

The Jewish and the Christian Greek Versions of Amos*

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In order to deal with the Greek translation of Amos adequately, one has to differentiate among three important versions: the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint represents one type of text among several others that existed and probably were held as authoritative by Jewish groups in Palestine but presumably also in different regions of the Roman Empire.¹ Secondly, there is the Septuagint version—a Jewish translation from the Hebrew into Greek.² This version is only preserved in small fragments but can be reconstructed reasonably well from the third version. It was accepted as canonical by the authors of the early Christian writings and presumably by Jewish groups in the Diaspora.³

* I would like to thank Stephen Chapman for improving my English.

¹ Heinz-Josef Fabry gives a convenient overview of theories that try to explain the variety of text types found in the Judean Desert: “Der Text und seine Geschichte,” in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (4th ed.; KStTh 1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002), 36–65. Since Amos is not cited by Jesus or his immediate followers, one cannot know which text type they might have used.

² The term “Septuagint” is used in a Christian sense to designate the whole collection of canonical Greek books, whereas in Jewish understanding the term referred to the Greek version of the Torah alone. It is even questionable whether a Jewish collection that comprised the books of the Rahlfs edition ever existed; see Martin Hengel, “Die Septuaginta als ‘Christliche Schriftensammlung’, ihre Vorgeschichte und das Problem ihres Kanons,” in *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum* (ed. M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer; WUNT 72; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 182–284, especially 183 (= *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon* [trans. R. Deines; OTS; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002]).

³ This is at least true for the core canon, which comprised Torah, prophets, and psalms. More specific is Hengel, “Die Septuaginta als ‘christliche Schriftensammlung,’” 265: “Eine Auszählung der wörtlichen, mit einer Einleitungsformel versehenen Zitate nach dem alttestamentlichen Stellenverzeichnis in der 27. Auflage des Nestle ergibt folgendes Bild: Psalmen 55; Jesaja 45; Dtn 41 (davon jedoch 14mal Dekalog und Liebesgebot); Ex 23 (10mal Dekalog); Kleine Propheten 21; Gen 16; Lev 14 (7mal 19,18); Jer 9; Prov 4; Ez, Dan, Num, 2 Sam je 2 Zitate; Hiob, Jos, 1 Kön je 1 Zitat. D. h. ca. 60% aller direkten alttestamentlichen Zitate stammen aus drei Büchern: Psalmen, Jesaja, Deuteronomium.”

Thirdly, we have the Greek Old Testament version that was part of the Christian Bible.⁴ This version is attested in well preserved codices and was considered canonical in the Christian church at least from the third century on. Every version stands in strict continuity with its precursor but has its own profile. The comparison of the versions helps to detect and appreciate the specific intentions of every one of the three.

1. The Jewish Greek Version of Amos

When one compares the Greek text of the Ziegler edition with the *BHS* edition of the MT, one gets the impression that a single person translated Amos in a very literal manner.⁵ It is a truism that the meaning of a text, no matter how literal the translation may be, cannot be translated into a different language without any change in meaning. Not a single pair of lexemes has exactly the same meaning—the one in Hebrew and the other in Greek. However, it is necessary to differentiate between unavoidable differences in meaning and real variants. There are approximately 300 real variants in meaning between *BHS* and Ziegler's version of the Septuagint.⁶ They can be classified into four categories: First, there are variants that go back to different consonants in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint and the MT.⁷ As is well known the Hebrew *Vorlage*

⁴It is especially David Trobisch who has brought this aspect to attention with new insights; David Trobisch, *Die Endredaktion des Neuen Testaments: Eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der christlichen Bibel* (NTOA 31; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag: 1996).

⁵The hypothesis of a single translator of the complete Book of the Twelve, carefully elaborated by Joseph Ziegler, *Die Einheit der LXX zum Zwölfprophetenbuch* (Braunsberg: 1934), has been questioned by George D. Howard, "Some Notes on the Septuagint of Amos," *VT* 20 (1970): 108–12; and C. Robert Harrison Jr, "The Unity of the Minor Prophets in the LXX: A Reexamination of the Question," *BIOSCS* 21 (1988): 55–72. However, both T. Muraoka in "Is the Septuagint Amos 8:12–9:10 a Separate Unit?," *VT* 20 (1970): 496–500; and "In Defense of the Unity of the Septuagint Minor Prophets," *AJBI* 15 (1989): 25–36; and Barry A. Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon* (SBLDS 149; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 88–90, have refuted those theories.

