25.2 The Language of the Book of Judith*

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Introduction

One of the most striking features of the Greek of the book of Judith is its affinity to the language of the translated books of the Septuagint. On the level of vocabulary and syntax, this narrative, of which there is no extant ancient Hebrew version, employs an overwhelming number of linguistic features characteristic of the Septuagint and Jewish or Christian literature influenced by it. Not only does the presence of certain elements of translational Greek, e. g. the redundant use of the genitive forms of pronouns (e. g. four occurrences of αὐτοῦ in Jdt 1:13; four instances of αὐτῆς in Jdt 8:5 and four also Jdt 13:3; four occurrences of αὐτῶν in Jdt 5:21) recall Hebrew syntax, but the absence of elements very common in non-biblical Greek texts (e. g. constructions with μέν ... δέ, which do not occur even where they might be expected, as in Jdt 15:5-7, particles like οὖν and ἄρα) is conspicuous. This evidence prompted most scholars of the last century to argue that the Greek text of the book of Judith should be considered a translation from a Semitic source, either Hebrew or Aramaic.[1] In recent years however doubts have been raised as to whether this hypothesis is still convincing.[2]

The present article will provide an outline of the most salient linguistic features of the book of Judith. Without aiming at completeness, I hope the following observations can lead to a more differentiated assessment of the language of this deutero-canonical narrative. The result can be anticipated as follows: although it cannot be denied that

1. See, e. g., R. HANHART, *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Judith* (MSU 14), Göttingen 1979, 9: "Der griechische Text des Buches Iudith ist ein Übersetzungstext. Seine Vorlage war entweder hebräisch oder aramäisch." See also E. ZENGER, *Das Buch Judit* (JSHRZ I/6), Gütersloh 1981, 430; C. A. MOORE, *Judith. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AncB 40), Garden City, NY 1985, 66; J. VILCHEZ LINDEZ, *Tobías y Judit* (Nueva Biblia Española), Estella 2000, 235; N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, *La Biblia griega Septuaginta*, vol. II, *Libros históricos*, Salamanca 2011, 696.

2. H. ENGEL, "'Der HERR ist ein Gott, der Kriege zerschlägt'. Zur Frage der griechischen Originalsprache und der Struktur des Buches Judit" in: K. D. SCHUNCK / M. AUGUSTIN (EDS.), *Goldene Äpfel in silbernen Schalen* (BEATAJ 20), Frankfurt 1992, 155-168; J. JOOSTEN, "The Language and the Milieu of the Book of Judith" in: *Meghillot. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls V-VI. A Festschrift for Devorah Dimant* (2003), *159-*177; J. CORLEY, "Septuagintalisms, Semitic interference, and the original language of the Book of Judith" in: J. CORLEY (ed.), *Studies in the Greek Bible*, Washington, DC 2008, 65-96; B. SCHMITZ, "Ιουδιθ und Iudith. Überlegungen zum Verhältnis der Judit-Erzählung in der LXX und der Vulgata" in: J. COOK / H.-J. STIPP (eds.), *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint* (VTS 157), Leiden 2012, 359-379; B. SCHMITZ / H. ENGEL, *Judit. Übersetzt und ausgelegt* (HThKAT), Freiburg 2014, 40-43; D. L. GERA, *Judith* (CEJL), Berlin 2014, 79-97.

the Greek text reflects Hebrew word order and syntax at more than one point and that certain words can be explained as calques from Hebrew, on closer inspection various linguistic features turn out to be uninfluenced by the Hebrew language—indeed there is strong evidence to suggest that they are independent from a putative Hebrew model.

The first section of the present article will focus on selected syntactical features, regarding in particular sentence construction, prepositions, and pronouns. The second section will examine a series of examples of specific vocabulary of the book of Judith. The results obtained will shed some further light on the question whether this text was translated from Hebrew as a whole or written in Greek from the outset.

1. Syntax

1.1 Sentence Construction

1.1.1 Parataxis and Syntaxis

Parataxis is predominant (e. g. Jdt 2:13-14; 13:9; 14:3); hypotaxis, in particular subordinate clauses formed with the subjunctive, is the exception. Only a few scattered examples can be found, e. g. clauses introduced by conjunctions such as ἐάν (Jdt 7:31; 8:11,15,17,22; 10:16; 11:6,10,16,23; 12:3,12; 14:2), ἵνα (Jdt 7:9,28; 11:11; 12:2; 14:5,13; 15:4), and ὅπως (Jdt 3:8). Subordinate clauses formed with the indicative are not very frequent either, as the following examples show: εἰ (Jdt 5:20,21; 11:2; 12:12), ἐπεί (Jdt 11:12), ἕως (Jdt 15:5), ἡνίκα (Jdt 14:11; 16:18), μέχρις (Jdt 5:10), ὅτε (Jdt 5:18), ὡς (Jdt 13:12; 14:6,7,12,15,19; 15:1,4,9; 16:18). Two cases, however, deserve closer attention:

1. From the point of view of sentence construction, Jdt 11:2 is a salient example: καὶ νῦν ὁ λαός σου ὁ κατοικῶν τὴν ὀρεινὴν εἰ μὴ ἐφαύλισάν με οὐκ ἂν ἦρα τὸ δόρυ μου ἐπ᾿αὐτούς. In this clause, the element that is emphasized ("your people who live in the hill country") precedes the conjunction εἰ and the following conditional clause.[3]

2. From the point of view of Greek syntax, the conjunction καί introducing the apodosis in Judith 5:20 (καὶ ἀναβησόμεθα) is not necessary. Albeit attested in non-biblical Greek, this construction is a Hebraism.[4] An analogous phenomenon can be observed in constructions formed by καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς. The subordinate clause introduced by ὡς is followed by a main clause introduced by καί: καὶ ἐγόγγυσεν πᾶς ὁ λαός (Jdt 5:22), καὶ ἀνέστη (Jdt 10:2). A similar example can be found in Judges 2:4: καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς πάντας υἱοὺς Ισραηλ καὶ ἐπῆραν ὁ λαὸς τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν.

