. A. Sanders made a case for a Coptic cemetery in Panopolis as the discovery site of the manuscripts.[565] G. D Kilpatrick, upon noting the Coptic glosses on the Isaiah manuscript (Chester Beatty VII,) which he called "Vieux Fayoumique," located the collection in the region of the Fayum.[566] If Kilpatrick is correct, the epigraphic evidence could help narrow the provenance; however the precise location may forever elude us.

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[560] The original Beatty collection included manuscripts of the Gospels/Acts, the Pauline Epistles, Revelation, Genesis, Numbers/Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel/Daniel/Esther, Ecclesiasticus, as well as Enoch and a Christian homily.

[561] F. Kenyon, *General Introduction*, *Fasciculus I: The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible* (London: Emery Walker, 1933), 5.

[562] Kenyon, *General Introduction*, 5.

[563] Van Haelst, *Catalogue des Papyrus Literaire Juifs et Chritiens* (Paris, 1976), 30.

[564] C. Schmidt, *Die neuesten Bibelfunde aus Ägypten*, in ZNW 30 (1931): 291-292

[565] H. A. Sanders, *A Third Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 38; Ann Arbor, Mi: University of Michigan Press, 1935), 13-14.

[566] G.D. Kilpatrick, "The Bodmer and Mississippi Collection of Biblical and Christian Texts*"* in *GRBS* 4 (1963): 38.

6.2.1.2. Contents of the Codex

p967 contains Ezekiel, Daniel, Bel and the Dragon, Susanna, and Esther. (For a discussion of the Greek texts of p967 Daniel and Esther, see §6.4). Page calculations indicate that approximately 9 pages (sides), now missing, once stood at the end of the codex.[567] Fernández-Galiano notes that Tobit, which appears after Esther in codex *Alexandrinus* (A,) could therefore conclude p967.[568] Obviously, unless the missing pages are found, the last section of the codex cannot be assigned with any certainty.

6.2.1.3. Probable Date

Most date the Ezekiel portion of the manuscript to the early 3rd century, although some disagreement still persists. Ezekiel comes first in the codex, and dates, on most assessments, significantly earlier than Daniel and Esther. "Two scribes were employed on this codex, one writing Ezekiel and the other Daniel and Esther."[569] According to Fernández-Galiano, the *terminus post quem* for Daniel and consequently Esther is 130 C.E. based on a textual reading of Aquila in Daniel 1:6.[570] However, one textual reading

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[567] According to Fernández-Galiano, who tallies the contents according to the number of sides, Ezekiel runs from 1-122, Daniel 123-185, Susana and Bel 186-196, and Esther 197-227, leaving blank from 228-236. This estimate relies on a speculative length for the Esther portion since only 22 sides (197-218) are extant. Fernández-Galiano finds that p967 preserves 438 lines of Rahlf's Esther edition. He then estimated that the remaining 178 lines would fill 9 sides. Fernández-Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 14.

[568] "Cabe teóricamente que hubiera otro libro en ellas. Tobit, que sigue en A, tiene muchas más líneas de las aproximadamente 200 admitidas por unas diez páginas. ¿Podríamos pensar en Rut, que abarca 171 líneas? Todo ello es mera especulatión." "It is theoretically possible that there was another book in them. Tobit, which follows in A, has many more lines, approximately 200, than allowed in 10 pages. Could we think about Ruth, which has 171 lines? But all this is merely speculation," (Fernández-Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 14).

[569] Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther*, viii.

[570] Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 16. While p967's Daniel is the Old Greek text type, its literary edition is essentially that of Theodotian. Aquila's recension is based on proto-Theodotian, and though dating is speculative, 130 C.E. is a cautious *terminus*. See Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*.

from the recensionists, is not strong evidence. Nevertheless, the paleography certainly points to a different hand for Ezekiel than that of Daniel and Esther.

The first dates for Ezekiel were proposed on the basis of the uncial script as well as the miniscule notations to be discussed below. JGK "see no reason to put the MS far into the 3rd century, if it is not even as early as the 2nd. 'Early 3rd' is perhaps safest."[571] Fernández-Galiano agrees, citing additional contemporaneous studies, all of which placed the manuscript in the late 2nd / early 3rd century.[572]

Subsequent dating arguments weighed factors related to the development of the codex-form: Roberts and Skeat maintained the proposed date of the early 3rd century.[573] Eric Turner, on the other hand, would push Ezekiel much later into the 3rd century. He reevaluates the relationship between the Ezekiel and Esther script and sees them as more temporally proximate than previously determined. However, he concedes that codicological factors would warrant an earlier date.[574] Given that Turner is alone in

[571] JGK consider the work of Kenyon, Wilcken, and H. I. Bell to arrive at their estimate, (Johnson et. al., *The Schiede Papyri*, 5).

[572] Fernández Galiano cites the studies of A. Geissen and W. Hamm, (Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 16 n.27 and 28, respectively).

[573] Roberts and Skeat examine p967 among the 175 biblical manuscripts or fragments written before 400 CE. They propose a short list of 15 Christian codices to be dated from the 2nd century, but do not include p967 in that list. However, they offer that the list could be too restrictive, citing the debated dating of the Ezekiel codex from Chester Beatty. Colin H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983), 41 n3.

[574] Turner uses p967 for a parade example of the troubles involved in dating manuscripts. He argues that Kenyon's dates for Esther and Daniel's scripts (late 3rd and early 3rd respectively) presumed an unlikely 75 to 100 years between the time the two portions were copied, (E.G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977, 3). In assigning the date to the Ezekiel portion, Turner adheres to his early judgment that the handwriting reflects a late 3rd century for both Ezekiel and Esther. He finds the closest handwriting parallels to 3rd and 4th century manuscripts. "But if this handwriting date is correct, it is fair to note that the format classification (aberrant Class 1 of Group 8) and the large number of lines per page would allow the manuscript to be placed earlier," (Turner, *Typology*, 99-100).

dating the Ezekiel script so late,[575] and the codex-format seems to indicate an earlier date, Ezekiel should remain dated to the late 2nd / early 3rd century C.E.

6.2.2. Overall Form and Format

6.2.2.1. Mega-Format

p967 is a single quire (as opposed to a multiple gatherings) papyrus codex.[576] The codex is made of up 59 sheets to make 236 sides (pages hereafter).[577] Ezekiel runs from page 1 to 122, Daniel 123-185, Bel and Susanna 186-196, and Esther 187-227 leaving the non-extant 228-236 for speculation.[578] The 18 missing pages of Ezekiel in the beginning of the codex could contain a 64 line omission, which would amount to almost two pages of Rahlfs' edition.[579] Of course, a blank cover or title page could account for some/all of that space.

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[575] Like Turner, Wilken independently dated Ezekiel and Esther as contemporary hands. However, against Turner, Wilken brought Esther's script *down* into the 2nd century and even considered its date more certain than Ezekiel's. Turner brings Ezekiel *up* to the late 3rd century on the basis of Esther alone. Without more support, Turner's date cannot be followed.

[576] Turner, *Typology*, 59.

[577] According to Jahn, whose p967$^{\text{Köln}}$ contained the middle of the quire, p967 contained 59 sheets, 118 leaves, and 236 sides, folded at leaves 59^{r} (ριη) and 60^{r} (ριθ). Jahn, *Der griechische Text*, 8. Kenyon accurately proposed these numbers, (Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther*, vi-vii), but on the basis of incorrect speculations, as Fernández-Galiano points out in sufficient detail, (Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 13-14). JGK's estimate of 62 sheets is certainly not correct, (Johnson et al., *The Scheide Papyri*, 1-3). Kenyon surmised that a blank side was left between the two books, which p967$^{\text{Köln}}$ repudiates. Ezekiel runs from the beginning of the codex to leaf 61^{v} (ρκβ), although the leaves up to 9^{r} (ιη) are not extant. Daniel begins on the top of 61^{r} (ρκγ), leaving no blank page in between the two books. Jahn published a table summarizing the information of p967 which includes leaf number, codex's page number, where the leaf is housed, and the textual contents of each page. Jahn, *Der griechische Text*, 9-13.

[578] This estimate relies on a speculative length for the Esther portion since only 22 sides (197-218) are extant. Fernández-Galiano finds that p967 preserves 438 lines of Rahlf's Esther edition. He then estimated that the remaining 178 lines would fill 9 sides. Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 14.

[579] Fernández-Galiano calculates the average lines/page against Rahlf's text, showing that extant pages 18-122 total 2423 lines. If the first 18 pages are consistent with the rest of the manuscript, they would hold roughly 419 lines. However, this calculation is 64 lines shy of the requisite 483 to match the content in Rahlf's edition. Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 15-16.

The codex may have been folded at one point due to the even break in the middle of each page.[580] Frayed edges on the outer margins, slightly below the center suggest that the codex was tied with a cord.[581] Such a cord may have been the means by which the codex was held together, as the gutters, where preserved, do not indicate any other forms of binding.

6.2.2.2. Format Characteristics

The measurements of p967's format features are as follows:[582]

Leaf height: 13 ½ in. (34.4 cm.)[583]
Page width: 5 in. (12.8 cm.)
Column height: 11 ½ in. (29.3 cm.) to ~ 11 ¾ in. (30 cm.)[584]
Column width: 3 ½ in. (9 cm.) to 3 ¼ in. (8.4 cm.)[585]
Upper Margin: about 1 in. (2.5 cm)[586]
Lower Margin: 1 ½ in. (3.8 cm)[587]
Inner Margin: variable but always less than ¾ in. (2 cm.)[588]

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[580] JGK correlate this proposal with Sander's suggestion that the codex was buried in a grave, (Johnson et al., *The Scheide Papyri,* 3).

[581] Johnson et al., *The Scheide Papyri*, 3.

[582] These dimensions are reproduced from JGK's calculations – although comparative data from the other critical editions are footnoted and discussed when *divergent*, (Johnson et al., *The Scheide Papyri,* 4).

[583] Kenyon calculated the height of $p967^{CB}$ at 14 in., (Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* vii).

[584] JGK observe that the recto is generally longer, measuring closer to the upper limit. Kenyon reports that $p967^{CB}$'s columns measure "about 11 ¾ in." high. It is possible that the columns at the outer-most leaves (represented by $p967^{CB}$) were taller, diminishing as they come closer to the inner fold. (Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* vii).

[585] As suggested above, the column width also decreases as the leaves come closer to the inner fold. Kenyon reports the column width at 3 ¾ in. JGK are careful to report that the 3 ½ in. (9 cm.) measurement applies to pages 39-40 while the 3 ¼ in. (8.4 cm.) measurement applies to pages 89-90, (JOHNSON ET AL., THE SCHEIDE PAPYRI, 4). Fernández-Galiano make the same observation, that the columns are wider on the outer leaves. He agrees with JGK that the upper limit is 9 cm., but reports that the inner leaves yield values between 8.21 and 8.8 cm., (Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," , 17).

[586] Only Kenyon reports, (Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* vii).

[587] Only Kenyon reports, (Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* vii).

Outer Margin: ½ – ¾ in. (1.4 – 2 cm.)[589]

The number of lines per column is anywhere between 49 and 57.[590] JGK report an average of 51.1 lines on the verso and 53.8 lines on the recto.[591]

The number of letters per line is more varied. The scribe usually maintained a straight right margin, but was not always consistent.[592] JGK reported 16-27 letters per line in p967^{Sch}, rarely exceeding 22 letters.[593] Fernández-Galiano report 17 to 25 letters per line in p967^{Mad}, with an average of 21.[594]

6.2.3. Style of Writing (Within the Blocks of Text)

Kenyon described the Ezekiel script as,

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[588] Kenyon reports at ¾ in., (Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* vii).

[589] Kenyon merely observes that the outer margin is "narrow", (Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* vii). Fernández-Galiano claim that this measurement is rendered problematic because of the cuts from the dealers' blade, (Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," , 18).

[590] Eric Turner categorizes p967 in Table 14: "Codices having fifty or more lines to a page," although he calculates the number of lines per page at 45-57, the lower number not reported by any of the critical editions of Ezekiel, and thus perhaps referring to Daniel or Esther, (Turner, *Typology,* 96-97). The 25 complete sides from p967^{Köln} hold from 50-57 lines per column, with 53.4 being the average.

[591] JGK report the range for the verso as 49-53 lines and the recto as 52-57 lines, (Johnson et al., *The Scheide Papyri*, 4). Kenyon reports "the number of lines in the Ezekiel varies between 49 and 57, but is generally about 53," (Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* vii). He goes onto note that, "in the Daniel and Esther (where it can only be arrived at by calculation) it seems to have been less, about 44-46." (Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* vii.).

[592] JGK observe that letters were occasionally crowded or spaced out to preserve the alignment, with some attention to the rules of syllabification. For example, JGK notes that the final *nu* was often stretched to fit the space. "Normally, this letter is an eighth of an inch wide (.3 cm.), but as a space-filler it is sometimes widened to five-sixteenths of an inch (.8 cm.). This last device is characteristic of the Ezekiel scribe and does not appear to be used in the other texts of the Chester Beatty papyri," Johnson et al., *The Scheide Papyri*, 4-5. For more on the way the scribe dealt with the rules of syllabification at the end of lines, see Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," , 18-19.

[593] Johnson et al., *The Scheide Papyri*, 4.

[594] Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 18. See below for discussion of format traits.

> large, square in build, with well-rounded curves in such letters as ε and σ. It is very clear, but heavy and by no means elegant, unevenly written and spaced, and plainly not the work of a trained professional scribe.[595]

Kenyon does not indicate the criteria by which he judged the professionalism of the script. However, his assessment of Ezekiel's less formal scribal character seems to rely on the lack of decorative elements, such as serifs, final hooks or loops.[596] While Kenyon's comparative eye detected less professional characteristics to the Ezekiel script, each letter is singly formed, without ligatures. Letters such as α and δ are written with two strokes. Letters are not slanted; an upright orientation is maintained throughout. Finally, Kenyon did not have access to the Köln portion of the codex, which revealed a large decorative element below the inscription of the Ezekiel's final verse (see below §6.2.6.3.1). Thus the manuscript, though not exceedingly formal, was by no means slavishly inscribed.

Letter formation does present some oddities. Smaller uncials appear, most often at the end of a line (towards the right margin) where the scribe sometimes crowded letters. In such a situation, letters could be even half the normal size. Scoring the right margin however, produced the opposite effect as well. The scribe would stretch letters, mostly affecting final *nu*.

> Normally this letter is an eighth of an inch wide (.3 cm.), but as a space-filler it is sometimes widened to five-sixteenths of an inch (.8 cm). This last device is characteristic of the Ezekiel scribe and does not appear to be used in the other texts of the Chester Beatty papyri.[597]

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[595] Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* viii.

[596] For a detailed discussion of deciphering paleography for sociological information, including sloppier handwriting, see Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 88-96.

[597] Johnson et al., *The Scheide Papyri*, 5.

The only other cases of enlarged letters occur in the left-hand side of the block text and extend slightly into the margin. However, this phenomenon is called *ekthesis* and will be discussed below under paragraphing.

About individual letters, Kenyon provided detailed commentary,

> α is triangular, with straight strokes. β is rather large. ε is well rounded, with the cross-stroke in the centre. ζ is square, with the lower stroke slightly curved. ξ has the top stroke separate, while the middle stroke is a curve united with the bottom stroke. υ is Y-shaped (the two upper extensions being curved outward and down,) but deeply forked, so that the upright portion almost disappears; the whole is formed with one stroke of the pen. All the letters are firmly formed, with thick strokes.[598]

6.2.4. Use of Internal Spacing (Absence of Ink Within the Blocks of Text)

The letters in p967's block text are continuously wrapped as scriptio continua. Internal spacing is rare and therefore notable when present. Large multiple-line spaces occur in two places: at the end of Ezekiel and of Daniel; in both cases, the scribe left the remainder of the page blank.[599] The only other blank lines occur in Daniel where 3-4 line spaces provide breaks between each chapter.[600] These chapter divisions are unique to Daniel, they were applied neither to Ezekiel nor Esther.

Two in-line spaces of considerable size stand out against the continuously wrapped text.[601] On page 90 (Q, qoph), a space of approximately 5 letters occurs in the

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[598] Kenyon provides more information about how the script compares with Daniel and Esther, in Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther*, ix.

[599] Ezekiel ends on page 122 (61^{v}, ρκβ). The block text extends through lines 22 leaving a space of approximately 27-32 lines. Similarly, Daniel, or rather Susanna ends at line 8 on page 198 (37^{v}) leaving approximately 43 lines blank. In both spaces, the books end with a subscription, noted below.

[600] The block spaces contain Greek numerals, although not every LXX chapter receives a number, i.e. chs. 11-12 are blocked as one chapter. Bel and Susanna are not enumerated.

[601] Of the four major uncials, only Codex Alexandrinus exhibits similar wide spaces at the beginning of a new pericope. However, there it corresponds with an enlarged letter at the beginning of the

middle of the line.[602] A similar space of 4-5 letters occurs in Daniel on page 142 in the middle of line 39.[603] The space separates Dan 3:90 from v. 91 and following. Concerning such spaces within the manuscripts from the Judean desert, Tov states that they denote the "segmentation of a larger unit" on comparison with the closed sections of the Masoretic tradition.[604] While this may the case here in p967, the discussion of Daniel 3:90-91 will problematize theories that interpret large unit delimitations on thematic bases alone. (See §6.4.3.4.1).

p967 does not utilize indentations or end of line gaps. Occasionally, a one letter space will occur at paragraph units, (see §6.2.5.3 below) or a ½ letter space at sense units (see §6.2.5.4 below).[605]

6.2.5. Explicit In-Line Markings (Presence of Ink Within the Blocks of Text)

6.2.5.1. Plus Corrections

Uncial corrections were made above the line. Most frequently, the error was otherwise unmarked in the text (ie. no strikethrough or a marginal mark). According to

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next line, not attested in either instance in p967. See W. M. de Bruin, "Interpreting Delimiters: The Complexity of Text Delimitation in Four Major Septuagint Manuscripts," in *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division*, (eds. M. Korpel and J. Oesch; Pericope 3; Assen, The Netherlands: Koninklijke van Gorcum, 2000), 73 and §4.4 on page 86.

[602] The space appears on Plate XLII of the John H. Scheide papyri. The plate has 53 lines with an average of 20 letters of continuously wrapped text per line. The space occurs about 4/5ths of the way down, in the middle of line 41. There are 14 letters of text on line 41 and approximately 5 letters worth of space: ΚΣΟΘΣ"□□□□□ΚΑΙΕΓΕΝΕ. (" indicates the end of a paragraph in p967, presented below.)

[603] There are 12 letters of text on line 39 and approximately 4 letters worth of space: ΩΝΩΝ÷□□□□ΚΑΙΕΓΕΝΕ. (On the spaces and the ÷ mark, see analysis and discussion below.)

[604] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 145.

[605] See Marjo Korpel, "Introduction to the Series Pericope," in *Delimitation Criticism: A New Tool in Biblical Scholarship*, (eds. M. Korpel and J. Oesch; Pericope 1; Assen, The Netherlands: Koninklijke van Gorcum, 2000), 14.

JGK, the corrections were made in the original hand during inscription.[606] The plus corrections, within each portion of the manuscript, are as follows:

p967^{Sch}

ε^{ι}πα (20:8; 40 line 2); οικον ^{του} ισραηλ (20:13; 40 line 25); ^{εβ}εβηλουν (23:38; 53 line 8); ^{της} ζωης (26:20; 60 line 16); ^{και} τα (27:13; 61 line 22); θ^{ρ}ηνησει (32:16; 73 line 41); ^{ταδε} λεγει (35:13; 82 line 32); -σ^{ο}ηνται (23:48; 54 line 3); ^{τ}χειχη (26:10; 59 line 6); εγο^{ε}νον (27:9; 61 line 3); -οντ^{αι}ον (31:4; 72 line 43).

p967^{CB}

εκδικησ^{ε}ι^{ς}ν (16:41; 30 line 43).

p967^{Köln}

^{ισραηλ} (20:40; 43 line 25), ^{εκ}~~τη~~ (25:6; 57 line 7), ψυχης ^{σ}ου (25:6; 57 line 7);[607] ε^{αι}σειμουθ (25:9; 57 line 21), αμαρτι^{ας}ων (43:22; 106 line 35), μ^{ι}~~ηη~~α (45:18; 112 line 42).[608]

p967^{Mad} – (?)

6.2.5.2. Minus Corrections

As stated above, most corrections did not mark the erroneous text with any special marker. However, some minus corrections do sporadically appear in the manuscript. Two systems seem to have been applied, dots above the letters and a strike-through. However, based on p967^{Sch}'s two instances of dotted letters, JGK point out that in 26:12,

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[606] JGK, 5.

[607] Jahn reproduced the correction incorrectly in his transcription, writing ψυχη^{ς}σου instead of ψυχης ^{σ}ου. Jahn, *Der griechische Text*, 73.

[608] Only two are corrected with a strikeout through the erroneous letter(s).

the word σου occurs in all other manuscripts witnesses. This instance raised the question about the function of the dots for the scribe, JGK concluding, "we cannot be sure of his use of this device."[609] However, an additional dotted word occurs in p967^{Köln} which does seem to function as an erasure. The minus corrections are as follows:

p967^{Sch}

σου with a dot above each letter (26:12; 59 line 21); και with a dot above each letter (27:18; 61 line 45)

p967^{CB}

none

p967^{Köln}

~~κ~~ (18:16; 36 line 17); αἐ (21:6; 44 line 22);[610] ~~με~~ (25:17; 58 line 9).

6.2.5.3. Punctuation: Paragraph Marks[611]

The paragraphing exhibited in p967 is already well-understood. Kenyon, JGK, and Fernández-Galiano discuss the features in their respective critical editions of p967.[612] Kenyon and JGK even replicate paragraphing features in their transcriptions, Johnson's being the most attentive to observable differences in styles of mark. E. J. Revell, writing in 1976, conducted a modest study showing p967's relationship with the MT system of

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[609] JGK, 5-6.

[610] Jahn leaves out this minus correction altogether from his transcription, underscoring the inaccuracies of that critical edition, especially regarding paratextual marks.

[611] For a general discussion of paragraphing trends in all the versions including Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, see Emanuel Tov, "The Background of Sense Divisions in the Biblical Texts," in Korpel and Oesch (eds.), *Delimitation Criticism,* (Pericope 1; Assen: van Gorcum, 2000), 342-348.

[612] Jahn is inattentive to the paragraphing and cannot be trusted.

petuḥot and *setumot*, open and closed paragraph divisions. However, it is really the work of John Olley that sheds the most light on p967's paragraphing.[613]

Paragraphs in p967 are clearly indicated by three coordinated features: an in-line space of approximately one letter containing two dots/slashes on an angle along with *ekthesis*.[614] *Ekthesis*, a Greek system of paragraphing,[615] was already observed by Kenyon who describes

> The initial letter of a new section is enlarged, and projects a little into the margin; or, if the section begins in the middle of a line, the first letter of the first complete line is so treated.[616]

John Olley counted 85 such paragraphs across all extant portions of p967.[617]

Olley compares p967 to four major Hebrew MT manuscripts and the three Greek uncials in order to study the diachronic development of paragraphing.[618] With the results

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[613] John Olley, "Paragraphing in the Greek Text of Ezekiel in p967: With Particular Reference to the Cologne Portion," in *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division*, (Pericope 3; ed. M. Korpel and J. Oesch; Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 2002), 202-225. idem, "Trajectories in Paragraphing of the Book of Ezekiel," in *Unit Delimitation in Biblical Hebrew and Northwest Semitic Literature,* (Pericope 4; ed. M. Korpel and J. Oesch; Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 2003), 204-231.

[614] The horizontal lines or "paragraphos," found in p967 Daniel for example, do not occur in Ezekiel.

[615] Tov says "the numbers of sources using *ekthesis* is small, and no patterns such as frequent occurrence in a certain type of text or period, is detectable." Tov, "Scribal Features of Early Witnesses of Greek Scripture," in *The Old Greek Psalter*, eds. R.j.v. Hiebert, C.E. Cox, P.J. Gentry, (JSOT Supplement Series 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 145. For Tov's summary of p967's paragraph division, see Tov, "The Background" 343. C. H. Roberts provides a description and parallels in *Manuscript, Society, and Belief in Early Christian Egypt,* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), 16-18.

[616] Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* ix.

[617] Olley, "Trajectories," 206. Olley's carefull work and excellent presentations in two essays (2002, 2003) can only invite the occasional disagreement, based merely on quite subtle differences in perception. For example, I see reason for a paragraph mark at 18:10 – despite the brokenness of the leaf at this point. The space and the double dash are clearly visable before the και. *Ekthesis* cannot be determined on the following line. I would also strike the paragraphs at 12:1 and 15:1 as undeterminable from the evidence. At 12:1, the text is damaged where we would expect the double stroke and *ekthesis*. The same is true for 15:1.

[618] Olley, "Trajectories," 205. He compared the Aleppo, Cairensis, Leningrad, and Reuchlinianus Hebrew codices, along with Greek codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and Marchalianus.

of his data, Olley posits development from early minimal paragraphing (best represented by p967) towards expansion.[619] The relative consistency among the *shared* Greek codices suggests a paragraphing "tradition" independent from the Hebrew, although p967 shares 90% agreement with both traditions, indicating its proximity to the common core.

He also indicates the implications of his paragraphing data and statistics. According to Olley, the greatest diversity of paragraphing across all manuscripts occurs in chs. 1-11 and 40-48. Olley suggests varying exegetical interests likely explains this phenomenon. Further, p967 exhibits a striking break from the Greek tradition towards the Hebrew in chs. 18-20.[620]

6.2.5.4. Punctuation: Sense Marks

In addition to the obvious paragraphing divisions, two types of sense divisions are present in p967: slight ½ letter spaces and a variety of in-line dots. The slight spaces were produced during inscription. However, the dots are different sizes, orientations, and density, leading me to believe they should be attributed to later hands.[621] W. M. De Bruin agrees, calling them

> two different, partially overlapping systems: a system of narrow spaces and a later one (or several ones) of dots.[622]

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[619] The closest Greek manuscript to p967's 85 paragraphs is Codex Vaticanus at 180 paragraphs. Vaticanus is already greatly expanded beyond the Hebrew, which contain 135. (A and Q contain 273 and 340 respectively).

[620] Six of p967's 14 double dots (to be discussed below) also occur in this section.

[621] So Kenyon (Kenyon, ix) and Revell (1976, 133).

[622] W. M. de Bruin, "Interpreting Delimiters: The Complexity of Text Delimiters," in eds. M.C.A. Korpel and J.M. Oesch, *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division,* (Pericope 3; Assen, The Netherlands: Koninklijke van Gorcum, 2002), 69.

Dots occur above, at the top of, and within the middle of lines of text. Initial study scrutinized the dots according to ancient systems of punctuation. For instance, JGK compared p967^{Sch} with the system of punctuation devised by Aristophanes of Byzantium, a comparison they ultimately found baseless.[623] More generally, scholars who work with ancient unit divisions conclude that

> the function of high, intermediate, and low dots is not easy to define and seems to differ widely in several manuscripts and even in parts of one and the same manuscript.[624]

p967's uneven distribution of dots supports this and further critical consensus that high, medium, and low dots were an "idiosyncratic" system of reading marks.[625] According to Tov, the dots were "a Greek system which became more prevalent in the 3rd century."[626] Ulrich calls the dots scribal impressions, further clarifying that they were unique to individual manuscripts and not characteristic of the wider text-tradition.[627] JGK also understood the dots as indicators of reading interests, suggesting that the they facilitated oral reading.[628] This is quite likely given that reading wrapped uncial texts aloud

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[623] JGK, 16-17.

[624] W. M. de Bruin, "Interpreting Delimiters," 86. See also Kathleen McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*, (Brussels, 1992), 7. This is the same conclusion of E. Ulrich, "Impressions and Intuition: Sense Divisions in Ancient Manuscripts of Isaiah," in *Unit Delimitation in Biblical Hebrew and North West Semitic Literature*, M. Korpel and J. Oesch (eds.), (Pericope 4; Assen, The Netherlands: Koninklijke van Gorcum, 2003), 301-304

[625] JGK note the uneven distribution of dots in p967^{Sch}, (JGK, 17). More generally, see E. Ulrich, "Impressions and Intuition," 301-304. See also Tov, "The Background," 327-332.

[626] Tov, "Scribal Features of Early Witnesses of Greek Scripture," in *The Old Greek* Psalter (eds. R.J.V. Hiebert, C.E. Cox, P.J. Gentry; JSOT Supplement Series 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 2001), 137-139.

[627] Ulrich, "Impressions," 301-304.

[628] JGK, 17.

required prior knowledge of the content, in most cases.[629] In any case, the dots derive from subsequent hands, providing a glimpse into the reading interests of the codex's owners.

Among the "overlapping systems" of dots, Olley detected one notable pattern in p967. Olley counted 11 instances were two dots are vertically aligned falling at possible paragraph sections. Indeed, he called them a secondary system of paragraphing.[630] This system lacks the paragraphing features that undeniably stem from inscription (i.e. *ekthesis,*) and thus provides a lens into the practices of p967's *owners*.

Olley points out that only 35% of the eleven double dots correspond with paragraphs in Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, meaning that 65% of these paragraphs would represent p967 innovations.[631] However, we should be careful not to over-interpret the double dots in p967. The "innovative paragraphing" argument quickly becomes circular. The divergence between p967's double dots and the Greek paragraphing tradition could undermine the conclusion that they functioned as paragraph marks at all; instead the double dots may point to a separate function. The double dots are also subject to greater observational error. The double dot is an isolated mark, while the paragraph marks discussed above involved three coordinated features, making them easier to identify with certainty. In fact, two of Olley's vertical double dots are reproduced as *diagonal* dots in JGK's transliteration (20:2, 39 line 18; and 23:32, 52 line 32,) revealing disagreement

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[629] For a discussion of the development of Greek manuscripts from continuously wrapped text towards providing sense units, see E. Maunde Thompson, "Palaeography," in *The New Werner Twentieth Century Edition of the Encyclopaedia Brittanica* (9th edition; Vol. 18; Akron: Werner Company, 1907) , 167.

[630] Olley, "Paragraphing," 204, 207.

[631] Olley, "Paragraphing," 210.

among even critical observers. The manuscript editors pointed out the difficulty differentiating dots on account of material deterioration or the original quality of the papyrus.[632] In many cases, I agree with Olley that vertical double dots *are* clearly present, and do stand out compared with the singular dots that dominate the in-line text. However, the only conclusion to be reached supports what was already said above, that the double dots represent another overlapping system and probably functioned as a type of sense division.

6.2.5.5. Breathings

Breathing marks in p967 are marked with curved hooks over initial vowels. For example, p967$^{\text{Köln}}$ contains nine breathing marks: εις three times (19:3; 38 line 10), (20:38; 43 line 14), (43:16; 105 line 45); εν once (45:15; 112 line 20); εξ three times (46:1, 4; 113 lines 32, 54), (46:6; 114 line 6); ου once (46:20; 115 line 34); and ας once (18:24; 37 line 13).

6.2.5.6. Accents

Proper names usually have hooks or acute dashes, (or occasionally raised dots) at the end of the word. However, the practice is not always consistent.[633] For example, in 25:10, we read αμμων᾽ (57; line 26), but on the same page, the two instances of ϋιος αμμων (57; lines 2 and 24) are not accented. Another example, again on the same page (ν57,) μωαβ gets the accent in line 19, but not in lines 15 and 27. JGK observe,

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[632] See JGK, 16-17.

[633] For more information on the Greek writing practice, see Leslie Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions: Phonology I* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), 85-88.

> These marks are in the same ink as the text, but it is difficult to say whether they were inserted at the time of the writing or later.[634]

6.2.5.7. Contractions: Numbers

In p967, contracted or abbreviated numbers are marked with a superstroke ¯ which extends horizontally into a slight space preserved by the scribe to the right of the symbol. They distribute across the manuscript as follows:

p967^{Sch} – none

p967^{CB} – none

p967^{Köln} – 4 = δ̄ once (43:15; ρε line 43); 5 = ε̄ once (45:6; ρια line 17 for 5,000); 7 = ζ̄ four times (44:26; ρι line 12), (45:23x2; ριγ lines 13 and 14), (45:25; ριγ line 24); 10 = ῑ̄ four times (48:10x2; ριθ lines 30 and 32), (48:18x2; ρκ lines 32 and 34); 12 = ιβ̄ once (ριζ line 28); 18 = ιη̄ once (48:35; ρκβ line 17); 20 = κ̄ four times (45:5; ρια line 11), (48:9; ριθ line 25), (48:13; ριθ line 56), (48:21; ρκα line 1); 25 = ε̄ και κ̄ ten times (45:5; ρια line 10), (45:6; ρια line 18), (48:8; ριθ line 17), (48:9; ριθ line 24), (48:10x2; ριθ lines 28-29 and 33), (48:13; ριθ line 53), (48:15; ρκ line 8), (48:20; ρκ line 43-44), (48:21; ρκα line 4); 30 = λ̄ twice (46:22x2; ριε lines 49 and 50); 45 = φ̄ και δ̄ three times (48:16; ρκ lines 14, 16, and 18); 50 = ν̄ once (45:2; ρι line 51).

p967^{Mad} – (?)

