

The Septuagintal *Paideia* and the Construction of a Jewish Identity during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Period

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Abstract: The systematic rendering of יסר by παιδεύω and παιδεία in the Septuagint allowed a merging of the divine correction as found in Deut 8:5 or Prov 3:12 with the classical meaning of παιδεία, “education” or “culture.” Such merging occurred later than is usually assumed but can be detected in 2 Maccabees, *Psalms of Solomon*, and Wisdom of Solomon. This phenomenon is the witness to the construction of a specific Jewish identity during the late Hellenistic and early Roman period.

Key Words: *paideia* • discipline • education • identity • Hellenistic and Roman period

THE CONCEPT OF *PAIDEIA* (παιδεία) is of great importance as a marker of Greek civilization.¹ The effect of Greek *paideia* on Second Temple Judaism and its identity has been studied in a number of works² but has recently received much more

This article is an improved version of a paper I gave during my first CBA annual meeting in 2015 at Santa Clara University during the Deuterocanonical Books Continuing Seminar organized by Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp. I thank all the participants of this seminar, the anonymous reviewers of the *CBQ*, and Brad Embry for their suggestions for improvement. All errors or weaknesses are obviously mine.

¹ See, e.g., Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture* (2nd ed.; 3 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

² See, e.g., the seminal works of Martin Hengel, esp. *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974); or Arnaldo Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). More recently, among others, see John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean*

attention. For instance, two dissertations have been recently defended by me and by Jason Zurawski,³ and at least two edited books as well as some articles have been published.⁴ This new interest reveals the issues related to the study of the relationship of a word to a concept, as well as issues related to the status of the

Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE) (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996); John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2nd ed.; Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000); Robert Doran, “Jewish Education in the Seleucid Period,” in *Second Temple Studies*, vol. 3, *Studies in Politics, Class and Material Culture* (JSOTSup 340; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002) 116-32; Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); idem, “Torah and Secular Culture: Challenge and Response in the Hellenistic Period,” in idem, *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism* (AGAJU 30; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 487-503; idem, *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered* (JSJSup 107; Leiden: Brill, 2006); Lester L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, vol. 2, *The Coming of the Greeks: The Early Hellenistic Period (335–175 BCE)* (LSTS 68; London: T&T Clark, 2008); and Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (HCS 30; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

³ Patrick Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur: Une nouvelle approche d'un concept de la théologie biblique entre Bible Hébraïque, Septante et littérature grecque classique* (FAT 2/77; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015). I have also published several articles dedicated to that topic: “Kuropaideia versus Paideia Kuriou: The Semantic Transformation of Paideia and Cognates in the Translated Books of the Septuagint,” in *Pedagogy in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Karina Martin Hogan, Matthew Goff, and Emma Wasserman; EJM 41; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017) 101-34; “The Use of $\nu\omicron\upsilon\theta\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ in the Old Greek of Job and Its Consequences,” in *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Munich, 2013* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Meiser; SBLSCS 64; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016) 437-53; “Prayers for Being Disciplined: Notes on $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ and $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ in the Psalms of Solomon,” in *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology. Proceedings of the First International Meeting on the Psalms of Solomon, Strasbourg, June 17–18, 2013* (ed. Eberhard Bons and Patrick Pouchelle; EJM 40; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015) 115-32; “The Contribution of IQS and CD to the Lexicography of רִסַר ,” *KUSATU [Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt]* 19 (2015) 225-36; and “On the Use of $\pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in Greek Sirach,” *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 47 (2014) 59-68.

Jason Zurawski, “Jewish Paideia in the Hellenistic Diaspora: Discussing Education, Shaping Identity” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2016). He has also published several articles dedicated to that topic: “Mosaic Torah as Encyclical Paideia: Reading Paul’s Allegory of Hagar and Sarah in Light of Philo of Alexandria’s,” in *Pedagogy in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Hogan, Goff, and Wasserman), 283-308; and, in the same volume, “Paideia: A Multifarious and Unifying Concept in the Wisdom of Solomon,” 195-214; “From Musar to Paideia, from Torah to Nomos: How the Translation of the Septuagint Impacted the Paideutic Ideal in Hellenistic Judaism,” in *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (ed. Kraus, van der Meer, and Meiser), 531-54; and “Mosaic Paideia: The Law of Moses within Philo of Alexandria’s Model of Jewish Education,” *JSJ* 48 (2017) 480-505.