Admittedly, it is remarkable that a narrative text like the book of Judith contains a relatively small number of subordinate clauses. However, the picture does not change radically if another narrative corpus of the Septuagint is taken into consideration: the translation of the books of Samuel and Kings. In fact, in this corpus, which is more

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3. See BDF, § 475.
4. See BDF, § 442, 7; M. S. ENSLIN, *The Book of Judith. Greek text with an English translation, commentary and critical notes* (edited with a general introduction and appendices by Solomon Zeitlin), Leiden 1972, 92.

than eight times the length of the book of Judith, the occurrences of, for example, final ἵνα are no more frequent.

1.1.2 Nominal Clauses

This feature, typical of Hebrew syntax, has some equivalents in the book of Judith, in particular κύριος ὄνομά σοι (Jdt 9:8), σὺ μόνος ἀγαθός (Jdt 11:8), μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός (Jdt 13:11), σὺ ὕψωμα Ιερουσαλημ σὺ γαυρίαμα μέγα τοῦ Ισραηλ σὺ καύχημα μέγα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν (Jdt 15:9). Nevertheless, clauses with copula are attested as well, e.g. ἀλλὰ ταπεινῶν εἶ θεός ἐλαττόνων εἶ βοηθός (Jdt 9:11) See also Jdt 9:14; 11:17, 23; 14:18; 16:13.

1.1.3 Relative Clauses

The book of Judith provides some examples of particular constructions,[5] e.g. the attraction of the relative (ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἡμέρας εἶδεν αὐτήν—Jdt 12:16; see also Jdt 14:8 and 16:22) and the incorporation of the antecedent in the relative clause (καὶ τίνες ἃς κατοικοῦσιν πόλεις [= τίνες πόλεις ἃς κατοικοῦσιν, a varia lectio quoted in the apparatus of Gö]—Jdt 5:3; ἐγύμνωσεν ὃν ἐνεδεδύκει σάκκον [= τὸν σάκκον ὃν ἐνεδεδύκει]—Jdt 9:1; δὸς ἐν χειρί μου [...] ὃ διενοήθην κράτος [= τὸ κράτος ὃ διενοήθην]—Jdt 9:9). A more complicated example of the latter category is Judith 8:15: αὐτὸς ἔχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐν αἷς θέλει σκεπάσαι ἡμέραις (= αὐτὸς ἔχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν σκεπάσαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἃς θέλει). Of course, relative clauses like ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἡμέρας are frequently attested in the translated books of the Septuagint (e.g. Exod 9:18). The other cases, however, reflect a quite elegant Greek unlikely to have been translated from a corresponding Hebrew source text of departure. On the other hand, several relative clauses have a pleonastic element which appears to betray the influence of Hebrew syntax:[6] ἐκεῖ (Jdt 5:19; 8:22), ἐν αὐτοῖς (Jdt 7:10), ἐν αὐτῷ (Jdt 10:2), αὐτῶν (Jdt 16:3).

1.1.4 Infinitives

Instead of subordinate clauses, the book of Judith several times uses a preposition with (articular) infinitives, e.g.: πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς (Jdt 7:14), διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πλεῖον γεγονέναι τὸν πότον (Jdt 13:1), πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα (Jdt 14:5), πρὸ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτήν (Jdt 16:24), μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτήν (Jdt 16:25). In this regard, the Greek style of the book of Judith fits the general tendencies of koine syntax.[7] However, one typical element of Hebraizing style is completely absent: phrases formed according to the model καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ + infinitive + noun or pronoun in the accusative (e.g. Gen 19:29; Num 10:34; etc.). To be sure, the book of Judith does not refrain from using the typical biblical ἐγένετο (see above), but this verb is always followed by a subordinate clause introduced by ὡς (Jdt 2:4; 5:22, 10:1; etc.; see also Gen 27:30; 39:13; etc.).

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5. See BDF, § 294; for the following examples, see also Joosten, "Language and Milieu," *161-162.
6. BDF, § 297.
7. A. Debrunner / A. Scherer, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, vol. II, *Grundfragen und Grundzüge des nachklassischen Griechisch*, Berlin 1969, § 197.

1.1.5   The Accusative with the Infinitive and the Simple Infinitive

The *accusative with the infinitive* is an exception in the book of Judith (see Jdt 14:14: ὑπενόει γὰρ καθεύδειν αὐτὸν μετὰ Ιουδιθ). In many cases, the infinitive without the accusative follows a *verbum dicendi*, especially when the subject is identical with that of the governing verb,[8] e. g. ὡς ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν [...] τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις (Jdt 8:9). Interestingly, the future infinitive παραδώσειν, which has no exact counterpart in Hebrew[9], conforms to classical Greek syntax.