There are some strange anomalies. For example, 25,000 is rendered ε̄ και κ̄ ten times, but once as πεντε και κ̄ (48:21; ρκα line 1). This example could be explained as the result of the scribe turning to the top of a new page, however, we should not rule out the possibility that some significance lies behind such anomalies. Indeed, according to

[634] Johnson et al., *The Scheide Papyri*, 15-16.

Smyth, classical Greek contracted numbers are usually marked with a ´.[635] Whether there is more than a functional connection between numbers and the *nomina sacra*, (described below,) is beyond the scope of this study, but remains an interesting question.[636]

6.2.5.8. Contractions: *Nomina sacra*

In p967, the divine names κυριος, θεος, and πνευμα (rare) are contracted, like numbers, with a superstroke ¯ which extends horizontally into a slight space preserved by the scribe to the right of the name. We have already reviewed the issues associated with the *nomina sacra* above. (See chapter 2 in §2.4).

6.2.5.9. Contractions and Suspensions: *Nu* at End of Line

Nu's at the end of the line receive special treatment. The scribe would either stretch the letter to fill a short line or would contract the word, replacing the *nu* with a superstroke ¯. The phenomenon of contraction occurs in p967^{Sch} 42 times, p967^{CB} 7 times, and p967^{Köln} 34 times (p967^{Mad} ?). In general, it appears the *nu* was contracted in order to prevent the line from extending too far into the margin, (e.g. 48:6-7; 119 lines 5-9). However, occasionally the *nu* is included on a line that extends into the right margin (e.g. τηνν 46:8; 114 line 16), indicating that the margins, which are not perfectly aligned anyway, were not always the scribe's primary concern. In one case, both the dash and the nu are present, ημεραν̄ (45:23; 113 line 17); the scribe wrote the dash, and either he or a secondary scribe thought better of the remaining space, and wrote in the final *nu*.

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[635] Smyth, §348c.

[636] For such an exploration, see Bruce Grigsby, "Gematria and John 21:11 – another look at Ezekiel 47:10," in *Expository Times* 95 (1984): 177-178.

6.2.5.10. Diple

The diple " > " frequently occurs at the end of a line. Its function is difficult to determine and merits further study. In p967, it can stand in the middle of a word that wraps to the following line, (akin to the English hyphen,) as in μνησθω > σιν (18:24; 37 line 16). However, with similar frequency, the diple can stand at the end of a line dividing separate words, for example ποιηση > κατα (18:14; 36 line 9). In Greek scribal practices, the diple was used in a variety of ways. Turner shows that Greek commentators used the diple as a reference mark for notes, presumably written on another manuscript.[637] Fernández-Galiano discuss the mark as a space-filler at the end of the line, but this is just not possible. ">" generally appears outside of the right hand margin, obviating Fernández-Galiano's explanation.[638] The diple occurs 45 times in $p967^{Sch}$, 10 times in $p967^{CB}$, and 29 times in $p967^{Köln}$.

6.2.5.11. Dieresis

Dieresis marks occur over the beginning vowels of several words. Especially common are ϋμος, ϋιος, and ϊσραηλ. Words are marked consistently, with rare exceptions, (as with ισραηλ in 20:30; 42 line 27). From my observations, it is possible that they were added by a second hand because the ink is notably more faded (see 18:5; 36 line 13). They most certainly facilitated reading, helping to distinguish the wrapped text.

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[637] Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 117-118.

[638] Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 19.

6.2.6. Marginal Markings (Outside the Blocks of Text)

6.2.6.1. Page Numbers

Page numbers appear in the upper margin, centered over the column of text. All pages which are not broken bear page numbers, which suggests that the entire manuscript was numbered. Comparing the script of the numbers with the block text, some differences in style are probably to be attributed to a different scribe.[639] Especially distinctive are the α and the ξ.

The page numbers from 43-122 are completely preserved. All of the leaves from p967^{CB} (pages 19-34) are broken at the top, leaving no trace of the page numbers. Pages 35- 42 in p967^{Köln} are in various states of legibility, mostly broken or faded. Finally, page 85 in p967^{Sch} is partially broken, perhaps by a worm. The following is a list of the state of the page numbers for Ezekiel:

> 1 [α] (missing), 2 [β] (missing), 3 [γ] (missing), 4 [δ] (missing), 5 [ε] (missing), 6 [ϛ] (missing), 7 [ζ] (missing), 8 [η] (missing), 9 [θ] (missing), 10 [ι] (broken), 11 [ια] (missing), 12 [ιβ] (missing), 13 [ιγ] (missing), 14 [ιδ] (missing), 15 [ιε] (missing), 16 [ις] (missing), 17 [ιζ] (missing), 18 [ιη] (missing), 19 [ιθ] (broken), 20 [κ] (broken), 21 [κα] (broken), 22 [κβ] (broken), 23 [κγ] (broken), 24 [κδ] (broken), 25 [κε] (broken), 26 [κϛ] (broken), 27 [κζ] (broken), 28 [κη] (broken), 29 [κθ] (broken), 30 [λ] (broken), 31 [λα] (broken), 32 [λβ] (broken), 33 [λγ] (broken), 34 [λδ] (broken), 35 [λε] (broken), 36 [λϛ] (broken), 37 [λζ] (broken/faded), 38 [λη] (broken), 39 [λ]θ, 40 [μ] (broken), 41 [μ]α, 42 [μβ]

[639] JGK suggested that the numbers are later, though their suggestion is probably now disproved. JGK, *The Scheide Papyri*, 5.

(broken/faded), 43 μγ, 44 μδ, 45 με, 46 μς, 47 μζ, 48 μη, 49 μθ, 50 ν, 51 να, 52 νβ, 53 νγ, 54 νδ, 55 νε, 56 νς, 57 νζ, 58 νη, 59 νθ, 60 ξ, 61 ξα, 62 ξβ, 63 ξγ, 64 ξδ, 65 ξε, 66 ξς, 67 ξζ, 68 ξη, 69 ξθ, 70 ο, 71 οα, 72 οβ, 73 ογ, 74 οδ, 75 οε, 76 ος, 77 οζ, 78 οη, 79 οθ, 80 π, 81 πα, 82 πβ, 83 πγ, 84 πδ, 85 π[ε], 86 πς, 87 πζ, 88 πη, 89 πθ, 90 Q,[640] 91 Qα, 92 Qβ, 93 Qγ, 94 Qδ, 95 Qε, 96 Qς, 97 Qζ, 98 Qη, 99 Qθ, 100 ρ, 101 ρα, 102 ρβ, 103 ργ, 104 ρδ, 105 ρε, 106 ρς, 107 ρζ, 108 ρη, 109 ρθ, 110 ρι, 111 ρια, 112 ριβ, 113 ριγ, 114 ριδ, 115 ριε, 116 ρις, 117 ριζ, 118 ριη, 119 ρι, 120 ρκ, 121 ρκα, 122 ρκβ.

6.2.6.2. Marginal Words / Marginal Notations

In the upper margins of Ezekiel, seven brief notations appear in cursive script.[641] My transliterations rely on the work of the critical editors of the various p967 sections, but some discussion is necessary to defend my decisions.

Moving through Ezekiel in order, the notation on page 64 probably reads, εμ]πορω[ν. In this I am in agreement with JGK. However, JGK's transcription on page 68 needs correction. JGK only reproduce συντελει in their transcription of $p967^{Sch}$, but upon closer examination, and in comparison with the marginal word on the top of page 107 of $p967^{Köln}$, a θ (short for θεος) can clearly be seen.

[640] I use the symbol Q for the letter κοππα of the Greek alphabet, not present in the Koine or Septuagint Greek alphabets. See discussion of the development of Greek numerals, including the use of κοππα for 90 in A. N. Jannaris, "The Digamma, Koppa, and Sampi as Numerals in Greek," in *The Classical Quarterly Vol. 1* (ed. J. P. Postgate; London, 1907), 37-40. See also Bruce M. Metzger, "The Greek Alphabet," *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: an Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 6-10.

[641] The one exception is that one notation on page 107 occurs in the lower margin.

The notation on page 75 is the most elusive. Fernández-Galiano offers a good possibility in συ]νεστωτ(ων) but indicates, "el posible…está poco claro."[642] One of the primary problems is that the lexical meaning, "to unite," is difficult to interpret (see §6.3.3.1.3). αναστασεως is clearly discernible on page 90.[643] Likewise, Fernández-Galiano testifies that μετανοιας on page 104 is clear. Page 107 has two notations on the top and the bottom margins. Jahn transliterates, π θ ιερου [π(ερι) θ(εου) ιερου] on top and π μετανοιας [π(ερι) μετανοιας] on the bottom.[644] While I agree with the readings, I find some letters indiscernible and offer two corrections. For π θ ιερου, I read, π- θυ ιε(ρ)ου. The *pi* is followed by a stroke, perhaps a ligature or to indicate the missing letters of περι. Also, I read θῡ, against Jahn's θεος, for the case is determined with a clear stroke over the *upsilon.*[645] A similar stroke should be supplied over the *pi* in the lower notation, although I find the script is difficult to read with fewer certain letters, : π- μ(ε)ταν(οι)α(ς).

As for translation, six of the seven notations are in the genitive. In the two notations on page 107, the genitive case follows περι, which should be translated

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[642] "The possibility…is a scarcely clear." Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 20.

[643] With JGK, *The Scheide Papyri.*

[644] "Auf Seite ρζ finden sich zwei Randglossen, jeweils eine am Kopf und am Ende der Kolumne. Die obere kann man als π(ερι) θ(εου) ιερου lesen. Der entsprechende Hinweis zum Text steht als Schrägstrich am Ende von Zeile 4 zu dem Satz: και ποιησουσιν οι ιερεις επι του θυσιαστηριου τα ολοκαυτωματα. Das zweite Zeichen, zwei Schrägstriche am linken Rand, findet sich bei Zeile 20 zu dem Satz: και εσται (η πυλη) κεκλεισμενη κτλ. Die Glosse dazu am Fuß der Kolumne: π(ερι) μετανοιας. [My translation]: "On page ρζ are two margin notes, one above and one below the column. One can read the upper as π(ερι) θ(εου) ιερου. The corresponding textual reference is marked by a diagonal stroke at the end of line 4 to the phrase: και ποιησουσιν οι ιερεις επι του θυσιαστηριου τα ολοκαυτωματα. The second mark, two diagonal strokes on the left-hand side of the column, occurs at line 20, to the phrase: και εσται (η πυλη) κεκλεισμενη κτλ. The additional gloss at the foot of the column reads: π(ερι) μετανοιας." (Jahn, *Der griechische Text*, 15)

[645] The dash over the *upsilon* elsewhere denotes an abbreviation, especially common for the *nomina sacra*.

"concerning…" In light of these two translations, it is reasonable to supply περι for the remainder of the genitive notations. Only θεος συντελει on page 68 diverges from the grammatical form, as a present indicative conjugation to be translated, "God fulfills."

Table 1: Marginal Words in Cursive Script

Greek cursive	**English translation**	**Page and Edition**	**Reference**
εμ]πορω[ν	(concerning) merchants	ξδ (64) p967^{Sch}	Ezek. 28:9-19
θ συντελει[646]	God fulfills	ξη (68) p967^{Sch}	Ezek. 30:1-13
συ]νεστωτ(ων)	uniting	οε (75) p967^{Mad}	Ezek. 32:30 – 33:8
αναστασεως	(concerning) resurrection	ϙ (90) p967^{Sch}	Ezek. 39:23-37:4
μετανοιας	(concerning) repentence	ρδ (104) p967^{Mad}	Ezek. 43:1-9
π-- θυ ιε(ρ)ου	concerning God's temple	ρζ (107) p967^{Köln} [top margin]	Ezek. 43:26-44:7
π- μ(ε)ταν(οι)α(ς)	concerning repentence	ρζ (107) p967^{Köln} [bottom margin]	Ezek. 43:26-44:7

The cursive script of the notations would certainly be contemporary with or later than the block text. Since Ezekiel alone contains marginal notations, an earlier date in the early 3rd century becomes quite possible.[647] Two hands penned the notations in p967^{Sch}, θ συντελει on page 68 exhibits unique features from those on 64 and 90. Fernández-Galiano believes the notations on pages 75 and 104 were done by the same hand.[648] Jahn does not comment on the cursive script, although in my estimation, they

[646] JGK, *The Schiede Papyri.*

[647] H. I. Bell of the British museum examined pages 64, 68, and 90 of p967^{Sch} and said, "these cursive notes seem to me pretty certainly not later than the 3rd century (συντελει is in a hand not easy to fix exactly, but the others look to me typically 3rd century)," as quoted in JGK, *The Schiede Papyri*, 5.

[648] Fernández -Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 20.

seem like still another different hand. If I am correct, there were three separate hands who penned the marginal notations. (See images in Appendix Table VI).

6.2.6.3. Marginal Marks and Symbols [Tables of Ezekiel Marks]

In addition to marginal notations, the codex contains a number of scribal/reader marks. The formation, density of use, and no doubt importance varies. I have divided the marginal marks into seven categories. In this section, I focus exclusively on the marks in the Ezekiel portion of the manuscript.[649]

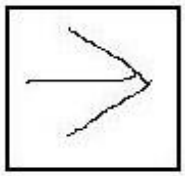
1) Greek cursive notations appear on six pages of p967. (See §6.2.6.2 above).
2) Ecclectic marks appear in the margins of several pages. This category consists of marks that seem to be uniquely formed and distinctive.
3) 20 diagonal slashes with the same orientation (NE to SW) appear in the left and right margins.
4) 21 horizontal slashes of similar length, tending to occur on the left margin.
5) 20 idiosyncratic slashes in the left and right margins.
6) 26 larger ink blots with little discernible regularity in the left and right margins.
7) 15 clusters of 2 to 10 small dots in the left and right margins.

The tables in the following sections provide information as indicated (unless otherwise noted):

[649] For my analysis, I have analyzed the portion of p967 housed by Princeton, and used the facsimilies of the Köln and Chester Beatty portions. For the Madrid portion, which only comprises 7% of Ezekiel, I have only benefitted from Fernandez-Galiano's graphic descriptions, but have not yet obtained a facsimile. Thus, while Fernández-Galiano provided significant discussion useful for interpretation, the following data is incomplete.

Critical edition of p967[650]	Edition reference #	Page Num.	Line of text	Left/right Inner/outer margin	Reference in Ezekiel (ch.:verse)

6.2.6.3.1. Category 2: Ecclectic Marks

 = arrow mark

p967[Sch]	XVI.r.	56 νς	Upper Margin	Centered	Ezek. 24:22-25:5

= ink blot

p967[Köln]	16(7)v.	120 ρκ	Upper Margin	Left, outer	Ezek. 48:14-21

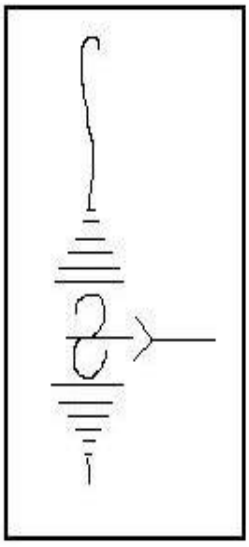
= ink blot

p967[Köln]	16(8)r.	121 ρκα	Upper Margin	Right, outer	Ezek. 48:21-31

The two upper marginal marks on pages ρκ and ρκα are on facing pages, in the outer margin. The mark on page 121 (ρκα) is certainly original. It is posible that the mark on page 120 (ρκ) resulted from closing the codex before the ink had dried since the

[650] For clarity, I will refer to each portion of the manuscript by their critical editions, annotated as follows: Chester Beatty = p967[CB], Schiede/Princeton = p967[Sch], Universität Köln = p967[Köln], Madrid = p967[Mad].

page 121 (ρκα) mark is larger and somewhat resembles its neighbor. However, careful attention to the lines and ink blots on the ρκ mark shows discernible lines that do not have a counterpart. Both marks appear to be an attempt to cross out previous, now indiscernible marks. The other possibility is that the two blots were made during the production of the codex, to clean the stylus. However, this seems unlikely for two reasons, 1) judging by the thickness and density of strokes, the stylus that penned the marginal mark was considerably larger than that for the block text; and 2) there are no other such marks across the codex. If the scribe needed to clean his stylus, it is unlikely that these two pages alone would show traces. I prefer the possibility that they blot out earlier marks/writing/symbols.



= Ezekiel's decorative book-end

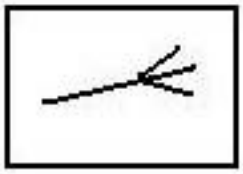
p967[Köln]	16(8)v.	122 ρκβ	Lines 18-21+	Left, inner	Ezek. 48:35

This is the decorative end mark for the book of Ezekiel before half a page of space. Perhaps a similar style of decoration introduced the book of Ezekiel, although this

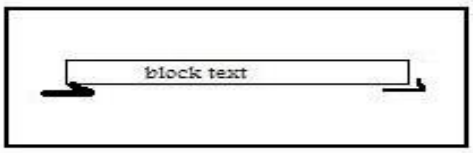
cannot be known since the pages are lost. No such mark introduces Dan 1:1 on the next page.[651]

= diagonal division sign (÷)

p967^{CB}	16.r.	32 λβ	Line 30	Right, in text	Ezek. 17:1

 = crow's foot

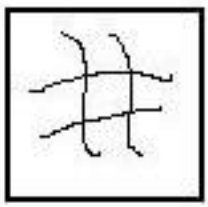
p967^{Köln}	11v.	107 ρζ	Line 4	Right, outer	Ezek. 43:27



= double line mark

p967^{Sch}	XXXV.v.	83 πγ	Line 40	Left, inner and right, outer	Ezek. 36:9

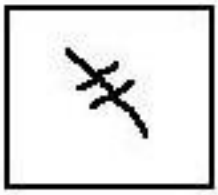
[651] The symbol which appears at the end of Ezekiel also appears at the conclusion of Enoch's Epistle (ch. cvii:3) of the Chester Beatty collection. It can be found on plate f.13.r of that edition. The symbol appears there twice, flanking both margins of the block text. There is an added feature, a herringbone horizontal line 2/3 down the symbol. See Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible: Fasciculus VIII Enoch and Melito* (PLATES; London: Emery Walker Limited, 1941).



= double hatch mark

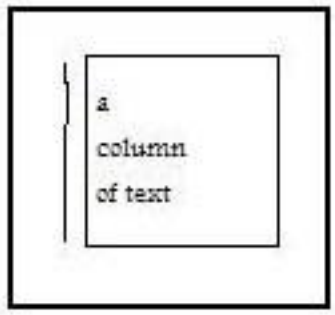
p967[Sch *]	XXII.r.	64 ξδ	Lines 48-49	Left, outer	Ezek. 28:18
p967[Sch]	XXIV.r.	68 ξη	Lines 3-4	Left, outer	Ezek. 30:2
p967[Sch *]	XLII.r.	90 Q	Lines 40-41	Left, outer	Ezek. 37:1
p967[Köln]	16(3)v.	111 ρια	Upper margin	Left, inner	Ezek. 45:3-11

* indicates a symbol that lacks one of the vertical slashes.



= double crossed line

p967[CB]	16.v.	31 λα	Line 10	Left, inner	Ezek. 16:49
p967[Köln]	16(1)v.	105 ρε	Line 6	Left, inner	Ezek. 43:10
p967[Köln]	16(3)v.	111 ρια	Line 38	Left, inner	Ezek. 45:8



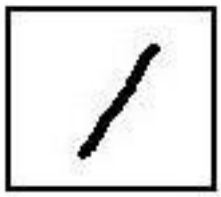
= elongated vertical line (imperfection as appears)

p967[Sch *]	XLI.v.	89 πθ	Lines 4-6	Left, inner	Ezek. 39:14
p967[Köln]	11v.	107 ρζ	Lines 6-9	Right, outer	Ezek. 43:27
p967[Köln]	11r.	108 ρη	Lines 6-10	Left, outer	Ezek. 44:9

* Indicates that the vertical line is supplemented with a short horizontal dash pointed inwards towards the block of text.

6.2.6.3.2. Category 3: Diagonal Slashes

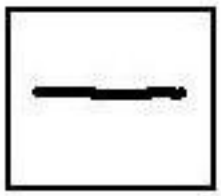
20 diagonal slashes with the same orientation (NE to SW) appear in the left and right margins.



$p967^{CB}$	14.r.	28 κη	Line 10	Left, outer	Ezek. 16:19
$p967^{CB}$	17.r.	34 λδ	Line 18	Left, outer	Ezek. 17:18
$p967^{Köln}$	12+42abcr.	36 λς	Line 51	Left, outer	Ezek. 18:21
$p967^{Köln}$	13v.	37 λζ	Line 6	Right, outer	Ezek. 18:22
$p967^{Sch}$	I.v.	39 λθ	Line 15	Right, outer	Ezek. 20:1
$p967^{Köln}$	o.I.v.	41 μα	Line 16	Right, outer	Ezek. 20:20
$p967^{Sch}$	VII.v.	47 μζ	Line 13	Right, outer	Ezek. 22:3
$p967^{Sch}$	X.r.	50 ν	Line 45	Left, outer	Ezek. 23:12
$p967^{Sch}$	XV.v.	55 νε	Line 37	Right, outer	Ezek. 24:18
$p967^{Sch}$	XVII.v.	59 νθ	Line 16	Right, outer	Ezek. 26:12
$p967^{Sch}$	XVIII.r.	60 ξ	Line 35	Left, outer	Ezek. 27:6
$p967^{Sch}$	XXI.v.	63 ξγ	Line 10	Left, inner	Ezek. 27:34
$p967^{Sch}$	XXII.r.	64 ξδ	Line 17	Left, outer	Ezek. 28:13
$p967^{Sch}$	XXIV.r.	68 ξη	Line 10	Left, outer	Ezek. 30:4
$p967^{Sch}$	XXVIII.r.	72 οβ	Line 48	Left, outer	Ezek. 32:5
$p967^{Sch}$	XXXI.v.	79 οθ	Line 13	Right, outer	Ezek. 34:8
$p967^{Sch}$	XXXII.r.	80 π	Line 19	Left, outer	Ezek. 34:18
$p967^{Köln}$	16(2)v.	109 ρθ	Line 14	Right, outer	Ezek. 44:18
$p967^{Köln}$	16(3)r.	112 ριβ	Line 25	Right, inner	Ezek. 45:15
$p967^{Köln}$	16(7)r.	119 ριθ	Line 11	Right, outer	Ezek. 48:7

6.2.6.3.3. Category 4: Horizontal Slashes

21 horizontal slashes of similar length, tending to occur on the left margin.

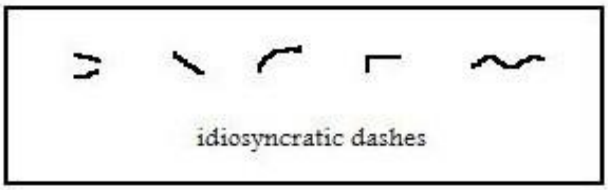


p967[Köln]	12+42abcv.	35 λε	Line 30	Yes*	Left, inner	Ezek. 18:8
p967[Köln]	12+42abcr.	36 λς	Line 32	Yes	Right, inner	Ezek. 18:18
p967[Köln]	o.I.v.	41 μα	Line 17	No	Left, inner	Ezek. 20:20
p967[Köln]	o.I.v.	41 μα	Line 23	No	Left, inner	Ezek. 20:21
p967[Sch]	XI.v.	51 να	Line 38	No	Left, inner	Ezek. 23:23
p967[Sch]	XVI.r.	56 νς	Line 21	No	Left, outer	Ezek. 24:25
p967[Sch]	XX.r.	62 ξβ	Line 1	No	Left, outer	Ezek. 27:19
p967[Sch]	XXVI.r.	70 ο	Line 52	No	Left, outer	Ezek. 31:8
p967[Sch]	XXVIII.r.	72 οβ	Line 43	No	Left, outer	Ezek. 32:4
p967[Sch]	XXXIV.r.	82 πβ	Line 24	No	Left, outer	Ezek. 35:11
p967[Köln]	16(1)v.	105 ρε	Line 31	No	Left, inner	Ezek. 43:13
p967[Köln]	16(1)r.	106 ρς	Line 27	No	Left, outer	Ezek. 43:21
p967[Köln]	16(2)v.	109 ρθ	Line 26	No	Left, inner	Ezek. 44:19
p967[Köln]	16(3)r.	112 ριβ	Line 16	Yes	Left, outer	Ezek. 45:14
p967[Köln]	16(4)v.	113 ριγ	Line 26	No	Left, inner	Ezek. 45:25
p967[Köln]	16(5)v.	115 ριε	Line 37	No	Right, outer	Ezek. 46:20
p967[Köln]	16(5)r.	116 ρις	Line 9	No	Right, inner	Ezek. 47:1
p967[Köln]	16(5)r.	116 ρις	Line 37	No	Left, outer	Ezek. 47:6
p967[Köln]	16(6)r.	118 ριη	Line 31	Yes	Right, inner	Ezek. 47:23
p967[Köln]	16(7)r.	119 ριθ	Line 3	No	Left, inner	Ezek. 48:5
p967[Köln]	16(7)r.	119 ριθ	Line 5	No	Left, inner	Ezek. 48:5

* A 'Yes' indicates that the horizontal line extends into the block of text, while 'No' indicates a horizontal line that is restricted to the margin.

6.2.6.3.4. Category 5: Idiosyncratic Slashes

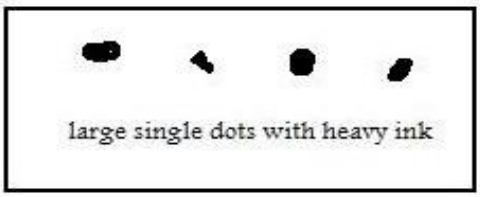
20 idiosyncratic slashes in the left and right margins.



$p967^{CB}$	12.r.	24 κδ	Line 15	Left, outer	Ezek. 14:7
$p967^{Köln}$	43v.	43 μγ	Line 26	Left, inner	Ezek. 20:40
$p967^{Sch}$	VIII.r.	48 μη	Line 3	Left, outer	Ezek. 22:11
$p967^{Sch}$	XII.r.	52 νβ	Line 45	Left, outer	Ezek. 23:35
$p967^{Sch}$	XIV.r.	54 νδ	Line 17	Left, outer	Ezek. 24:22
$p967^{Sch}$	XIX.v.	61 ξα	Line 11	Right, outer	Ezek. 27:11
$p967^{Sch}$	XX.r.	62 ξβ	Line 26	Left, outer	Ezek. 27:26
$p967^{Sch}$	XXXVII.v.	85 πε	Line 52	Right, outer	Ezek. 38:10
$p967^{Sch}$	XXXVIII.r.	86 πς	Line 16	Left, outer	Ezek. 38:12
$p967^{Sch}$	XLII.r.	90 Q	Line 24	Left, outer	Ezek. 39:26
$p967^{Köln}$	16(1)r.	106 ρς	Line 18	Left, outer	Ezek. 43:19
$p967^{Köln}$	16(1)r.	106 ρς	Line 32	Right, inner	Ezek. 43:22
$p967^{Köln}$	11v.	107 ρζ	Line 19	Left, inner	Ezek. 44:3
$p967^{Köln}$	11v.	107 ρζ	Line 33	Left, outer	Ezek. 44:5
$p967^{Köln}$	16(2)r.	110 ρι	Line 2	Left, outer	Ezek. 44:24
$p967^{Köln}$	16(3)v.	111 ρια	Line 12	Right, outer	Ezek. 45:5
$p967^{Köln}$	16(3)r.	112 ριβ	Line 6	Left, outer	Ezek. 45:11
$p967^{Köln}$	16(6)v.	117 ριζ	Line 27	Left, inner	Ezek. 47:13
$p967^{Köln}$	16(7)v.	120 ρκ	Line 9	Right, inner	Ezek. 48:15
$p967^{Köln}$	16(7)v.	120 ρκ	Line 19	Left, outer	Ezek. 48:16

6.2.6.3.5. Category 6: Larger Ink Blots

26 larger ink blots with little discernible regularity in the left and right margins.

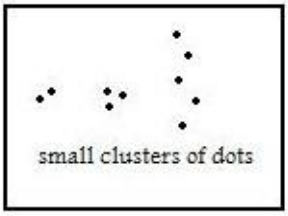


$p967^{CB}$	12.v.	23 κγ	Line 4	Left, inner	Ezek. 13:20
$p967^{CB}$	12.v.	23 κγ	Line 10	Left, inner	Ezek. 13:21
$p967^{CB}$	14.r.	28 κη	Line 9	Left, outer	Ezek. 16:18/19
$p967^{CB}$	15.v.	29 κθ	Line 30	Left, inner	Ezek. 16:34
$p967^{CB}$	17.v.	33 λγ	Line 20	Right, outer	Ezek. 17:7
$p967^{Köln}$	12+42abcr.	36 λς	Line 18	Right, inner	Ezek. 18:16
$p967^{Köln}$	13v.	36 λζ	Line 17	Left, inner	Ezek. 18:24
$p967^{Sch}$	XIX.v.	61 ξα	Line 24	Left, inner	Ezek. 27:13
$p967^{Sch}$	XIX.v.	61 ξα	Line 29	Left, inner	Ezek. 27:15

p967[Sch]	XIX.v.	61 ξα	Line 36	Left, inner	Ezek. 27:16
p967[Sch]	XXX.r.	74 οδ	Line 17	Right, inner	Ezek. 32:22
p967[Sch]	XXXV.v.	83 πγ	Line 3	Right, outer	Ezek. 36:4
p967[Sch]	XXXVI.r.	84 πδ	Line 23	Left, outer	Ezek. 36:16
p967[Sch]	XXXVII.v.	85 πε	Line 8	Right, outer	Ezek. 38:1
p967[Sch]	XXXIX.v.	87 πζ	Line 38	Right, outer	Ezek. 39:1
p967[Sch]	XLI.v.	89 πθ	Line 28	Left, inner	Ezek. 39:17
p967[Köln]	16(1)r.	106 ρς	Line 10	Left, outer	Ezek. 43:18
p967[Köln]	16(1)v.	107 ρζ	Line 47-48	Left, inner	Ezek. 44:6
p967[Köln]	16(2)v.	109 ρθ	Line 46	Left, inside	Ezek. 44:24
p967[Köln]	16(2)r.	110 ρι	Line 11	Left, outer	Ezek. 44:26
p967[Köln]	16(4)v.	113 ριγ	Line 9-10	Left, inner	Ezek. 45:22
p967[Köln]	16(4)v.	113 ριγ	Line 24	Left, inner	Ezek. 45:25
p967[Köln]	16(7)v.	120 ρκ	Line 22	Left, outer	Ezek. 48:17
p967[Köln]	16(7)v.	120 ρκ	Line 38	Left, outer	Ezek. 48:18
p967[Köln]	16(8)r.	121ρκα	Line 40	Right, outer	Ezek. 48:28
p967[Köln]	16(8)r.	121ρκα	Line 47	Right, outer	Ezek. 48:30

6.2.6.3.6. Category 7: Clusters of Small Dots

15 clusters of 2 to 10 small dots in the left and right margins.



p967[Köln]	o.I.r.	40 μ	Line 41	Left, outer	Ezek. 20:15
p967[Köln]	o.I.r.	40 μ	Line 45	Left, outer	Ezek. 20:15
p967[Köln]	o.I.v.	41 μα	Line 4-9	Left, inner	Ezek. 20:17
p967[Sch]	XIX.v.	61 ξα	Line 21-42	Left, inner	Ezek. 27:13-17
p967[Sch]	XXIII.v.	68 ξη	Line 34-36	Left, inner	Ezek. 29:18-19
p967[Sch]	XXIV.r.	68 ξη	Line 35-48	Right, inner	Ezek. 30:10-12
p967[Sch]	XXIX.v.	73 ογ	Line 9	Left, inner	Ezek. 32:9
p967[Sch]	XXXVI.r.	84 πδ	Line 5	Left, outer	Ezek. 36:12
p967[Köln]	16(1)r.	106 ρς	Line 16-27	Left, outer	Ezek. 43:19-20
p967[Köln]	16(1)r.	106 ρς	Line 37	Right, inner	Ezek. 43:22
p967[Köln]	11r.	108 ρη	Line 31-33	Left, outer	Ezek. 44:13
p967[Köln]	16(3)r.	112 ριβ	Line 21	Left, outer	Ezek. 45:15
p967[Köln]	16(6)r.	118 ριη	Line 17-23	Left, outer	Ezek. 47:20-22

p967[Köln]	16(7)v.	120 ρκ	Line 17	Left, inner	Ezek. 48:16
p967[Köln]	16(7)v.	120 ρκ	Line 42	Left, inner	Ezek. 48:19

6.3. Relation of Features to Reading Tradition

6.3.1. Christian Features

p967 was likely a Christian manuscript. We saw above that all the theories of provenance (§6.2.1.1) connect its discovery with Christian locales, whether a church, archive, or a grave.