⁴ Jason Zurawski and Gabriele Boccaccini, eds., *Second Temple Jewish “Paideia” in Context* (BZNW 228; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017); Hogan, Goff, and Wasserman, eds., *Pedagogy in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. See also Tyler A. Stewart, “Jewish Paideia: Greek Education in the Letter of Aristeas and 2 Maccabees,” *JSJ* 48 (2017) 182-202.

LXX as a produced text and a received one, and, finally, issues related to the lexicography of the LXX located between Hebrew and classical Greek. Hence, when the translators chose παιδεύω and παιδεία to render יָסַד, were they influenced by the Hebrew root or the classical Greek meaning? Does the fact that παιδεία was so influential in Greek civilization suggest that we must translate this word by “education” or “culture” when we find it in the LXX? Conversely, it is rather clear that a Greek-speaking Jewish philosopher like Philo integrates the concept of παιδεία into his own Jewish tradition;⁵ were his thoughts in so doing based mainly on the fact that παιδεία was the translation of מִצְוָה, or on the importance of παιδεία for the Hellenistic civilization?

Zurawski and I differ on these topics. On the one hand, I suggest that the strong relationship between the Hebrew root יָסַד and the family of words related to the Greek παιδεύω has less to do with the importance of παιδεύω and παιδεία for classical Greek than is usually supposed.⁶ Hence, for me, the translator did not use παιδεία owing to its classical Greek meaning. On the other hand, Zurawski considers that in the Pentateuch (especially Deut 11:2 and 22:18) “the translator clearly stretches the meaning of the Greek concept further than was typically possible.”⁷ For him, even in Deut 11:2 and 22:18, the translator used παιδεία with its classical meaning but made its semantic field evolve. Zurawski and I agree, however, in viewing the use of παιδεύω and παιδεία in the Pentateuch as the creation of a new “concept” close to the Hebrew concept of *mūsār* and foreign to the Greek concept of παιδεία.⁸

Indeed, if the translator⁹ uses παιδεύω in Deut 8:5, for instance, this is not with the aim of identifying God as a Greek educator who will lead the people to virtue; rather, it emphasizes that God rebukes the people as a father rebukes his children:

καὶ γνώσῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὡς εἶ τις παιδεύσαι ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, οὕτως κύριος ὁ θεός σου παιδεύσει σε

And you shall know in your heart that as a certain person might discipline his son, so the Lord your God will discipline you. (*NETS*)

Here, I have argued that the key to the interpretation is the use of the future tense for the action of God, whereas the MT uses an active participle.¹⁰ The action of

⁵ See Zurawski, “Mosaic *Paideia*,” 480-505.

⁶ See Pouchelle, “*Kuropaideia* versus *Paideia Kuriou*,” 127-29.

⁷ See Zurawski, “From *Musar* to *Paideia*,” 543.

⁸ See Pouchelle, “*Kuropaideia* versus *Paideia Kuriou*,” 120-23; and Zurawski, “*Jewish Paideia* in the Hellenistic Diaspora,” 91-92.

⁹ I use the singular for the sake of simplicity. I do not assume that only one person translated the Pentateuch.

¹⁰ Pouchelle, “*Kuropaideia* versus *Paideia Kuriou*,” 120-21.

God is located in the promised land and not in the wilderness; should the people not heed the commandments of the Lord, he will discipline them. We can observe a similar use in the three instances of παιδεύω in Lev 26:18, 23, 28. That is to say, the semantic field of רָסַי, which is rather limited to a pedagogical measure and not to the whole process of education, remains more or less unaltered. This Greek meaning for the word παιδεύω is attested in some Greek authors who describe adults being “rebuked” and then changing their behavior.¹¹ This use describing the relationship between the people and their god, however, would probably have sounded unnatural to a native Greek speaker. For example, Deut 11:2 introduces the παιδεία κυρίου:

οὐκ οἶδασιν οὐδὲ εἶδосαν τὴν παιδείαν κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου καὶ τὰ μεγαλεῖα αὐτοῦ
they have not known or seen the discipline of the Lord your God and his magnificent works (NETS, adapted)