1.1.6   Participle Constructions

Whereas the genitive absolute is very rare (Jdt 4:7: στενῆς τῆς προσβάσεως οὔσης), the *conjunctive participle*, albeit far more frequent, is nonetheless an exception among the numerous paratactical clauses, e. g. τὸν Ολοφέρνην [...] δεύτερον ὄντα (Jdt 2:4), πᾶς χειμάρρους καὶ ποταμὸς ἐπικλύζων [...] πληρωθήσεται (Jdt 2:8), διαβάντες τὸν Ιορδάνην ἐκληρονόμησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ὀρεινήν (Jdt 5:15), ἐπιστρέψαντες [...] ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τῆς διασπορᾶς (Jdt 5:19), καταβάντες δὲ οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ [...] ἐπέστησαν αὐτῷ καὶ λύσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγον (Jdt 6:14).[10] It should be noticed that in most of the occurrences the conjunctive participle is in the nominative case[11], as it refers to the subject of the respective clause. Other cases are exceptional, e. g. the dative in Judith 8:26: ὅσα ἐγένετο τῷ Ιακωβ ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τῆς Συρίας ποιμαίνοντι τὰ πρόβατα Λαβαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. Furthermore, some occurrences of the participles deriving from λέγω should be mentioned. Used to introduce direct discourse, they obviously betray a Hebraizing style (see Jdt 3:1 and 6:18: λέγοντες; Jdt 12:6: λέγουσα).[12] However, given the relatively large number of instances of direct discourse in the book of Judith, the percentage of this kind of participle is rather low compared with other narrative texts (e. g. the Book of Exodus, with its approximately fifty instances of λέγων). Finally, three striking phenomena deserve attention:

1. Judith 12:11 reads: πεῖσον δὴ πορευθεὶς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Εβραίαν. The word order does not correspond to the logical order of the action, as revealed by several modern translations, e. g. NRSV: "Go and persuade the Hebrew woman." In this case, the aorist participle πορευθείς expresses the relative past time in relationship to the imperative πεῖσον.[13] Nevertheless, it is clear that it is this imperative that governs the accusative object τὴν γυναῖκα, although πεῖσον is separated from it by πορευθείς. It is hardly conceivable that such a word order represents a word-to-word translation from a Hebrew Vorlage. Further, it should be stressed that occurrences of πείθω (except the forms of πέποιθα) are very rare in the translated books of the Septuagint (1Reigns 24:8; Est 4:4; Prov 26:25). Therefore, the question arises: Which Hebrew verb could have been rendered by πεῖσον? At any rate, a standard equivalent is not available. As a result, a strong case can be made that πεῖσον δὴ πορευθεὶς τὴν γυναῖκα

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8. BDF, § 406.
9. For this argument, see JOOSTEN, "Language and Milieu," *161.
10. Other occurrences of the conjunctive participle include Jdt 7:8,12; 8:17,36; 10:15,23; 11:16,18,22; 12:9,11,12,14,16,19; 13:4,6-7,10,13,15,20; 14:1,3-5; 15:2,7,11.
11. See also GERA, *Judith*, 80.
12. See BDF, § 420. The singular λέγων is used, in Judith 4:7, to introduce the text of a letter.
13. BDF, § 339. A similar case is Tob 5:3[B,A]: λαβὲ πορευθεὶς τὸ ἀργύριον.

τὴν Ἑβραίαν is not a translation—at least not a literal translation—of an underlying Hebrew text.

2. Occasionally the book of Judith employs future participles, i.e. forms that have no counterpart in the Hebrew language (e. g. τίς εἰμι ἐγὼ ἀντεροῦσα τῷ κυρίῳ μου —Jdt 12:14). In Judith 11:14, the future participle μετακομίσοντας (Rahlfs) is used to express purpose:[14] καὶ ἀπεστάλκασιν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ [...] τοὺς μετακομίσοντας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἄφεσιν. The messengers have been sent to obtain an authorization for the inhabitants of Jerusalem to consume the firstfruits (in the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint, Hanhart opts for the variant μετακομίσαντας: the messengers have already brought the authorization). As in the aforementioned case, it is uncertain which Hebrew equivalents could have been rendered by these participles.

3. In some cases however the Greek style of the Book of Judith reflects Hebrew syntactic patterns. In at least one instance, the finite form of a verb is preceded by the participle of the same verb (ἐπιτελῶν ἐπιτελέσεις—Jdt 2:13). A slightly different construction consists not of two verbal forms, but of a verb and a noun of the same root (see Jdt 6:4: ἀπωλείᾳ ἀπολοῦνται, furthermore Jdt 9:4: ἐζήλωσαν τὸν ζῆλόν σου). Be this as it may, this construction recalls the Hebrew infinitive absolute used to emphasize the idea of the corresponding verb.[15]

1.2 Prepositions

Some peculiarities in the use of prepositions can explained either against a Koine Greek or a specifically Hebrew background. It might suffice to quote some significant examples.

1.2.1 ἀπό
The preposition ἀπό can be used in a causal sense,[16] e.g. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀριθμὸς ἀπὸ πλήθους αὐτῶν (Jdt 2:20), ἐξέλιπον ἀπὸ τῆς δίψης (Jdt 7:22). Interestingly, the verb φοβέομαι can be either transitive (Jdt 1:11; 8:8), as in non-biblical Greek, or used to govern the preposition ἀπό (Jdt 5:23). The latter use shows the influence of the Hebrew language.[17]

1.2.2 εἰς
The strict distinction between εἰς and ἐν tended to disappear in the koine.[18] Accordingly, εἰς can appear where ἐν would be expected, e. g. ἀπέθανεν εἰς Βαιτυλουα (Jdt 16:23). Under Hebrew influence, in clauses formed with εἶναι or γίνομαι, the pre-

14. BDF, § 351.
15. See GERA, *Judith*, 84; furthermore G. DORIVAL / M. HARL / O. MUNNICH, *La Bible grecque des Septante. Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*, Paris 1988, 239; G. MUSSIES, "Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora" in: S. SAFRAI / M. STERN (eds.), *The Jewish People in the First Century* (CRI I/2), vol. 2, Assen/Amsterdam 1976, 1040-1064, here 1048.
16. BDF, § 210.
17. See R. HELBING, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta: ein Beitrag zur Hebraismenfrage und zur Syntax der Koine*, Göttingen 1928, 29.
18. BDF, § 205.

position εἰς with accusative appears instead of a predicative nominative:[19] ἐγένοντο ἐκεῖ εἰς πλῆθος πολύ (Jdt 5:10), ὁ ναὸς [...] ἐγενήθη εἰς ἔδαφος (Jdt 5:18), ἐσόμεθα εἰς ὀνειδισμόν (Jdt 5:21), ἔσονται εἰς κατάβρωσιν (Jdt 5:24), ἦσαν εἰς πλῆθος πολὺ σφόδρα (Jdt 7:18), κρεῖσσον γὰρ ἡμῖν γενηθῆναι αὐτοῖς εἰς διαρπαγήν ἐσόμεθα γὰρ εἰς δούλους (Jdt 7:27), ἐσόμεθα εἰς πρόσκομμα καὶ εἰς ὄνειδος (Jdt 8:22).