The thrust of scholarship tends to conclude that the codex form, for the most part, functioned in Christian communities. It is indisputable that Christians favored the codex form for the first three centuries CE.[652] C. H. Roberts advanced the first serious proposal for the Christian preference for the codex in 1954.[653] The argument took account that some Christian texts were manufactured on rolls. However, subsequent manuscript finds confirm that Christians most often preferred the codex form.[654]

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[652] With the discovery of numerous manuscripts from Egypt over the 20th century, scholars began to recognize the uneven distribution of literary form: in the first three centuries CE, Jewish and Greek/Latin literature appeared in roll form, while Christian texts appeared in the form of a codex. By the 6th century, the roll went largely out of favor. See Roberts and Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex,* 75.

[653] C. H. Roberts, "The Codex," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 40 (1954): 169-204. However, the suggestion was already in circulation fifty years earlier, so Caspar R. Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament* (International Theological Library; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 322-323.

[654] Turner refined and developed the work of C.H. Roberts and developed his now famous typology of codices. His typology presents clear data reflecting Christian preference for the codex form, (Turner, *Typology,* 1 et passim**)**. Roberts and Skeats' *Birth of the Codex* shows that of the 172 Christian biblical manuscripts before 400CE, 158 adopt the codex, while only 14 are on rolls. (Roberts and Skeat, *Birth*, 40). Their conclusion: "the Christian adoption of the codex seems to have been instant and universal," (idem. *Birth,* 53). Most recently, Larry W. Hurtado provided renewed discussion on the basis of subsequent manuscript publications, (Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins,* (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 2006), 47 n.15.

Various theories of origins give more or less weight to possible Christian influence. C.H Roberts proposed that the earliest Christians developed the codex in order to distinguish their Scriptures from the Jewish rolls, (see the longer discussion of the 'hypothesis' in C.H.Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *Birth*, 54-61). Harry Gamble proposes that Paul's writings were the catalyst for the popularity of the codex-form and influenced the later Christian near-exclusive use of the form, (Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, 42-81). Others

In addition to the codex form, scholars have also charted the close relationship between Christian manuscripts and scribal practices regarding the *nomina sacra*. T. S. Skeat's 1969 discussion established the contraction of the *nomina sacra*'s observed connection with the codex form. He argued that both were characteristic of Christian texts.[655] While some disagreement persists about the genealogy of the *nomina sacra*, it is certainly true that Christians abbreviated κυριος and θεος and extended the practice to Trinitarian names.[656] So, in p967, we find πνευμα contracted at Ezek 18:31; 21:12, although the Daniel section furnishes at least three more cases.[657]

p967's codex form and its *nomina sacra* largely warrant the conclusion that the reading community was Christian.[658] However, some isolated evidence could point away

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place much less weight on the influence of Christians for the development of the form. For instance, Turner emphasizes materialist-social factors, believing the papyrus codex was a "second-class" book, (Turner, *Typology*, 37). Similarly, G. Cavallo argued in 1975 that the codex was typical of lower class works, such as the popular romance. Guglielmo Cavallo, *Libri, Editori e Pubblico nel Monda antico: Guida storicae critica* (Biblioteca universal Laterza 315; Rome: Laterza, 1975), 83-86. However, Roberts and Skeat convincingly refute the quality of Cavallo's evidence, (Roberts and Skeat, *Birth*, 69). Finally, Roberts and Skeat claim the codex was originally a Roman invention, popularized by Christians, (Roberts and Skeat, *Birth*, 24). All scholars advance the similar suggestion, first proposed by Roberts and Skeat, that the parchment notebook is the prototype from which the codex form developed, (idem, *Birth*, 15-23, 54).

[655] T.C. Skeat, "Early Christian Book-Production: Papyri and Manuscripts," *The Cambridge of the Bible: Volume 2, The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, (ed. G. W. H. Lampe; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 72-73. Ludwig Traube offered the pioneer study on *nomina sacra*, coining the term. See the discussion of L.W. Hurtado, *Earliest*, 95 esp.n.2.

[656] For a good discussion, see Hurtado, *Earliest*, 96-98. Hurtado's full theory on the development of the Christian *nomina sacra* deserves mention. He proposes that the contraction of Trinitarian names and Jesus in particular were related to gematria (symbolism which assigns numerical value to alphabetical characters). He relates the contraction of the divine name to the Greek convention of placing horizontal strokes over numbers, (Hurtado, 116-117).

[657] The contractions of πνευμα occur at Dan. 3:86; 5:23; 6:3 in $p967^{CB}$.

[658] This conclusion is most recently challenged by theories about the emergent relationships between Jewish and Christian textual practices. So in 1973, Kurt Treu argued that *nomina sacra* and the codex form were originally taken up by Christians from Jewish prototypes. Robert Kraft takes Treu's position up. However, their position is convincingly refuted by Hurtado with respect to the specific features of codex-form and *nomina sacra*, (Hurtado, *Earliest*, 107-108). Nevertheless, Robert Kraft's more carefully crafted argument invites scholars to reconsider the extent to which early Christianity relies on its Jewish heritage in more broadly construed practices of textual mechanics. The merit of Kraft's position is

from a Christian identity. Contracted numbers are only arguably a sign of Christian copyists. p967 presents several cases of contracted numbers (see §6.2.5.7).[659] Turner demonstrates that number contraction was a Greek "documentary" influence that *became* characteristic of Christian practices.[660] In other words, the phenomenon of number contraction is a somewhat ambiguous marker of identity.

More significantly, p967 contains a curious case of a contracted divine name. As seen above, contraction for the term πνευμα "spirit" did occur in a few places. However, p967 presents a contracted form of πνευματα "spirits" at Dan 3:65 with the form πνα̅. The last three words of line 23 read, παντα τα πνα. The contraction appears on a leaf in p967$^{\text{Köln}}$ which is partially broken on the left margin; the beginning of line 24 is broken at the first letter, but I read [τ]ον κ(ν) υμνειται. Even with the broken first letter on the next line, it is clear that πνα is not part of a word that wraps to the next line; Indeed, all other witnesses read πνευματα for πνα. The anomaly here is the contraction of the *plural* form of πνευμα, so "spirits." Even more curious, the context of the verse warrants the translation "winds." It is possible that πνευματα was contracted because it occurs at the end of a line, but elsewhere this practice only affects the final *nu*. It is more likely that πνευματα, like πνευμα elsewhere in the manuscript, was recognized as a divine name. This raises the question about the religious identity/beliefs of the scribe that would treat plural "spirits" as divine; they cannot certainly refer to the third person of the Trinity.

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an important cognizance of the social fluidity of the identity designations we use to characterize texts and their readers. R. Kraft, "Textual Mechanics," 68.

[659] Hurtado suggests (footnote above) that number symbolism may have been a factor in the development of the contracted *nomina sacra*. Perhaps too, the contraction of numbers betray an interest in gematria, although I have not inquired into the issue here. It would certainly be an interesting line of inquiry, as already suggested by Robert A. Kraft, "The 'Textual Mechanics'," 53.

[660] E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 18. See also C. H. Roberts, *Manuscripts,* 18.

Further, since the context suggests a natural connotation "winds," is this even distinctly Christian nomenclature? To answer this question is outside the scope of this study; but the question itself qualifies the conclusion that p967 is distinctly Christian.

Finally, p967's format does not resemble typical biblical codices. Eric Turner, whose typology of the codex is still a reliable catalogue, places p967 in Group 8. This group consists of considerably tall codices, a feature which Turner singles out as significant to its manufacture.[661] p967 is still further singled out as even taller than the others, as a member of "Aberrant Class 1 of Group 8."[662] The only other similarly sized biblical codex is Luke's gospel from Oxyrhynchus. Meanwhile, the other manuscripts in p967's class are two copies of Homer, Zenophon, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and two magic texts.

In a second, more general comparison of format, Turner lists early codices with 50 or more lines per page.[663] On this list, p967 is once again in the clear minority as one of only 3 biblical texts.[664] Among the 33 Greek texts listed are two copies of Hesiod's *Theogony*, Plato's *Republic*, and several copies of Homer.

It is important to point out that, in general, extant Greek literary texts are more numerous than biblical ones.[665] However, biblical texts occur far more frequently in Turner's other categories. For instance, 80% of the codices in group 11 (miniature-sized

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[661] Turner, *Typology*, 23.

[662] Turner, *Typology*, 20-21.

[663] Turner, Table 14, *Typology*, 96-97.

[664] Turner actually calls p967 the only identifiably Christian codex; he disqualifies Numbers-Deuteronomy, as an OT book, and Codex Alexandrinus, as a very large *parchment* codex. Turner, *Typology*, 97.

[665] Even still, Roberts and Skeat demonstrated that Greek literature more often appeared in roll form. See footnote above.

format) are biblical or identifiably Christian.[666] Thus, the relative paucity of biblical/Christian texts with formats similar to p967 remains noteworthy. p967 is, in format, an unusual codex.

It is clear from the above discussion that a variety of factors bear on the identity of p967. It is more probably still the case that p967 derives from Christian circles. The contractions of θεος, κυριος, the Christian preference for the codex format, along with the theories of provenance largely favor Christian identity. Further, the manuscripts of the Chester Beatty collection, which include the gospels and other New Testament books, probably represent an ancient Christian archive.[667] However, p967 shows association with Greek literature in both format and documentary practices.

Even more relevant to the present study is the subsequent question: in what way is it meaningful to describe a manuscript as Christian, and what do we then know about the reading community? Certainly, a Christian manuscript could reflect the variety of beliefs and social expressions of early Christianity in Egypt. For example, the divine status of "winds" in p967 provides a lens into the specific beliefs that may have distinguished p967's manufacturers, if not its readers.[668] Nevertheless, the importance of biblical texts

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[666] Groups 5, 6, 7, and 9 all contain roughly half of biblical or Christian texts.

[667] See Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri: Writing Ancient History*, (New York: Routledge, 1995), 40-47 who offers a measured discussion on the relationship between archives and manuscripts of individual texts. G.D. Kilpatrick, who speculates that the Chester Beatty collection consists of those cloistered library manuscripts which survived the Christian persecutions under Diocletian, has no evidence. G. D. Kilpatrick, *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* (1963): 38.

[668] As a comparison, see David W. Johnson, "Anti-Chalcedonian Polemics in Coptic Texts, 451-641," in *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, (ed. B.A. Pearson and J.E. Goehring; Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 216-234. See also Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and the related and well-received work of Ehrman's student, Wayne C. Kannady, *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition: Evidence of the Influence of Apologetic Interests on the Text of the Canonical Gospels* (SBL Text Critical Studies 5; Atlanta: SBL, 2004). This issue is similar to the one that plays out regarding Jewish precursors to Christian codicological mechanics and manufacture. As Robert Kraft argues there, we must proceed with a nuanced sensitivity to

to both liturgy and study in early Christianity invites the discussion below on p967's liturgical and study functions.

6.3.2. A Liturgical Function?

6.3.2.1. What the Codex Format Says About Function

The codex format is conducive to repeated and/or oral reading. In addition to easily accessed free pages of the book-format, pagination supports the codex's reading functions. It is well established that the primary function of pagination aided in the manufacture of codices, preventing leaves from getting out of order. However, they surely functioned secondarily as references for repeated reading.[669] Additionally, several scribal mechanics would aid a reader such as dieresis, breathing marks, sense marks, and paragraphing. For a continuously wrapped text, these features would bring needed guidance to facilitate reading or oral performance.[670]

Eric Turner postulates a difference between codices for study and those meant to be read aloud.[671] He distinguishes on the basis of handwriting and its readability. In his discussion, Turner lifts up p967 (CB IX-X) as an example of a congregational codex, pointing out its unique paleography:

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the hybridity of social identities and commitments reflected by codicological information. Robert Kraft, "Textual Mechanics," 51-72. Scholars are showing growing support for the idea that Christianity and Judaism in Egypt participated in a closer nexus. See A. F. J. Klijn, "Jewish Christianity in Egypt," in *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, (ed. B.A. Pearson and J.E. Goehring; Philadelphia: Wipf and Stock, 1986), 161-175. See also in the same volume, B. A. Pearson, "The Earliest Christianity in Egypt: Some Observations," in *The Roots*, 150.

[669] Roberts and Skeat, 49-51, esp. n5.

[670] See discussion in Hurtado, *Earliest*, 177-185.

[671] Bernard Knox believes that all codices are for reading aloud. Bernard M. W. Knox, "Silent Reading in Antiquity," *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 9 (1968): 421. See also G. L. Hendrickson, "Ancient Reading," *CJ* 25 (1929): 182-96.

> Scholars have not been able to point to any precise palaeographic parallel for Chester Beatty Codex IX-X (OT 183). The handwriting has at one and the same time elements that are familiar and unfamiliar. As explanation I suggest that in it handwritings that are practiced and clear but of no special merit have been produced to a greater size than normal to ease the task of reading aloud.[672]

p967 presents several unique features beyond its paleography which many attribute to a liturgical function. As discussed above, p967's height is an aberrant feature as well. Kenyon originally reported that the p967 codex was "exceptionally tall and narrow,"[673] which Fernández-Galiano considered a format especially suited for handling in liturgy.[674] In fact, Stanley Porter asserts that the burden of proof lies on the claim that codices were *not* used in liturgy.[675] Turner, Fernández-Galiano, and Porter offer reasonable judgments, but by no means provided sufficient argumentation for their speculations.

With significantly more basis, Hurtado brought Turner's data to bear on function, arguing that codex p967 was meant to be read aloud. We already saw above Turner's point about the larger height and more easily legible script. Turner already surmised that this aberrant feature was to "ease the task of public reading aloud."[676] Hurtado adduces p967's narrow columns of text as aids for oral reading. He further draws on p967's height as an important indicator of function.[677] Many codices were quite small or "compact" (10-15 x 15-20 cm) which Hurtado suggests were for personal use, their size

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[672] Turner, *Typology,* 85.

[673] Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* vii.

[674] Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," 18.

[675] Stanley E. Porter, "Why So Many Holes in the Papyrological Evidence for the Greek New Testament?," in *The Bible as a Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text,* (ed. S. McKendrick and O.A. O'Sullivan; New Castle, De.: Oak Knoll Press, 2003), 175.

[676] Turner, *Typology,* 85 and Hurtado, *Earliest,* 173 n64.

[677] Hurtado, *Earliest,* 163 n27.

increasing the likelihood that they functioned as personal traveling texts. In contrast, p967's height militates against the designation "compact." So while some would characterize all codices as compact, p967 likely functioned differently than these smaller, travel-size codices.[678]

It is worth noting that liturgical function is often adduced to explain the origin of the Greek translations.[679] While this explanation comes under considerable scrutiny, few would disagree that *later* Greek manuscripts functioned in liturgical settings. For example, it is well established that Jewish synagogues prescribed annual reading of the Bible in worship.[680]

The weight of the above discussion supports the theory that p967 served a public reading function, likely liturgical.[681] However, some further clarification may be possible

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[678] Hurtado challenges scholarly assumptions like those advanced by Eldon Epp that *all* codices were small and thus convenient for travel, (p. 157). Hurtado's ten page discussion concludes that difference in size, however insignificant to scholars like Epp, "*does* permit some inferences about their intended uses," (p. 165, emphasis mine). Hurtado, *Earliest,* 155-165.

[679] Thackeray mounted the original and long-withstanding argument for the liturgical rationale for the Old Greek. However, his theory was strongly refuted by Perrot, especially for the Prophets. C. Perrot, "La lecture de la Bible dans la diaspora hellénistique," *Études sur le judaisme* hellénistique, ed. R. Kuntzmann and J. Schlosser, (Lectio divina 119; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1984), 109-132. See also the very good summary discussion in J. M. Dines, *The Septuagint*, (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 47-50.

[680] Often and ironically, it is the church fathers who supply the earliest evidence that the LXX was the Bible used in the Jewish synagogue services, i.e. Cleomenedes refers to the bad Greek used in the synagogue. Regarding the Babylonian and Palestinian lectionary cycles, Perrot himself has provided a detailed discussion of the role of the Bible in Jewish worship, C. Perrot, "The Reading of the Bible in the Ancient Synagogue," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, (ed. M.J. Mulder; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 137-159. See also Ezra Fleischer, "Annual and Triennial Reading of the Bible in the Old Synagogue," *Tarbiz* 61 (1991):25-43. (In Hebrew with an English summary pp. ii-iii).

[681] For a discussions of scribalism in Egyptian Christianity, see Peter van Minnen, "Greek Papyri and Coptic Studies, 1996-2000," in *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden 2000* (ed., Mat Immerzeel and Jacques van der Vliet; Leiden: Peeters Publishers, 2004), 423-446. Van Minnen offers some general observations on the contributions of papyrology on the study of early Egyptian Christianity. His essay builds on the earlier essay of Bagnall which devotes a short section to the same question. Roger S. Bagnall, "Greek and Coptic Studies, 1990-1995," in *Hellenstic and Roman Egypt: Sources and Approaches* (Collected Edition; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 219-230, esp. 224ff; originally published in *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit 2* (ed., Schrifttum, Sprache und Gedankenwelt; Wiesbaden:

and is certainly desirable. Second and third century Christian worship included reading, preaching, singing, and catechetical instruction.[682] Reading could either be *lectio continua*, the continuous reading of the whole book, or follow a set of select chapters or verses. Preaching would follow these readings, although it might occasionally be offered extemporaneously.[683] A biblical manuscript could also serve as a basis for music.[684] Finally, catechetical instruction was an important function of both traveling and institutional teachers.[685] Thus, various liturgical elements could form the functional context for p967's use, and indeed, we need not isolate just one.

6.3.2.2. What the Marginal Marks in p967 Say about Function

As we just saw, many scholars suggest that several codicological features of p967 point to a liturgical function. Indeed, one of the formatting capacities distinctive of a codex is the space provided by the margins. As Eric Turner noted,

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Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1999), 219-230. On an earlier assessment of the paucity of papyrological evidence for the history of Gnosticism, see C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript*, 52-54.

[682] Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and others indicate the important role of the Septuagint in worship, especially the prophets. See the helpful discussion of Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church: Volume 1 The Biblical Period* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 245-352, especially 251-277. See also J. A. Lamb, "The Place of the Bible in the Liturgy," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: Vol 1, From the Beginnings to Jerome* (ed., P. R. Ackroyd, C. F. Evans, G. W. Lampe, and S. L Greenslade; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 563-583.

[683] Eusebius tells us that Origen preached *extempore* towards the end of his career, Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 36, I.

[684] For example, some marks indicate directions for choral lyric, (Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 116-117). See also Robert F. Taft, "Christian Liturgical Psalmody: Origins, Development, Decomposition and Collapse" in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Tradition* (eds., Harry Attridge and Margot Fassler; SBL Symposium Series 25; Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 7-32. Edward Foley, *Foundations of Christian Music: The Music of Pre-Constantinian Christianity*, (American Essays in Liturgy; Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 96-97.

[685] The Didache 11.1; 11.10; and 15.1 indicates as much. Chapter 11-13 of the Didache are devoted to traveling teachers. 15.1-2 speaks about appointing institutional teachers. See discussion of H. O. Old, *Reading and Preaching*, 251-265.

> There can, indeed, be little doubt that the codex form gave an active encouragement to the practice of marginal annotation. The columns of writing are much more distinctly separated from each other than in the roll, and the outside margins of the pages invite annotation.[686]

While the marginal marks in p967 may have helped facilitate liturgical readings, their variety and density deserve more careful attention. A body of critical scholarship on the matter is only in early stages; a comprehensive study of the types of marginal marks that appear in Greek codices should certainly be taken up in further work. For the present, in light of this scholarly lacuna, my analysis will be a measured exploration of the marks' liturgical and reading functions. Emanuel Tov's comprehensive study of scribal practices in the Hebrew manuscripts from the Judean desert can serve as a useful comparison. In some cases, he provides some observations about Greek manuscripts, but the focus is clearly on the Hebrew manuscripts.[687] However, his discussions of section and highlighting marks are comparable to the analysis of similar features below.[688]

6.3.2.3. Marginal Marks and Reading Use

Some of the questions of function may be answered by the numerous marginal marks that appear around the columnar text.[689] I divided these marks into seven categories (see §6.2.6.3). These marks are distributed across the portion of Ezekiel

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[686] Turner, *Greek Papyri,* 122.

[687] See especially, Tov, *Scribal,* 303-316.

[688] Tov, *Scribal,* 178-236.

[689] For one study that would support this proposal, see Porter who analyzes markers in lectionary texts and compares them with those found in biblical manuscripts. Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter, *New Testament Greek Papyri and Parchments: New Editions,* (Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer] New Series, 29 and 30; Berlin: Walter DeGruyter, 2008).

according to the following chart. The chart calculates the percentage of marks per extant verse.

Table 2: Reading Marks per Chapter: (% of verses)

Chapter	% of marks per verse	vv. missing because of broken (B) text or in $p967^{Mad}$ (Mad), which has not been examined by me to date. [calculated % in column 2, taking account of these missing verses]
12	0	10 vv. B
15	0	
19	0	
21	0	
25	0	
46	4.2	
14	4.8	2 vv. B
26	4.8	
31	5.6	
23	6.1	
22	6.5	
35	6.7	
34	8	6 vv. Mad
13	9.5	2 vv. B
16	10.3	5 vv. B
28	10.5	7 vv. Mad
29	11.1	12 vv. Mad
30	11.5	
38	13	
39	13.8	
32	14.3	2 vv. Mad
24	14.8	
20	16.3	
17	16.7	
36	17.4	
18	18.8	
47	21.7	
27	25	
37	25	24 vv. Mad
44	32	
48	37.1	
45	40	

43	55.6	9 vv. Mad
33		All vv. Mad
40		All vv. Mad
41		All vv. Mad
42		All vv. Mad

As the following discussion will demonstrate, marks that fall into categories 1-2 are best classified as "reading marks," either as aids for public reading or for personal study. The marginal words (category 1,) can hardly be explained otherwise.[690] The same is true of category 2, the eclectic marks in §6.2.6.3.1.[691] The latter are distinctive enough,

[690] See C. D. Osburn, "The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (eds., B. D. Ehrman, M. W. Holmes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 61-74. The presence of marginal notations does not immediately signal a liturgical function. In fact, in other cases where they appear, scholars have concluded otherwise. For example, the manuscript of Chester Beatty Isaiah (p965), dated by Kenyon to the 3rd century, contains 47 Coptic glosses in the margins. W. E. Crum provided the analysis for publication, stating, "no other Greek bible [sic] ms. thus annotated with Coptic glosses has hitherto come to light," (p. ix). He sees private edification, not liturgy as the probable function. Although several factors of manuscript corruption rendered Crum's conclusions admittedly "anything but reliable," in the cases he could work out, the function seemed to be grammatical correction (p. x). In this sense, the Isaiah manuscript does not serve as a real comparison for p967 Ezekiel whose notations cannot be explained by grammatical concerns. W. E. Crum, "The Coptic Glosses," in *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible: Fasciculus VI: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ecclesiasticus* (ed., Frederic G. Kenyon; Oxford: University Press, 1937), ix-xii. Codex Sinaiticus is another example of a Greek uncial with marginal notations serving corrective and commentary not liturgical functions. (See John J. Brogan, "Another Look at Codex Sinaiticus," in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text,* eds. S. McKendrick and O. A. O'Sullivan (New Castle, De.: Oak Knoll Press, 2003), 17-32.) Brogan updates the standard work by H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus,* (London: The Brittish Museum, 1938). It is even possible that they have a magical function. See Roberts, *Manuscripts,* 82-83. With respect to the marginal notations in p967 Ezekiel, Fernández-Galiano thought that the five words of which he was aware (from $p967^{Sch}$ and $p967^{Mad}$) indicated a liturgical function. "Tambien en el margen superior encontramos pequenas indicaciones cursivas que, sin duda, servian para facilitar al lector la busqueda de determinados pasajes para el rito." Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas Paginas," , 20.

[691] De Bruin's study of Scriptural unit division suggests that a cross/plus mark, which I would label category 2, "may be liturgical." W. M. de Bruin, "Interpreting Delimiters," 87. For more on the cross sign, see Turner, *Greek Papyri,* 116-117. Turner provides another interesting more general suggestion regarding critical signs. He showed that *hypomnemata,* or Greek commentary texts (which somewhat resemble *pesharim*) reproduce running lemmata for commentary on a text furnished with critical signs. Turner asks the logical question, is it possible "that a text furnished with critical signs implies the existence of a commentary to explain the signs? The presence of critical signs in literary papyri has been recognized for a long time especially in papyri of Homer, but in practice they have been neglected by textual critics and treated as without significance," (Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 115). For instance, as Turner adduces the evidence of Aristophanes' commentary texts which were penned in a separate book in the third century C.E. (contemporary with p967), but by the fifth century, the comments appeared directly in the margins of

often prominently displayed, and in most cases carefully formed. These two categories offer the strongest indication of what passages held special significance for the reading community who interpreted p967 Ezekiel.

The function of the remainder of the marks, categories 3-7, is less clear at a casual glance.[692] Johnson hypothesized that they were the marks of the scribe cleaning his stylus. However, the highly uneven distribution, as noted in Table 2 above, makes this explanation unlikely.

Categories 3 and 4, the horizontal (–) and diagonal (/) dashes are the most systematic in form and may thus be fruitfully examined for function. In Tov's analysis of Hebrew manuscripts, he determined that similar types of marks indicated paragraphs and readings sections.[693] However, in p967 the dashes do not offer a system of sense divisions. The horizontal dash (–) corresponds with the beginning or ending of a sense unit only 7 times (18:18; 20:20, 21; 24:25; 43:13; 45:25; 47:1, 6, 23), while even fewer diagonal dashes (/) do (18:21; 20:1; 22:3; and 24:18). The remaining 10 occurrences of the horizontal dash (–) occur in the middle of a sense unit (18:8; 23:23; 27:19; 31:8; 32:4; 35:11; 43:21; 44:19; 45:14; 46:20; 48:5 x2),[694] while the diagonal dashes (/) do so 16

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the codex. It is certainly an interesting possibility that certain marks in p967 correspond with a commentary text, now lost. Whatever the case, these marks may still be recognized as 'reading marks' signaling important sections of text.

[692] Turner discusses such marks as I label categories 3-7 in the context of Greek literary manuscripts. The practices extend across literary genres and authors, including Homer and prose authors. In this wider context, Turner agrees, "the most frequently occurring signs have no precise intrinsic signification, and need an explanation to make them intelligible," (Turner, *Greek Papyri,* 116).

[693] Tov, *Scribal*, 179-187. p967 goes against Greek cases as well, see Aristotle's *Rhetoric* 3.8 1409a.20.

[694] With respect to sense units, the dashes that extend into the block of text do not hold any special significance. The dashes (–) that extend into the text at 18:18 and 47:23 marks sense units, but the ones at 18:8 and 45:14 do not.

times (16:19; 17:18; 18:22; 20:20; 23:12; 26:12; 27:6; 27:34; 28:13; 30:4; 32:5; 34:8, 18; 44:18; 45:15; 48:7).

Likewise, the dashes are not a system of text-critical marks as a result of textual comparison. From the manuscripts known to Septuagint scholars today, the horizontal dash (–) corresponds to a meaningful textual variant only 8 times (18:8, 18; 27:19; 35:11; 43:13; 46:20; 47:1, 6) and the diagonal dash (/) only 8 times (17:18; 26:12; 27:6; 28:13; 30:4; 32:5; 34:8; 45:15). Thirteen horizontal dashes (–) (20:20, 21; 23:23; 24:25; 31:8; 32:4; 43:21; 44:19; 45:14; 45:25; 47:23; 48:5 x2) and 12 diagonal dashes (/) (16:19; 18:21, 22; 20:1, 20; 22:3; 23:12; 24:18; 27:34; 34:18; 44:18; 48:7) do not correspond with meaningful text-critical issues.[695]

Finally, as discussed above, the marks are not left by the scribe cleaning his stylus. Having ruled out three viable hypotheses for the function of the marks, it is increasingly likely that the system of dashes represent some sort of interpretive reading marks, probably highlighting sections of text with particular significance.[696] Of course, this hardly solves the problem of their significance, since they could highlight the text in several different ways. For example, the dashes could highlight a set of passages, verses, or phrases that are meant to be read sequentially, that are thematically related, or they may have little system to them at all, representing rather, idiosyncratic marks according to scribal/reading interests.

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[695] As above, the horizontal dashes (–) which extend into the textual block divide evenly between marking textual issues (18:8, 18) and having no relationship to textual issues (45:14; 47:23).

[696] Compare the remarks of Epiphanius that types of marks refer to different subject matters (e.g., an X marks passages concerning the messiah). Epiphanius, *Weights and Measures* cf. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia graeca* Vol. 43, 237. See also J. E. Dean, *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 11; Chicago: University Press, 1935), 15.

6.3.3. Analysis of the Interpretive Interests of the Reading Community

The preceding discussion has shed some light on p967's function and reading community. Some of the features, it was argued, point to reading interests. Marginal marks categories 1-4 provide the best window into sections of text that held particular interest for the reading community. In particular, all of the marginal words relate thematically with the contents of the pages on which they appear. Some marginal marks may reflect a liturgical function.

By way of a general introduction to the discussion below, one clear interest of p967's readers was the temple. Table 2 above shows sections of relative readings use in p967. Chapters 40-48 stand out as the chapters with the greatest number of marginal marks. Chapter 43 was the most heavily annotated; 55.6% of its verses were marked in some way. Six chapters are notated at a density of over 20%: chs. 43, 45, 48, 44, 27, and 47 in descending order. The strikingly high percentage of reading marks in chs. 43, 44, 45, 47, and 48 appear to reflect a concerted interest in the content of Ezekiel's temple vision.

The importance of the temple is underscored by the work of John Olley on the paragraph marks in p967. Olley's valuable studies on the paragraphing in Ezekiel manuscripts showed that the sense divisions in chs. 40-48 developed in notably distinctive trajectories. In chs. 40-48, Olley finds that p967's sparse paragraphing is significantly developed in the Greek manuscript tradition. The Hebrew tradition also develops, but less so and in different ways than the Greek.[697] These disparities in the alternate paragraphing of chs. 40-48 led Olley to ask whether liturgical/exegetical can

[697] Olley, "Paragraphing," 214; and idem, "Trajectories," 209.

explain the divergent trajectories.[698] It may be the case that different reading sections prompted divergences in paragraphing. It is certainly true that the marked density of interest and the history of paragraphing in chs. 40-48 suggest that the reading community was especially interested in Ezekiel's temple vision.

6.3.3.1. Marginal Words / Marginal Notations

The marginal words provide clear insight into the interpretive interests of the reading community. In this section, I will explore the relationship between the marginal words and the exegetical content of the leaves on which they appear. I am interested in how the words thematize or highlight aspects of the Ezekiel text.

6.3.3.1.1. Ezek 28:9-19

εμ]πορω[ν "(concerning) merchants"[699]

Page 64 (ξδ)

The entire unit of vv 11-19 fits on the page, suggesting the marginal word relates to this lament. Ezek. 28:9-19 is part of a longer oracle against the king of Tyre. However, the marginal notation appears to re-contextualize it for a mercantile audience. Exegetically, the verses support a universalizing application. Verses 11-19 offer a critique of human economic proclivities, wherein Edenic abundance gives way to the violence of trade (v. 16). In fact, the intertextual allusions to Adam and the garden of Eden from Genesis 2-3 summon primeval and paradigmatic human behaviors. In this

[698] Olley, "Trajectories," 221; and idem, "Paragraphing," 215.