Here, παιδεία κυρίου is associated with God’s coercive action against Pharaoh, his army, or Dathan and Abiram. I doubt that we should really translate this as “lesson,” as if it were a lesson for Israel.¹² In my view, the term παιδεία denotes the action of God. Furthermore, a native Greek speaker would not have used παιδεία to denote a lesson. For such a speaker, παιδεία would refer to the way the individual spends his or her youth: state where you come from, who your masters were, which schools you frequented, and a Greek will immediately detect who you are! Even more than education, the word παιδεία connotes culture and even civilization.¹³ This is precisely the παιδεία that distinguishes a Greek from a barbarian. Even more than ancestry, it is a marker of Greek identity. Hence, when a native Greek speaker mentions someone’s παιδεία, he or she is referring to the education or the culture of the one who was educated; the term is never used for the one who gives the education. A Greek can discuss the education of (= received by) Cyrus or Achilles but never of (= given by) Chiron, the famous educator. The LXX, at least the part of the LXX that corresponds to the MT, never uses παιδεία in this way; the term refers to the discipline of the Lord, not the education of the people.

If παιδεία in the LXX is not used to denote “education” or “lesson” but as an equivalent of the “discipline” expressed by the root רָסַי, the following questions could be raised: Given the importance of παιδεία for Greek culture and given that God was conceived of as educating the people in the Greek manner—at least for Clement of Alexandria (see, e.g., *Paed.* 1.56.1)—is it possible that even the later

¹¹ E.g., Polybius *Hist.* 2.9.6, or, in parallel with νουθετέω, Plutarch *Alc.* 4.2 or Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* 1.13 (Olearius p. 15). See Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 197-200.

¹² For such an interpretation, see James A. Sanders, *Suffering as Divine Discipline in the Old Testament and Post-Biblical Judaism* (Colgate Rochester Divinity School Bulletin 28; Rochester, NY: Colgate Rochester Divinity School, 1955) 22-24.

¹³ See n. 1 above.

Deuterocanonical writings that are influenced by the LXX would ignore it? To raise the question in other terms, did the Hebrew concept of divine discipline and the Greek concept of people's culture and civilization merge? If so, when exactly does this occur? The present article identifies and analyzes some texts that might witness to such a merging. With no presumption of exhaustiveness, I will examine 2 Maccabees (and its reception by 4 Maccabees), the *Psalms of Solomon*, and the Wisdom of Solomon.

I. 2 Maccabees and 4 Maccabees

The first text for our attention is 2 Macc 6:12. This comment by the narrator occurs after the Seleucid king's attempt to force the people of Jerusalem to forsake the "laws of their ancestors"¹⁴ and the law of their God. This section provides detailed descriptions of the dedication of the temple of Jerusalem to Olympian Zeus and the temple on Mount Gerizim to Zeus as the god granting the law of hospitality. In these days, Jews were compelled to celebrate the king's birthday or the feast of Dionysus; those who tried to resist were put to death:

Παρακαλῶ οὖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τῆδε τῇ βίβλῳ μὴ συστέλλεσθαι διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς, λογιζέσθαι δὲ τὰς τιμωρίας μὴ πρὸς ὄλεθρον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παιδείαν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἶναι

Now I urge those who read this book not to be depressed by such calamities, but to recognize that these punishments were designed not to destroy but to *discipline* our people. (*NRSV*)

At this point, and before describing the martyrdoms of Eleazar and the seven brothers, the narrator makes an aside: he clarifies the actual meaning of these events for the reader. This kind of narrative aside is typical of Greek literature. Considering the stylistic characteristics,¹⁵ I would suggest that the author of 2 Maccabees wrote in good Greek and therefore knew the main meaning of παιδεία. Furthermore, the reader can observe that here παιδεία is followed by mention of the one to whom the παιδεία is given, according to classical usage, rather than the one who gives

¹⁴ 2 Maccabees is probably the oldest text studied in this article, dating from around 100 B.C.E. See Daniel R. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees* (Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008) 14-15, even if the date is hard to establish. See also Robert Doran, *2 Maccabees: A Critical Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012) 14-19.