⁶Between Russell E. Fuller, "4QXII^{a-g}," in *Qumran Cave 4: The Prophets* (ed. E. C. Ulrich; DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); and Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935; repr., 2 vols. in 1. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979) there are only fourteen minor differences.

⁷The order of the writings in the Book of the Twelve Prophets and the position of this Book within the collection of the prophetic writings is different in the MT and the LXX traditions. The MT order is very probably the older one and was already used in the LXX *Vorlage*. The Greek translators reorganized the writings according to the historical setting

lacked vocalization, most of the *matres lectionis*, and the final form of some letters.⁸ To be sure the recoverable *Vorlage* common to the MT and LXX seems to be a well preserved text; nevertheless this earlier text is not the original text but also includes some scribal errors and intentional modifications.

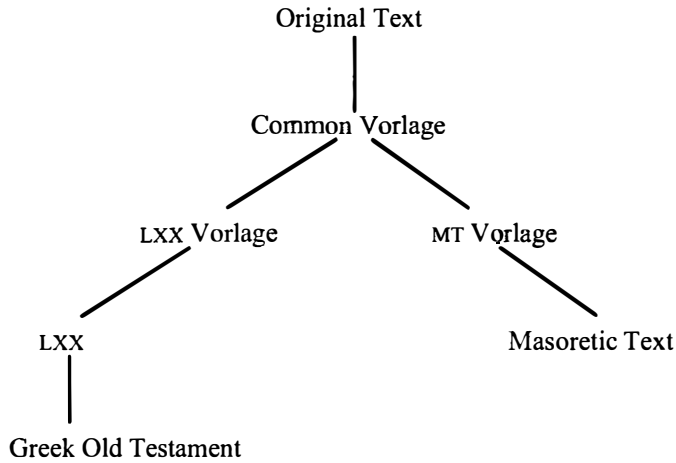


Figure 2. Stemma of versions

Secondly, there are variants that were caused by a different vocalization of the same consonants. Thirdly, there are variants that stem from a deficient knowledge of the Hebrew language. Finally, there are intentional modifications of the text because the translator did not accept the original sense and introduced a new one.

1.1 The consonants of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint

Of the variants involving consonantal modifications a significant number are due to scribal errors in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX. In most cases *resh* and *dalet* or *waw* and *yod* are interchanged. I will note only one striking example at Amos 1:1 where the Septuagint contains the transcription of a Hebrew word, $\omega\kappa\kappa\alpha\rho\mu$. The Hebrew word could not be translated because the interchange of

implied in superscriptions: They placed Amos and Micah immediately after Hosea because those prophecies overlap in time and addressees (cf. Hos 1:1; Amos 1:1; and Mic 1:1) and left the sequence of the rest of the writings untouched. Thereby they ignored the careful thematic structure that was implemented by the last Hebrew redactors of the book of the Twelve. See A. Scharf, "Zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Zwölfprophetenbuchs," *VF* 43 (1998) 13–33, esp. 19.

⁸ Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2d ed.; Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 105–50.

resh and *dalet* in the Hebrew *Vorlage* obscured the original נקרים. Having no clue what נקרים should mean, the translator decided to transcribe it and left the reader to make sense of it, maybe even as a proper name.⁹

A problem at Amos 4:3b offers a more complex example:

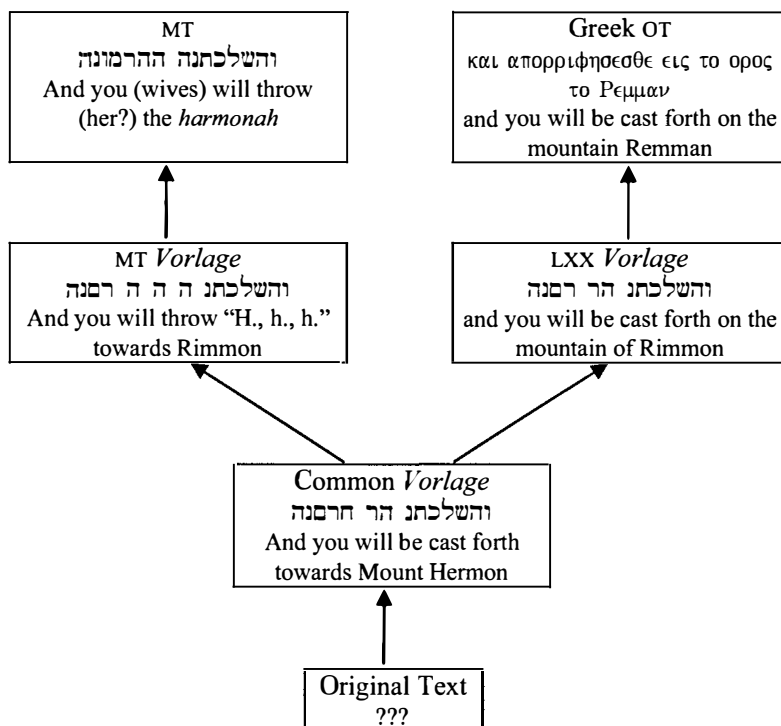


Figure 3. Stemma of Amos 4:3b

The MT of 4:3b is obviously unintelligible, whereas the LXX has at least an understandable although not very fitting text. It may be possible to reconstruct the MT *Vorlage*, the LXX *Vorlage*, and even the common *Vorlage* from which the MT and the Septuagint branched off. However, whether this is the original text is at least doubtful.¹⁰

In Amos, leaving aside scribal errors, there remain about twenty variants that involve an intentional modification of the consonantal base of the text. For

⁹ For more detail see "Transliterations" in Wooden's essay in this volume, pp. 125–29.

¹⁰ "The original text seems to be beyond recovery." William R. Harper, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1904), 85.

these it is notoriously difficult and often impossible to decide whether a variant originated in the transmission of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, in the process of translating, or in the transmission of the Greek manuscripts.

1.1.1 *The name and titles of God*

There is one major difference that seems to reflect a conscious redesign of Amos as a whole, and that is the shape and the distribution of the string that contains the name and one or more titles of God (e.g., Amos 3:13 אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת (ארני יהוה אלהי הצבאות)). In this case it is important to differentiate among the different levels of the transmission history of the text.

To begin with the obvious level it is clear that the Christian scribes who copied the manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament neither wrote nor read the name of God, i.e., יהוה. Instead KYPIOS was used. However, from early on the Christian scribes used the *nomina sacra* writing style: the word was contracted and a line was drawn above the letters ($\overline{\text{K}\Sigma}$). This Christian invention certainly reflects the Jewish handling of the Tetragram but brings in new elements. The extant Jewish manuscripts of the Septuagint demonstrate that the name of God, יהוה, was not replaced by a Greek equivalent in writing.¹¹ In most cases the scribes did not even transliterate the Hebrew characters into the Greek alphabet whether in Aramaic square or paleo-Hebrew script. Nonetheless, there is at least one manuscript that uses IAΩ as a Greek transcription of יהוה.¹² Although this suggests that יהוה was actually pronounced when the text was read, it is very probable that in most circles and regions κύριος was used as an equivalent for יהוה in reading.¹³ This would also explain why the Christians used κύριος as a proper name for God. The Greek tradition certainly reflects a common usage

¹¹ See Nikolaus Walter, “Die griechische Übersetzung der ‘Schriften’ Israels und die christliche ‘Septuaginta’ als Forschungs- und als Übersetzungsgegenstand,” in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der griechischen Bibel* (ed. H.-J. Fabry and U. Offerhaus; BWA(N)T 153; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 71–96, especially 86. Albert Pietersma, “Kyrios or Tetragram: A Renewed Quest for the Original Septuagint,” in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (ed. A. Pietersma and C. E. Cox; Mississauga: Benben, 1984), 85–101 admits frankly that the manuscript evidence in this respect is unambiguous. Nevertheless, he argues that the manuscripts all reflect a latter development, whereas the original LXX has translated יהוה with κύριος.

¹² According to Pietersma, this is manuscript 4QLXX Lev(b) (Rahlfs 802) (*ibid.*, 91).