[699] See discussion and analysis of marginal words in §6.2.6.2 above.

case, the king of Tyre's beauty and access to splendor leads him to his destruction, being cast from the dwelling of the gods. As Zimmerli points out, vv. 11-19 concern themselves to "an unusual degree with material of a mythic nature."[700] Mythic material lends itself to universalized behaviors and easily refers beyond any one specific horizon of significance. Indeed, it would seem that p967's readers found in the lament over Tyre, a major center of trade in the Mediterranean world, a critique of human economic proclivities relevant to their own day.

The manuscript reveals an even more specific concern with trade. A category 2 mark (a double hatch mark), amplifies verse 28:18, "in the unrighteousness of your trade you profaned your sanctuaries". In this sense, it seems the reading community intended to refer, not only to mercantile life in general, but specifically to the ways in which trade defiles sanctuaries.

6.3.3.1.2. Ezek 30:1-13

θ συντελει "God fulfills"

Page 68 (ξη)

Chapter 30:1-13 falls within the larger sequence of seven oracles against Egypt in chs. 29-32 (29:1-16; 29:17-20; 30:1-19; 30:20-26; 31:1-18; 32:1-16; and 32:17-32). Of the seven oracles, 30:1-19 is the only one not introduced by a date formula.[701] The reading community of p967 may have seen fulfillment of the timeless oracle in more recent events of their past for a prophecy-fulfillment re-contextualization. Whether they

[700] Zimmerli, 2:73.

[701] Perhaps it is significant that a double hatch mark occurs at 30:1-2, where one would expect to see the date formula.

interpreted a literal "end" to Egypt, or whether Egypt held some symbolic significance, the codex does not indicate. In either case, it does seem significant that a codex hailing from Egypt would hold the fulfillment of an ancient Jewish prophecy against Egypt significant to its own time. It may be significant that the marginal notation renders the verb "to fulfill" in the present tense, perhaps indicating that the prophecy is continuously fulfilled in a non-literal/spiritual sense.

6.3.3.1.3. Ezek 32:30-33:8

συ]νεστωτ(ων) "uniting" (?)

Page 75 (οε)

Some difficulty reconstructing the notation on page 75 affects the uncertainty of its relationship with the contents of the page.[702] A few lexical possibilities may be entertained on the basis of their exegetical significance.[703] 1) συνιστημι, "set together": συνεστωτων, "(concerning) matters read together". It is possible that the content of this folio, Ezek. 32:30-33:8 is meant to be 'read together' with another passage. One possible partner passage is ch. 30 with its marginal notation on page 68 regarding the fulfillment of an oracle against Egypt. Chapter 32 concludes the oracles against Egypt; thus the shared material could warrant viewing the two as 'united' texts. However, in §6.2.6.2, we saw that the script of the notation on page 68 is unique and probably penned by a different hand than the one on page 75. The suggestion loses some of its merit on this account. A second possibility is that the two pericopes on page 75 should be read

[702] Recall, the page is slightly broken at the top, and a lexical definition was difficult to determine without using context. Even with context, as the current discussion reveals, the lexical meaning is unclear.

[703] Lexical entries based on Liddel and Scott.

together, the end of chapter 32 with the words of 33:1-8, an exegetical possibility to be discussed as number three. 2) συνιστημι, "to form a union (in a hostile sense)". In this sense, συνεστωτων could read, "(concerning) the conspirators" and refer to the nations of ch. 32 who are fated to the pit. Indeed, the nations are "set together" as the previous definition indicates. 3) συνιστημι, "arise, become, take place". As a perfect participle, συνεστωτων could mean, "(concerning) matters that took place". This notation could refer to either ch. 32:30-32 or to ch. 33:1-8. In 33:1-8, the son of man serves as the watchman and warns his people of the coming of judgment. If the notation refers to 33:1-8, the significance could be messianic, indicating that a son of man arose to enact the matters described in this passage. If the notation refers to 32:30-32, it may indicate that the reading community understood world powers to be eliminated and interned in permanent captivity. Phrases such as, "gone down in shame" and "for all the terror which they caused" (v. 30) affirm the depravity of political aspirations to power, and the ultimate powerlessness the enemy nations have as a result of divine judgment.

However, none of these possibilities is fully satisfactory, and after further inquiry, the marginal notation may yield a different interpretation altogether.

6.3.3.1.4. Ezek 39:23-29 and 37:1-4

αναστασεως "(concerning) resurrection"

Page 90 (Q)

The page contains the last seven verses of ch. 39 (vv. 23-29), but the notation probably refers to the beginning of ch. 37 which begins about two thirds of the way down the page. Chapter 37 is marked with the double hatch mark, likely directing the reader's

attention to the beginning of the "resurrection" reading. The mark may indicate the beginning of a liturgical reading.

Ezekiel 37 was not always read in light of eschatological ideas about resurrection. Its life in post-exilic Israel bore the historical hopes for restoration of its audiences.[704] As Zimmerli states, the chapter "expresses the event of the restoration and regathering of the politically defeated all-Israel."[705] The interpretation of Ezekiel's vision as resurrection may be found in 4 Macc. 18:17; Sib. Or. 2.221-226 and 4.179-182; Barnabas 12:1; and the Apocalypse of Peter 4:7-9. Christian patristic authors overwhelmingly took Ezekiel 37 to be about resurrection as well.[706] Even Jewish tradition understood the vision of the bones as resurrection, as evinced by the frieze at Dura Europas.[707] The frieze depicts a real resurrection of the dead, not a repatriation of an historical Israel. However, other Jewish commentaries continue the traditions that understood the "resurrection" in historical terms. Most interesting is the tradition that understood the dried bones as the

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[704] Zimmerli, 2:258; Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 741; for a slightly different view, see Eichrodt, 507. More generally, see Jon Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven: Yale, 2006), 161-162, 199. Even Pseudo-Ezekiel's use of Ezek 37 refers to an historical restoration. See Johannes Tromp, "'Can These Bones Live?' Ezekiel 37:1-14 and Eschatological Resurrection," in *The Book of Ezekiel and Its Influence* (eds., J. J. de Jonge and Johannes Tromp; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 61-78. For the opposite position on the "resurrection" in Pseudo-Ezekiel, see Dimant, "Pseudo-Ezekiel," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds., Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, New York: Oxford Press, 2000), 283. For the critical edition of Pseudo-Ezekiel, see Devorah Dimant, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert XXX: Qumran Cave 4 XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 7-88.

[705] Zimmerli, 2:264.

[706] For a list see Zimmerli, 2:264 n.35.

[707] Carl H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue*, The Yale University Excavations at Dura-Europos final report 8, part 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956). See Rachel Wischnitzer-Bernstein, "The Conception of the Resurrection in the Ezekiel Panel of the Dura Synagogue," *JBL* 60 (1941): 43-55.

Northern Kingdom. According to a fragment of the Palestinian Targum, the dead who die in exile refers to the Ephraimites.[708]

As the marginal notation indicates, the reading community of p967 clearly read chapter 37 as referring to resurrection (αναστασις – "raising up").[709] However, it is unclear whether p967's distinctive chapter order held any special significance.[710] The marginalia do not shed significant light on the issue (see chapters 3 and 4). In p967, chapters 38-39 are marked with three category five, three category six, and one category two marks. These marks represent only 13% density per verse, and can hardly be used to argue that the contents of chs. 38-39 held any special place among the readers of p967. Even less do they point to a definite interpretive connection between the Gog-Magog battle with the resurrection. Lacking marginal words or a clear pattern of idiosyncratic marks, it cannot be known to what extent the reading community was interested in p967's alternate eschatological sequence. It may be that they were more concerned with the connections between the resurrection and the military fulfillments in the Egyptian oracles, if the notation at chapter 30 is any indication.

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[708] Alejandro Díez-Macho, *Neophyti 1, Targum Palestinense ms. de la Biblioteca Vaticana: Edición príncipe, introduccíon y version castellana [por] Alejandro Díez-Macho* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968-1979), 201. For another good digest of early Christian and Jewish interpretation of 37:1-14, see Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 749-751.

[709] αναστασις is the term used in the New Testament to refer to "the resurrection." Some headway on various interpretations of Ezek 37 may be found in textual plusses that were inserted at the beginning of verse 1 as glosses: νεκρων αναβιωσις in Q^{mg}, and περι αναστασεως των νεκρων in Syh^{mg}.

[710] See Lust's now retracted ideas about Pharisaic eschatological theology, (Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," 532). Lust goes onto comment in a footnote that, "this does not contradict the Pharisaic belief in an individual resurrection," (p. 532 n70); Lust's modified position remains helpful, that the sectarian climate of the Second Temple Period would have read this section of Ezekiel according to different eschatological views. Lust, "Major Divergences," 92. Such eschatological readings were taken up in John's Apocalypse. See Lust, "The Order of the Final Events in Revelation and in Ezekiel," *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (BETL 53; ed. J. Lambrecht; Gembloux: Duculot; Leuven: University Press, 1979), 179-183.

6.3.3.1.5. Ezek 43:1-9 and Ezek 43:26-44:7

μετανοιας "(concerning) repentance"

π- θυ ιε(ρ)ου "concerning God's temple"

π μ(ε)ταν(οι)α(ς) "concerning repentance"

Pages 104 and 107 (ρδ and ρζ)

Chapter 43 was the most heavily used chapter in the entire codex, according to the number of reading marks. We already saw that 55% of the text was marked in some way. (See Table 2 above). Chapter 43 describes Ezekiel's visit to the holy of holies, his sanctification of the altar, and the return of God to dwell in the temple forever. The notation, π- θυ ιε(ρ)ου (concerning God's temple), no doubt refers to what, in the Hebrew, is the glory of Yahweh returning to his dwelling among his people.

The two notations which both include the term μετανοια (repentance) provide an interpretive frame to the material running from 43:1-44:7. According to p967, the divine commission of the unit is to arrange one's heart according to the way (ο οδον) of the house (in 44:5). Indeed, a category 2 mark appears beside 43:10, "describe to the house of Israel the temple and its appearance and plan (διαγραφη,) that they may be ashamed of their iniquities." Theologically, shame is likely linked with the interest in repentance as that act which prepares the altar/heart for the indwelling of God's holiness. In this context, the ειλαστηριον το μεγα (the great mercy seat) of verse 14 could function symbolically as the central architecture of the repentant heart: an altar, anointed by Ezekiel (the son of man) which acts as a place for expiation.[711]

[711] Paul, in Romans 3:25, refers to Jesus Christ as he "whom God set forth as an expiation (ιλαστηριον)," cf. Hebrews 9:5.

6.3.4. Description of the Interpretive Interests of the Reading Community

The marginal notations are largely theological. God's holy temple and his act of fulfillment demonstrate the reading community's understanding of God. Resurrection and repentance provide insight into theological anthropology. As the previous analysis demonstrated, these theological notations provided lenses for a coherent exegesis of the pages of Ezekiel on which they occur.

Each of the interests identified by the marginal notations may be further supported by isolated verses marked with categories 2-7. From the exegetical observations above, three pronounced interests emerged.

First and primary, the reading community was interested in *the temple, God's presence there and its sanctity*. Closer inspection reveals the centrality of the altar in the reader's interpretive world. Nine marks, two of them category 2, appear beside verses in ch. 43 about the altar. The verses describe the altar's measurements, ordinances, atonement, and priestly sacrifices.[712]

Second, the readers were concerned with *economy and issues raised by mercantile life*. Second only to the temple, passages about trade wares and economic practices dominate. Two pages of the codex seem to highlight economic issues with their category 2 marks in the upper margin: the first, page 111 (ρια) shows marked concern for economic oppression (category 2 at 45:8) and ensuring the maintenance of just weights and measures (category 5 at 45:11).[713] The second, page 120 (ρκ) bears four additional marginal marks calling for land, food, and dwellings for the workers in the temple-

[712] Cat.2 at 48:47 (2x); cat. 4 at 43:13; cat. 5 at 43:19, 22, and 44:3; cat. 6 at 43:18; cat. 7 at 43:19-20, 22.

[713] Page 111 bears a double hatch mark in the upper margin.

vision.[714] Additionally, at 16:49 and 45:8, isolated category 2 marks highlight economic injustice. Taken together, these prominent category 2 marks are supported by a large number of category 3-7 marks at passages about economy.[715] The specificity of these interests suggest that p967 was reappropriated as instructive about contemporary issues in business, trade, economic power, and economic sin. More specifically, it could reflect grievances within a religious community using the temple as the controlling metaphor for relations (i.e., the workers in the temple are religious subjects and the temple personnel are those who occupy positions of power.)

Third, the readers were interested in Egypt and the prophecies predicting Pharaoh's fall. A double hatch mark (category 2) appears at 30:2 emphasizing the day Egypt falls. Four other marks echo this interest in Egypt's end.[716] A Diaspora theme is evident as well. At 34:8 the shepherd is upbraided for not seeking after scattered sheep.[717] Further, the readers highlighted 48:28 in which the borders for the tribe of Gad are made to extend into Egypt.[718] These two marks reveal a concern for the status of Diaspora Egypt with respect to the temple vision and the shepherd of Israel.[719]

The exegetical interest in Egypt does not necessarily relate to the previous two. Indeed, two material factors suggest that the interest in Egypt was an isolated concern,

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[714] Category 2 on the upper margin of page 120; category 7 at 48:19; category 6 at 48:17, 18; and category 5 at 48:15.

[715] Ezek 28:13; 16:18-19; 18:8, 16, 18; 26:12; 27:6, 13, 15, 16, 13-17, 19, 26, 34; 31:8; 45:15, 22, 25 (x2), 48:5-7, 13

[716] Category 3 at 30:4; category 4 at 32:4; category 7 at 30:10-12 and 29:18-19.

[717]Category 3

[718] Page 121 (ρκα) bears a category 2 mark at the top of the page, and a category 6 at 48:28.

[719] See the related conclusion about the LXX translator's view of the Profane leader in Arie van der Kooij, "The Septuagint of Ezekiel and the Profane Leader," in *The Book of Ezekiel and its Influence* (eds., H. J. de Jonge and Johannes Tromp; Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 43-52.

perhaps even a "layer" of the reading tradition. First, the paleography and grammatical form of θ συντελει on page 68 (ξη) was distinctive from the other marginal notations. Thus, the fulfillment concerns regarding Egypt were probably penned by a unique hand. Second, I proposed that the marks in the upper margins of pages 120-121 (ρκ-ρκα) are ink blots which crossed out earlier notations. These blots occur on pages that show a marked interest in several materialist details in equal land allotments. For example, 48:28 is marked as the land allotment for Gad (Egypt).[720] The marked verse at 45:8 adds to the importance of tribal justice with the negative command against the prince whose oppression involves tribal land inheritance.[721] On the literal level, these concerns are historical/materialist. It is possible that symbols in the upper margin on these pages once emphasized the importance of these materialist concerns, but were later blotted out. Certainly, the marginal notations about resurrection and economic sin are better understood as theological/spiritual interpretation. It is possible the Egypt-specific, literalist interpretations of Ezekiel's temple (ch. 48) were rejected in favor of more allegorical ones (visions as symbolic of spiritual realities). While this is a speculative explanation for the ink blots on pages 120-121, the discussion has highlighted the modes of interpretation evinced by p967's marginal words. Indeed, literal and allegorical constituted two important modes of interpretation in the early church. In this observation, perhaps we have arrived at the time when we can revive the question put aside in 1977 by C. H. Roberts who said

[720] Recall that a category 6 appears at this verse. It may also be significant that Ezekiel's allocation of land to Gad is innovative. Gad is displaced from its traditional location east of the Jordan (Num 32:34-36). Moving and extending Gad's boundary to the Nile would have been all the more striking.

[721] Category 2 at 45:8.

> the origin and development of the Church in Egypt to which not only the form but the content of some of the early papyri will contribute is a matter for later consideration.[722]

6.4. The Whole Codex: Ezekiel in Light of p967 Daniel and Esther[723]

6.4.1. Introduction

The three books contained in the p967 codex are an interesting combination, although not inexplicable.[724] The order, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther does occur in codex Alexandrinus.[725] However, this order was by no means standard. Codex Vaticanus separates Esther who comes after the wisdom books, and sets Ezekiel and Daniel at the end of the prophets.[726] Further, the Greek version of Daniel includes Susanna and Bel and the Dragon, which our codex contains, but they appear in reverse order, unique to p967. Thus, p967 has no known exact counterpart for its edition and collection. This situation coheres with a more general scholarly impression regarding codices and canon.

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[722] C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript*, 25. For a general introduction on modes of biblical interpretation in the early church, see Karlfried Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church,* (Sources of Early Christian Thought; ed. William G. Rusch; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 1-29.

[723] For the critical publications of p967 Daniel and Esther, see Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester BeattyBiblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of the Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible. Fasc. 7: Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther* (London: Walker, 1937 [Text], 1938 [Plates]); Angelo Geissen, *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel, Kap. 5-12, zusammen mit Susanna, Bel et Draco, sowie Esther Kap. 1, 1a-2,15, nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 5; Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1968); W. Hamm, *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel, Kap. 1-2, nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 10; Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1969); R. Roca-Puig, *Daniel. Dos semifolis del còdex 967, Papir de Barcelona, Inv. no. 42 i 43*, (Barcelona, 1974); W. Hamm., *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel, Kap. 3-4, nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 21; Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1977).

[724] See Henry B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek: The History of the Greek Old Testament* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1900), 197-230.

[725] Ezekiel is the 32nd book, Daniel the 33rd, and Esther the 34th. Codex Alexandrinus is a 5th century uncial and is housed in the British Royal museum as B.M. Royal MS 1D V-VIII.

[726] Vaticanus is dated to the 4th century CE. *Codex vaticanus graecus 1209* (Bibliorum sacrorum graecorum; Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolicae Vaticanae & Instituto Poligrafica e Zecca della Stato, 1999). The Hebrew canons likewise differed, with Daniel coming after Esther (not before), and Ezekiel grouped separately with the prophets.

Specific to p967, Esther's canonical status was contested within Judaism and Christianity up to the 3rd century, which is when p967 was inscribed.[727] More generally, Roberts and Skeat argue that the codex format played little to no role in canonical groups, although they may overstate the case.[728] Instead, a codex facilitates a kind of "comprehensiveness," or an ability to bring disparate texts into one manuscript. They write:

> A comprehensive codex might consist either of a single literary work extending over a number of rolls; a 'collected edition' or a representative selection of works by a single author or on a single theme; or quite simply a miscellany.[729]

Thus, p967's books are not likely to have been assembled on the basis of an emerging notion of canon. Given the fluid status of canon, the later 2nd/early 3rd century inclusion of Esther, and the unique literary editions of both Ezekiel and Daniel, p967 is probably best understood as a "collected edition".

In the analysis that follows, I use exegetical and codicological analysis to identify the interests of p967's reading community which used the codex. In many cases, it is possible to establish thematic or exegetical connections that the reading community may have appreciated among the books or sections of books.

In considering the connections between Ezekiel and the rest of the codex, attention to the paleography is necessary. Daniel and Esther are written in a different and probably later hand than Ezekiel (see discussion above). The reading marks in Daniel

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[727] For a discussion on the debates about Esther's canonical status see Moore, *Additions*, 156.

[728] Roberts and Skeat state emphatically, "as regards the Christian Bible as a whole, any possible influence of the codex on its contents can be immediately dismissed," (p. 62). Even smaller "canonical" collections had only a *loose* relationship to the codex format. By way of example, Roberts and Skeat show how the four gospels, while considered a spiritual unity in early Christianity, circulated in codices separately, in smaller groups, or with additional books, i.e. not as a standard codicological canon. Roberts and Skeat, *Birth*, 62-66.

[729] Roberts and Skeat, *Birth*, 48-49.

and Esther do not overwhelmingly resemble those in Ezekiel. With these facts in mind, the designation "reading community" that has facilitated the above-analysis is further problematized. From the divergent dates, we know that the "reading community" stretches over lengths of time and is even less likely to represent an historically coherent community. Nevertheless, the Daniel and Esther portions of p967 further illumine the practices of reading which sustained the codex, albeit it diachronic. In what follows, we will examine the features distinct to Daniel and Esther's reading audiences, and expand the analysis to include a total reading portrait of p967 in antiquity.

6.4.2. Discussion of the Editions of Daniel and Esther in p967

6.4.2.1. The Texts

The version of Daniel in p967 is that of the Old Greek not Theodotian.[730] However, it represents a developed Greek text with an editorial transposition[731] and the

[730] p967 of Daniel serves as the sole witness to the OG (except for later hexaplarically expanded ms 88 and Syh). All the major codices contain the revision of Theodotian. So noted Kenyon upon the initial publication of the Daniel portion, Kenyon, *Chester Beatty*, x. The Old Greek and p967's Greek edition disappeared, supplanted by the Theodotionic LXX, which became universal. Eugene Ulrich provides a detailed discussion of the way in which Theodotian supplanted p967's text in light of Origen's Hexapla. Since p967 is pre-hexaplaric, it should not surprise that it resembles the text Origen used for his o' column. However, p967 lacks several of the "Origenian hexaplaric changes and additions taken from the Theodotianic text that are now found in the single extant Greek witness to Origen's revised o' text, MS 88," (Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 208). Fernández-Marcos offers a good recent discussion of the relationship between the OG and the LXX of Daniel in Fernández-Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*, (trans. Wilfred G.E. Watson; Boston: Brill, 2000), 88-92.

[731] Because of the section numbers on the top of the papyrus pages in the codex, Kenyon was able to confirm early on, "it will be observed that chapters vii and viii are placed before v and vi." Kenyon, *Chester Beatty*, vi. The sequence variance may be seen in Geissen, *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel, Kap 5-12*, 96-191.

So while p967 Daniel does not preserve the original OG translation of the Hebrew, having been edited in the Greek stages of transmission, its text type does stand closer to the OG than the Theodotian mss. See also, Alexander A. Di Lella, "The Textual History of Septuagint-Daniel and Theodotian-Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (vol. 2 of *The Book of Daniel;* ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; Boston: Brill, 2002), 589-590. Although on the same page in Di Lella, Lust thinks that the redaction occurred in a Semitic text,

Greek additions. The rearrangement of chapters 5-8 in p967 Daniel, clearly secondary, brings the fictional settings of the visions and tales into chronological order.[732] Less clear is the rationale for the (re)arrangement of Bel and the Dragon before Susanna. It may be thematic, as I will discuss below.[733]

Kenyon identified the text of Esther as the Septuagint version, the additions appearing in their expected order.[734] The additions significantly transform the story, a fact which bears significantly on Esther's inclusion in p967.

6.4.2.2. General Thematic Connections Among the Books

Before looking at the codex for reading marks, some thematic connections may be pointed out among the three editions. In general, apocalyptic eschatology, fulfillment of God's word, and Diaspora identity link the three Greek books.

> … The different order of the chapters in the LXX [of 967] and in MT may be due to an alternative arrangement of originally independent episodes. The major differences between the MT and LXX in chs. 4 and 5 are connected with the heavily redacted composition of the Semitic text. (Lust, "The Septuagint Version of Daniel 4-5," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (ed., A. S. van der Woude; BELT 106; Louvain: Peeters, 1993), 52-53.

[732] Of this sequence variance, J. J. Collins states,

> the sequence of chapters in papyrus 967, the oldest witness to the OG, has chs. 7 and 8 before chs. 5 and 6. Yet chs. 7 and 8 clearly belong with chs. 9 and 10, in terms of both literary genre and historical setting. The placement in Papyrus 967 resolves a problem in the Hebrew-Aramaic text by keeping the kings in chronological order (chs. 7 and 8, like ch. 5, are set in the reign of Belshazzar, whereas ch. 6 is set under Darius the Mede). Here again, the Greek is clearly secondary, (John J. Collins, *Daniel*, Hermeneia Commentary; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1993, 6).

[733] In p967, Susannah comes *after* Bel and the Dragon. This is a unique feature not found in other manuscripts. Collins does not provide an explanation for the alternate sequence, (Collins, *Daniel*, 4-5).

[734] Kenyon, *Chester Beatty*, viii. The Septuagint version (of the B text) is a paraphrastic translation of the MT; see Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah: The Additions* (Anchor Bible 44; New York: Doubleday, 1977), 162-163. The Lucianic text (or Alpha text, AT) is much shorter; it is debated whether it is another translation, or a midrashic recension. See Moore, *The Additions*, 163-165; or Tov, *Septuagint*, 255. For the state of the question, see Kristen De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text*, (SBL vol. 4; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2003), 62-66. In chapter 3 of *Rewriting*, De Troyer treats the question as a case study, (pp. 59-89). For an earlier sustained argument, see idem, "Translation of Interpretation? A Sample from the Books of Esther," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo 1998* (SBLSCS 51; Atlanta, Ga.: SBL, 2001), 343-353.

First, p967 Ezekiel, LXX Daniel, and LXX Esther share an interest in apocalyptic eschatology. As we have already noted, the edition of Ezekiel in p967 represents a particular eschatological perspective. As Lust has famously stated, p967 Ezekiel is the more apocalyptic edition of the book. Daniel, a paradigmatic member of the apocalyptic genre, is famous for its eschatological themes. The visions in Dan 7-12 communicate a promise for deliverance from present persecution and include a promise for a new kingdom of God.[735] Finally, the additions in the B-Text of Esther recast God as the main actor and include eschatological elements.[736] Additions A and F, respectively, present an apocalyptic vision and its fulfillment/interpretation.[737] These additions frame the book and in so doing, transform the genre of Esther's story into the fulfillment-drama of an apocalyptic vision.[738]

Second, the interest in the efficacy of divine predictions found in LXX Esther can also be found in p967 Daniel and Ezekiel in their concerns for historical fulfillment. As

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[735] The alternate sequence of chs. 5-8 does not affect the eschatological content of each of the chapters; (the order is chs. 7, 8, 5, 6). However, it may be significant for how p967 Daniel was thought to interact with history.

[736] Additions labeled A-F, so Robert Hanhart, *Esther*, (2d edition,; Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graecum, vol. 8/3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983).

[737] As Emmerson states about these two additions,

> The whole perspective of the Greek tale is changed. Through the first and last additions (particularly 11.5-11; 10.4-12) the court intrigue of the Hebrew version takes on an eschatological perspective as a cosmic struggle between Jews and Gentile nations, Haman appropriately becoming the apocalyptic 'Gogite'. (cf. Ezek. 38-9).

G. I. Emmerson, "Esther," in *The Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (ed. R.J. Coggins and J.L Houlden; London: SCM Press, 1990), 205. These elements affirm God's providential care for his people through the event of a miraculous intervention in history (Addition D, affirmed in Addition F).

[738] The Greek additions to Esther and Daniel are part of the Old Testament Apocrypha. See the wonderful English translation of Bruce M. Metzger, *Oxford Annotated Apocrypha*, Revised Standard Version (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977). Good introductions to the Apocrypha include D. A. de Silva, *Introducting the Apocrypha: message, context, and significance* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002); and D. J. Harrington, *An Invitation to the Old Testament Apocrypha: Approaches to the Mystery of Suffering* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999). For a good comprehensive bibliography, see Craig Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: a Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005), 13-14 (Esther,) 18 (Prayer of Azariah,) and 19-20 (Bel and the Dragon).

we saw in the case of the marginal words, Ezekiel invited continued reuse of prophecy for new fulfillment-situations.[739] Daniel's interest in the fulfillment of prophecy and apocalyptic visions is more inherent to the content of the book. Daniel 9 begins and ends with a prediction and an angelic discourse revealing an *ex eventu* prophecy that betrays an interest in fulfillment.[740] Daniel 10-12, to an even greater extent, communicates its fulfillment interests in relation to contemporary history, although its eschatological hope is not realized; the hope extends notably beyond the horizon of history.[741] Finally, Greek Esther is crafted to show that the events of Esther's struggle on behalf of the Jews are the fulfillment of God's word. Addition B, which appears at the opening of the version, is also an *ex eventu* prophecy. So while each book retains its distinctive eschatological features, the three share an interest in the validity of God's word, expressed through visions, historical surveys, and prophetic oracles.

Third, the three Greek editions address Diaspora dynamics and identities. Ezekiel writes from Babylon. His book depicts a displaced community envisioning its homeland as a past failure and a future hope. Daniel and Esther's narratives take place in foreign courts where Jewish Diaspora identity is asserted over the threat of cultural integration

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[739] Indeed, as we saw above in §6.3.3.1.2, the fulfillment concerns of the reading community regarding Egypt capitalized on the only oracle against Egypt that did not have a date formula. This was supported even further by the double hatch mark at 30:1 where the date is conspicuously missing. How the reading community read ch. 30 serves as evidence for the re-contextualization permitted by p967's edition.

[740] Daniel 9:2 introduces the 70 year prophecy of Jeremiah that Dan 22-27 re-interprets. The schema of 70 weeks breaks the history of Israel into periods, leaving the remaining week for the present/future. Such a feature is consistent with the genre of "historical apocalypses," J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 63-64 and 155-157. See also Michael Stone, who places more significance on the connection between prophecy and apocalypticism particularly the fulfillment concerns, (Michael Stone, Apocalyptic Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*; ed. M. E. Stone: CRINT 2.2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984, 390).

[741] See especially Daniel 11, where a detailed description of the Hellenistic period is framed as *ex eventu* prophecy.

and indeed subjugation. Daniel and Esther are certainly more similar with respect to Diaspora themes. However, as the discussion below will show, Ezekiel's Diaspora themes seem to have been important to the reading community of p967. This was likely also true of the scribes who combined Daniel and Esther with Ezekiel in the original codex.

6.4.3. The Reading Community's Marks in Daniel and Esther

In p967, the books of Daniel and Esther are not nearly as heavily marked as was the case in Ezekiel. The following table presents the reading marks according to the seven categories for each extant page of Daniel, Bel, Susanna, and Esther.

Plate numbers	Lines extant	Page #	Content	Significant Markings
p967[Köln Theol. 16,9]^{r}	1-44	123	Daniel 1:1-8	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,9]^{v}	1-46	124	Daniel 1:8-17	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,10]^{r}	1-48	125	Daniel 1:17 – 2:4	Cat. 7 marks at lines 38-41 [Dan ~2:3]
p967[Köln Theol. 16,10]^{v}	1-48	126	Daniel 2:4-11	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,11]^{r}	1-46	127	Daniel 2:11-19	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,11]^{v}	1-46	128	Daniel 2:19-26	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,12]^{r}	1-46	129	Daniel 2:27-34	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,12]^{v}	1-45	130	Daniel 2:34-42	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,13]^{r}	1-45	131	Daniel 2:42-48	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,13]^{v}	1-43	[132]	Daniel 2:48-49 – 3:1-3	B̄ (new chapter)[742] Cat. 3 mark at beginning of ch. 3
p967[Köln Theol. 16,14]^{r}	1-43	133	Daniel 3:3-11	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,14]^{v}	1-45	134	Daniel 3:12-17	

[742] A new chapter is marked with a transition mark consisting of roughly 3 lines of blank page with the chapter numeral centered in the space.

p967[Köln Theol. 16,15]^{r}	1-45	135	Daniel 3:17-23	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,15]^{v}	1-44	136	Daniel 3:23-30	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,16]^{r}	1-43	<1>37[743]	Daniel 3:30-39	Cat. 2 mark at line 13[744] [Dan 3:33]
p967[Köln Theol. 16,16]^{v}	1-43	138	Daniel 3:39-47	
p967[Köln Theol. 16,17]^{r}	1-42	139	Daniel 3:47-56	Cat. 7 marks at lines 1-4 [Dan. 3:78] Cat. 3* (8)[745]
p967[Köln Theol. 16,17]^{v}	1-46	140	Daniel 3:57-71	Cat. 2 (÷) in upper margin Cat. 4 marks at regular intervals (3-5 lines) along left margin Cat. 3* (9)
p967^{CB} f.71.r.	1-24	141	Daniel 3:72-78	Cat. 4 marks at regular intervals (3-5 lines) along left margin Cat. 3* (6)
p967[Köln Theol. 17]^{r}	23-43	141	Daniel 3:78-81	Cat. 4 marks at regular intervals (3-5 lines) along left margin Cat. 3* (4)
p967^{CB} f.71.v.	1-27	142	Daniel 3:81-88	Cat. 2 (÷) in line 5[746] [Dan. 3:83] Cat. 2 (÷) in line 23[747] [Dan 3:88] Cat. 4 marks at regular intervals (3-5 lines) along left margin Cat. 3 (6)
p967[Köln Theol. 17]^{v}	26-47	142	Daniel 3:88-92 (25)	Cat. 2 (÷) in line 39[748] [Dan 3:90] Cat. 3* (2)

[743] <> = erroneous omission in the original text.