¹⁵ Hence, this single sentence is complex due to a double infinitive construction, where the verb παρακαλῶ + infinitive ("to exhort someone to do something") is followed by the verb λογιζομαι + infinitive of εἶμι ("to consider something to be something else"). The sentence is also noteworthy for its double opposition. First, it opposes μὴ συστέλλεσθαι διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς ("to be discouraged by the calamities") to λογιζέσθαι δὲ τὰς τιμωρίας ("to consider these punishments") and, second, μὴ πρὸς ὄλεθρον ("not for a destruction") is contrasted with πρὸς παιδείαν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ("the discipline of our people").

the παιδεία, according to the Septuagintal usage. This should not be overemphasized, however, as we can see in Sir 42:5, 8 that παιδεία could be used with the meaning of “discipline” or “correction” and with the *nomen rectum* of the one who receives this correction.¹⁶ Therefore, can we accept the translation of the *NRSV*? Robert Doran’s translation uses the word “training”:¹⁷

I exhort those reading this present scroll not to be depressed because of these misfortunes, but to consider the punishment to be not for the destruction, but for *the training*, of our race.

Jonathan Goldstein prefers the verb “to teach”:

I beg the readers of my book not to be disheartened by the calamities but to bear in mind that chastisements come not in order to destroy our race but in order *to teach* it.¹⁸

In contrast, the translation of Daniel R. Schwartz prefers “to edify,” which has less of a semantic link with the word παιδεία:

Now I call upon the readers of this book not to be depressed due to sufferings, but rather to consider that the punishments were not to destroy our nation, but, rather, to *edify* it.¹⁹

All of these translations may fail to render the word παιδεία adequately. If my interpretation is correct, the author of 2 Maccabees may well have used the classical meaning of “education or culture” here. In this case, the readers of the book are urged to consider the punishments as intended not for destruction but instead for “the education of our people.” According to 2 Maccabees, the people underwent punishments as a part of the process of their education. The narrator continues (2 Macc 6:13-17):

καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ἐᾶσθαι τοὺς δυσσεβοῦντας, ἀλλ’ εὐθέως περιπίπτειν ἐπιτίμοις, μεγάλης εὐεργεσίας σημεῖόν ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἀναμένει μακροθυμῶν ὁ δεσπότης μέχρι τοῦ καταστήσαντας αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν κολάσαι, οὕτως καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἔκρινεν εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τέλος ἀφικομένων ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὕστερον ἡμᾶς ἐκδικᾷ. διόπερ οὐδέποτε μὲν τὸν ἔλεον ἀφ’ ἡμῶν ἀφίστησιν, παιδεύων δὲ μετὰ συμφορᾶς οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαόν. πλὴν ἕως ὑπομνήσεως ταῦθ’ ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω· δι’ ὀλίγων δ’ ἔλευστέον ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν.

In fact, it is a sign of great kindness not to let the impious alone for long, but to punish them immediately. For in the case of the other nations the Lord waits patiently to punish them until they have reached the full measure of their sins; but he does not deal

¹⁶ This is probably due to an evolution in the Hebrew language, as we can see that it is also true for the Hebrew of Ben Sira (see Sir^{B.M} 42:8).

¹⁷ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, 143.

¹⁸ Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 41A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983) 268 (emphasis added).

¹⁹ Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 271 (emphasis added).

in this way with us, in order that he may not take vengeance on us afterward when our sins have reached their height. Therefore, he never withdraws his mercy from us. Although he disciplines us with calamities, he does not forsake his own people. Let what we have said serve as a reminder; we must go on briefly with the story. (*NRSV*)

In these verses, we can observe that the narrator sharply separates other nations from the Jews.²⁰ The sinful people is punished immediately, whereas for the nations, God waits patiently. In other words, the discipline suffered by the Jewish people is owing to the love of God. By chastening the people in this way, God works to reduce their sinful actions, and the use of παιδεύω can again be noted here. The *NRSV* has chosen to render the term using the word “discipline,” and Doran by “to train.” Similarly, by choosing “to teach” and “to edify,” respectively, Goldstein and Schwartz also maintain the choices they made in rendering παιδεία above.