1.2.3 ἐν

Instrumental ἐν, which corresponds to the Hebrew preposition -בּ, is attested in Judith 16:4 (τοὺς νεανίσκους μου ἀνελεῖν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ [v.l.: ῥομφαίᾳ]) and in Judith 16:6 (Ιουδιθ [...] ἐν κάλλει προσώπου αὐτῆς παρέλυσεν αὐτόν). Furthermore ἐν is used when speaking of attendant military forces:[20] ἐν ἅρμασι καὶ ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις αὐτῶν (Jdt 2:19), ἦλθεν ἐν μυριάσι δυνάμεως αὐτου (Jdt 16:3). In Judith 11:18, however, the textual witnesses read either ἐν or σύν: ἐξελεύσῃ σὺν/ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει σου.

1.2.4 ἐπί

The verb πέποιθα governs ἐπί with dative instead of the mere dative (Jdt 7:10).[21]

1.2.5 μετά

The proposition μετά is used several times in the sense of "in dealing with," e. g. ὅσα ἐποίησεν μετὰ Αβρααμ (Jdt 8:26), τελείως πρᾶγμα ποιήσει μετὰ σοῦ ὁ θεός (Jdt 11:6). See also Jdt 11:16; 15:10.

1.2.6 παρά

The preposition παρά with accusative serves to express a comparison after a verb or an adjective (Jdt 12:18; 13:18; see Gen 43:34; Eccl 2:9).[22]

1.2.7 Improper Prepositions

A few unusual verbal phrases with ἐνώπιόν/ἐναντίον τινος should be noted. In two cases, the verb ἀρέσκω is constructed with ἐναντίον instead of governing a dative (see Jdt 7:16 and the quite identical quotation in Jdt 11:20: ἤρεσαν οἱ λόγοι αὐτῆς ἐνώ-πιον/ἐναντίον Ολοφέρνου καὶ ἐναντίον/ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν θεραπόντων αὐ-τοῦ). In the translated books of the Septuagint there is additional evidence for this kind of construction (see, e.g., Gen 34:18; 41:37). Furthermore, the verb ἁμαρτάνω can govern either the preposition εἰς (Jdt 5:20; 11:10) or ἐνώπιον (Jdt 5:17: ἥμαρτον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν). This specific linguistic use of ἐνώπιον/ἐναντίον in Septuagint texts, which is probably foreign to non-Jewish Greek literature, is likely to have been influenced by conventions at use in the Persian court.[23]

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19. BDF, § 145.
20. BDF, § 198, 1.
21. See HELBING, *Kasussyntax*, 197-198.
22. BDF, § 185.
23. See J. JOOSTEN, "L'agir humain devant Dieu: remarques sur une tournure remarquable de la Septante", *RB* 113 (2006), 5-17.

1.2.8 Hebraistic Circumlocutions of Prepositional Concepts[24]

Most of the aforementioned syntactical features corroborate the hypothesis of an influence of the Hebrew language on the Greek of the book of Judith. This applies even more to the many prepositional phrases that reflect without any doubt Hebrew compound prepositions,[25] e.g. ἀπὸ προσώπου (Jdt 2:14; 4:2; 5:8,12; 6:20; 10:11; 11:16; 12:13; 14:3; 16:15), ἐκ (τοῦ) προσώπου (e.g. Jdt 1:5; 5:16; 13:1,4), ἐπὶ πρόσωπον (Jdt 11:11), κατὰ πρόσωπον (Jdt 2:23,25; 4:6,11; 7:6; 10:23; 11:5; 12:13; 15:2; 16:20), πρὸ προσώπου (Jdt 8:15; 10:13), ἀνὰ μέσον (Jdt 7:24; 8:11), διὰ μέσου (Jdt 11:19), ἐν μέσῳ (Jdt 6:16,17; 14:8,19), ἐκ μέσου (Jdt 6:11; 7:19), ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς (Jdt 3:4), ἐκ χειρός (Jdt 16:2), ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτῆς (Jdt 13:8).

1.3 Pronouns

The use of pronouns is various. Although one does encounter some Hebraizing features in the use of pronouns, the Greek text of the book of Judith appears generally to deviate from Hebrew patterns.

1.3.1 Possessive Pronouns
The redundant use of the genitive forms αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, and αὐτῶν has already been mentioned. Nevertheless, even if these instances are very widespread, at least one instance of a reflexive pronoun in the genitive should be mentioned (Jdt 7:32: ἐσκόρπισεν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρεμβολήν, v.l. εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν αὐτοῦ). In the majority of the cases, the genitive form of the pronoun is placed after the noun it qualifies. In some scattered cases however it is placed before the noun, a practice that does not reflect standard Hebrew word order: ῥάξον αὐτῶν τὴν ἰσχύν (Jdt 9:8), θραῦσον αὐτῶν τὸ ἀνάστεμα (Jdt 9:10), ὁ θεός σου ἔσται μου θεός (Jdt 11:23), αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή [...] καὶ [...] αὐτῶν κραυγή (Jdt 14:19).[26]

1.3.2 Personal Pronouns
In two cases, personal pronouns occur in prepositional attributives placed between the article and the noun: ἐτείχισαν τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς κώμας (Jdt 4:5), ἀναμένοντες τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν (Jdt 8:17). Such a word order, very common in Greek, is really highly exceptional in the Septuagint and does not fit Hebrew syntax. See, e.g., Isa 59:21: ἡ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ διαθήκη; Jer 11:20; 20:12: τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐκδίκησιν.