[744] The mark is unusually heavy and uneven; it is possible that the mark is a mistaken ink drop that was slightly smeared.

[745] Throughout sections of Daniel and all of Esther, Category . 3 marks (/) appear within the blocks of text, sometimes appearing at the end of line. They are inserted above the first word of a new phrase, and in many cases, correspond with MT versification. They function to mark sense units.

[746] τουσαιων÷□ευλογειτεισ

[747] ωνας ÷οτιεξειλατοη

[748] ωνων÷□□□□καιεγενε. Note the space, a width of approximately four letters.

p967^{CB} f.72.r.	1-26	143	Daniel 3:92 (25) – 95 (28)	Cat. 3* (8)
p967^{Köln} Theol. 18^{r}	24-46	143	Daniel 3:95 (28) – 3:96 (29)	Cat. 3* (2)
p967^{CB} f.72.v.	1-25	144	Daniel 3:96 (29) – 4:9	Cat. 2 (÷) in line 7 [Dan 3:97; end of ch.] Γ¯ (new chapter)
p967^{Köln} Theol. 18^{v}	24-45	144	Daniel 4:9 (12) – 4:11 (14)	
p967^{CB} f.73.r.	1-25	145	Daniel 4:11 (14) – 11a (14)	
p967^{Köln} Theol. 19^{r}	23-45	145	Daniel 4:14a (17) – 4:16 (19)	
p967^{CB} f.73.v.	1-26	146	Daniel 4:16 (19) – 19 (22)	
p967^{Köln} Theol. 19^{v}	24-45	146	Daniel 4:19 (22) – 4:22 (25)	
p967^{CB} f.74.r.	1-26	147	Daniel 4:22 (25) – 25 (28)	
p967^{Köln} Theol. 20^{r}	25-45	147	Daniel 4:25 (28) – 4:28 (31)	
p967^{CB} f.74.v.	1-26	148	Daniel 4:28 (31) – 29 (32)	
p967^{Köln} Theol. 20^{v}	26-44	148	Daniel 4:29 (32) – 4:30a (33)	
p967^{CB} f.75.r.	1-25	149	Daniel 4:30a (33) – 30c (33)	
p967^{Köln} Theol. 21^{r}	25-43	149	Daniel 4:30c (33) – 4:34 (37)	
p967^{CB} f.75.v.	1-24	150	Daniel 4:34 (37) – 34a (37)	
p967^{Köln} Theol. 21^{v}	24-42	150	Daniel 4:34a (37) – 4:34b (37)	
p967^{CB} f.76.r.	1-24	151	Daniel 4:34b (37) – 34c (37)	
p967^{Köln} Theol. 22^{r}	22-42	151	Daniel 4:34c (37) and 7:1	Δ¯ (new chapter)
p967^{CB} f.76.v.	1-26	152	Daniel 7:1-6	
p967^{Köln} Theol. 22^{v}	23-44	152	Daniel 7:6-8	
p967^{CB} f.77.r.	1-24	153	Daniel 7:8-11	
p967^{Köln} Theol. 23^{r}	22-42	153	Daniel 7:11-14	Cat. 2 (=) in left margin at line 30 [Dan. 7:12]
p967^{CB} f.77.v.	1-25	154	Daniel 7:14-19	
p967^{Köln} Theol. 23^{v}	22-43	154	Daniel 7:19-22	
p967^{CB} f.78.r.	1-24	155	Daniel 7:22-25	
P. Barc.42^{r}	24-41	155	Daniel 7:25-28	
p967^{CB} f.78.v.	1-26	156	Daniel 7:28 – 8:4	E¯ (new chapter)
P. Barc.42^{v}	27-46	156	Daniel 8:4-7	Cat. 7 marks at lines 44-45
p967^{CB} f.79.r.	1-28	157	Daniel 8:7-12	

p967[Köln] Theol. 24[r]	27-46	157	Daniel 8:11-15	
p967[CB] f.79.v.	1-28	158	Daniel 8:15-20	
p967[Köln] Theol. 24[v]	27-45	158	Daniel 8:20-24	
p967[CB] f.80.r.	1-26	159	Daniel 8:24 – 5 pref.	C̄ (new chapter)
p967[Köln] Theol. 25[r]	26-45	159	Daniel 5 pref.	
p967[CB] f.80.v.	1-27	160	Daniel 5: pref.-5	
p967[Köln] Theol. 25[v]	26-44	160	Daniel 5:5-7	
p967[CB] f.81.r.	1-26	161	Daniel 5:7-12	
p967[Köln] Theol. 26[r]	25-44	161	Daniel 5:11-17	
p967[CB] f.81.v.	1-26	162	Daniel 5:17-29	
p967[Köln] Theol. 26[v]	25-42	162	Daniel 5:29 – 6:1	Z̄ (new chapter)
p967[CB] f.82.r	1-24	163	Daniel 6:1-4	
p967[Köln] Theol. 27[r]	24-42	163	Daniel 6:4-5	
p967[CB] f.82.v.	1-25	164	Daniel 6:5-8	
p967[Köln] Theol. 27[v]	24-43	164	Daniel 6:8-12	
p967[CB] f.83.r.	1-25	165	Daniel 6:12-13	
p967[Köln] Theol. 28[r]	25-43	165	Daniel 6:13-16	
p967[CB] f.83.v.	1-24	166	Daniel 6:16-18	
p967[Köln] Theol. 28[v]	24-41	166	Daniel 6:19-22	
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,1[r]	1-41	167	Daniel 6:22-28	
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,1[v]	1-40	168	Daniel 6:28; 9:1-6	H̄ (new chapter) Cat. 2 mark in margin beside lines 8-9
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,2[r]	1-42	169	Daniel 9:6-12	
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,2[v]	1-40	170	Daniel 9:12-17	
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,3[r]	1-41	171	Daniel 9:17-23	
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,3[v]	1-42	172	Daniel 9:23-27	
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,4a+b[r]	1-44	173	Daniel 9:27 – 10:6	Θ̄ (new chapter) Cat. 2 (=) at line 6 [Dan. 10:1] Cat. 2 mark in margin beside lines 8-9 [Dan. 10:1]
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,4a+b[v]	1-41	174	Daniel 10:6-13	
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,5[r]	1-41	175	Daniel 10:13-20	
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,5[v]	1-42	176	Daniel 10:20 – 11:4	Ī (new chapter)
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,6[r]	1-33	177	Daniel 11:5-8	
p967[Köln] Theol. 29,6[v]	1-33	178	Daniel 11:10-15	
p967[Köln] Theol. 30[r]	1-22	179	Daniel 11:16-20	
p967[Köln] Theol. 30[v]	1-22	180	Daniel 11:23-26	
P. Barc.43[r]	1-22	181	Daniel 11:29-32	
P. Barc.43[v]	1-24	182	Daniel 11:34-38	
p967[Köln] Theol. 31[r]	1-22	183	Daniel 11:40-45	
p967[Köln] Theol. 31[v]	1-23	184	Daniel 12:2-6	
p967[Köln] Theol. 32[r]	1-23	185	Daniel 12:8-13	
p967[Köln] Theol. 32[v]	1-23	186	Bel and the Dragon 4 - 8	
p967[Köln] Theol. 33[r]	1-22	187	Bel 10 - 14	

p967[Köln Theol. 33]^{v}	1-23	188	Bel 18 - 22	
p967[Köln Theol. 34]^{r}	1-22	189	Bel 26 - 30	
p967[Köln Theol. 34]^{v}	1-23	190	Bel 33 - 39	
p967[Köln Theol. 35]^{r}	1-23	191	Susanna 5 - 10	
p967[Köln Theol. 35]^{v}	1-23	192	Susanna 19 - 29	
p967[Köln Theol. 36]^{r}	1-21	193	Susanna 34 - 37	
p967[Köln Theol. 36]^{v}	1-22	194	Susanna 44/45 - 52	
p967[Köln Theol. 37]^{r}	1-21	195	Susanna 55 - 59	
p967[Köln Theol. 37]^{v}	1-15	196	Susanna 62a-62b + Subscriptio	Subscription to Daniel[749]
p967[Köln Theol. 38]^{r}	1-23	197	Esther 1:1a – 1:1f	Cat. 3* (7)
p967[Köln Theol. 38]^{v}	1-25	198	Esther 1:1m – 1:1s	Cat. 3* (9)
p967[Köln Theol. 39]^{r}	1-24	199	Esther 1:6 – 1:10	Cat. 3* (7)
p967[Köln Theol. 39]^{v}	1-24	200	Esther 1:15 – 1:19	Cat. 3* (11)
p967[Köln Theol. 40]^{r}	1-23	[201]	Esther 2:2 – 2:7	Cat. 3* (7)
p967[Köln Theol. 40]^{v}	1-25	202	Esther 2:11 – 2:15	Cat. 3* (5)
p967^{CB} f.102.r	1-21	[203]	Esther 2:20-23	Cat. 3* (1)
p967^{CB} f.102.v.	1-24	204	Esther 3:4-9	Cat. 3* (9)
p967^{CB} f.103.r.	1-23	[205]	Esther 3:13-13:3	Cat. 3* (5) Cat. 2 mark in right column at line 9
p967^{CB} f.103.v.	1-22	[206]	Esther 13:5-3:14	Cat. 2 mark in right margin at line 20-21
p967^{CB} f.104.r.	1-21	[207]	Esther 4:3-7	Cat. 3* (7)
p967^{CB} f.104.v.	1-22	[208]	Esther 4:11-16	Cat. 3* (7)
p967^{CB} f.105.r.	1-20	[209]	Esther 13:12-17	Cat. 3* (8)
p967^{CB} f.105.v.	1-22	[210]	Esther 14:3-8	Cat. 3* (9)
p967^{CB} f.106.r.	1-20	[211]	Esther 14:13-16	Cat. 3* (9)
p967^{CB} f.106.v.	1-22	[212]	Esther 15:5-10	Cat. 3* (8)
p967^{CB} f.107.r.	1-19	[213]	Esther 15:16-5:4	Cat. 3* (8)
p967^{CB} f.107.v.	1-20	[214]	Esther 5:9-14	Cat. 3* (5)
p967^{CB} f.108.r.	1-18	[215]	Esther 6:3-6	Cat. 3* (7)
p967^{CB} f.108.v.	1-19	[216]	Esther 6:11-14	Cat. 3* (5)
p967^{CB} f.109.r.	1-17	[217]	Esther 7:6-9	Cat. 3* (30)
p967^{CB} f.109.v.	1-18	[218]	Esther 8:2-6	Cat. 3* (4)

The Subscription to Daniel in p967[750]

Line 1	δανιηλ̓	Daniel
Line 2	…ει]ρηνη τω γραψαν	peace to the one who wrote
Line 3	…]και τοις αναγινωσκου	and to those reading
Line 4	…]ην	[grace / peace?]

[749] δανιηλ̓ / …ει]ρηνη τω γραψαν / …]και τοις αναγινωσκου / …]ην. See directly below on the Subscription in Daniel.

[750] Thanks to Juan Hernandez for conversation about wrapped text.

The two forms at the end of lines 2 and 3 (γραψαν and αναγινωσκου) present some problems. Their articles both suggest the dative case. Two explanations are possible. 1) The endings were left off in a form of shorthand; or 2) The endings appear in the broken text on the subsequent lines. By this explanation, the –τι ending to γραψαν wraps to line 3, yielding an Aorist, active, dative, singular, masculine participle of γραφω. This form agrees with its article, τω. Likewise, the expected -ντι ending to αναγινωσκου would appear at the beginning of line 4. The expected form, αναγινωσκοντι, a Present, active, dative, plural, masculine participle of αναγινωσκω, agrees with its article, τοις. Such orthographic variation from ο to ου in the -ουντι ending is certainly possible in Greek papyri.[751]

In favor of the former, the phenomenon of wrapping a subscription does not seem warranted. The line-format of the subscription is centered; it does not align with the margins of the columnar text. The freedom of this format seems to betray the necessity that explains a wrapped text. The format could obey an aesthetic with respect to a type of centered text. Whatever the case, the dative singular and dative plural form are intended, as reflected in my translation.

6.4.3.1. Sense Divisions (Sense Marks)

Sense divisions are the exception not the rule in p967 Daniel and Esther. Paragraphing is non-extant.[752] This is quite in contrast with Ezekiel where both scribal

[751] See Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, Volume 1* (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 55; Milan: Istituto editorial cisalpino-La goliardica, 1976), 215.

ekthesis combined with a double slash and the later vertical double dots brought organization to Ezekiel's paragraphing. Instead, in the non-Ezekiel portion of the codex, one section is marked with line breaks (-) where horizontal lines extend from the left margin into the block text at 3-5 line intervals. These line breaks are, however, isolated to Daniel 3:57-88 and were inserted by a secondary scribe, (see image below.) Also secondary is a system of phrase breaks (/) that appears within the continuous block text or, when appropriate, at the end of lines. All of Esther is so marked, while only Dan 3:49-96 has the phrase marks, (see image below.) Both of these types of sense marks likely facilitated reading, raising the same issues as discussed above (§6.3). Finally, the original scribe is responsible for the chapter breaks in Daniel, indicated by three blank lines and a system of enumeration. Neither Ezekiel nor Esther are presented similarly.

6.4.3.2. Marked Sections of Reading Activity

Despite the phrase breaks throughout Esther, Daniel presents the more worked-over text. Daniel is more heavily marked than Esther with idiosyncratic marginal features. Daniel 3 has five (÷) marks.[753] These five marks appear at formal/structural

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[752] Kenyon concurred, correctly using the term *paragraphi* for what I more generally called "line breaks," given their multiple function across the entire p967 mauscript: "There is no punctuation, the reading marks have been inserted by a second hand in the Song of the Three Children and in Esther. The verses of the Song are also marked by *paragraphi*, but these are sometimes placed above the line in which a verse ends and sometimes below it," (Kenyon, *Fasciculus VII, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther,* ix).

[753] Orientation of the (÷) is diagonal. See images in III.5.5. The fifth category 2 mark in Dan 3 comes at 3:33 and is likely an erroneous ink blot. If this is correct, the mistaken mark provides no information about the reading community. The contents of the verse, "we cannot open our mouth," and "shame is upon us," do not immediately connect to the content interests highlighted by the other four marks in ch. 3. Additionally, the fifth mark at 3:33 is unlike the other four, which are all highly standardized ÷ marks. The latter observation could indicate that the ÷ in Daniel 3 functioned as the obelos or metobolos of the Aristarchian symbols also used by Origen. Indeed, the mark occurs in LXX material that is not present in the MT. However, against this, see the similar mark at Ezek 17:1 and the observations in n. 205 below.

breaks within The Hymn of the Three Young Men (vv. 57, 83, 88b, 90, and 97).[754] Four other category 2 marks appear in Daniel at 7:12; 9:2; and two at 10:1 (marking the beginning and the ending of the verse.) Neither Bel nor Susanna have any reading marks. Esther bears only two category 2 marks both in ch. 13. The marks act as a frame for the chapter at vv. 2 and 7, (see images of each category 2 mark in section III.5.5.)

6.4.3.3. A Liturgical Section: The Hymns in Daniel 3

In the book of Daniel, the Prayer of Azariah (3:49-56) and The Hymn of the Three Young Men (3:57-97) are highly structured by a variety of reading marks, setting them distinctly apart from the remainder of the text. The only "phrase marks" and "line breaks" in Daniel occur in this section.[755] The "line breaks," or in this case *paragraphi,* correspond to most of the verses of the hymn, providing the reading community with reading stanzas. Moreover, the system of five (÷) marks break 3:57-97 into four readings: (3:57-82, 83-88a, 88b-90, and 90-97.)[756] In addition to these secondary reading

[754] No consistent connection exists between the (÷) marks and text-critical issues in the Greek text tradition. On the poisitive side, the mark at 3:90 corresponds with the end of the hymnic additions in the versions and the one at 3:97 corresponds with a short θ´ variant from both MT and OG, (on the latter, see Collins, *Daniel*, 178, n.70). However, on the negative side, the marks at 3:57 and 3:88 hold no text-critical significance for variant readings. Additionally, several more obvious variants that could have been marked were not. The (÷) mark was not a formal sign to indicate textual issues in p967 Daniel.

[755] See Stanley Porter who similarly uses unit delimitation to discuss exegetical and liturgical significance. Stanley E. Porter, "The Influence of Unit Delimitation on Reading and Use of Greek Manuscripts," in *Method in Unit Delimitation,* eds. M. Korpel, J. Oesch, and S. Porter, (Pericope 6; Boston: Brill, 2007), 44-60.

[756] The first mark rests just above ευλογειτε, the first verse beginning with an imperative (v. 57) in The Hymn of the Three Young Men. The second occurs at the end of 3:88a after the words, "highly exalt him forever and ever," which closes the section of imperatives. The third mark occurs at the end of The Hymn in v. 90 after the phrase, "his mercy endures forever and ever." This mark appears within a space equal to roughly four letters which was clearly left by the original scribe. The final mark designates the end of ch. 3 at v. 97. [Refer to images in the Appendix] While I suggest that these marks indicate liturgical sections, it should be noted that other functions *may* be asserted. For instance, the (÷) marks in Codex Sinaiticus, refer to insertions that were written in the margin. However, p967 does not contain any such marginal material.

marks, the original scribe left in-line spaces throughout the Hymn of the Three Young Men. The spaces coincide with (÷) marks: at v. 83 (approximately two letters), at v. 88b (of approximately one letter), and at v. 91 (of approximately five letters).

The reading sections within the Hymn of the Three Young Men were created by scribal text-breaks. These are most likely to be liturgical. The first section (vv. 57-82) begins addressing "all the works of the Lord." The three 2nd person plural imperative verbs, ευλογειτε (bless), υμνειτε (sing praises), and υπερυψουτε (exalt,) repeat in each verse and provide hymnic structure to both this and the second reading section (vv. 83-88a).[757] While the addressees are not always human, the verses urge collective praise of the Lord and lend themselves to a liturgical setting.[758] The progression of addressees in vv. 57-82 (1st reading section) includes the heavens, earth, and creatures and culminates in v. 82 with human beings (υιοι των ανθρωπων). The second section (vv. 83-88a) is entirely directed at humans, beginning with Israel and continuing to priests, servants, the righteous, holy, and humble ending with the three young men from the ch. 3 narratives.[759] This section of the hymn contains two features that warrant a theory of liturgical use: 1) the (÷) mark within the two letter space at v. 83 as well as 2) the 2nd person plural address to humans.

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[757] In p967, the imperative form, -ειτε is not consistent. The form occasionally reads, -ειται or -ειτω.

[758] The changes in subjects addressed may be divided as follows: "vv. 58-63: the heavenly realm; vv. 64-73: the natural elements (rain, wind, etc.); vv. 74-81: the earthly bodies; vv. 82-90: human beings. See J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, 204-205.

[759] These three, claimed in 1 Macc. 2:59 to have survived the flame, correspond to Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego from the narrative section of Dan. 3. See B. T. Dahlberg, "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, IV, (Nashville, Tn.: Abingdon Press, 1962), 302-303.

The third reading section, beginning at v. 88b, is marked by a (÷) and a space of approximately one letter. However, some discussion is neccesary to explain this section break given the connections between v. 88b-c and v. 88a.

> 88a Bless the Lord, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael; sing his praise and highly exalt him forever.
> 88b For (οτι) he delivered us (ημας) from Hades; and saved us from the hand of death
> 88c and he rescued us (ημας) from the midst of the burning flaming furnace; and from the midst of fire, he rescued us(ημας).

On the grounds of content, the break is awkward. Verse 88b opens with a οτι-clause that completes v. 88a. The clause supplies a motivation for the three young men urged to praise the Lord in v. 88a. Verse 88b-c calls to mind the narrative context of the entire Hymn by reminding readers of the divine act that delivered Hananniah, Azariah, and Mishael. Thus, in terms of content, the section division divides closely connected material and is thus somewhat problematic.

However, conducive to a liturgical context, the mark occurs at a formal break. Verse 88a ends the first two reading sections with the triple-set of imperative verbs that consistently repeats throughout all of vv. 57-88a. As in each verse of this section, the addressee is specified; in v 88a, it's the three young men.[760] At the opening of the third reading section, v. 88b-c can be grammatically differentiated by its use of "us" (ημας). If v. 88b-c were meant to be read with the shared content that preceded in v. 88a, we would expect to read "for he rescued *them*" (αυτους) referring to the three men.[761] Instead, the

[760] The first and second sections (vv. 57-82 and 83-88a) meet the formal criteria laid out by Westermann for Imperative Psalms. Claus Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms,* (trans. Keith R. Crim; Richmond: John Knox Press, 1965), 130-132. Westermann concludes that the form, a later development among the Psalm-forms, "was determined liturgically and designed for liturgical use" (p 130).

[761] Many scholars take vv. 88-89 to be secondary to the original hymn. So Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah: The Additions,* 74. However, the formal discontinuities, noted above, between v.88a and 88b-c suggest that 88a may have been written to link the originally independent hymn

third reading section (vv. 88b-90) directs its attention to a collective audience in a short poetic reading honoring the God who delivers people from Hades and the fiery furnace.[762] If this is right, v. 88b-c opens a liturgical section which affirms the power of the Lord over death. The section culminates in calls for thankfulness and praise (vv. 89-90) rendered in 2nd person plural imperatives. The secondary (÷) mark and the scribal space of 5 letters after v. 90 commend a definite break to the third reading section.[763] In short, a liturgical context nicely explains the movement from imperatives to an audience response starting in v. 88c.

6.4.3.4. Analysis of Interpretive Interests

6.4.3.4.1. Dan. 3:57-82, 83-88a, 88b-90, 91-97

Four ÷ marks and an in-line space

Pages 140-144 (ρμ-ρμα)

As indicated by the preceding discussion, Daniel 3 was particularly significant to the reading community. The second and third reading sections (vv. 83-88a and 88b-90)

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of v. 88b-c to the conventions of the longer poem. Thus, while v. 88a may have been the craft of the redactor, it could also have been the device of the original author. Either way, v. 88a serves as the bridge to the interpretive content of v. 88b-c.

[762] The third reading (vv. 88b-90) affirms a later Christian interpretation of Dan 3 and the deliverance of the three men from the fiery furnace. See Aage Bentzen, *Daniel*, (Handbuch zum Alten Testament 19; 2d ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1952), 39. See the similar conclusions of McGowan and Mowry. McGowan argues that NT texts and their narratives were read liturgically as "interpretive etiologies of a catechetical nature," (Andrew McGowan, "Is There a Liturgical Text in this Gospel? The Institution Narratives and Their Early Interpretive Communities," *JBL* 118, 1999:86). Mowry argues that the literary form of the songs in Rev. 4-5 suggest the liturgical setting for the lyric poems, (Lucetta Mowry, "Revelation 4-5 and Early Christian Liturgical Usage," *JBL* 71, 1952: 75-84). These two studies connect narrative setting and liturgical hymns and offer interesting parallel cases to the situation in Dan. 3.

[763] Of the four reading sections, the fourth is the least likely to have been read liturgically, and thus does not receive attention here.

shared the theme of deliverance from death.[764] The theme is carried into the fourth reading section as well. In p967, v. 91 reports that Nebuchadnezzar heard the three men's singing and saw that they were alive.[765] Then Nebuchadnezzar offers praise to the Jewish deity for, "there is no other God who is able to save (εξελεσθαι)" (v. 29). In this fourth section, as in the preceeding two, the exegetical insterests focus on praise and divine deliverance.

The Hymn of the Three Young Men in Daniel 3 may have been read in connection with Ezekiel 37 as a resurrection text. Even beyond their thematic connection, Ezekiel 37 and the hymn in Daniel 3 share an important scribal feature. The scribe who prepared Daniel left a five-letter width space after Dan 3:88b-90. A space of nearly the same size occurs before Ezekiel 37. These two gaps in the continuously wrapped text constitute the *only spaces of such notable length* in the entire extant manuscript. Such a scribal technique suggests an appreciation for the connection between the two passages on the part of the scribe of Daniel.

It is important to point out, however, that the in-line spaces were produced by the scribe who inscribed the manuscripts and were a part of the manufacturing process. The reading community who placed the secondary (÷) marks in Daniel did not similarly mark Ezekiel 37. In fact, the (÷) mark only occurs once in the Ezekiel portion of the text, at 17:1 (see §6.2.6.3.1).

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[764] Vv. 57-88a only hint at the theme in v. 88a through mention of the three young men. This mention, however, summons the fiery furnace narrative. Certainly, verses 88b-90 are quite directly about deliverance from death.

[765] The text of p967 follows G at this point, but diverges somewhat from all versions as well… v. 91 and it was in the hearing of the King [This is an Hebraism, which is not found in G or in Theo…closer to the semitic original!!] their singing, and he saw that they were alive.

6.4.3.4.2. Daniel 7:12

Category 2

Page 153 (ρνγ)

Resurrection is not the only apocalyptic element that interested the reading community; the remainder of the reading marks draws attention to passages critiquing imperial power using common apocalyptic tactics common to the genre. Already in Dan 3, Nebuchadnezzar's role as tyrant was dramatically reversed as he praised the Jewish God for his power for deliverance (v. 29).

The marked verse in Dan 7:12 sheds light on apocalyptic political ideas about the fate of empires.[766] Following on the vision of the four beasts which represent a succession of evil empires, vv. 11-12 describe their destruction. However, only the fourth beast is completely destroyed (v. 11). The initial three beasts are not annhiliated, but rather "the duration of their life was given to them until the appointed time" (v.12).[767] Verse 12 is sober to the persistent existence of imperial powers and holds out a future hope for an appointed time of their demise. The symbolic nature of the beasts lends itself

[766] It is possible that the mark refers to Dan 7:13 in which "one like the son of man appeared on the clouds." However, the phrase ιδου επι των νεφελων του ουρανου, which opens the scene, is a full five lines below the mark. Despite how popular this verse was in early Christianity, the reading community of p967 did not directly mark the messianic imagery. For references on the role of this verse in early Christianity, see Arthur J. Ferch, *The Son of Man in Daniel 7* (Andrews University Doctoral Dissertation Series 6; Berrien Springs, Mi.: Andrews University Press, 1979), 4-9.

[767] Collins holds that v. 12 refers to the remaining three beasts. However, variant explanations do exist. As he notes, H.L Ginsberg argues that the "remaining beasts" refers to residual Persian and Median powers that persisted beyond the period of Antiochus IV, (Harold L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 14; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1948, 7). Ginsberg's interpretation may be less appealing for the original sense, but his comes closer to how the reading community may have read the verse, as referring to contemporary powers, not least because the fourth beast was often taken to stand for Rome. Both Jewish and Christian interpretation attests such continued recontextualization of Daniel's visions. See especially Collins' thorough discussion in J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, 88.

to re-contextualization. It is quite possible that the reading community applied the concept to their contemporary political realities.

6.4.3.4.3. Daniel 9:2

Category 2

Page 168 (ρξη)

The apocalyptic conception of the future according to appointed times recurs in the marked verse at Dan. 9:2. It cites Jeremiah's 70-year fulfillment period for the desolation of Jerusalem.[768] In the Danielic interpretation, 70 *weeks* of years (vv. 25-27) are re-contextualized and recalculated to predict the temple desecration under Antiochus IV.[769] Why the reading community of p967, centuries after the Maccabean events, would be interested in this number is unclear. It may be because the weeks of years in Dan 9 did not work out perfectly, that the community attempted to recalculate the number for a third application in their own time. However, without more evidence, this is merely speculation.

6.4.3.4.4. Daniel 10:1

[768] Jeremiah's prophecies in 25:11-12 and 29:10 address an exilic audience. See William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, (Hermeneia Commentary, vol. 2; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989),139-140. Holladay argues for redactional activity regarding the 70 years. However, the different ideas about the 70-years, according to Holladay, were catalyzed by the destruction in 587 BCE, thus involve a pre-exilic and an exilic audience. 2 Chronicles 36:21, Ezra 1:1, and Zechariah 1:12 all reference the 70 years with respect to the Persian period restoration of Yehud. See, Reinhard Kratz, "The Visions of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, (eds. J.J. Collins, and Peter Flint; Vol. 1; Boston: Brill, 2002), 109-111.

[769] Daniel's interpretation of the 70 years was written long after the advent of the Persian Yehud to which it originally referred. However, Collins perhaps overstates the case that Daniel "rejects" the Persian period fulfillment schemes, (Collins, *Daniel*, 359). Indeed, the literary setting places ch. 9 during the reign of Cyrus, inviting at least a two-fold fulfillment interpretation, the original Persian one and the updated fulfillement contemporary with the book of Daniel.

Two category 2

Page 173 (ρογ)

The two marginal marks beside Dan. 10:1 strongly indicate an interest in the efficacy of Daniel's visions. The verse asserts that Daniel's "vision is true" (αληθες το ορα) and filled with great power (το πληθος το ισχυρον.) The vision referred to in 10:1 runs through chs. 10-12, describing a military conflict (ch. 11 especially) and culminating in the deliverance of the elect (in ch. 12).[770] Daniel 11 originally offered an *ex eventu* prophecy about the Syrian wars of the Hellenistic period, while ch. 12 extended hope for resurrection across the literary horizon into the future. As in Ezekiel, we see the theme of divine deliverance promised within the context of imperial wars and threat. The marks, however, occur at points that emphasize the strength and truth of Daniel's vision.

6.4.3.4.5. Esther 13:1-7

Two category 2

Pages 205-206 (σε-σς)

The two marks in Esther occur at the beginning and end of Addition B (ch. 13).[771] The content in Esther 13:1-7 consists of a letter from the Persian king Artaxerxes to his governors. In that letter, he articulates various rationales for instituting his anti-Semitic

[770] Daniel 12 constitutes the only clear example of resurrection from death in the Hebrew Bible. As commentators have noted, the vision does not hold out hope for a miraculous deliverance for the Jews, (Collins, *Daniel*, 403). Instead, the future for the Jews takes the form of resurrection from the dead in 12:2-3. J. J. Collins calls these two verses, "the only clear attestation of a belief in resurrection in the Hebrew Bible," (J. J. Collins, "Excursis: On Resurrection," in *Daniel*, 394.)

[771] Addition B, of the five in Esther, is the most likely to have been originally written in Greek, which helps to understand its literary tradition. So C. A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah*, 193-199; See his original argument in C. A. Moore, "On the Origins of the LXX Additions to the Book of Esther," *JBL* 92 (1973): 382-93; and the supporting study of R. A. Martin, "Syntax Criticism of the LXX Additions to the Book of Esther," *JBL* 94, (1975): 65-72.

pogrom against the Jews. That this passage is isolated raises questions. If the section is taken out of its running context, it would merely read as a diatribe against the Jews. Indeed, the exegetical connections with the language of Ezekiel may support this view that p967 demonstrates its readers' anti-Semitic interests. Chapter 13's pogrom includes a direction that the Jews would be "completely wiped out by the swords of their enemies" and "go violently down into Hades (αδης)" (vv. 6-7). In Ezekiel, the same phrases describe the fate of foreign empires,[772] who as we saw, found their end in Ezekiel's pit (chapter 32.) Consistent with this exegetical connection, p967's readers may seek to relegate their Jewish contemporaries to the pit.

The opposite reading is also possible. *Within* its literary context, Addition B describes the wicked plot of the antagonist, Haman. p967's readers may have understood themselves in the role of Esther's Jews, facing great persecution. Historically, the charges in Esther levied against the Jews, particularly that they "pervert society with strange laws" (v. 5) were also mounted against Christians, for instance, in the first century CE by Tacitus.[773]

The case of Esther 13:1-7 in p967 is instructive. The reading marks highlight a text whose antagonism (interior binaries) can generate opposite meanings depending on the context in which they were read and understood. The codex supplies no further assistance with this much-needed supplemental information. In this case, conclusions

[772] Death by the sword is a recurrent refrain throughout Ezekiel. So threatened are the Ammonites in ch. 21, Edom in ch. 25, Pharaoh and Egypt in chs. 17, 29, 30 and 32, and Israel in chs. 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 21, 24, and 33. As for the pit, Hades appears three times in Ezek. 31:15-17 referring to Assyria and once of Egypt in ch. 32:27. However, Ezekiel's words for the pit include שאול (Sheol), שחת (pit), בור (cistern/pit), and ארץ תחתית (underworld). These may be translated into Greek somewhat loosely as αδης (Hades), βοθρος (pit), λακκος (cistern/pit), and γη βαθος (underworld).