One particular lexical detail may be significant; the narrator has chosen to join παιδεύω with μετά. He uses παιδεύω the same way in 2 Macc 10:4, as follows:

When they had done this, they fell prostrate and implored the Lord that they might never again fall into such misfortunes, but that, if they should ever sin, they might be disciplined by him with forbearance [ἐπιείκεια] and not be handed over to blasphemous and barbarous nations. (*NRSV*)

Here the *NRSV* and Doran translate παιδεύω as “to discipline,” whereas Schwartz renders the verb with “to edify.” In contrast, Goldstein prefers “to chastise.” The word ἐπιείκεια (“clemency, gentleness”) may well be compared to the appeal of Jer 10:24 LXX:

παιδευσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε, πλὴν ἐν κρίσει καὶ μὴ ἐν θυμῷ, ἵνα μὴ ὀλίγους ἡμᾶς ποιήσης

Correct us, O Lord, but in just measure and not in anger so that you may not make us few. (*NETS*)

Here we note the use of ἐν in Jeremiah. Indeed, in a purely Septuagintal way, the verb παιδεύω is often used with ἐν to denote how discipline is given, for instance, with whips, as in 1 Kgs 12:14. In classical Greek, however, ἐν is used to mean “to be taught in a specific subject” or “to be educated in a specific way of life.” Hence, by using μετά, the narrator wanted to avoid ambiguity concerning the meaning of παιδεύω. I would suggest that in both cases, the meaning intended is closer to that of “to punish” than “to educate.” More significant is the fact that in Jeremiah, the prophets are disciplined by or in justice, whereas here, the people in 2 Maccabees ask to be disciplined with benevolence.

²⁰ See also Stewart, “Jewish Paideia,” 198-99, 202. According to him, 2 Maccabees elaborates a Jewish *paideia* that has no “debt to Greek *Paideia*” (p. 198) and is Torah-centered, but he does not deny that “Greek culture permeates the Jewish *Paideia*” (ibid.).

In three ways, the concept of divine education expressed in 2 Maccabees contrasts with the divine discipline that emerges in the texts translated from what will later be the MT:

1. Whereas the verb παιδεύω still has its LXX flavor, the noun παιδεία is probably closer to the Greek concept of education.
2. Whereas the divine discipline was initially conceived of as an act of justice, it is now an act of benevolence.
3. According to 2 Maccabees, the fact of being disciplined or educated by God is now characteristic of the Jews, that is to say, a part of their identity.

This is more clearly presented in the discourse of the third brother in 4 Maccabees:

Ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὧ μισητάτε τυράννε, διὰ παιδείαν καὶ ἀρετὴν θεοῦ ταῦτα πάσχομεν, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ μαιφονίαν ἀκαταλύτους καρτερήσεις βασάνους. (4 Macc 10:10-11)

We, most abominable tyrant, are suffering because of our godly training and virtue, but you, because of your impiety and bloodthirstiness, will undergo unceasing tortments. (*NRSV*)²¹

It is well known that 4 Maccabees shows the influence of 2 Maccabees. In this short sentence, the third brother explains that his suffering is due to education. The association with ἀρετή (“virtue”), an important Greek value, leaves no doubt as to the actual meaning of παιδεία here, whereas in the corresponding part of 2 Macc 7:33, the meaning is not so clear:

εἰ δὲ χάριν ἐπιπλήξεως καὶ παιδείας ὁ ζῶν κύριος ἡμῶν βραχέως ἐπώργισται, καὶ πάλιν καταλλαγῆσεται τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δούλοις

And if our living Lord is angry for a little while, to rebuke and discipline us, he will again be reconciled with his own servants. (*NRSV*)

Here, the association of παιδεία with ἐπίπληξις (“rebuke”) clarifies that παιδεία denotes “discipline.”

II. *Psalms of Solomon*

The so-called *Psalms of Solomon* is a collection of eighteen prayers that have not received the attention they deserve. After all, they are dated rather precisely around the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey and describe an unknown but apparently distinct Jewish community.²² One of the main features of these psalms is the

²¹ See also David deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Sinaiticus* (Septuagint Commentary Series; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 35, who employs “training” also. When deSilva comments on this verse, however, he uses the word “education” (p. 185).