1.3.3 Reciprocal Pronouns
The reciprocal relationship is expressed by ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ (Jdt 7:4; 10:19) instead of πρὸς ἀλλήλους.[27] In Hebrew, ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ would correspond to אל רעהו את / איש אל (e.g. Ps 11:3LXX; Jonah 1:7).

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24. BDF, § 217.
25. DORIVAL, HARL, and MUNNICH, *Bible grecque*, 239.
26. In several cases, the pre-position of the adnominal genitive can be found (BDF, § 271): ὃν τρόπον πολέμου πλῆθος συντάσσεται (Jdt 2:16), ταπεινῶν εἶ θεὸς ἐλαττόνων εἶ βοηθός [...] ἀπεγνωσμένων σκεπαστὴς ἀπηλπισμένων σωτήρ (Jdt 9:11).
27. See, e.g., H. St. J. THACKERAY, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge 1909 (reprint Hildesheim 2003), 45.

1.3.4 Indefinite Pronouns

Although using the pronoun οὐδείς (e.g. Jdt 12:10: οὐκ ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν κλῆσιν οὐδένα), the book of Judith has a preference for ἀνὴρ εἷς or ἄνθρωπος[28] rather than οὐδείς/μηδείς in negative clauses: τοῦ μὴ ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄνδρα ἕνα (Jdt 7:13), οὐ καλόν ἐστιν ὑπολείπεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρα ἕνα (Jdt 10:19), οὐκ ἐκάκωσα ἄνθρωπον (Jdt 11:1), οὐκ ἦν ἄνθρωπος (Jdt 15:2).[29]

2. Vocabulary

2.1 Hebraizing Words and Phrases

2.1.1 Demonyms

The use of υἱοί followed by the proper name of a country is very frequent: the Midianites are called υἱοὶ Μαδιαμ (Jdt 2:26), the Ammonites υἱοὶ Αμμων (Jdt 5:5), the Moabites υἱοὶ Μωαβ (Jdt 6:1), even the Titans are υἱοὶ τιτάνων (Jdt 16:6).[30] Only once, θυγάτηρ occurs in such formulations (Jdt 10:12). However, an individual, Achior for instance, is referred to using an adjective: Αμμανίτης (Jdt 14:5). As for the Assyrians, the book of Judith fluctuates between υἱοὶ Ασσουρ (Jdt 6:17; 7:17; etc.) and Ἀσσύριοι (e.g. Jdt 1:1,7; etc.).

2.1.2 Stereotyped Use of Certain Verbal Forms

Noteworthy is the frequent use of ἰδού in direct discourse, either to introduce it or to mark a turning point (Jdt 2:5; 3:2-4; etc.). Needless to say, this imperative form corresponds to the Hebrew הִנֵּה. Likewise, the optative γένοιτο, which expresses approval (Jdt 13:20; 15:10), has a Hebrew equivalent in the Septuagint: אָמֵן (Num 5:22; etc.).

2.1.3 Anthropological Vocabulary

The noun ψυχή is used in the manner of a reflexive pronoun (Jdt 4:9: ἐταπείνωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν "they humbled their souls" = "they humbled themselves"; see also Lev 16:29,31; Isa 58:3,5) or to designate individual human beings: σέσωκας τὴν ψυχήν σου (Jdt 10:15), εἰς κατόρθωσιν πάσης ψυχῆς (Jdt 11:7), οὐκ ἐφείσω τῆς ψυχῆς σου (Jdt 13:20). Furthermore, a Hebrew meaning underlies the expression, in Jdt 2:3, πᾶσα σάρξ "all flesh," which is to be understood as "everybody." Conversely, in Jdt 10:13, οὐ [...] σάρξ μία οὐδὲ πνεῦμα ζωῆς, means "nobody." A Hebrew influence can also be seen in Judith 13:4: standing before Holophernes' bed, Judith prays "in her heart" (εἶπεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς), i.e. silently, without making any noise. Elsewhere in the Septuagint, "to speak in one's heart" means "to think" (e.g. Deut 8:17),[31] however the closest parallel is Hannah's silent prayer, in 1Reigns 1:13: καὶ αὐτὴ ἐλάλει ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ χείλη αὐτῆς ἐκινεῖτο καὶ φωνὴ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἠκούετο. At times

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28. Thackeray, *Grammar*, 45.
29. Another interesting example is Judith 7:21: οὐκ εἶχον πιεῖν [...] ὕδωρ ἡμέραν μίαν, which has μίαν where οὐδεμίαν would be expected.
30. For the latter example, see Gera, *Judith*, 81.
31. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, Leuven 2009, 363.

however, instead of following the usage of the other Septuagint books, the Book of Judith sometimes goes its own way. To speak of the physical beauty of a person, the Hebrew Bible uses an expression the Septuagint normally renders by καλὸς/καλὴ τῷ εἴδει (e.g. Gen 29:17; 39:6); in Judith 11:23, however, a slightly different phrase appears: ἀστεία εἶ σὺ ἐν τῷ εἴδει σου. Likewise, Susanna is characterized as a woman ἀστεία τῷ εἴδει (Sus 1:7).