[773] Tacitus, *Annals* xv 44.

about the "reading community" are ambiguous and underscore the limitations of the modern pursuit for ancient meanings. Nevertheless, the cosmic revenge and polarizing language of Addition B in Esther tells us something about the religious climate in which rhetorical foment was more intensified.

6.4.3.5. Discussion of Interpretive Interests

The preceding discussion identified several thematic concerns that cut across the books. The theme of deliverance from death is found in Daniel 3 (marked five times with ÷,) and Ezekiel 37 (marked by a category 2). Both texts highlight praise and deliverance and even claim God's power to save from death. Secondly, marks in both Esther and Daniel point to passages about foreign nations and the negative context of imperial power dynamics. This interest resonates with the passage in Ezek 30 annotated as a divine fulfillment of Egypt's destruction. The themes of death and deliverance occupy many of the Jewish and Christian apocalypses which often focus on resurrection and mythologize the tension of life under imperial power.

As mentioned in §6.2.1.2, it is possible that Tobit followed Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther in p967. A connection certainly exists between Tob 8:5 and Dan 3:52-53 since both begin with the phrase, "you are blessed, Lord, God of our fathers" and emphasize the natural world's words of blessing.[774] Further connections exist but are not strong. For example, Tobit, Esther, and Susannah describe female exemplars of the faith, serving as counter-points to Ezekiel's wicked women in chs. 16 and 23.[775]

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[774] For the connections, see J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, 205.

[775] Tobit 3:14-15 and 6:12 describes Sarah, Raquel's daughter as "beautiful and God-fearing," a phrase used also of Susannah (Sus. 2) and Esther (Est. 2:7 and 20 in the LXX).

More generally, Tobit, Daniel, and Esther are Diaspora texts. They depict Jews living under foreign rule: Daniel between the Babylonian and Persian reigns, Esther under Persian rule, and Tobit under Assyrian captivity. These Diaspora contexts in p967's books highlight Ezekiel's literary setting in Babylon, by the river Chebar. Consistent with these prominent literary settings, the p967's historical setting in Egypt may prove important to further inquiry into re-contextualized readings of the codex (i.e. "God fulfills," or how the Exodus chapters were read.) Of course, Tobit's presence in p967 is merely speculative.

6.5. Conclusion

The codex of p967 bears witness to its reading community in numerous ways. As the preceding discussion revealed, the codex's production, contents, notations, and reading marks reveal the character and interests of a Christian community of readers.

With a few caveats, I characterized the codex as Christian. The codex format and its use of contraction for the *nomina sacra* serve as the most widely regarded markers of Christian origin. Scattered textual variants and the larger Chester Beatty collection add support to the characterization. However, these features merely scratch the surface of the religious identity of the reading community. For instance, the contraction of πνευματα, the plural of πνευμα (spirit/wind) cannot refer to the Trinity. Likewise, the demonstrated interest in the pogrom described in Est 13 or life in Diaspora nations could indicate p967's function within emerging Jewish-Christian identities and relations.

The marginal symbols and notations comprise one of the most definitive lenses into the religious ideas of the reading community. The seven categories of marks saturate

the pages, however unevenly, and indicate an active readership. Ezekiel's marginal words offer rare linguistic evidence for ancient practices of reading and interpretation. Six of the seven marginal notations in the Ezekiel portion coherently refer to themes in or exegetical interpretations of the content of their pages.[776] Of particular interest as regards the more general life of the codex, the theme of resurrection worked across the books. Both the marginal notation, αναστασεως at Ezek 37 and the hymnic section-marks of Dan 3 brought the theme to the fore. If it can be shown that indeed, the category 2 double hatch mark of Ezek 37 and the five (÷) marks in Dan 3 mark liturgical sections, one can imagine the two texts being fruitfully read together.

Judging by the density of marks, both linguistic (category 1) and non-linguistic (categories 2-7), Ezekiel's temple generated the greatest interest. The interpretation of the temple bore both materialist and spiritual concerns, which I suggested, may relate to modes of patristic exegesis. The theme of economy, more strongly emphasized through the marginal annotation "(concerning) merchants," emerged in chs. 40-48 as well. Scattered marks beside verses about land allotments, just measures, and non-oppressive leadership suggest that p967's readers read their contemporary political life through the lens of temple-symbolism. Such materialist-historical concerns were also reflected in the fulfillment-interest pointed at Ezekiel 30's oracle against Egypt. In short, the historical nature and conditions of the Egyptian community that read and used p967 may be dimly reflected by this codicological analysis.[777] We see that Jewish prophecy concerning

[776] The one exception, as indicated in §6.3.3.1.3 is the marginal notation in Ezek. 32:30-33:8 on page 75.

[777] It should be pointed out that the interest in Egypt, characteristic of some of p967's marks, extends to the other LXX witnesses as well. Textual plusses at the start of Ezek 29:1 are consistent with Egyptian readers' interests and probably represent glosses that were incorporated into the front matter of

Egypt and the temple vision maintained some measure of symbolic significance for a 3rd century reading community.

Beyond the temple's symbolic significance, its spiritual significance is apparent by the three marginal words at Ezek 43. The chapter describes the ritual of sanctifying the altar in preparation for the deity's return. This event was understood as symbolic of repentance. The return of the Lord was affirmed as central to this symbolic ritual. This text likely offered an important teaching about early Christian piety and the moral constitution of a religious person.

Few obvious material/scribal connections exist among the biblical books contained in the codex. The marginal marks across the codex appear consistent only within a particular book (so Esther's phrase breaks) and even within a singular passage (so the ÷ marks in Dan 3). Thus both according to paleography and reading marks, the books stand separately. The only exception is the theme of resurrection in Ezekiel and Daniel; however, the reading marks do not overwhelmingly point to their functional connection. Only the 5 letter in-line spaces, created during the inscription of Daniel, suggest that any intentional connection should be made between the two passages. This is all the more striking given the above discussion (§6.3.4) about the strong literary connections among the three books. The logic of p967's collected edition does not seem to lie in a functional explanation. There does not appear to have been a consistent readership or an official type of reading across the codex. Indeed, the para-textual elements, especially those in the margins, offer little indication… if there even was a note-worthy rationale for why the three books come together in one codex.

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the chapter. So φαραω βασιλει αιγυπτου in A^{mg}-410 534-306^{mg}, επι φαραω βασιλεα αιγθπτου βαβυλωνος in 130, επι φαραω ετει ι' μηνι ι' ημερα in α' Q, and επι αιγθπτον και φαραω in Syh.

The liturgical function proposal, explored above, does not seem to obtain for p967 as a whole. Indeed, it seems clear that p967 was used in more than one way. However, liturgical function may best explain the features of certain passages. A number of scholars have suggested a liturgical function for various features adduced throughout the discussion above: Fernandez-Galiano for marginal words, Hurtado for format, McGowan for hymns within etiological narrative sections, Westermann for imperative psalms, Stanley Porter for unit delimitation, and De Bruin for specific category 2 marks. However, the idiosyncratic presentation of the marks suggests personalized use; if liturgical, p967 was by no means an official guide to readings. The evidence mounted here for reading use may better support private study, devotion, or teaching functions.

As Turner indicated, the marks in codices are often-times quite idiosyncratic and elusive.[778] The historian's reliance on analogical reasoning has not yet uncovered a system to the marks of our ancient readers. Certainly, evidence from parallel cases in other manuscripts may shed light on a reading practice that has gone unexplained here. However, I suspect that many of p967's marks are so idiosyncratic as to be lost to our modern capacities for observation and analysis, beyond the general reading function I assumed here. Additionally, a number of more specific functions could not be adequately explored. Choral marks, magical uses, and symbols for a separate commentary text or "oral script" provide at least three additional lines of investigation into p967's otherwise un(der)explained marks.

Chapter 7:
Conclusion

[778] Turner, *Greek Papyri,* 116.

7.1. Summary

The present study generated significant new insights into p967 as a variant literary edition of Ezekiel. The project, rooted in textual criticism, considered the way in which literary and text-critical methods work in tandem to answer questions about variant literary editions. Behind variant literary editions (in this case, MT and p967) lies a fluid textual tradition. Such fluidity raised questions about textual transmission and textual relationships as well as the nature of the sources that host our textual evidence. The project opened up these relevant areas of study in order to shed new light on the text, literary edition, and manuscript of p967.

7.1.1. The Text of p967

The text of p967 is extremely important for understanding the textual transmission and growth of Ezekiel. The earliest scholarship on p967's text concluded that p967 was perhaps the most important Septuagint text for determining OG and its Hebrew *Vorlage*. This phase of research had a stronger basis in textual evidence than subsequent work (especially that of Ziegler). The study in chapter 4 added further textual evidence to support this positive evaluation for p967's text, providing new evidence in four areas of textual study. First, p967 represents a strong witness to an alternate text, affirming textual fluidity for Ezekiel. In all the variants analyzed in this study, text-critical arguments for error did not withstand increased scrutiny. Hence, in the major variants originally identified by Lust, as well as many of its more minor details, p967's text cannot be dismissed as an accident of transmission history. Second, p967 and B, as

the two earliest Greek witnesses to Ezekiel, continue to present a textual puzzle. Frequently, in the variants analyzed, the divergence between B and p967 likely arose from variant Hebrew texts or alternate interpretations of a Hebrew reading. While more focused attention to their relationship is still necessary, p967 and B's texts seem to be the result of the Greek tradition following closely beside a developing Hebrew text tradition.[779] Third, p967's textual status is more certain: p967's text lies impressively close to its Hebrew parent text. In fact, the evidence strongly suggests that p967 frequently reflects an early edition of a variant Hebrew text from MT. Finally, MT often reflects a more developed textual stage of Ezekiel beyond that of the Old Greek.

From the textual conclusions reached in chapter 4, it is now essential that textual critics consider p967 as a witness to an early Hebrew text and to the Old Greek. As shown in chapter 2, several modern critical studies distanced p967's textual evidence from both Aleppo (MT) and B as less significant for the early stages of Ezekiel. This distancing may be the effect of one sole textual study: Floyd Filson's 1943 essay on 12:26-28 and 36:23c-38.[780] The timing of Filson's study, which established the basis for error in p967 especially in 12:24-26, perhaps led many scholars to over-generalize that p967 was full of errors and only significant to the later development in the Greek textual tradition.[781] As the present study showed, the case for error in 36:23c-38 is untenable, and Filson's evaluation in 12:24-26 is not as strong as was once assumed. Indeed, the

[779] The study of p967's paragraphing, presented in Chapter 6, afforded an additional piece of information that may shed light on the relationship between p967 and B. p967's 85 paragraphs showed 90% agreement with both the Hebrew (MT) and Greek traditions, indicating that p967 is most proximate to a common core. According to this angle of analysis, B represents a more developed text, with 180 paragraphs, over twice that of p967.

[780] F. V. Filson, "The Omission," 27-32.

[781] Filson's study was widely cited, for example, by Zimmerli, Tov, and Block, who remained skeptical of p967's textual information. See chapter 1.

weight of evidence supports p967's testimony to a text in which 12:24-26 did not occur. Moreover, several other evaluations for error in p967 minuses could not withstand greater scrutiny from multiple lenses of analysis. Hence, the scholarly *hesitation* to view p967's variants as important textual information for early stages of Ezekiel cannot persist. Perhaps this over-reaction against p967s text can also explain Lust and Crane's overstated embrace of p967's text. As shown in chapter 1, Lust and Crane swung the pendulum too far in the other direction, declaring p967's text to be earlier than the MT. Such a sweeping statement cannot stand: p967 and MT do not share text-types, and the diversion between p967 and B's text types point to the kind of continued study required. p967's text did show some development beyond that of the OG.

With appropriate words of text-critical caution, a modest claim is possible. p967's text is, in many cases, closer to a shorter Hebrew parent text. This shorter text likely resembles the basis for many of MT's developments. This assertion is sufficiently general to allow, for example, the possibility that p967 and MT represent different attempts by scribes to affix ch. 37, chs. 38-39, and chs. 40-48 to the previous 36 chapters of the book. The assertion is also sufficiently cautious to retain the awareness that p967's text is, in a few cases, the more developed text beyond B, for instance in 35:8; 38:20; 38:18; and 39:4. Chapter 6, on p967's codex, underscores this point. p967 functioned as a copy of Ezekiel for a 3rd century audience, reminding us that every witness to a text is also a piece of functioning literature. As in the case of any manuscript, the p967 codex is not a neutral repository of textual information, any more than is the Masada copy of Ezekiel or the supposed excerpted texts of Ezekiel. For example, resurrection was important to the p967 scribal community, as indicated by the marginal notation

"concerning resurrection" and the two unique in-line gaps at Ezekiel 37 and Daniel 3. While I do not attribute any text-critical significance to this fact, as discussed below (§7.1.3), the awareness of such material features remains essential to any abstract discussions of textual priority.

Beyond the conclusions just reached, this project highlighted two important areas of textual study that require further attention. First, a more thorough study of p967's relationship to B especially, as well as the other versions could bring additional clarity to the question of the Old Greek translation, inner-Greek transmission issues, and the stages of development in the Hebrew text. Second, this study did not attempt to answer the specific arguments, set forth in chapter 2, about the linguistic non-homogeneity evidenced in the Greek witnesses. Thackeray and McGregor explained breaks in linguistic style as the work of different translators, whereas other scholars, such as Tov and Fernández-Marcos, proposed theories of revision.[782] Especially important to these theories is the section in chs. 26-32, demarcated by McGregor as S2. These chapters encompass the oracles against Tyre and Egypt and, especially Ezek 32:17-32, proved significant to the literary study of chapter 5. Indeed, McGregor's translation data includes some linguistic terms that were significant to the present literary study, for example: (5.6) "prophesy and say to them" (הנבא ... ואמרת)[783]; (5.17) "plunder" (בזז/בז); and (5.18) "plunder" (שלל). (see Table V in the Appendix). A deeper study of linguistic

[782] Tov, "The Relationship Between the LXX of Jer, Ez, and the MT," in *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jeremiah 29-52 and Baruch 1:1-3:8* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), 135-155. Fernández-Marcos, "On Symmachus and Lucian in Ezekiel," in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (ed. F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne; Leuven: University Press, 2005), 153. Barthélemy provided a modest basis to attribute S2 to a kaige revision. Barthélemy, Dominique, *Les Devanciers D'Aquila* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 42-43, n4.

[783] McGregor, *The Greek Text of* Ezekiel, 110-111.

non-homogeneity, along the lines proposed here, will shed important additional light on p967's text as well as on the textual history of Ezekiel.

7.1.2. p967 and MT as Variant Literary Editions

This study clarified the scope and nature of the variants that distinguish p967 from MT as variant literary editions. Variants were grouped according to *Tendenzen* whereby the principle of coherence connected details across Ezekiel to four intertextual centers:

Intertextual Center	*Tendenzen*	Number of Variants
Ezekiel 12-13	Prophecy *Tendenzen*	87 variants
Ezek 32:17-32	Fate of the Slain *Tendenzen*	99 variants
Ezek 36:23c-38	*Tendenzen* Related to Ezek 36:23c-38	21 variants
Ezekiel 38-39	Gog-Magog" *Tendenzen*: Variants Related to Ezekiel 38-39	49 variants

The four general *Tendenzen*, to varying degrees, furnished substantial sets of coherent variants that can be used to distinguish the editions. First, p967's minus at 12:26-28 enjoyed significant company as a variant about prophetic temporality and the viability of Ezekiel's speech. MT displayed variants in programmatic statements about prophecy and material that affected the temporal structure of the book. The tendency of MT's edition towards increased precision about prophetic prediction provides important evidential support for the intentionality of the plus at 12:26-28. Within the intertextual

center, Ezekiel 13 furnished additional variants about the nature of prophetic speech. Consistent with the variants about prophetic temporality, MT exhibited the edition with increased attention to speech and prophetic speech formulae.

Second, the variants that fell into the "Fate of the Slain" *Tendenzen* constitute considerable evidence for a thematic distinction between MT from p967. In most cases, MT's edition provided increased precision and detail about the nature and location of slain bodies. In these details, the variants clustered within the oracles about foreign nations, particularly in Ezekiel 32's pit. MT presented a more populous pit, with greater attention to shame and circumcision. Additionally, MT brought increased significance to Tyre's fate in the pit of the sea and the hordes of Egypt's fate in the pit (ch. 32:17-32) and in exile (29:19 and 30:4). It is possible, given the significance of "hordes" to variants in chapter 7, that MT's edition forges a connection between the day of the Lord and the fate of the slain. However, since p967 is not extant in chapter 7, my conclusions about MT were more cautious. MT certainly displayed a concern for the day of the Lord (according to the variants in the "Prophetic Temporality" *Tendenz*), and linked such details with the fates of various peoples. Finally, Israel's fate seems to have been in view in the details of MT's pot allegory (chapter 24), particularly those variants about bones. These, as well as variants about "death on the field," present a reasonably strong connection to Israel's fate in Ezekiel 37 and the vision of the dried bones. Once again, MT's edition presents the increased details that would fix the interpretation of these visions of Ezekiel.[784] In contrast to all of these trends in MT, p967's edition furnishes fewer details about the

[784] However, as noted in chapter 5, the variants in the "new life" *Tendenz* did not offer a striking scenario of differentiation between p967 and MT.

precise nature and location of slain bodies, leaving its edition more open to multiple interpretations.

Third, Ezek 36:23c-38 did not generate coherence with as many variants as the above two *Tendenzen.* The variants about a new heart/spirit were exegetically ambiguous and occurred in p967 as well as MT. Perhaps the most striking feature of 36:23c-38 in MT (and its minus in p967) is the way in which it differently frames the event that would produce nation-recognition of Israel's deity. Certainly, the recognition formula, and the nation-recognition formula specifically, occurred in several variants (analyzed in the *Tendenz* about Prophetic speech.)

Fourth, the variants that fell into the "Gog-Magog" variants prove the significance of chs. 38-39 to the two editions. The nations listed in Gog's entourage (Ezekiel 38) occur in MT variants elsewhere, for example, in Tyre's trade list of chapter 27. While few in number, the variants about plunder show MT's edition is more concerned with the fulfillment of the promise that Israel would not become plunder in the Gog-Magog invasion (see MT plus in 34:8). Most significantly to the "Gog-Magog" Tendenzen are the word-plays with the term "meshech" (משך). Of the three occurrences of the verb, two are in MT pluses (12:28 and 32:20). The lexical connection between Meshech's name (chapters 38-39) and the verb "to stretch out" form a suggestive link between MT's edition of chapters 38-39, its edition of the Pit (Ezek 32:17-32), and its statements about prophecy and fulfillment (Ezek 12:26-28).

From the evidence, p967 and MT can be classified as variant literary editions of Ezekiel.

To claim that p967 and MT are variant literary editions requires immediate specification and nuance since the two texts share tremendous amounts of material. The textual basis for their variance involves the gross differences present in Ezekiel 12-13, 32, and 36-39.[785] While one could limit the designation "variant literary edition" to only these few passages, two points militate against this overly cautious option: 1) the content of Ezekiel 12-13, 32, and 36-39 impacts such larger issues as Ezekiel's vision of restoration, Ezekiel's structuring principle of prophecy, and Ezekiel's notion of enemy fate; and 2) variants in smaller details, coherent with these gross differences, cut across the book. With respect to the latter point, limiting the designation to only a few chapters would obscure the literary significance of the smaller variants in, for example, the oracles against Tyre. It is probably overstating the case to say that p967 and MT are variant literary editions of the oracles against Tyre. Nevertheless, textual variants in those passages *do* support differentiating features that are more pronounced elsewhere. Hence, designating p967 and MT variant literary editions captures the significance that such smaller details carry within the context of the two editions. To push the idea further, in the case of Ezekiel 24, it is *more* appropriate to talk about variant literary editions of the pot allegory. As argued in the conclusion to chapter 5, the allegorical genre would invest variants in descriptive detail in Ezekiel 24 with meaningful significance for interpretation. Lacking awareness of p967 and MT's status as variant literary editions, however, would render the variants in Ezekiel 24 difficult to appreciate exegetically. However, adopting the designation "variant literary edition" for the whole of p967 and MT more easily allows the pot allegory to acquire specific significances within the

[785] Unfortunately, since p967 is not extant in chs. 1-11, ch. 7, which is variant between MT and LXX, cannot be included in this list.

context of each edition. Hence, we have in the Tyrian oracles and the pot allegory two different examples of how the designation "variant literary edition" brings variants to light that would otherwise be obscured. On this last point, the designation "variant literary edition" achieves an important methodological feat as well. Variants such as those in the Tyrian oracles and the pot-allegory have long been assessed according to textual criticism alone. Working against this methodological parochialism, the status "variant literary edition" creates a methodological imperative to consider, not only textual information, but literary significance, as this project has done throughout. For this methodological reason, as well as the other reasons listed above, we should appreciate p967 and MT as "variant literary editions" of Ezekiel.

The variant literary editions of p967 and MT differ primarily in their views of restoration.[786] The different plot sequences for chs. 36-39 are only one aspect of the story. MT's variants about prophecy probably occupy a more prominent place in its edition of restoration than was previously given them.[787] Given its firm statements about prophecy's interpretation and fulfillment, MT presents a fixed vision of restoration. In this fixity, MT's vision is actualized; its vision of restoration cannot fulfill new potential applications. MT's treatment of משך especially captures this dynamic. In Ezekiel 12, MT declares that Ezekiel's visions would not "be delayed" any longer (משך). Then "Meshech" is relegated to MT's pit in Ezekiel 32 and appears in the oracle against Tyre's trade list in 27:13. Finally, Gog-Magog is the chief prince of Meshech in chs. 38-39. In every instance where משך occurs, MT presents a variant or is the longer text. Hence, for

[786] Ashley Crane's study is to be credited for identifying the importance of restoration, despite its limited focus on chs. 36-39.

[787] Lust suggested as much, though his work on MT's views about prophecy was limited to Ezek 12:26-28.

MT, the invasion in chs. 38-39 is a fulfilled vision, new applications are arrested, and "Meshech" or "prophetic delay" is forever relegated to the pit. In these details, this study simply deepens Lust's original conclusion that MT was the more historicizing edition of Ezekiel. However, this study places new significance on the role of prophecy-interpretation in distinguishing p967 from MT.

Lust's original theory also argued that p967 was the more apocalyptic of the editions. However, this second point cannot stand. MT displayed certain apocalyptic features not present in p967. In some cases, MT presented the *more* apocalyptic edition over p967, showing increased significance for the apocalyptic Pit, as well as the increased use of the eschatological phrase "on that day." Clearly, the temporal concerns revealed by comparing the two editions are more complex than Lust originally suggested. Lust's observations about p967's eschatological significance remain true, in the main. The chapter order in p967 *does* place the visions of chs. 37 and 40-48 at the end of the book, divorcing them from the "plot" of restoration that culminates in chs. 38-39. Thus, as Lust suggests, p967's visions refer not to past events, but are projected forward into a post-exilic eschaton in which an ideal state is envisioned (chs. 40-48). Even though MT still exhibits the historicizing tendencies noted by Lust, it does so in conjunction with distinctive apocalyptic features.

Finally, Crane's assertion that MT's edition distinctively functioned to rally the troops does not seem correct. The question of Israel's military role in history rarely emerged as significant to the set of variants analyzed in this study. Military dynamics played a stronger role in MT's edition of the apocalyptic fate of Israel's enemies in the pit. While MT was certainly the more militaristic edition on this point, the military

demise of enemy nations was theological; Israel played no role in their defeat. Hence, it is difficult to conclude from the evidence examined in this study, that MT calls Israel to arms. Crane's case is already weak within the results of his own study. Crane places a great deal of emphasis on the variant in Ezekiel 37 where MT reads "army" (חיל) as opposed to p967's "congregation" (συναγωγη); These two terms, in both the Hebrew and the Greek, are not restricted to the denotations Crane supplies them.[788] Indeed, even if these common translations are warranted, it is difficult to extend the significance of this detail to the much larger question of p967 and MT as variant literary editions! While the observation is interesting and important for Ezekiel 37, the variant appears to be an isolated feature and thus, generalization from it, without additional supporting evidence, is misleading.[789]

7.1.3. p967's Literary Edition and its Codex

Having studied p967's unique literary edition as well as its reception in a 3rd century codex, this study is in a unique position to comment on diachronic interpretive issues. To what extent do p967's paratextual data generate interpretations consistent with p967's unique textual edition?

The paratextual marks in p967's codex maintain two large areas of continuity with p967's text: the fulfillment or reuse of oracles and the new life offered in Ezekiel

[788] A variant in 43:2, outside the scope of Crane's study, involves military imagery. p967 specifies that sounds of an "army(παρεμβολη)" accompany God's return to the temple; MT does not include the militaristic detail.

[789] Further, Crane is incorrect that p967 is the peaceful edition vis-à-vis MT's militaristic edition. For the military application of p967's edition, see my "Reading p967 Intertextually with Second Maccabees and Second Century Hellenistic Jerusalem," presented to the Greek Bible section at SBL09 in New Orleans.

37. First, several of p967's paratextual marks pointed to an interest in prophecy and fulfillment and further indicated a readership who reapplied Ezekiel's prophecies to its contemporary context. The notation at Ezekiel 30 that "God fulfills" (θ συντελει) is a clear indication that readers remained interested in the concept of fulfillment. Additionally, the paratextual marks indicated that p967's reading community reapplied several of Ezekiel's oracles about economics to its contemporary time. Such reapplication of Ezekiel's oracles could be found in the chapter on Tyrian trade and in the temple vision's economic details. p967's paratextual interest in fulfillment and the reapplication of prophecy echoes in p967's text vis-à-vis MT. Because MT's edition so frequently emphasizes the immediate fulfillment of Ezekiel's prophecies, by comparison, p967's edition lends itself to reapplication.[790] Thus, p967's reception is consistent with its literary edition on the matter of prophetic interpretation and fulfillment.

A second continuous feature in p967 is its view of the new life offered in Ezekiel 37. As argued in chapter 5, p967's variant literary edition lacked the details present in MT that would determine the identity of the bones in Ezekiel 37. In other words, p967's edition shows less fixity than MT in its interpretation of Ezekiel 37. Additionally, p967's edition positions the chapter right before the vision of chapters 40-48, thereby unifying the genre of the conclusion of the book: p967 concludes on a visionary and not an historical plane. The effect of p967's edition of Ezekiel 37 not only lifts the event onto the same visionary plane as the temple vision, but also dislocates the event from the otherwise historically-oriented oracles of chs. 36 → 38-39 in the plot of restoration. Hence, the placement of Ezekiel 37 in p967 permits understanding its vision as applied to

[790] In light of this observation, it is probably significant that the marginal notation "God fulfills" (θ συντελει) occurs at the only undated oracle against Egypt.

the realm beyond history, such as the eschaton. These features of p967's text invite or at least more easily allow for the later reading community to take Ezekiel 37 as a chapter about resurrection. The reading community's interest in resurrection not only focused on Ezekiel 37, but also highlighted the significance of resurrection in Daniel 3.

Discontinuities between p967's text and its paratextual information, however, also obtain on topics such as the temple, economic matters, and the recognition of God. First, the marks on the p967 codex showed substantial attention to Ezekiel's temple. By way of contrast, p967's text did not furnish unique variants related to the temple. p967's text did offer a different dating scheme than MT, dates which correlate with the destruction of the temple. However, p967 did not show marked textual variance in chs. 40-48 along any discrete *Tendenzen.* Hence, the codicological evidence for interest in the temple does not correlate with the same interest in p967's unique text. Second, the paratextual interest in economic matters does not extend to p967's unique text. p967's reading community showed a concern for merchants, for economic sin, excess, and injustice. These same themes did not characterize any of p967's textual variants. Third, p967's literary edition included a unique textual variant in Ezek 38:20 concerning the recognition of God. As argued in chapter 5, both the recognition formula and the nation recognition formula held exegetical significance for MT and p967's editions of Ezekiel. However, the paratextual marks in the p967 codex did not echo this concern.

In addition to the continuities and discontinuities between p967's text and the paratextual marks in its codex, a third type of diachronic observation presents a more puzzling picture. In the case of the topic of enemy fate, the paratextual marks in p967 exhibited interpretive themes consistent, not with p967, but with *MT's* edition. MT's

unique literary edition showed considerable consistency in variants about the fate of slain enemies. This same concern occupied the readers of p967's codex. The paratextual notation at Ezekiel 30 highlighted the fate of Egypt. For the users of p967's codex, Egypt's fate was a matter of fulfilled prophecy. Specifically, Ezekiel 30 contains Day of the Lord imagery, such as the phrase "day drawing near" and the coming of thick clouds. The biblical text on this leaf speaks about the sword, and culminates in 30:10-12 where a more specific oracle attributes Egypt's fate to Babylon. These themes did not characterize p967's unique text, but could be found in MT variants. For example, MT pluses in 29:19 and 30:4 predict Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Egypt's horde. In this and several other details, MT variants gave increased attention to the end of Egypt.

Similarly the fate of Tyre is a consistent theme between MT's edition and the paratextual marks in p967's codex. The paratextual notation at Ezek 28:9-19 likens the end of Tyre to the fate of merchants. In comparing the variant literary edition, it was MT, not p967, that showed an increased interest in Tyre's fate. For example, MT contained variants that would bring Tyre into closer association with Gog-Magog, adding Meshech to its trade list, and condemning it to the pit along the same lines as MT's edition of Ezekiel 32. Hence, MT's treatment of the end of Tyre corresponds to p967's paratextual interpretive interests.

The coherent topical interest in the fate of the slain exhibited between p967's paratextual marks and MT's unique edition is certainly curious. The phenomenon could bespeak a wider interpretive trend in the reception of Ezekiel, regardless of literary edition. However, this conclusion cannot be substantiated by the limited data set examined here. So while the shared interpretive trends in MT's edition and p967's

paratextual marks cannot necessarily support larger claims about the reception of Ezekiel, the curious phenomenon does raise an important caution for how scholars use materialist philological information in study of variant literary editions. On the latter point, more needs to be said.

The continuities between p967's text and its paratext could represent important information for the textual analysis of p967. For example, because p967's codex clearly exhibits an interest in Ezekiel 37 as a chapter about resurrection, one could argue that p967's chapter order was a late development, attributable to inner-Greek scribes with demonstrable interest in resurrection. Certainly, p967's paratextual notation at Ezekiel 37 cannot be ignored; it constitutes materialist information about the non-neutrality of the source that garners us p967's unique text. Additionally, the five-letter in-line gap at Ezekiel 37, formed during scribal inscription, could support the theory for inner-Greek development. However, several factors work against this conclusion. First, Ezekiel 37 was not the exclusive interest of p967's scribes; the chapter featured already in *Pseudo*-Ezekiel, demonstrating the vibrant interpretive tradition that grew up around the chapter, even among Hebrew scribes. Thus, p967's paratextual marks cannot be viewed as entirely unique or discontinuous with a wider, somewhat timeless interest in the chapter. Second, if the inner-Greek scribes responsible for p967 saw fit to alter the chapter order, we should expect to see additional coherent textual features across its unique text, which however, we did not find. Third, if we rely on p967's paratextual marks to explain *this* textual puzzle, we should expect to find a strong connection between p967's *other* paratextual features and p967's text, which again, we did not find. Thus, p967's non-

neutral interest in resurrection does not seem, in this case, to explain p967's textual variance.

Indeed, while I affirm the non-neutrality of p967's manuscript, the total paratextual information does not present a clear picture. For example, the interest in the fulfillment of oracles presents complicated evidence for diachronic consistency between p967's text and paratext. p967's text is only open to the delayed fulfillment of oracles *in comparison* to MT's edition which is more emphatically against such delay. In other words, to say that p967's variant edition inherently promotes delayed fulfillment of Ezekiel's oracles is overstating the case. Of course, it is possible to argue that p967's edition is the result of scribes who wanted to *excise* passages about prophecy that presented ideas different from their interests. However, a brief survey of the high density and wide distribution of textual variants in MT (see chapter 5 §5.2.2) makes this proposal unlikely. Hence, in the case of prophecy and fulfillment, p967's paratextual information is only at best, an example of p967's openness to continued reapplication, and at worst, simply a coincidence.

The cautious approach, taken here, to using p967's paratextual information for text-critical conclusions is supported by the preceding discussion. Both the discontinuous trends between p967's text and paratextual marks, as well as the continuity demonstrated between MT's edition and p967's paratextual marks further underscore the complex relationship between p967's text and its life as a codex. The conclusions drawn in the present section cannot be used to mount text-critical arguments. They lend themselves, instead, to more general observations about the interpretation of Ezekiel from a diachronic perspective.