¹³ The evidence is abundant as Pietersma has shown (*ibid.*, 85–101). This usage explains sufficiently the cases that Pietersma has collected in order to demonstrate that the original LXX actually had KYPIOS *written*. Although Pietersma makes the distinction, he does not differentiate clear enough between written text and spoken word. There is no question that the Tetragram within the Greek text fulfilled the same function as κύριος and so in either case κύριος was said.

already in the Hebrew tradition. In most circles and regions an equivalent for יהוה was used when the text was read. Most prominently it was the title אֲדֹנָי, but other options such as אֱלֹהִים “God” or שְׁמָא “the name (in Aramaic)” may have also been possible. On the basis of the manuscript evidence it is obvious that the Jewish translator of the Septuagint had no problem with representing the chain אֲדֹנָי יהוה, at least in writing: אֲדֹנָי was translated with κύριος, whereas יהוה was represented by Hebrew letters.¹⁴ In contrast, in the Christian tradition a difficulty emerged: when a Jewish manuscript was copied by a Christian scribe, the Hebrew יהוה was also substituted by κύριος. The phrase אֲדֹנָי יהוה therefore would yield a double κύριος. Since both instances of κύριος referred to God, both had to be written as *nomina sacra*. As a result the difference between the proper name יהוה and the title אֲדֹנָי was lost in the Greek Old Testament. In order to avoid this, the chain אֲדֹנָי יהוה was eventually translated by the phrase κύριος ὁ θεός. However, this phrase could also represent יהוה אֱלֹהִים.

When one compares the Greek manuscripts of Amos with the MT, it is obvious that the Greek equivalent of the יהוה plus title chains is difficult to ascertain. Not only are there the above mentioned differences between Jewish and Christian manuscripts, but there are also differences among the Christian manuscripts. In addition, the two reconstructions of the original text of the Septuagint, one by Rahlfs and the other by Ziegler, differ in this case. Since the LXX of Amos translates routinely in such a way that every Hebrew lexeme has its own Greek equivalent, it is very probable that the LXX *Vorlage* in many cases did not contain the title אֲדֹנָי where it is attested in the MT.¹⁵ It was missing in the Hebrew *Vorlage* at Amos 1:8; 3:13; 4:2; 5:16; 6:8; 7:1, 4^{2x}, 6; 8:1, 3, and 11.¹⁶ In five cases κύριος ὁ θεός serves as an equivalent to אֲדֹנָי יהוה: Amos 3:7, 8, 11; 4:5; and 8:9, whereas in Amos 7:2 and 5 a double κύριος is found.¹⁷ The second way to represent אֲדֹנָי יהוה may have been chosen in order to highlight Amos 7:2 and 5, which are the only places where Amos directly addresses God. Alternatively one may reckon with a second layer in the transmission of the Greek Old Testament: the Greek Jewish manuscript that served as the *Vorlage* for the first Christian copyist contained the phrase “κύριος יהוה” only at Amos 7:2 and 5 where the Christian copyist substituted יהוה with κύριος, which

¹⁴ Κύριος as equivalent for אֲדֹנָי is attested in Amos 9:1, unless an original יהוה was replaced.

¹⁵ Martin Rösel, *Adonaj, warum Gott “Herr” genannt wird* (FAT 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 60, assumes that אֲדֹנָי could be translated by both κύριος and κύριος ὁ θεός. This would be strikingly inconsistent with the translation technique of the Septuagint.

¹⁶ In most cases there are additional source critical arguments for the hypothesis that אֲדֹנָי was inserted secondarily.

¹⁷ According to Rahlfs there are two more instances: Amos 5:3 and 9:5. There seems to be much variety throughout the different manuscripts.

yielded a double κύριος. Later a second Christian scribe used κύριος ὁ θεός as equivalent to יהוה אֲדֹנָי. This may or may not have been done as a revision towards a second, post-Jewish war, Hebrew *Vorlage* that contained more instances of יהוה אֲדֹנָי than the original Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Amos.¹⁸

In most cases the MT has a plus against the Septuagint. However, there are some instances where the LXX has a plus: Amos 5:8; 9:6 and 15, each of which has ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ.¹⁹ The first two cases probably presuppose a different *Vorlage* than the MT.²⁰ In Amos 9:15 there is also the possibility of a deliberate change during translation. The Septuagint may have transposed the formula to the end of the writing from Amos 6:14, where it closed the second part of Amos. The translator may have felt that the praise of יהוה as παντοκράτωρ was a fitting end point.