2.1.4   Hebrew Expressions in Greek Garments

In order to congratulate Judith people speak "peace" with her (Jdt 15:8: λαλῆσαι μετ' αὐτῆς εἰρήνην). This expression is reminiscent of some scattered examples in the Septuagint, e.g. Ps 27:3: τῶν λαλούντων εἰρήνην μετὰ τῶν πλησίον αὐτῶν, where εἰρήνη is the equivalent of the Hebrew noun םלש.[32] Nevertheless, in this instance the book of Judith avoids a very common word verb like μακαρίζω (Gen 30:13; etc.). Another example that comes quite close to Judith 15:8 is Judith 7:24, where the adjective εἰρηνικά takes the place of the noun εἰρήνη: οὐ λαλήσαντες εἰρηνικὰ μετὰ υἱῶν Ασσουρ. In this case, λαλέω εἰρηνικά refers to political measures meant to bring about peace for the Israelites. This expression is not a unique case in biblical literature. In Psalms 34:20 and in Jeremiah 9:7 persons are said to speak "peaceful things" (εἰρηνικά), even as they plot against others. Furthermore, two examples of typically biblical Greek expressions should be mentioned. The expression ὑψόω τὴν φωνήν (Jdt 16:11) is to be found quite often in the Septuagint as a stereotyped rendering of a corresponding Hebrew phrase (see, e.g., Gen 39:15,18; Isa 13:2; 37:23; 58:1; Ezek 21:27). *Mutatis mutandis*, the same applies for another example related to the death of Judith's husband: ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς [...] προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ (Jdt 16:22). Quite identical formulations, which are indeed calques from the Hebrew, can be found, in Genesis 25:8 and 49:33, in the context of the death of the patriarchs Abraham and Jacob. The situation is slightly different in the case of the expression ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας "mouth of the sword" (Jdt 2:27), which designates its edge. Identical or similar examples occur in other biblical texts, e.g. Jos 6:21: ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας, where the correspondig Hebrew text reads יפל, literally "with the mouth," for ἐν στόματι. Nevertheless, this particular use of στόμα for the edge of a weapon is not limited to biblical texts translated from Hebrew (see, e.g., Luke 21:24). It occurs as well in non-biblical Greek (see, e.g., Homer, Iliad, 15.389).

2.2 Ritual, Cultic and Theological Terminology

2.2.1   Sacrifice
The book of Judith employs some words which refer to ritual issues. Two terms of the typical Septuagint sacrificial vocabulary appear in Judith 16:16-18: ὁλοκαύτωμα (Jdt 16:16,18) and τὰ ἑκούσια (Jdt 16:18; see already Jdt 4:14). No doubt the "burnt offerings," as well as the "freewill offerings," are to be understood against the backdrop of the Pentateuch sacrificial prescriptions, where the same Greek terminology occurs (e.g. Num 15:3; 29:39). Nevertheless, while these two instances reflect the characteristic

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32.   See also CORLEY, "Septuagintalisms," 79.

biblical use of the sacrifice terminology, the case of ἀνάθημα in Judith 16:19 is quite different. Dedicating Holofernes' precious canopy to God as ἀνάθημα, Judith does not consider it an object to be destroyed (for this biblical use of ἀνάθημα, see, e.g., Josh 6:17-18), but suited to adorn the temple. In this respect, Judith 16:19 appears to reflect non-biblical rather than biblical connotations of ἀνάθημα. Indeed, in non-biblical texts, this noun refers to different sorts of more or less precious objects laid down by worshippers in a temple.[33]

2.2.2 Blessings

When speaking of blessing, the Septuagint employs a standard word: εὐλογέω. A closer analysis of the use of εὐλογέω in the book of Judith yields an interesting result. In Judith 15:9,12, εὐλογέω retains its non-biblical meaning "to speak well of somebody," "to praise somebody,"[34] Judith in this case. The use of the verbal adjectives εὐλογημέ-νος and εὐλογητός however requires greater attention. In the wake of the Septuagint usage of these words, Judith as a human being can be qualified as εὐλογητή (Jdt 13:18, v.l. εὐλογημένη), εὐλογημένη (Jdt 14:7; see also Ruth 2:19; 3:10), or even as εὐλογη-μένη [...] παρὰ τῷ παντοκράτορι κυρίῳ (Jdt 15:10). Furthermore, the use of this terminology is not limited to humans[35]; likewise, God is referred to as εὐλογητός (Jdt 13:17) or as εὐλογημένος (Jdt 13:18). From the point of view of non-biblical Greek, this use of εὐλογέω might seem surprising but it is in keeping with many other Septuagint texts (Gen 9:26; 14:20; etc.).[36] Nevertheless, the manuscript evidence is not clear enough to suggest that the one term is used for God and the other for humans.[37]

2.2.3 Achior's Conversion to Judaism

In order to join the Jewish community, the former enemy officer Achior, a Ammonite (see above), must undergo circumcision (Jdt 14:10: περιετέμετο τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας αὐτοῦ). The Greek terminology is identical with Genesis 17:11 and 14, etc. Conversely, it turns out to be difficult to find more than a handful of Septuagint examples of another term used in Judith 14:10, the verb πιστεύω. In fact, Achior's relationship to God is described in terms of "believing" (Jdt 14:10: ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ σφόδρα). To be sure, the Septuagint employs roughly the same terminology in the case of Abraham (Gen 15:6: καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Αβραμ τῷ θεῷ). Nonetheless, the specific use of πιστεύω in the context of conversion is quite exceptional in the Sep-