²² The question of the identification of this community remains open. The traditional argument

frequency of the family of words related to παιδεύω. They occur as frequently in the *Psalms of Solomon* as they do in the canonical psalms, which are far more extensive. Such a dense constellation suggests that this family of terms conveyed a critical message for the authors of the document. Although all of these psalms are very interesting for our study,²³ I will concentrate on *Psalms of Solomon* 13. This is a thanksgiving psalm in which the psalmist is happy for not having been caught by the wild beast, a metaphor for a foreign army, whereas the sinners have been so caught:

ὅτι δεινὴ ἡ καταστροφή τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ἄψεται δικαίου οὐδὲν ἐκ πάντων τούτων. ὅτι οὐχ ὅμοια ἡ παιδεία τῶν δικαίων ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ ἡ καταστροφή τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν. (*Pss. Sol.* 13:6-7)

For the destruction²⁴ of the sinner is terrible, but nothing shall harm the righteous, of all these things. For the discipline of the righteous [for things done] in ignorance²⁵ is not the same as the destruction of the sinners. (translation R. B. Wright, *OTP*)

The contrast created here between παιδεία and καταστροφή reminds us of the contrast in 2 Macc 6:12 between παιδεία and ὄλεθρος. In both cases, παιδεία also refers to the righteous as a *nomen rectum*. Here παιδεία seems to denote the process of disciplining rather than education as such. Indeed, the comment that the righteous are ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ suggests that even the righteous individual is a sinner according to the Levitical laws (esp. Lev 5:18 and 22:14, in which ἀγνοία renders ἁλλω, “inadvertent sin”²⁶; see further *Pss. Sol.* 3:8). As in 2 Maccabees, this sentence introduces a sharp separation between two categories of people—here, the righteous and the sinner (and not the Jews and the nations). The sinner is considered as the one who bears guilt for his sins (as in Lev 5:1); there is no way to forgive him, and he has to be put to death. The righteous, according to Leviticus, could offer a sacrifice for his inadvertent sin; however, the *Psalms of Solomon* suggests no such sacrifice is possible (*Pss. Sol.* 13:10):

For the Lord will spare his devout, and he will wipe away their mistakes with discipline. (*OTP*)

The verb ἐξαλείφω (“to wipe away”)²⁷ is not used with this meaning in the texts dealing with sacrifice; rather, this meaning is apparent in Pss 50[51]:3 and

for a Pharisaic identification has been discredited, but the competing identification of the Essenes is weak. See Kenneth Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord: A Study of the Psalms of Solomon's Historical Background and Social Setting* (JSJSup 84; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

²³ For more details, see Pouchelle, “Prayers for Being Disciplined,” 115-32.

²⁴ Or “the fate.”

²⁵ Or “for the discipline of the righteous [being] in a state of unintentional sin.”

²⁶ This does not mean that the sins are morally acceptable, but instead that they are committed in ignorance; see, e.g., Gen 26:10 LXX.

²⁷ See, e.g., Lev 14:42, 43, 48; Num 5:23.

108[109]:14.²⁸ In any case, the author of *Psalms of Solomon* 13 indicates that the process of divine discipline allows the wrongdoer's fault (παράπτωμα) to be forgotten. This psalm does not really emphasize the fact that the wicked will add sins to sins (as in 2 Maccabees), what is well described earlier by *Pss. Sol.* 3:10, with a possible but debatable reference to resurrection:

προσέθηκεν ἀμαρτίας ἐφ' ἀμαρτίας τῆ ζωῆ αὐτοῦ· ἔπεσεν, ὅτι πονηρὸν τὸ πτῶμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἀναστήσεται (*Pss. Sol.* 3:10)

He adds sin upon sin in his life; he falls—his fall is serious—and he will not get up. (*OTP*)

In contrast, the righteous ones avoid such overflowing sins by introspection:

οὐκ ἀλλίξεται ἐν οἴκῳ δικαίου ἀμαρτία ἐφ' ἀμαρτίαν· ἐπισκέπτεται διὰ παντὸς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ὁ δίκαιος τοῦ ἐξῆραι ἀδικίαν ἐν παραπτώματι αὐτοῦ (*Pss. Sol.* 3:6)

Sin after sin does not visit the house of the righteous. The righteous constantly searches his house, to remove his unintentional sins. (*OTP*)