7.2. Scribalism and Variant Literary Editions of Prophetic Books

Study of variant literary editions raises questions about the nature and role of scribes in the production of biblical texts. As a final note, I want to place this study on Ezekiel into a wider discussion of scribalism, particularly as it pertains to prophetic books.

The issue of scribes' roles in the formation of prophetic books specifically, is by no means new to biblical studies.[791] However, recent scholarship shifts the focus from the formation of a prophetic book *qua* book and onto the role of scribes as interpreters and esoteric authors.[792] This shift can be seen in the work of scholars like Wolfgang Lau and Burkhard Zapff who talk about the composition of new prophetic texts as "scribal prophecy (*schriftgelehrte Prophetie*)."[793] Similarly, Blenkinsopp talks about the

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[791] See Zimmerli, "From Prophetic Word to Prophetic Book," in *"The Place is too Small for Us": The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship* (ed., R. P. Gordon; trans., Andreas Köstenberger; Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 5; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 419-42; repr. from "Vom Prophetenwort zum Prophetenbuch," *TL* 104 (1979): cols. 481-96. For a literary/redactional approach to the same question see David Petersen, *The Prophetic Literature: An Introduction* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 2002), 33-36. Petersen identifies four types of literary growth according to prominent redactional theories in exemplary passages: "collecting," "commenting," "updating," and "linking." For a new take on this old question, see the recent essay by Michael H. Floyd, "The Production of Prophetic Books in the Early Second Temple Period," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (eds., Michael H. Floyd, Robert D. Haak; New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 276-297. In the specific case of Ezekiel, many scholars find writing to be central to the production of the book. So Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon: a Contribution to the Study of Jewish Origins* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 71. See also Joachim Shaper, "The Death of the Prophet: The Transition from the Spoken to the Written Word of God in the Book of Ezekiel," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (eds., Michael H. Floyd, Robert D. Haak; New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 63-79.

[792] See C. R. Matthews, "Appointing Desolation: Contexts for Interpreting Edom's Fate and Function in Isaiah," in (ed., E. H. Lovering Jr.; SBLSP; Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1995), 265. See also Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 23-25.

[793] Wolfgang Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66* (BZAW 225; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 1-21. Burkhard Zapff, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie – Jes 13 und die composition des Jesajabuches* (Forschung zur Bibel 74; Würzburg: Echter, 1995). See also O. H. Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja* (BZAW 203; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991).

"scribalization of prophecy."[794] Alongside this shift runs a parallel development in Second Temple studies about prophecy, wherein the model of prophets as inspired messengers yields to the model of inspired *interpreters* of texts.[795] Increased interest in the *Pesharim* and citations of Israelite prophecy in texts like 1QS and CD have put Israel's prophecy and Second Temple scribalism in a new and central light.

Michael Fishbane's voluminous work on inner-biblical exegesis is widely hailed as relevant to both developments in that he examines the phenomenon of interpretation within the context of scribal textual production. Fishbane included "mantological" interpretation among his three types of scribal modes of exegesis.[796] According to Fishbane's introductory remarks

> scribal practice provides the most concrete context for the transmission of a *traditum*…whatever the origins and history of our biblical materials, then, they became manuscripts in hands of scribes, and it is as such that we have received them.[797]

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[794] Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon,* esp. 71.

[795] See William M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: form Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple* (JSOTSup 197; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995). See also Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 68; Leiden: Brill, 2007). See also David Aune's "Charismatic Exegesis in Early Judaism and Early Christianity," in *Apocalypticism, Prophecy, and Magic in Early Christianity: Collected Essays* (WUNT 199; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 126-150.

[796] Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 443-99. While Fishbane's category has been readily cited, scholars who have engaged the category find it to be inadequate to cover the range and types of interpretation found in prophetic books. See Matthias Henze, "Daniel and Jubilees," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: the Evidence of Jubilees* (eds., Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 53-66, esp. 61. Indeed, as Brevard Childs, in his review of the book, judiciously comments

> Perhaps because of the complexity of the material, this section [Mantological Exegesis] did not seem to me to carry the same compelling force as the earlier portions of the book.

Brevard S. Childs, "Review" of *Biblical Interpretation* Fishbane in *JBL* 106 (1987): 512.

[797] Fishbane, 23. For his entire discussion on scribalism and inner-biblical exegesis, pp. 23-43.

Study of variant literary editions of prophetic books should be included in the data set for such approaches to inner-biblical exegesis. However, it remains for text-critical scholars to refine the role of scribalism in the production of variant literary editions.

Indeed, study of variant literary editions has occasioned further reflection on textual models of scribalism. While textual criticism traditionally conceives of scribes as "transmitters" of the biblical text, variant literary editions cannot have been produced without some author-fuction within the so-called text tradition. The phenomenon of variant literary editions invites a model of textual transmission whereby the text becomes an active site of scribal activity. As Tov advances

> It is assumed that large scale differences displaying a certain coherence were created at the level of the literary growth of the books by persons who considered themselves actively involved in the literary process of composition.[798]

Tov cites the principle of coherence, the same principle operating in chapters 3, 4, and 5. Such coherent large scale differences, according to Tov, are part of the literary growth of a text, albeit the latter stages of that growth. He calls those responsible for such coherence, "author-scribes," and identifies their role as the "last editors and the first scribes of transmission."

Unfortunately, however, textual criticism has not adequately developed a way to accommodate this model of scribal production. Traditional textual criticism frequently eschews issues of literary growth. For example, Tov comments that textual criticism's proper object of study is *transmission* and cannot be any stage of literary growth.[799] Tov certainly recognizes the issues of literary growth implied by the phenomenon of variant

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[798] Tov, *TCHB*, 314.

[799] Tov repeatedly insists that content alterations are by definition secondary and therefor not the proper object of text-critical study. See Tov, HUBP, 258.

literary editions. For example, he speaks about a transitional phase between composition and transmission of a biblical book in which scribes inserted elements and became "small-scale partners in the creation of biblical books."[800] However, Tov's focus on the "creation of biblical books" enforces the concept of canon on period(s) in which the category did not yet exist. Hence, textual criticism's task of eliminating the corruptive forces of transmission dominates the traditional model of textual criticism. Instead, with Ulrich, we must insist on a model of scribalism which affirms the "composition-by-stages" of ancient texts

> "composition-by-stages" is the method by which the Scriptures were produced from the beginning, and …for some of the latter stages we now have manuscript evidence documenting two or more *literary editions* of some of the biblical books.[801]

In this model, as Watts states about redactional studies in Jeremiah,

> redactional development and textual transmission overlap. One cannot distinguish them diachronically as if redactors first produced the finished text, which copyists then corrupted…textual history began long before its redactional history ended.[802]

In other words, scribes who affected changes and developments on their parent texts did so in tandem with their copying task. As Watts goes on to state, "there is no evidence…to indicate that the editorial and duplicative tasks were sharply distinguished in the early period of textual transmission, much less assigned to different people."[803]

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[800] Tov, *TCHB*, 314.

[801] Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24-25.

[802] James Watts, "Text and Redaction in Jeremiah's Oracles against the Nations," 437. Making a similar point about redaction and transmission, Kristen De Troyer notes that the Bible itself is the product of redactional activity and is thus, rewritten in a very important sense (De Troyer,,*Rewriting the Sacred Text*, 1).

[803] Watts, "Text and Redaction in Jeremiah's Oracles," 438. Watts is indebted to Michael Fishbane who wrote before Tov's *Text Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, and who works out of a premise quite different from Tov. Fishbane focuses on editorial features of inner-biblical and post-biblical exegesis. He attends

According to this model of scribalism, variant literary editions are the result of *both* a mechanical process of copying *and* an authorial function.

The "composition-by-stages" model of scribalism prepares textual criticism to engage the larger question, raised initially, about the role of scribes in the transmission of prophetic books. It does so by affirming each stage of the text, as potentially revealing of distinctive scribal practices.

In the case of p967 and MT as variant literary editions, significant textual evidence points to the role that prophecy-interpretation played in distinguishing the editions. In most cases, MT's longer text reflected the type of "scribalization of prophecy" of which Blenkinsopp speaks. MT's interest in fulfillment and prophetic speech even extends to its demonstrable interest in details about enemy fate and Israel's restoration. Only the text-critical model of composition-by-stages allows the scholar to appreciate the phenomenon of scribalization evinced in Ezekiel's textual evidence. The conclusions drawn in this study produces a new sphere of scribal evidence, ripe for comparison with Second Temple interpretation and reception of prophecy.

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to, among other things, scribal techniques and transmission process. Fishbane maintains a broad definition of the transmission process to include everything from the updating of traditions to the copying of texts. Fishbane, M. *Biblical Interpretation*, 23, 31-32, 37. Kristen De Troyer mounts a similar plea in *Rewriting the Sacred Text.*.

Appendix
Table I: Contents of p967 Publications

p967[CB] *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, Fasciculus VII: Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther*
Frederick C. Kenyon
(1937)

- Transcription of chaps. 11:25-17:21 with critical apparatus
- Origins, content, and description of codex
- Writing and date
- Relation to other uncials - table
- Photo plates

p967[Sch] *John H. Schiede Biblical Papyri* housed at Princeton
Allan Chester Johnson, Henry Snyder Gehman, and Edmund Harris Kase
(1938)

- Transcription of chaps. 19:12-37:4 with critical apparatus[804]
- Contents, date, and description of codex
- Lists of textual errors and omissions
- Punctuation
- Relation to Other Uncials
- Relation to Origen's Hexapla
- Relation to Old Latin Version
- The *Nomen Sacrum* in Ezekiel
- The Translators of Ezekiel
- Relation to Hebrew, Syro-Hexaplar, and Greek Texts
- Observations Criticae
- Photo plates

p967[Mad] "Nuevas Paginas del codice 967 del A.T. griego"
M. Fernández-Galiano
(1971)

- Transcription of chaps. 28:19-29:12; 32:30-34:6; and 37:4-43:8[805]
- Short history of scholarship
- Description of graphic elements of the codex
- Modest critical observations

p967[Köln] *Der Griechische Text des Buches Ezechiel: Nach dem Kölner Teil Papyrus 967*
P. Leopold Günther Jahn
(1972)

- Transcription of chaps. 11:25-21:14; 25:5-26:9; 43:9-48:35 with critical apparatus
- Description of Papyrus
- Rendition of Text and Critical Apparatus
- List of homoioteleuta readings
- List of readings according to Hexaplaric marks
- Notes to more important readings

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[804] Chaps. 38-39 come before chap. 37 in p967[Sch]

[805] P967[Mad] does not include chaps. 38-39 since they are transposed and appear in p967[Sch]

Table II: Alignment of p967 among the Greek Versions

$p967^{CB}$

Kenyon's enumeration of agreement/disagreement with $p967^{CB}$:[806]

Variants from A: 121	Agreements with A: 56
Variants from B: 34	Agreements with B: 142
Variants from Q: 76	Agreements with Q: 100
Variants from Γ: 4	Agreements with Γ: 13

Payne's enumeration of agreement/disagreement between $p967^{CB}$ and B:[807]

with A: 42
with B: 32
with Q: 30

Payne's enumeration of agreement between the miniscules and $p967^{CB}$ against B:[808]

I (Egyptian)	1
II (Palestinian)	4
III(Antiochian)	4
I, II	7
I, III	5
II, III	4
I, II, III	16
Misc. Mss.	17

$p967^{Sch}$

JGK's enumeration of agreement and disagreement:[809]

Variants from A: 441	Agreements with A: 95
Variants from Q: 197	Agreements with Q: 39
Variants from B: 129	Agreements with B: 168

$p967^{Köln}$ No such figures available

$p967^{Mad}$ No such figures available

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[806] Kenyon, Chester Beatty. x.

[807] Payne does not collate Γ since it is minimally extant. (Payne "The Relationship," 256).

[808] The miniscule groups are according to Procksch **BIBLIA?**. See Payne for more detailed assessment of the conclusions of Procksch and Gehman about the miniscule categories. Payne, "The Relationship," 257-258.

[809] Johnson, Gehman, and Kase, *The John H. Schiede Papyri*, 33.

Table III: Abbreviations

=	equals, in relation between versions
≈	equals almost/approximately, in relation between versions
86′	86-710
106′	106-410
239′	239-306
403′	403-613
A	Codex Alexandrinus
A′′	A-26-544
AbrN	*Abr-Nahrain*
Aeth	Aethiopische Übers.
Ambr.	Ambrosius
Arab	Arabische Übers.
Arm	Armenische Übers.
ASP	*American Studies in Papyrology*
ast.	asterisk
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
Aug.	Augustinus
α′	Aquila
B	Codex Vaticanus
BEO	Biblica et Orientalia
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
Bo	Bohairische Übers.
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
C	87-91-490
C′′	*C + cI + cII*
cI	49-90-764
cII	130-233-534
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
Chr.	Chrysostomus
Co	Coptische Übers.
Consult.	I Firmici Materni Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CJ	*Classical Journal*
Cypr.	Cyprianus
Cyr.	Cyrillus Alexandrinus
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*

Eus.ecl.	Eus. Eclogue propheticae
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
fin.	*finis*
FCBS	Fortress Classics in Biblical Studies
GBSOTS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship Old Testament Series
GRBS	*Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*
GregEl	Gregorius Eliberritanus
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
Hi.	Hieronymus
Hippol.	Hippolytus Romanus
HS	*Hebrew Studies*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUBP	Hebrew University Bible Project
Ir.	Irenaeus Lugdunensis
θ´	Theodotian
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Iust.	Iustinus Martyr
JAOS	*The Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBLMS	*Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series*
JGK	Johnson, Gehman, and Kase
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAT	*Kommentar zum Alten Textament*
L	22-36-48-51-96-231-763
L´´	*L* + *l*l + *l*ll
*l*l	311-538
*l*ll	V-46-449
La	Latein. Übers.
La^{C}	cod. Constantiensis
La^{S}	fragmenta Sangallensia
La^{W}	cod. Wirceburgensis
La^{Ver}	cod. Veronensis
LXX	Septuagint
^{mg}	marginal notation
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
MT	Masoretic Text
O	Q-88-Syh
o	62-147-407
O´	*O* + *o*
obel.	obelus
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis

OG	Old Greek
OLP	Orientalia lovaniensia periodica
om.	omits
Or.	Origenes
OTL	Old Testament Library
p967	papyrus 967
Peshitta	Peshitta
PsCypr.	Pseudo Cyprianus
PsVig	Pseudo Vigilius Thapsensis
Q	Codex Marchalianus
rel.	*reliqui*
RevQ	*Review de Qumran*
Sa	Sahidische Übers.
SB	Subsidia Biblica
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
Spec.	Liber De divinis scripturis sive Speculum
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
Syh	Syrohexapl. Übers.
Syp	Syropaläst. Übers.
σ´	Symmachus
Targ	Targum
TCHB	*Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*
TCS	Text-Critical Studies
TENT	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
Tert.	Tertullianus
ThLT	*Theologische Literaturseitung*
Tht.	Theodoretus Cyrensis
TL	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TLOT	*Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
^{txt}	textual reading
Tyc.	Tyconius Afer
UBS	United Bible Societies
V	Codex Venetus
Vulg.	Vulgata
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
Z	Zeigler's LXX Göttingen text
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

Table IV: Ziegler's 1977 Text Groups

B-Texts:[810]

B – Codex Vaticanus (4th century)
967 – (3rd century)
988 – Antinoopolis Papyri (4th century)[811]

A- Texts

A – Codex Alexandrinus (4th-5th centuries)
26 – (10th century)
106 – (14th century)
410 – (13th century)
544 – (11th century)

Hexaplaric Texts

Q – Codex Marchalianus (6th century)
88 – (10th century)
Syh – Codex Syrohexaplaris (8th century)
62 – (11th century)
147 – (12th century)
407 – (9th century)
922 – (3rd – 4th centuries)

L-Group

22 – (11th -12th centuries)
36 – (11th centuries)
48 – (10th – 11th centuries)
51 – (11th century)
96 – (11th century)
231 – (10th – 11th centuries)
763 – (11th century)
311 – (12th century)
538 – (12th century)
V – Codex Venetus (8th century)
46 – (13th-14th centuries)

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[810] Ziegler also includes the Latin, Coptic and Old Latin quotations in the B-Group. ("La Co altlat. Zitate") Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (1952) 23.

[811] C.H. Roberts, (ed) *The Antinoopolis Papyri. Part I* (London: London Egypt Exploration Society, 1950) S. 19-23 Nr. 10. Ziegler did not have access to these fragments until after he had completed his work on Ezekiel. Thus, he published the collation of variants in 1954 in *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, ed. Ziegler, *Septuaginta Gottingensis* XVI, 2, Göttingen 1954, S. 77-78.

449 – (10th – 11th centuries)
Z^V – Codex Zuqninensis (6th – 8th centuries)
456 – (11th century)

Catena group

87 – (10th century)
91 – (11th century)
490 – (11th century)
49 – (11th century)
90 – (11th century)
764 – (13th – 14th centuries)
130 – (12th – 13th centuries)
233 – (10th century)
534 – (11th century)

Mixed Codices

86 – (9th – 10th centuries)
198 – (9th century)
239 – (written in 1046)
306 – (11th century)
380 – (12th century)
393 – (8th century)
403 – (written in 1542)
611 – (16th century)
613 – (13th century)
710 – (10th century)
927 –Codex Melphictensis rescriptus (6th century, rewritten in 11th-12th centuries)

Table V: Multiple Translator Theory
Select Data from McGregor's 1985 Study

	English / Hebrew	S1 (chs. 1-25)	S2 (chs. 26-39)
5.1-3	you will know that I am Yahweh[812] ……..	(επι) γινωσκειν διοτι / οτι εγω xxxx ……..	γινωσκειν οτι εγω ειμι xxxx ……
5.1	ידע	(επι) γινωσκειν	γινωσκειν
5.2	כי	διοτι / οτι	οτι
5.3	(יהוה) אני	εγω xxxx	εγω ειμι xxxx
5.4	sword (חרב)[813] (to fall) by the sword[814]	ρομφαια εν ρομφαια	μαχαιρα μαχαιρα (in the dative case)
5.5	(he) said to (me)[815] (אמר אל/ל)	(speaking verb) + προς	(speaking verb) + dative case
5.6	prophesy and say to them[816] (הנבא ... ואמרת)	impv. + future	impv. + impv.
5.7	iniquity/sin (עון)[817]	αδικια	Inconsistent (αδικια, ανομια, ασεβεια, αμαρτια)
5.8	people (עם)[818]	λαος	εθνος

[812] McGregor, 97-100. This evidence was adduced by Thackeray but his primary witness, B evinced the break at 26:6 / 28:23. However, p967 reads εγω ειμι at 26:6, and thus supports the break at the end of ch. 25. The Zeigler text reads with B in this instance, not having p967 at his disposal. (101)

[813] McGregor, 101-105. Sword is used as synedochy to express the violent retribution which will befall Israel. McGregor does not see any contextual cause for the lexical variation in the Greek term. χιφος appears in 16:40 and 23:47 but the context is shared – the slaughter of an adulterous woman. According to O'Connell (1972:288) the Kaige used ρομφαια and Aquila and Symmachus used μαχαιρα (McGregor, 105).

[814] McGregor, 104-105.

[815] McGregor, 105-110. The sections are not totally consistent. προς was used with the first person pronoun in all three sections (*ie.* S2 has προς με where we would expect μοι in 37:3, 4, 9, 11, 18). Thus, this constitutes weak evidence (McGregor, 109-110).

[816] McGregor, 110-111.

[817] McGregor, 111-113.

[818] McGregor, 113-116. S2 only but not always uses ethnos "in contexts where there is a strong sense of foreignness." Otherwise, λαος does stand in when Israel as "my people" is rendered (McGregor, 116). "Cf. Turner (156:16)".

5.9	assembly (קהל)[819]	οχλος	συναγωγη
5.10	scatter (זרה)[820]	διασπερω / διασκορπιζω / σκορπιζω	λικμαω
5.11	be scattered (פוץ in the Hiphil)[821]	διασκορπιζω	διασπερω
5.12	devestation, waste (שממה)	αφανισμος	απωλεια / ερημος / ηφανισμη[822]
5.13	sin (רשע)	ανομος (λοιμος in one case)	αμαρτωλος / ασεβεια / ανομος
5.17	plunder (בזז/בז)	διαρπαζειν / διαρπαγη (spelling?)	προνομη / σκυλευσει
5.18	plunder (שלל)	σκυλα	προνομευω / σκυλευω
5.23	possession (מורשה)	κληρονομια	κατασχεσις
5.24	ruins (חרבה)	ερημος	ερημος / ερημοω (verb – spelling?)

[819] McGregor, 116-117.

[820] McGregor, 118-119.

[821] McGregor, 119-120. The Hifil is the only stem which exhibits consistency. The Qal and Nifal are mixed with no distinction between the sections.

[822] This unique form in 36:34 is in 36:23c-38.

Table VI: Textual Lemmata in Canonical Order

4:4 πεντηκοντα και εκατον Z rel. (obel. *O*) [(967 not preserved)] ενενηκοντα και εκατον *O* Q^{mg}-147 538 534-239'-710 | ενενηκοντα και τριακοσιας 410 | (minus) *C*' = MT

4:5 ενενηκοντα και εκατον Z rel. [(967 not preserved)] ενενηκοντα και τριακοσιας *C*'-403' 410 Hi. = שלש מאות ותשעים MT

4:6 το δεξιον Z rel. [(967 not preserved)] το δεξιον (obel. *O*) δευτερον *O*-62 Arm = הימיני שנית MT ≈ *L*''-311 Tht. 147'

7:12 (minus) ZB La^{S} Co Aeth [(967 not preserved)] (ast. O) οτι οργη εις παν το πληθος αυτης rel. = כי חרון אל כל המונה MT

7:13 (minus) ZB 233 La^{S} Co Hi.[(967 not preserved)] (ast. *O* 86') και ετι εν ζωη το ζην αυτων οτι ορασις εις παν το πληθος αυτης ουκ ανακαμψει rel. ≈ α'σ'θ' = ועד בחיים חיתם כי חזון אל כל המונה לא ישוב MT כי חזון אל כל חמונה לא ישוב

7:14 (minus) ZB La^{S} Co Hi. [(967 not preserved)] (ast. O 86 449) και ουκ εστι(ν) πορευομενος εις τον πολεμον οτι η οργη μου εις παν το πληθος αυτης rel. = ואין הלך למלחמה כי חרוני אל כל המונה MT

8:18 (minus) ZB La^{S} Hi.[(967 not preserved)] και κεκραξονται εις τα ωτα καλεσουσιν εν τοις ωσιν μου φωνη μεγαλη και ου μη εισακουσω αυτων *L*-311-V-46-Z^{V} Tht. | (ast. *O*) και καλεσουσιν εν τοις ωσιν μου φωνη μεγαλη και ου μη εισακουσω αυτων ≈ rel. = וקראו באזני קול גדול ולא אשמע אותם MT

12:26 (minus) 967] και εγενετο λογος κυριου προς με λεγων Z rel. = ויהי דבד יהוה אלי לאמר MT 12:27 (minus) 967] υιε ανθρωπου ιδου οικος ισραηλ ο παραπικραινων λεγοντες λεγουσιν η ορασις ην ουτος ορα εις ημερας πολλας και εις καιρους μακρους ουτος προφητευει Z ≈ rel. ≈בן אדם הנה בית ישראל אמרים החזון אשר הוא חזה לימים רבים ולעתים רחוקות הוא נבא MT

12:28 (minus) 967] δια τουτο ειπον προς αυτους ταδε λεγει κυριος ου μη μηκυνωσιν ουκετι παντες οι λογοι μου ους αν λαλησω λαλησω και ποιησω λεγει κυριος Z ≈ rel. ≈ לכן אמר אליהם כה אמר אדני יהוה לא תמשך עוד כל דברי אשר אדבר דבר ויעשה נאם אדני יהוה MT | δια τουτο ειπον προς αυτους ταδε λεγει κυριος (om. ου μη μηκυνωσιν – *fin.*) 410 (minus) 967 410] ου μη μηκθνωσιν Z rel. = לא תמשך

13:2 προφητευσεις 967 (obel. *O*) Z B Sa Hi.] (ast. *O*) τους προφητευοντας rel. = הנבאים MT προς αυτους 967 (obel. O) ZB Sa Hi.] (ast. O) τοις προφηταις τοις προφητευουσιν απο καρδιας αυτων rel. θ'α' ≈ לנביאי מלבם MT | אליהם לנביאי מלבם $HUBP^{III-96}$

13:3 προφητευουσιν 967 Z rel. (recon. הַנִּבְּאִים)] הַנִּבְּאִים MT απο καρδιας αυτων 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) τοις πορευομενοις οπισω του πνευματος αυτων *O*' *L*'' 403 410 Arm Or. Tht. ≈ הנבלים אשר הלכים אחר רוחם MT

13:7 (minus) ZB Sa Hi.[(967 not preserved)] (ast. *O*) και ελεγετε φησι(ν) κυριος και εγω ουκ ελαλησα Q θ' ≈ A Arab rel. = ואמרים נאם יהוה ואני לא דברתי MT

16:30 την θυγατερα 967 Z ≈ rel. (recon. לְבָתֵּךְ)] την καρδιαν *O* (Syh^{txt})-62' *L*'' Tht. Or.[lat]VIII400.401 Hi. = לְבָבֶתֵּךְ MT | *testamento* Bo (διαθηκη) Arab

16:44 ταυτα εστιν 967 Z rel.] הנה MT

16:59 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. O^{-Q}) οτι O^{-Q}-62 Arm = כי MT | *propter quod* Or.[lat] (minus) 967 La^{C}] ταδε λεγει κυριος Z rel. = כה אמר אדני יהוה MT

17:9 δια τουτο 967 Z rel.] (minus) MT

17:12 οταν 967 Z Syh^{mg} rel.] ιδου Q^{mg}-Syh *L*'' Chr.II 193 Tht. 86 α'σ'θ' = הנה MT

17:22 κορῦφης 967 B La^{C} Bo Arab Cyr.II372 Or.^{lat}VIII438 Spec.Hi.^{test}] κορῦφης + (ast. *O* 86 Hi.) και δωσω απο κεφαλης παραφυαδων αυτης ≈ rel. = ונתתי מראש ינקותיו MT

καρδιας αυτων 967 Z rel.] εκ καρδιας κορυφης αυτης *L´´* Tht. | ינקותיו רך MT

17:23 και τα κληματα αυ]του αποκ[αταστα̣θησεται] 967 ≈ (obel. *O* Hi.) Z rel.] (minus) 764 = MT

18:32 (minus) 967] λεγει κυριος ZB La^{S} Co rel. = נאם אדני יהוה MT

(minus) 967 ZB La^{S} Co Arab Hi.] (ast.*O*) και επιστρεψατε και ζησατε ≈ rel. = והשיבו וחיו MT | επιστρεψατε και ζησατε 534 = וחיו השיבו HUBP$^{II-96-150}$ | ως το επιστρεψαι αυτον απο της οδου αυτου της πονηρας και ζην αυτον λεγει αδωναι κυριος και επιστρεψασται και ζησεται επιστρεψατε ουν και ζησατε ≈ *L´´* Arm Tht. 62

20:5 (minus) 967 534 106] λεγων εγω κυριος ο θεος υμων Z rel. = לאמר אני יהוה אלהיכם MT

20:6 τη χειρι μου αυτ̣ω̣ν̣ του εξαγαγειν 967 534 106] $^{(v\ 5)}$ τη χειρι μου αυτων λεγων εγω κυριος ο θεος υμων $^{(v\ 6)}$ εν εκεινη τη ημερα αντελαβομην τη χειρι μου αυτων του εξαγαγειν Z rel. = MT

20:24 καρδιων αυτω(ν) 967 147´ 407 106 (*cordis* Ir.^{lat})] πατερων αυτων Z rel. = אבותם MT

20:26 (minus) 967 ZB La^{CS} Sa Iust.Hi.^{test}] (ast. O) ινα γνωσιν οτι εγω κυριος rel. = למען אשר ידעו אשר אני יהוה MT

20:33 δια τουτο 967 Z rel. (obel. *O*)] (minus) 62 Tyc. = MT

21:2(7) δια τουτο προφητευσον υιε ανθροπου 967 Z rel.] υιε ανθροπου δια τουτο προφητευσον A''0239'-403' Bo Arab | δια τουτο υιε ανθροπου προφητευσον La^{S} Tyc. | υιε ανθροπου *O*$^{-Q}$-147 *C*''-86' 106 = בן אדם MT

και προφητευσον επι 967 26' 147' Hi. = והִנבא אל MT] και προφητευσον περι *L*''$^{-449}$ Tht. | και προφητευσεις επι Z rel.