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33. For further details, see K. Berthelot, "The Notion of *Anathema* in Ancient Jewish Literature Written in Greek" in: E. Bons / R. Brucker / J. Joosten (eds.), *The Reception of Septuagint Words in Jewish-Hellenistic and Christian Literature* (WUNT II/367), Tübingen 2014, 35-52, here 47.
34. See also R. J. Ledogar, "Verbs of Praise in the LXX Translation of the Hebrew Canon", *Bib* 48 (1967), 29-56, here 52; J. Joosten, "Mixed Blessings. The biblical notion of blessing in the works of Philo and Flavius Josephus" in: Bons / Brucker / Joosten, *Reception of Septuagint Words*, 105-115, here 109.
35. See also Ledogar, "Verbs of Praise," 51.
36. J. Joosten, "Le vocabulaire de la Septante et la Question du Sociolecte des Juifs Alexandrins. Le Cas du Verbe εὐλογέω, 'Bénir'" in: E. Bons / J. Joosten (eds.), *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception* (SCSt 58), Atlanta GA 2011, 13-23, here 18-19.
37. M. Cimosa, *Guida allo studio della Bibbia greca (LXX). Storia, lingua, testi*, Rome 1995, 129.

tuagint and in Jewish Hellenistic literature as a whole (see also Wis 12:2; Philo, Abr. 69).[38]

2.2.4 Speaking about God

To begin with, attention should be given to two divine titles: παντοκράτωρ and κτίστης. God is a παντοκράτωρ (Jdt 4:13; 8:13; 15:10; 16:5,17), a divine epitheton characteristic of the Septuagint and later Jewish and Christian literature.[39] Moreover, he is a κτίστης in the sense of "creator." This noun, which undergoes a change of meaning from non-biblical Greek ("founder") to biblical Greek ("creator"), occurs in a series of divine titles in Judith's prayer (Jdt 9:12). As such, God is called the king of the κτίσις (Jdt 9:12), which must serve him (Jdt 16:14). Accordingly, when speaking about God's function as creator, the verb employed is κτίζω (Jdt 13:18). In this respect, the book of Judith adopts a terminology that appears in the earliest translated books of the Septuagint (e.g. Deut 4:32: κτίζω; 2Reigns 22:32: κτίστης).[40] The same holds true for other divine titles such as βοηθός[41] (Jdt 9:11, see also Exod 15:2; Ps 9:10; 45:2) and ἀντιλήμπτωρ (Jdt 9:11), which occur together in Psalm 17:3 and Psalm 58:18. Finally, the verb ὑπερασπίζω should be mentioned. In Genesis 15:1, God promises Abraham to "hold his shield over him" (ἐγὼ ὑπερασπίζω σου). The same verb, which is attested more than a dozen of times in the translated books of the Septuagint (e.g. Deut 33:29; Ps 19:2; Prov 2:7), appears three times in Judith (5:21; 6:2; 9:14). In each of these instances, God is the subject, and Bethulia or Israel the object of the divine protection.

2.2.5 Speaking of Other Gods

The book of Judith mentions other gods only once referring to them as θεοὶ χειροποίητοι (Jdt 8:18), a typical Septuagint word denoting foreign gods (e.g. Lev 26:1; Isa 46:6).[42]

To sum up, the abovementioned examples illustrate that the book of Judith is deeply influenced by the specific ritual and theological vocabulary of the Septuagint. However, this result should not hide the fact that this vocabulary is not completely identical with Septuagint vocabulary. A good example is the use of πιστεύω in Judith 14:10 (see above).

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38. G. Barth, art. πίστις, πιστεύω in: H. Balz / G. Schneider (eds.), *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (second edition), vol. III, Stuttgart 1992, col. 216-231, here 218.

39. M. Bachmann, *Göttliche Allmacht und theologische Vorsicht: zu Rezeption, Funktion und Konnotationen des biblisch-frühchristlichen Gottesepithetons* pantokrator (SBS 188), Stuttgart 2002, 152.

40. For further details, see E. Bons / A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, "A Sample Article: κτίζω – κτίσις – κτίσμα – κτίστης" in: Bons / Joosten, *Septuagint Vocabulary*, 173-187.

41. For this divine title, see E. Bons, "The Noun βοηθός as a Divine Title. Prolegomena to a Future HTLS Article" in: E. Bons / R. Brucker / J. Joosten (eds.), *The Reception of Septuagint Words in Jewish-Hellenistic and Christian Literature* (WUNT II/367), Tübingen 2014, 53-66.

42. Engel, "Zur Frage der griechischen Originalsprache," 158.

2.3 Biblical and Non-Biblical Greek Vocabulary

2.3.1 Characteristic Septuagint Words in the Book of Judith
In addition to the examples given above, the book of Judith proves to be familiar with certain terms belonging to the vocabulary of the Septuagint. It will suffice to mention three of them:

1. The only noun or adjective used to denote strangers is ἀλλογενεῖς, a typically Septuagint word (e. g. Exod 12:43; Isa 56:3) absent from contemporary non-biblical texts. In Judith 9:2, ἀλλογενεῖς probably refers to the Sichemites, held collectively responsible for the rape of Dinah (see Gen 34).

2. The inhabitants of a town or a country are called κατοικοῦντες (e. g. Jdt 4:6; 7:13,20; 8:11; see also Gen 14:7; 19:25), whereas the noun πολῖται is missing.

3. Another characteristic Septuagint noun is σκάνδαλον (see, e. g., Lev 19:14; Ps 48:14), which can designate a material obstacle (Jdt 5:1), a sin that could potentially prevent the God of Israel from intervening in favor of his people (Jdt 5:20), or a possible transgression of the purity laws (Jdt 12:2).

2.3.2 Typical Greek Words Used in the Book of Judith
It is noteworthy that several very common Greek adjectives and verbs infrequent or unknown in the remaining books of the Septuagint appear in the book of Judith.