Finally, I want also to observe the way in which *Pss. Sol.* 13:9 compares the righteous people not only to a son but to a beloved son:

ὅτι νοουθετήσῃ δίκαιον ὡς υἱὸν ἀγαπήσεως, καὶ ἡ παιδεία αὐτοῦ ὡς πρωτοτόκου

For he will admonish the righteous as a beloved son and his discipline is as for a firstborn. (*OTP*)

Here we could observe a reference to several biblical verses, mainly to Deut 8:5. However, *Psalms of Solomon* adds more weight to the fact that the son is loved, whereas Deut 8:5 is more “neutral.” The same could be said of 2 Sam 7:14 LXX with the use of ἐλέγχω, frequently used in parallel with παιδεύω, as in Prov 3:11-12 LXX. Hence, we could also note in *Pss. Sol.* 13:9 a conflation between Deut 8:5 and Prov 3:12:

ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται

For whom the Lord loves, he disciplines and he punishes every son he accepts. (*NETS*)²⁹

If God disciplines those whom he loves, and since he disciplines the people like a son, this is obviously like a beloved son, as in Exod 4:22:

Τὰδε λέγει κύριος Υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου Ἰσραὴλ

This is what the Lord says, “My firstborn son is Israel.” (*NETS*)

Psalms of Solomon 13 thus shows a concept of divine discipline that is extremely close to that of 2 Maccabees. Such discipline distinguishes between the righteous

²⁸ See BDAG, s.v. ἐξάλειψω.

²⁹ The relationship with the MT is difficult; see Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 294-96.

and the wicked; it is a sign of the love of God toward his people. Indeed, *Psalms of Solomon* adds something more—introspection. Whereas the narrator of 2 Maccabees asks for the understanding of the reader, *Psalms of Solomon* requests the reader to reform. One might now address the difficult question of the mutual influence of these two texts, but space constraints do not permit this here. For now, it is not certain whether one text influences the other or whether they both refer to a common concept independently.

III. The Wisdom of Solomon

Much has been said about the language of the Wisdom of Solomon and its relationship with philosophy. James M. Reese made an essential contribution to this in his book titled *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences*.³⁰ It is striking, however, that no word belonging to the word family of παιδεύω is analyzed in his book. The occurrences of these words in Wisdom of Solomon will not be studied exhaustively here, but in my view most of them are closer to the Septuagintal meaning than to the classical one. Furthermore, they develop a concept of divine discipline that is, again, close to that of 2 Maccabees and the *Psalms of Solomon*, while at the same time showing some distinctive nuances:

ὅτε γὰρ ἐπειράσθησαν, καίπερ ἐν ἐλέει παιδευόμενοι, ἔγνωσαν πῶς μετ’ ὀργῆς κρινόμενοι ἀσεβεῖς ἐβασανίζοντο. τοῦτους μὲν γὰρ ὡς πατὴρ νουθετῶν³¹ ἐδοκίμασας, ἐκείνους δὲ ὡς ἀπότομος βασιλεὺς καταδικάζων ἐξήτασας (Wis 11:9-10)

For when they were tried, though they were being disciplined in mercy, they learned how the ungodly were tormented when judged in wrath. For you tested them as a father does in warning, but you examined the others as a stern king does in condemnation. (*NRSV*, slightly modified)

These verses follow a meditation about the exodus: Israel had been saved by the same means through which their opponents, the Egyptian people, had been severely punished. As in 2 Maccabees and *Psalms of Solomon*, the concept of divine discipline serves to separate two categories of people—here the Jews and the Egyptians. We could also observe that παιδεύω is used with ἐν ἐλέει (“in mercy”) in a “Septuagintal” way. Although 2 Maccabees employed μετὰ instead, these two works agree in conceiving of παιδεία as a discipline of benevolence and not a discipline of justice.

The separation between Jews and Egyptians is emphasized also in Wis 11:9-10 by a probable allusion to Deut 8:5 mixed with Jer 10:24-25. The author of the

³⁰ James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (AnBib 41; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970).

³¹ For this word and its relationship with παιδεύω in Greek Jewish literature, see Pouchelle, “Use of νουθετέω in the Old Greek of Job,” 437-53.