21:3(8) (minus) 967 48 *C*'-233 544 Sa Tyc.] και ερεις προς την γην του ισραηλ Z rel. = ואמרת לאדמת ישראל MT

ταδε λεγει κς 967 B^{mg} rel. (ast. Q) = כה אמר יהוה MT] (minus) Z B^{txt} 106 | כה אדני יהוה HUBP$^{III-150}$ | כה אמר אדני יהוה HUBP$^{III-30, 93, 96, G-BEb 22}$

ιδου εγω 967 Z rel. = הנני MT] (minus) B^{txt}

21:12 παν πν̄α̅ (πνευμα) 967 = כל רוח MT] (obel. *O*) πασα σαρξ και παν πνευμα Z rel. | παν πνευμα πασα σαρξ 62

22:13 εαν δε 967 Z rel.] ιδου ουν *L*''$^{-36}$ Tht. ≈ הנה HUBP$^{III-150}$ | και ιδου θ' 86 = והנה MT | *ecce* Arm | *et ego* Arab

επαξω 967 ZB V] παταξω rel. ≈ εκροτησα θ' 86 = הכיתי MT

χειρα μου προς χειρα μου 967 Z rel.] χειρα μου B V 490 Co = כפי MT

22:15 η καρδια σου 967] η ακαθαρσια σου Z rel. = טמאתך MT | (minus) HUBP$^{I-Peshitta}$

22:27 (minus) 967 rel.] (ast. *O*) του απολεσαι ψυχας *O*' *lII* Arm. Tht. = לאבד נפשות MT (pr. copula HUBP$^{III-150}$) | נקי לאבד נפשות HUBP^{III-96}

22:28 αλειφοντες αυτους 967 Z rel.] ηλειφον αυτους Q ≈ טחו להם MT | חזו להם HUBP^{III-96}

πεσουνται 967 Z rel. (recon. יפלו)] αναρτυτω πεσουνται Q^{mg} *lII* (recon. תפל יפלו) | (ast.^{sub} Q) πηλω Q = תָּפֵל MT

23:38 (minus) 967 Z rel. ≈ *cII*-239' *lI* 26' 544 Cyr.] (ast. *O*) εν τη ημερα εκεινη *O*' *lII* Arm Tht. Q^{txt} 86 = ביום ההוא MT

23:39 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) εν τη ημερα εκεινη *O*' V-449 Aeth Tht. α'σ'θ' Q^{txt} 86 = ביום ההוא MT | αφυλακτως 26' 239' 403' 410 544 | αφυλακτως εν τη ημερα εκεινη A

24:2 γραψον εκει σεαυτω εις ημεραν 967] γραψον σεαυτω εις ημεραν Z rel. | γραψον σεαυτω το ονομα της ημερας *lII* Tht. = כתוב לך את שם היום MT cf. *omnia (nomen?) in diem* La^{S}

απο της ημερας ταυτης 967 Z rel.] ταυτης 449 Tht. | את עצם היום הזה MT

απο της ημερας της σημερον 967 Z rel.] απο της ημερας ταυτης σημερον *L*'$^{-36}$ ≈ בעצם היום הזה MT | (minus) 46

24:4 και εμβαλε 967 Z rel.] אסף MT

εξεσαρκισμενα απο των οστεων 967 ≈ Z rel.] מבחר עצמים MT
(minus) 967 Z rel.] πληρη 62 θ' (recon. הַמַּלֵּא) | (ast) πληρης α' | πληρωσον σ' = מַלֵּא MT | מלאו HUBP^{II-89}
24:5 υποκαιε 967 Z rel.] דור MT
τα οστα 967 Z rel. = העצמים MT] העצומים HUBP^{III-96}
24:9 (minus) 967 ZB *lI* La^{SW} Sa] (ast. O) ουαι πολις των αιματων rel. = אוי עיר הדמים
δαλον 967 Z rel.] λαον B 130 La^{S} | מדורה MT | תברה HUBP^{I-Tar} | **XXX** HUBP$^{I-Peshitta}$
24:10 τα ξυλα 967 Z rel. = העצים MT] העצם HUBP^{III-93} ≈ *ossa* Vul.
(minus) 967 ZB *lI* 106 La^{SW} Co Ambr.] (ast.*O*) και τα οστα συνφρυγησονται rel. = והעצמות יחרו MT
24:11 ανθρακας 967 ZB *lI* La^{SW} Co] ανθρακας (ast. *O*) αυτης rel. = גחליה MT
(minus) 967 ZB *lI* La^{SW} Co] (ast. *O*) αυτης εξηψηθη Q V-46 *C*'-86'-239'-403' 106' 544 Aeth ≈ A' *O*$^{r-Q}$ 48-449 130-233 Arm. Tht.Hi.| κενη εξηφθη *L*$^{-36\ 48}$ cf.^{MT} | רקה MT (= κενη)
24:14 διαστελω 967 Z rel.] אפרע MT | אמנע TarJ | **???** Peshitta | אגרע HUBP^{III-96}
ουδε μη ελεησω 967 Z rel.] ου φεισομαι ουδε μη ελεησω *L* 86 | ουδε μη ελεησω (ast. *O*) ουδ ου μη παρακληθω O'$^{-62}$ Arm Hi. ≈ ουδε φεισομαι και ου μη παρακληθω 62 *lIII* Tht. ≈ ולא אחוס ולא אנחם MT | ולא אחוס ולא אנחם ולא ארחים HUBP^{I-TarJ} = **XXX** HUBP$^{I-Peshitta}$
δια τουτο 967 Z (obel. *O* Hi.)] (minus) MT
(minus) 967 Z rel.] ιδου Q 26 Tht. | (minus in context) MT
εγω κρινω σε κατα τα αιματα σου και κατα τα ενθυμηματα σου κριθησει λεγει κς η ακαθαρτος η ονομαστη και πολλη του παραπικραινειν 967 ≈ Z rel. (obel. *O* Hi.)] η ακαθαρτος η ονομαστη και πολλη του παραπικραινειν *lI* 764 La^{S} | (minus) MT
κριθησει λεγει κς 967] κρινω σε Z rel. | (minus) La^{W} | (minus in context) *lI* 764 La^{S} = MT
24:27 (minus) 967] εν εκεινη τη ημερα ZB *L*'' La^{CS} Tht. | εν τη ημερα εκεινη rel. = ביום ההוא MT
25:7 (minus) 967 ZB 87 *L*'$^{-36}$ La^{C} Bo] (ast. *O*) ιδου εγω rel. = הנני MT
25:15 οτι 967] δια τουτο Z rel. | (minus) 106 147 239 *lIII* Bo Aeth Tht. = MT
26:1 δεκατω 967 538 *cII*-86 26 544 Bo] ενδεκατω Z rel. = עשתי עשרה MT | δωδεκατω A
26:10 εκ πεδιου 967 Z rel. (recon. מִבְּקָעָה)] מְבַקְּעָה MT
απο πληθους 967 ≈ Z rel.] משפעת MT | מרפסת Tar ≈ HUBP$^{I-Peshitta}$ (HUBP$^{V-שפע-II,\ 'stamp\ (hoofs)'}$)
26:12 και σκυλευσει 967 Z rel. ≈ ובזזו MT
τον πλουτον σου 967 A''-106' Arab] τα υπαρχοντα Z rel. | רכלתך MT
26:20 μη δε ανασταθης 967 Z ≈ μη δε αναστης B *lIII* Tht.] ונתתי צבי MT | תשב צבי HUBP$^{III-30(pm)\ 89(pm)}$
επι ^{της} ζωης 967 *lI* 91-764] επι γης ζωης Z ≈ rel. = בארץ חיים MT
26:21 ετι 967 ZBL La^{CW} Co Arab] ετι (ast) και ζητηθηση και ουχ ευρηθηση (+ ετι 62) rel. = ותבקשי ולא תמצאי עוד MT
27:12 απο πληθους πασης ισχυος σου 967 Z rel.] απο πληθους πασης δυναμεως σου *lIII* Tht. | מרב כל הון MT
27:13 και συμπασα ^{και} τα παρατεινοντα 967 Z rel. (recon. συμπασα ≈ תֵּבֵל or הכל)] και μοσοχ και θοβελ 87-91 86 α'σ' ≈ (tr.) תֵּבֵל ומשך MT (תובל HUBP$^{III-30\ 96\ 150}$)
27:15 ροδιων 967 Z rel.] αραδιων A''-106 | **XXX** HUBP$^{I-Peshitta}$ | δαδαν 86 α'σ'θ' Hi. = דדן MT
27:16 ανθρωπους 967 Z rel. (recon. אָדָם)] ארם MT | **εδωμ XXX** HUBP$^{I-Peshitta}$ (recon. אֱדֹם)
απο πληθους του συμμεικτου σου 967 Z rel.] מרב מעשיו MT | מרב כל הון HUBP^{III-30}
27:18 εκ πληθους δυναμεως σου 967 Q 233 Arab] εκ πληθους πασης δυναμεως σου Z rel.| (ast. *O*$^{-Syh}$) εν πληθει εργων σου εκ πληθους πασης δυναμεως σου *O*' L' Tht. Hi. = ברב מעשיך מרב כל הון MT | ברב = מרב HUBP$^{III-30\ \approx\ 93}$
27:23 (minus) 967 ZB *L*' Co Arab] (ast. *O*) και δαιδαν rel. (recon. ודדן) | ועדן MT (= *edne* Hi.)

ουτοι εμποροι σου 967 ZB *L*' Co Arab = (obel. Syh)] ουτοι εμποροι σου (ast. O^{-Q}) σαβα
O^{-Q} -62' α'σ'θ' 86 (*sabba* Hi.) cf.^{MT} | רכלי שבא MT
(שבה HUBP^{III-96})

27:25 εν τω πληθει 967 Z rel.] εν αυτοις καρχηδονιοι Q^{mg} | εν τω πληθει εμποροι σου *O*' 106
Aeth Arab Arm | (minus) MT

27:32 (minus) 967 ZB Co Arab Tyc.Hi.^{test}] (ast. *O*) τις ωσπερ τυρος κατασιγηθεισα εμμεσω
θαλασσης ≈ rel. = מי כצור כדמה בתוך הים MT

27:33 απω του πληθους σου 967 Z rel.] απω του πληθους σου του πλουτου 62' ≈ ברב הוניך MT

28:8 (minus) 967 rel. Z] לשחת MT

28:9 εν πληθει 967 ZB La^{C} Co Arab Hippol. Tyc.] εν χειρι (ast. O^{-Syh}) τραυματιζοντων σε ≈
rel. = ביד מחלליך MT

28:10(9) εν πληθει 967 Z rel.] εν χειρι *L*'' Tht. = ביד MT

απεριτμητων 967 ZB La^{C} Co Arab Hippol. Tyc.] (ast. O^{-Syh}) τραυματιζοντων σε θανατοις
απεριτμητων ≈ rel. = מחלליך מותי ערלים MT

28:26 (minus) 967 62 = MT] (obel. O^{-Syh}) και ο θεος των πατερων αυτων Z rel.

29:1 δεκατω 967 Z rel. = העשירית MT] δωδεκατω B Syh^{mg}-62' L^{-36}-311 233-613 927 Co
Arab Hi.

29:5 περισταλης 967 Z rel.] συσταλης 26 | תקבץ MT

29:16 αυτων 967 Z rel. = MT] των καρδιων A''-410 Syh 36 *C*′-86-239′-403′ Arm
απο πληθους 967 Z rel.] ברב MT

29:17 δια πληθος αμαρτιων σου 967 Z rel. (obel. *O*)] (minus) MT

29:18 δια το πληθος των αμαρτιων σου 967 Z rel.] δια το πληθος των ανομιων σου Syh^{mg} *L*''
Tht. = מרב עוניך MT

29:19 (minus) 967 BZ La^{S} (vid.) Co] (ast.Q) και λη(μ)ψεται το πληθος αυτης rel. =
ונשא המנה MT

30:4 (minus) 967 Z B La^{S} Co Tyc.] (ast. *O*) και λη(μ)ψονται το πληθος αυτης rel. = ולקחו המונה
MT

30:5 περσαι 967 Z rel.] αιθιοπια 86 α'σ'θ' = כוש MT
και κρητες 967 Z rel.] και φουδ 86 α'σ'θ' = ופוט MT
και λυδοι 967 Z = ולוד MT] **XXX** HUBP$^{I-Peshitta}$; tr. *L*'' Tht. (cf.^{below})
και λιβυες 967 Z rel.] και λιβυες και αιθιοπες και λυδοι και πασα η αραβια *L*'' Tht. |
(minus) MT
οι επιμεικτοι 967 Z rel. (recon. ~ הָעֵרב) ≈ *reliquum*] αραβια 86 Hi.$^{lat.}$ α' ≈ σ' = הערב MT |
+ (ast. 86) και χουβα α'σ'θ' = וכוב MT

30:20 δεκατω 967 62' 763*-*lI*] ενδεκατω BAQΓ Syh rel. = אחת עשרה MT

30:24 και προνομευσει την προνομην αυτης και σκυλευσει τα σκυλα αυτης 967 Z rel.]
ונאק נאקות חלל לפניו MT (לפניו cf. ενωπιον αυτου 62′)

31:1 δεκατω 967 Q-62' 490-534 106 Tht.] ενδεκατω BA Γ Syh rel. = אחת עשרה MT

31:10 και ειδον 967 Z rel.] και επηρθη η καρδια αυτου Syh^{mg} *L*′′ Tht. = ורם לבבו MT | και
επηρθη το πνευμα η καρδια αυτου 46

31:17 ζωης αυτου απωλοντο 967 ≈ Z rel.] גוים MT

32:1 δωδεκατω 967 B Syh *duodecimo* La^{H} rel. = שתי עשרה MT] ενδεκατω Z A''-106 534-239'
| δεκατω 88 *L*'-449* 130* 410 Tht. *decimo* Hi.

32:6 απο του πληθους 967] απο του πληθους σου Z rel. | מדמך MT

32:17 δεκατω 967 88 763-449 Tht. 86 α'θ'] δωδεκατω ZBAQ Syh *duodecimo* La^{H} rel.
= שתי עשרה MT

32:18 τα εθνη 967 ≈ tr. Z rel.] גוים אֹרְרִים MT | גוים אֹרְדִים HUBP^{III-96}
τας θυγατερας νεκρας 967 ≈ tr. Z rel.] בנות MT
ισχυν 967 Z rel.] πληθος 86 σ'* θ' Syh.* = *multitudinem* Hi. = המון MT | γην A

32:19 (minus) 967 ZB Co Arab Hi.^{test}] (ast. *O* 449 Hi.) εξ υδατων ευπρεπους καταβηθι και
κοιμηθητι μετα απεριτμητων rel. ≈ ממי נעמת רדה
והשכבה את ערלים MT

32:20 και κοιμηθησεται 967 Z rel. (recon. והשכב cf.$^{v\ 32}$)] και ηλκυσαν αυτην 62' = משכו אותה
MT (om. copula) | και εξειλκυσαν αυτην 86 α'σ'θ'
πασα η ισχθς αυτης 967 Z rel.] (ast. α'σ'θ') το παν πληθος αυτης 86 α'σ'θ' ≈ וכל המוניה MT

32:21 και ερουσιν 967 87 Bo = **XXX** HUBP$^{I-Peshitta}$ ≈ ידברו (om. copula) HUBP^{III-96}] και

ερουσιν σοι Z rel. ≈ 407 | ידברו לו MT

οι γιγαντες 967 Z rel.] אלֵי גבורים MT | אילי גבורים HUBP$^{III-93\ 150}$

καταβηθι 967 Z rel. (recon. רד)] יָרדוּ MT

κοιμηθητι 967 Z rel. (recon. שָׁכבִי)] שָׁכבוּ MT

μετα απεριτμητων 967 Z rel. (recon. בערלים)] הערלים MT | ערלים HUBP^{III-30} | כערלים HUBP^{III-93}

32:24 δυναμις αυτου 967 Z rel.] המונה MT | δυναμις αυτου και παν το πληθος αυτου L Tht. (Heb = fs. suffix vs. 967 ms. indep. pron.)

(minus) 967] ελαβοσαν βασανον αυτων Z ≈ rel. | וישאו כלמתם MT (= ατιμιαν θ' 86 cf.$^{16:52;\ 36:7;\ 39:26}$ ≈ αισχυνην α'σ') | וישאו את כלמתם HUBP^{III-96}

(minus) 967 *ll*] μετα των καταβαινοντων Z rel. = את יורדי MT

32:25 (minus in context) 967 Z rel.] (obel. pro ast. L) κοιτη αυτης συν παντι 62' *L*'' Tht. = משכב לה בכל MT | משכב לה וכל HUBP$^{III-96\ 150}$

(minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. 86) και αρουσιν εντροπην αυτων 86 | וישאו כלמתם MT

(minus in context) 967 Z rel.] (obel. pro ast. L) συν παντι τω πληθει εκαστου L 62 ≈ בכל המונה MT

32:26 (minus in context) 967] μοσοχ και θοβελ και πασα (recon. θοβελ ותבל) Z rel. ≈ משך תבל וכל MT | μοσοχ και θοβελλι και πασα (recon. θοβελλι תבלי) 233 | μοσοχ και βοβελ και πασα (recon. βοβελ בבל) 538 | cf.^{v25} *cubile eorum* Hi. σ'θ' (HUBP$^{V-recon.}$ משכבם/משכב להם cf.$^{v\ 25}$)

(minus in context) 967] παντες απεριτμητοι *C* 26 = כלם ערלים MT | כלם חללים HUBP^{III-30} | παντες (obel. Q) τραυματιαι αυτου παντες απεριτμητοι ≈ Z rel.

(minus in context) 967] η ισχυς αυτων Z rel. | η ισχυς εκαστου L | המוניה MT

32:27 και 967 Z rel.] και (ast.) ουκ *O*(Q*) Arm^{p} Hi. = ולא MT

γιγαντων 967 Z rel. = גבורים MT] גבורים בארץ HUBP^{III-96}

απ αιςνος 967 Z rel.] מערלים MT

32:29 εδοθησαν 967 ZB Q^{mg}-Syh^{mg} Co] εδωμ rel. = אדום MT

(minus) 967 ZB La^{C} Co] (ast.*O*) και οι βασιλεις αυτης και παντες ≈ rel. ≈ מלכיה וכל MT | και μοσοχ οι βασιλεις αυτης και παντες minisc.

οι αρχοντες ασσουρ 967 Z rel. ≈ A] οι αρχοντες 130' | οι αρχοντες αυτης *O* (Q^{txt}) *L*'' *C*'-233-86 106' La^{C} Arab Arm (= נשיאיה MT) | נשיאיה אשר MT

τραυματιων 967 Z rel.] ערלים MT | הערלים HUBP^{III-30}

32:30 στρατηγοι ασσουρ 967 Z rel.] צדני אַשֶׁר MT | צדנֵי אַשֶׁר HUBP$^{III-G-BEb\ 10}$ | σιδωνιοι α'σ' | σεδεκ θ' | *venatores qui* Vul

και απηνεγκαν την βασανον αυτων 967 Z rel.] και ελαβον την βασανον αυτων A''-106' *L*''-456 Tht. | וישאו כלמתם MT | וישאו את כלמתם HUBP^{III-96}

(minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. Q^{txt} 86) αισχυνομενοι *O* Arm Hi. ≈ *L*''-456 Tht. = בושים MT

32:31 ισχυν αυτων 967 ZB La^{C} Co Arab] ισχυν αυτων (ast. O) τραυματιαι μαχαιρας φαραω και πασα δυναμις αυτου rel. = המונה חללי חרב פרעה וכל חילו MT

32:32 πληθος αυτου 967 Z rel. = המונו HUBP$^{III-G-BEb\ 10\ (sm)}$ | המונה MT (q המונו /k המונה HUBP$^{III-G-BEb\ 10\ (pm)}$)

33:21 δεκατω 967 88-Syh^{txt} 449* 86] δωδεκατω Z BA rel. = שתי עשרה MT | ενδεκατω *L*

33:25 (minus) 967 Z rel.] כה אמר אדני יהוה MT

(minus) 967 Z B La^{CS} Co Hi.] (ast. *O* 449 534) επι τω αιματι φαγεσθε και οφθαλους υμων λημψεσθε προς ειδωλα υμων και αιμα εκχειτε και την γην κληρονομησετε $^{(26)}$ εστητε επι τη ρομφαια υμων εποιησατε βδελυγμα και εκαστος τον πλησιον αυτου εμιανατε και την γην κληρονομησετε ≈ rel. = על הדם תאכלו ועינכם תשאו אל גלוליכם ודם תשפכו והארץ תירשו $^{(26)}$ עמדתם על חרבכם עשיתן תועבה ואיש את אשת רעהו טמאתם והארץ תירשו

MT cf.[39:17-19]

33:27 (minus) 967 ZB La[CS] Co Hi.[test]] ερεις προς αυτους Syh + δια τουτο ειπον αυτοις *O*[-Syh] *L*'' 62 | δια τουτο ειπον αυτοις rel.[-Syh] | ταδε ειπον αυτοις 106 (recon. ειπον אֱמֹר) ≈ כה תאמר אלהם MT
(minus) 967 Z rel. = MT] נאם אדני יהוה HUBP[III-30]

34:8 (minus) 967 26 306* 410 La[CS] Aug.] (ast. 88) εις προνομην και γενεσθαι τα προβατα (subst. ποιμνια *L*'') μου Z rel. ≈ לבז והתיינה צאני MT | לבז והתיינה (om. צאני) HUBP[III-96]

34:9 (minus) 967 ZB Bo] (ast.*O*) ακουσατε λογον κυριου rel. = שמעו דבר יהוה MT

34:15 (minus) 967 Aug. = MT] (obel. *O* 86) και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κυριος Z ≈ rel. = *et scient quod ego sum dues* La[Sg]

34:30 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast.*O*) μετ αυτων O (Q[mg])-62' *L*'' Arm Tht. = אתם MT

35:8 (minus) 967 Z rel.] τα ορη σου *L*'' | (ast.*O*) τα ορη αυτου *O*-62 = הריו MT | *montes* Arm
πεδιοις σου 967 Z rel.] אפיקיך MT
εσονται 967] (minus) Z rel. = MT
πεσουνται εν σοι 967 Z rel.] יפלו בהם MT | (minus) HUBP[III-150]

36:5 (minus) 967 Z rel.] εξ ολης καρδιας 62 *L*''[-46] Tht. = כל לבב MT
εν προνομη 967 Z rel.] εις προνομην 147' 46 *cII* = לבז MT | לבב HUBP[III-93]

36:7 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast.*O*) ταδε λεγει αδωναι κυριος *O*-62' *L*'' Arm Tht. Hi. = כה אמר אדני יהוה MT

36:23 οτι εγω κς 967 62' 534 PsCypr. = כי אני יהוה MT] οτι εγω ειμι κς Z rel.
(minus) 967 Z B 46 Bo La[Ver] Tyc. PsCypr.] (ast. *O*) λεγει αδωναι κυριος rel. = נאם אדני יהוה MT
(minus) 967] εν τω αγιασθηναι με εν υμιν κατ οφθαλμους αυτων Z rel. = בהקדשי בכם לעיניהם MT
(minus) 967] Ezek 36:24-38 Z ≈ rel. ≈ MT

36:36 (minus in context) 967] και γνωσονται τα εθνη οσα αν καταλειφθωσι κυκλω υμων οτι εγω κυριος ωκοδομησα τας καθηρημενας και κατεφυτευσα τας ηφανισμενας Z ≈ rel. ≈ וידעו הגוים אשר ישארו סביבותישכם כי אני יהוה בניתי הנהרסות נטעתי הנשמה MT

36:38 (minus in context) 967] και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κυριος A''-410 *L*'-46 233-403' | και γνωσονται οτι εγω κυριος Z rel. = וידעו כי אני יהוה MT

37:1 *init.* (minus) 967 Z rel. = MT] νεκρων αναβιωσις Q[mg] | περι αναστασεως των νεκρων Syh[mg]
πνι κυ (πνευματι κυριου) 967 rel.] πνευματι κυριος ZB A' 62' Tert.Ambr.Ir.[lat] | πνευματι τω αγιω κυριου Q[mg] | πνευματι Or. Lo. | רוח יהוה MT
οστω(ν) 967 Tert.Ir.[lat]Consult = עצמות MT] οστων ανθρωπινων Z rel.| οστων ανθρωπων *L*'' 130*-534-403' Bo Arm Or.Tht.Hi.

37:2 (minus) 967 ZB Bo GregEl.Ambr.Ir.[lat] Aeth Arm Hi.] και ιδου AQ = והנה MT

37:4 προφητευσον 967 ZB A V-449 Bo Aeth Or.IV 210 Tht.Tert.GregEl.Ambr.Ir.[lat]Consult = הנבא MT] προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου *L*'-403 Or.XI 387 Lo. | προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου προφητευσον 26 544 613 | (obel. Q) υιε ανθρωπου προφητευσον rel.
επι τα οστα ταυτα 967 Z rel. = על העצמות העלה MT] επι τα οστα ταυτα προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου V-449 Tht. | (minus) *L*'-46 Or.XI 387 Lo.
εν τω με προφητευσαι 967 ZB Ambr.Ir.[lat]] εν τω με προφητευσαι φωνη 233 | (ast. *O*) φωνη εν τω με προφητευσαι rel. = קול כהנבאי MT

37:5 πνα (πνευμα) ζωης 967 Z rel.] *spiritum et vivetis* Bo Tert. = רוח וחייתם MT

37:7 τα οστα 967 Z rel. = העצמות HUBP[II-PirkeRE32(201) ≈ MasEzek]] (minus) HUBP[III-96] | עצמות MT
εκαστον προς τη αρμονιαν αυτου 967 Z rel.] οστεον προς τη αρμονιαν αυτου *O* (Q[mg]) *C*'-130'-239'-403' 410 Arab Arm | οστεον προς οστεον εκαστον *L*''[-48-46] Tht. = עצם אל עצמו MT

37:9 προφητευσον επι το πνα προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου 967 Z rel. = MT] υιε ανθρωπου

προφητευσον επι το πνευμα προφητευσον A''-106 υιε ανθρωπου προφητευσον επι το πνευμα *C*''-239'-403' Arab Arm Hi. | προφητευσον υιε ανθρωπου 407 Ambr.

σου πνευματω(ν) 967] πνευματων Z rel. = רוחות MT] ανεμων 407 36^{txt}-V | ανεμων του ουρανου A'' Arab Ambr.Spec.Aug.

(minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) το πνευμα A''-403' *O*' *L*' Bo Arab Arm Tht.Tert.Ambr.Ir.^{lat} Spec.Consult.Hi.PsVig. = הרוח MT

37:10 συναγωγη 967 Z rel.] δυναμις 87-91 Syh = *valentia* Tert. = חיל MT

πολλη 967 Z rel.] μεγαλη A''-106'-403' Bo Tert. = גדול MT

σφοδρα 967 Z rel.] σφοδρα (ast. *O*) σφοδρα *O*-62' 534 Arab Arm^{p} Hi. = מאד מאד MT

37:12 προφητευσον και ειπον 967 Z rel. = MT] προφητευσονται υιε ανθρωπου και ειπε *L*'' Tht.

(minus) 967 ZB Cypr.Ambr.Tyv.Spec.] (ast. *O*) προς αυτους rel. = אליהם MT

(minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) λαος μου *O*' Bo Arab Arm Tert.Hi. = עמי MT

37:19 εν τη χειρι ιουδα 967 Z rel.] בידי MT

37:25 (minus) 967 ZB La^{W} Eus.ecl.Tyc.] (ast. *O*$^{-Syh}$) και οι υιοι αυτων και οι υιοι των υιων αυτων εως αιωνος ≈ rel. = ובניהם ובני בניהם עד עולם MT

37:26 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) και δωσω αυτους και πληθυνω αυτους ≈ *O*-62' *L*'' 87^{mg}-91^{mg} Bo Arm Tht.Hi. = ונתתים והרביתי אותם MT

37:28 και γ[ν]ωσονται τα εθνη οτι εγω ειμι κς 967 Z rel. = וידעו הגוים כי אני יהוה MT] *et scient omnes gentes quia ego Dominus* La^{W} | και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι κυριος A Aeth Arab

(minus) 967 Z rel. = MT] λεγει κυριος A'-410 Arab Tyc.

38:2 ρως μεσοχ 967 B ≈ Z rel. = *ros mosoch* Hi. (translit. ראש)] ρωμεσοχ 410 ≈ 106 239' Arm | κεφαλης ρως μεσοχ 62 | κεφαλης μοσοχ α' Tht. = *capitis* μασεχ Bo = ראש משך MT

38:3 ρως μοσοχ 967 Z ≈ rel. (translit. ראש)] ρωμεσοχ 410 ≈ 106 239' Arm | *capitis* μασεχ Bo = ראש משך MT

(minus) 967 B Arm] γωγ Z rel. = גוג MT | μαγωγ 87 | γωγ και μαγωγ Tht.

38:4 (minus) 967 Z rel.] (ast. *O*) και περιστρεψω σε κυκλοθεν και δωσω χαλινον εις τας σιαγονας σου *O*' *L*'' 87^{mg}-91^{mg}-239' 26 Bo Aeth Arm Tht. ≈ ושובבתיך ונתתי חחים בלחייך MT

συναξω σε 967 Z rel.] πλανησω σε 147 26 239' Aeth | והוצאתי אותך MT

ενδεδυμενους θωρακας παντας 967 Z rel.] לבשי מכלול MT

και μαχαιραι 967 Z rel.] επιλαμβανομενους και μαχαιραι 62 cf. תפשי MT | και μαχαιραι (ast. *O*) παντες αυτοι *O* 26 239' Arm θ' ≈ חרבות כלם (תפשי) MT

38:6 και παντες οι περι αυτον 967 Z rel.] και παντα τα υποστηριγματα αυτου Syh θ' | וכל אגפיה MT

38:8 επ εσχατων ετων 967 ≈ Z rel.] (minus) 106| באחרית השנים MT | באחרית השנה HUBP^{III-96}

επι την γην ισραηλ 967 62' V-449 26 403' 410 544 ≈ Z rel.] επι την ιερυσαλημ 233 | על הרי ישראל MT

38:9 και παντες οι περι σε 967 Z rel.] וכל אגפיך MT

38:11 γην απεριμμενων 967 ≈ γην απεριμμενην Z rel.] ארץ פרזות MT

38:14 και εν τη ημερα εκεινη 967] ουκ εν τη ημερα εκεινη Z B *O*' 106 198 239' = *in die non* La^{W}] | ουχι εν τη ημερα εκεινη = הלוא ביום ההוא MT rel. = *nonne in die illa* La^{Amb}

εγερθηση 967 Z rel. (recon: תֵּעֹר)] εξεγερθηση A΄; απαντηση 46; γνωση και εγερθηση L'' Tht. | תדע MT

38:16 γωγ 967 *O*-62 La^{SW} (ast. *O*) = גוג MT] (ast. V) ω γωγ *L*''$^{-46}$ Tht. *o Gog* Vul. | (minus) Z rel. (Z rel.$^{-Bo}$ tr.$^{v\ 17}$ (obel.*O*) γωγ)

γνωσιν παντα τα εθνη 967 *L*''$^{-449}$ La^{W} Tht.] γνωσι παντα τα εθνη εμε Z rel. = דעת כל הגוים אתי HUBP^{III-30} | *sciant me omnes gentes quod ego sum dominus dues* La^{S} | דעת הגוים אתי MT | הגוים אתי HUBP^{III-93}

38:17 συ ει περι ου 967 Z rel.] האתה הוא זה אשר MT | האתה הוא זה אשר HUBP^{III-30}
των προφητων ισραηλ 967 ≈ Z rel.] των προφητων ισραηλ (ast. *O*) των προφητευσαντων *O*-62 *L*'' Bo Tht. σ'θ' = נביאי ישראל הַנִּבְּאִים MT | הַנִּבְּאִים HUBP^{III-30} (om. נביאי ישראל) | נשיאי ישראל הַנִּבְּאִים HUBP^{III-96}
του αγαγειν σε επ αυτους 967 Z ≈ rel. ≈ להביא אתך עליהם MT] להביא אתך עולם HUBP^{III-93}
38:18 και εσται 967Z rel. = והיה MT] (minus) Peshitta
η ημερα εκεινη εν 967] εν τη ημερα 534 La^{W} Peshitta| εν τη ημερα εκεινη εν ημερα Z rel. = ביום ההוא ביום MT
38:20 ινα γνωσιν παντα τα εθνη εμε εν σοι ενωπιον αυτων 967] (minus) Z rel. = MT
38:21 και καλεσω επ αυτον παν φοβον μαχαιρας 967 ≈ (om. μαχ.) Z rel.] και καλεσω επι αυτον και παν φοβον B | + (ast. *L*) εις παντα τα ορη μου Syh ≈ *L*'' Tht. cf.^{MT} | וקראתי עליו לכל הרי חרב MT | וקראתי עליו למפל הרי חרב Tar
38:22 και επι παντας τους μετ [αυ]του 967 Z rel.] ועל אגפיו MT
39:1 ρως μοσοχ 967 Z ≈ rel. (translit. ראש)] ρωμεσοχ 410 ≈ 106 Arm | *capitis* μασεχ Bo = ראש משך MT | γης ρως μοσοχ *L*
39:4 και ου βεβηλωθησεται το ονομα το αγιον 967 cf.$^{39:7}$] (minus) Z rel. = MT
39:6 επι γωγ 967 Z rel.] μαγωγ *O*$^{-Q}$ *C*'-198-393-403' 106' Arm = במגוג MT
39:8 ιδου ηκει και εσται 967] הנה באה וְנִהְיָתָה MT | ιδου ηκει και γνωση οτι εσται Z rel. (cf. *scies quia erit* La^{Sg} *scies quoniam erit* La^{H}
39:11 τοπον ονομαστον μνημειον 967 Z rel. = *locum nominatum…* La^{S} Vul ≈ מקום שֵׁם קבר HUBP$^{III-96\ G-BEb24}$ | τοπον εκει ονομαστον μνημειον 62 cf.^{MT} | מקום שָׁם קבר MT | לבית) אתין לגוג אתר כשר קבורא) Tar (אתר כשר cf. שָׁם MT)
εν ισραηλ 967 Z rel. = בישראל MT] εν ιερουσαλημ 26΄ | (minus) A*
το πολυανδρειον 967 Z rel.] גי MT
(minus) 967 Z rel.] ανατολης L΄΄ Tht. = קדמת MT
το γαι το πολυανδριον του γωγ 967 Z rel.] גיא המון גוג MT | המון גוג HUBP^{III-96} | גיא המון גיא HUBP$^{III-150}$
39:12 εκει τον γωγ και παν το πληθος αυτου 967 rel. = שם את גוג ואת כל המֹנה MT
γαι 967 Z rel. = גיא MT ≈ γε *O* (γη Syh) *C*'$^{-233}$ 410 La^{S} (*ge*) Arm Ambr.Hi.] τε B 26 Cyr.[823] | (minus) 106 Arab
39:16 πολυανδριον 967 Z rel.] πληθος σ' | εβρ' αμωνα θ' Syh = המונה MT
39:28 εν τω επιφανηναι με αυτοις 967 Z rel. (recon. בהִגָּלותי אתם)] בהַגָּלותי אתם MT
εν τοις εθνεσιν 967 Z rel.] + (ast. *O*) και συναξω αυτους επι την γην αυτων και ου καταλειψω απ αυτων ουκετι εκει *L*''-403' 87^{mg} Bo Arm Tht. ≈ *O*-62' = וכנסתים על אדמתם ולא אותיר עוד מהם שם MT
39:29 εξεχεα τον θυμον μου 967 Z rel.] שפכתי את רוחי MT
40:1 εν τη ημερα εκεινη 967 Z rel.] εν οστεω τη ημερα εκεινη 62' = בעצם היום הזה MT | בעצם הזה היום הזה HUBP^{III-93}
43:12 (minus) 967 ZB 106] (ast. *O*) εισιν rel. ≈ הנה MT
(minus) 967 ZB] (ast. *O*) ουτος ο νομος του οικου rel. = זאת תורת הבית MT
44:9 δια τουτο 967 Z rel.] (minus) MT

[823] B in v. 11 - τε = "and" enclitic weak particle

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