1. As for the adjectives, in Judith 8:31 the protagonist is called εὐσεβής: ὅτι γυνὴ εὐσεβὴς εἶ. This very frequent Greek adjective is rare in the translated books of the Septuagint (e. g. Isa 24:16). For a person to be explicitly qualified as "pious" is exceptional in the biblical literature.[43] Somewhat more frequent is the adjective ἀγαθός, used to refer to the virtues of a human being—Judith seeks to gain Holophernes' favor by calling him ἀγαθός (Jdt 11:8). However, the biblical instances of persons being qualified explicitly as ἀγαθός are exceedingly rare, Saul (1Reigns 9:2), for instance.

2. As for the verbs, the book of Judith sometimes employs very common Greek verbs that are sporadic or completely missing in the translated books of the Septuagint, e. g. ἀφικνέομαι (Jdt 1:14). Elsewhere in the Septuagint, verbs like παραγίνομαι, in the sense of "to arrive" (e. g. Gen 50:10; Ruth 1:19,22), or εἰσπορεύομαι (e. g. 2Reigns 15:37) are much more frequent. Similarly, the verb κελεύω is used in Judith 2:15 and 12:1, whereas the Septuagint translators have a preference for verbs like ἐντέλλομαι (Lev 24:2; etc.).

2.3.3 Technical Terms
Various technical terms denoting objects of utility absent from the remaining books of the Septuagint appear in the book of Judith: τὸ κωνώπιον "canopy" (Jdt 13:9,15; 16:19),[44] ἡ πήρα "knapsack, traveler's bag" (Jdt 10:5; 13:10,15), ἡ χελωνίς "footstool" (Jdt 14:15). Therefore, it would be impossible to argue that their use is at least partly

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43. See also M. WIEGER, "Εὐσέβεια et 'crainte de Dieu' dans la Septante" in: BONS / JOOSTEN, *Septuagint Vocabulary*, 101-156, here 101.
44. See B. SCHMITZ, "Holofernes's Canopy in the Septuagint" in: K. R. BRINE / E. CILETTI / H. LÄHNEMANN (EDS.), *The Sword of Judith. Judith Studies across the Disciplines*, Cambridge 2010, 71-80.

determined by an underlying Hebrew text. However, in regard to the possibility of a Hebrew source text for the book of Judith, one noun is of particular interest: ὁ ἀκινά-κης "scimitar," a word of Persian origin used in Judith 13:6 and 16:9. If we assume that this Persian word was first translated into Hebrew and then into Greek, it seems improbable that it would appear in its correct Hellenized form in the extant Greek manuscripts.[45]

Concluding Remarks

In the last two decades some scholars have argued that the book of Judith reflects an in-depth knowledge of the Septuagint. Not only syntactical features, but vocabulary can be adduced to support this hypothesis. In some cases the book of Judith quotes, or alludes to, Greek biblical texts whose Septuagint version diverges more or less obviously from the extant Hebrew texts.[46] This is the case in Judith 8:16 (ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς ἀπειληθῆναι οὐδ᾿ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου διαιτηθῆναι, a quotation of Num 23:19), Judith 9:2 (οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται, a quotation of Gen 34:7), Judith 11:19 (οὐ γρύξει κύων τῇ γλώσσῃ αὐτοῦ, a quotation of Exod 11:7), Judith 16:14 (ὅτι εἶπας καὶ ἐγενήθησαν, an allusion to Ps 32:9: ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν), and Judith 9:7 and 16:2 (κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους / θεὸς συντρίβων πολέμους, a quotation of Exod 15:3). If the book of Judith was a translation from a lost Hebrew text, we would expect the translator to have rendered these quotations and allusions according to the Hebrew biblical text. Admittedly, in itself this argument is not sufficient to conclude that the original language of the book of Judith was Greek.[47] Nevertheless, many syntactical and terminological features mentioned above prove difficult to explain if we assume that the Greek text is a translation of a lost Hebrew source. Therefore, these syntactical and terminological observations can be taken as converging indications in favor of a hypothesis capable of challenging the prevailing theory of the Hebrew origin of the book of Judith. On the basis of these arguments, it seems possible to contend that the book of Judith was, from the outset, a Greek composition. As for the various elements of Hebraizing language, they can be attributed to "[...] a Greek author, intending to create a 'biblical' story, [who] adopted the biblical style he knew from the Septuagint."[48] In other words, what at first sight appears to be "Hebraizing" in the Greek style of the book of Judith is in reality "Septuagintizing." However, this hypoth-

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45. For this argument, see H. Y. PRIEBATSCH, "Das Buch Judith und seine hellenistischen Quellen", *ZDPV* 90 (1974), 50–60, here 53.

46. See also ENGEL, "Zur Frage der griechischen Originalsprache," 157-158; JOOSTEN, "Language and Milieu," *164-165; SCHMITZ / ENGEL, *Judit*, 42.

47. See also HANHART, *Text und Textgeschichte*, 98-99, note 2, who argues that the book of Judith is a translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic text. According to this author, the presence of Septuagint quotations and allusions is to be explained by the translator's preference for the Septuagint text, which Hanhart supposes to be "canonical" in his milieu.

48. JOOSTEN, "Language and Milieu," *163. See also CORLEY, "Septuagintalisms," 80, who states—with respect to the expression "sons of" denoting the members of a people—that "its usage in Judith may be intended to evoke the LXX and add a biblical sonority to the narrative." He concludes (87): "In many cases Judith seems to be imitating biblical style, as found in the

esis cannot answer another question: Was the Judith narrative available in ancient Aramaic or Hebrew versions that might possibly have diverged from the Septuagint book of Judith? This question still remains open.[49]

LXX. Often such constructions also appear in NT writings originally composed in Greek, and the Semitic influence does not necessitate a previous composition in Hebrew or Aramaic."

49. See also SCHMITZ, "Ἰουδιθ und Iudith," 363; GERA, *Judith*, 79.

Concluding Remarks