Wisdom of Solomon reserves the image of a loving father for the people, whereas for the Egyptians he employs the metaphor of a severe king who angrily condemns. Both righteous and wicked people sin, but God disciplines his people with mercy, whereas he condemns the wicked. This interpretation of the above text agrees with the fact that the divine παιδεία in Wisdom of Solomon expresses a sharp distinction between Israel and the nations.³² What strikes the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, however, is how Israel was tried and saved by the same plague that the Egyptians suffered. Accordingly, Zurawski refutes the interpretation that sees these antitheses as delimiting a boundary between Israel and the foreign nations.³³ Similarly, by analyzing the same texts (except the *Psalms of Solomon*) using different lemmata, Luca Mazzinghi reaches a slightly different conclusion: in 2 Maccabees and Wisdom of Solomon, God is presented as the perfect king.³⁴ God is the ruler of the entire human race and tries to make them repent (see esp. Wis 11:23–12:2), God makes a distinction between those who are disciplined and those who are condemned. The latter are taught by the harsh punishment, the former by discipline.

In that respect, Israel is asked to think about its history; by the discipline of God, Israel has known both the love of God and the justice of God. The above text of Wisdom tries to resolve the theodicy issue in a way slightly different from 2 Maccabees. The emphasis is placed not on time but rather on logic. While God's people do suffer from calamities, the wicked will ultimately be punished similarly but much more severely.

IV. Conclusion

The texts studied here show how the concept of divine discipline, presenting God as a good father disciplining his son, rooted in the Hebrew Bible, evolves so as to become an important part of the identity of the Jewish communities being addressed by these texts. This evolution might be traced through the following steps:

1. The combination of Deut 8:5 and Prov 3:12 and the merging with the classical meaning of παιδεύω allows the following interpretation: if Israel is disci-

³² See David Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 43; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979) 43-46, 228-29; or Samuel Cheon, *The Exodus Story in the Wisdom of Solomon: A Study in Biblical Interpretation* (JSPSup 23; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997) 26-40.

³³ Zurawski, "Jewish Paideia," 192-96.

³⁴ Luca Mazzinghi, "The Antithetical Pair 'to punish' and 'to benefit' (κολάζω and εὐεργετέω) in the Book of Wisdom," in *Wisdom of Life: Essays Offered to Honor Prof. Maurice Gilbert, SJ, on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (ed. Nuria Calduch-Benages; BZAW 445; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014) 237-49.

plined, this is because Israel is loved by God. This is not so explicit in Deut 8:5 itself.

2. The difficult question of theodicy could be solved by the concept of divine discipline. Both the oppressive nations and wicked individuals within the people of God will be punished. Indeed, if Israel is suffering, this is part of God's love for Israel and an action of God to keep Israel from sinning or to bring Israel back into a proper covenantal relationship. On the contrary, the wicked are allowed to do what they want, but one day they will be punished severely.

3. The concept of divine discipline is an impetus for introspection by God's people, either by considering their history, as in 2 Maccabees and *Wisdom of Solomon*, or by dissociating themselves from sin (repenting), as in *Psalms of Solomon*. In any case, the people should constantly reform themselves so as to adapt their behavior to what is expected by God and God's commandments.

4. The Septuagintal idea of παιδεία is partially influenced by the classical conception of the term. Consequently, the concept of divine discipline expressed by παιδεία becomes a concept of divine education expressed by the same word, whereas "discipline" is rendered by various words like τιμωρία or πάσχω. While this is probably true for 2 Maccabees, it is obvious in 4 Maccabees.

Consequently, the concept of divine παιδεία brings together the two aspects of identity as defined by Paul Ricoeur: identity encompasses what is unique (*ipse*) and what is similar to others (*idem*).³⁵ Divine παιδεία was therefore of great importance for the identity of the Jewish communities in the late Hellenistic and early Roman period. Indeed, this concept allowed them to keep separate from the wicked. This is what we could call *Ipse*, what defines a person or a community as unique and distinct from others. Furthermore, this concept also allowed the individuals to develop a concern for introspection to give meaning to their own history and to reform their behavior. This is *Idem*, what defines a community as a composite people of similar features.

³⁵ See Paul Ricoeur, *Soi-même comme un autre* (Paris: Seuil, 1990).