To sum up, there is one large-scale difference between the LXX version of Amos and the MT that implies a modification of the consonantal text: the יהוה-plus-titles chain. In many instances the best explanation is that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint did not contain a title where the MT has one. In addition one has to reckon with modifications during the transmission of the Greek text especially in the Christian tradition.

1.2 The vocalization of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint

Since vocalization was not encoded in the ancient Hebrew writing system, the translator had to rely on oral tradition or personal reading competence. By far the most variants against the Hebrew *Vorlage* emerged at this point in the translation process. Judged on the basis of our modern knowledge of Hebrew and our historical-critical understanding of the sense of the text, the MT is closer to the original text in 98% of the cases. This does not need to be demonstrated. Much more interesting are those cases in which the LXX helps us to correct the

¹⁸ That the Greek manuscripts were revised towards the MT tradition is obvious in many cases. Later revisions can sometimes be identified by a translation technique different from the original translation. In Amos 6:14, for example, the Christian codices contain the closing formula λέγει κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, which has its equivalent in the MT. That this is an addition is clear given the use of τῶν δυνάμεων as the translation of Hebrew הַצְבָּאוֹת, which throughout the Book of the Twelve is otherwise consistently rendered with παντοκράτωρ.

¹⁹ In Ziegler's text Amos 4:3; 9:5 and 12 also each add ὁ θεός. In 9:5 there is a scribal error in the transmission of the MT: אֱלֹהִים must be the original variant, because the phrase יהוה הַצְבָּאוֹת is not attested elsewhere. Cf. Amos 3:13.

²⁰ The LXX *Vorlage* may represent the original text or a harmonization with the other hymnic passages in 4:13 and 5:27. However, overall the redactional tendency is to add to the titles of God. On this basis, it is even doubtful whether the אֲדֹנָי in 7:2 and 5 belonged to the original text.

Masoretic vocalization. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this problem in Amos.

At 9:4 the Masoretes vocalized the Hebrew consonants עיני as עֵינִי “my eye” and thereby suggested the somewhat curious picture of God using only one eye to look at the accused persons. The Masoretes also differentiated between the plural in 9:3 and the singular in 9:4. The Septuagint however translated both cases with the plural τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, “my eyes.” This very likely represents the original vocalization.

In Amos 6:3 the Masoretes did not understand Amos to be criticizing the Sabbath celebrated by some of his rich contemporaries as a “Sabbath of violence.” Instead they vocalized שבת as an infinitive construct from ישב, שֶׁבַת, which expects the reader to understand the phrase as “a sitting of violence.” The Septuagint vocalized the consonants as שֶׁבַת and translated it as σαββάτων. This is probably the intended vocalization.

In summary, as one would expect on the basis of the writing system the vocalization that the LXX of Amos presupposes was in many more cases fragmentary and faulty than the consonantal text of the *Vorlage*. There are fewer than ten cases where the vocalization of the Septuagint preserves the original text against the MT. In all other cases the original vocalization has been changed in the Septuagint. It is notoriously difficult to decide whether a vocalization variant represents a deliberate change of sense or was merely a different understanding. As long as there are no clear indicators that suggest otherwise one must presume that a different vocalization occurred unintentionally.

1.3 Intentional changes in meaning

Some variants between the MT and the Septuagint are rooted in a different understanding of the theological concepts in Amos. Only in these cases we can speak of a deliberate modification of sense by the translators and so try to detect their specific intentions. The basic difficulty is that the translator could not express the thoughts freely but instead was forced to do so within the limits of a literal translation process.

1.3.1 Anthropomorphism and anthropopathism

It is a well-known fact that the Septuagint in many cases avoids anthropomorphic language even in poetic texts; however, the picture in Amos is not consistent. This is seen in the statements that speak of God as having a body:

In 1:8 and in 9:2 “my hand” is translated literally as χεῖρ μου.

In 9:3 and 4 LXX does not suppress the “eyes” of God, which play a significant role in the MT. The same is true for 9:8.

In 1:2 the “voice, breath” of God is depicted as a hot storm wind. LXX translates accordingly.

In 6:8 the MT and very probably also the LXX *Vorlage* stated that יהוה has sworn by his נפש, “soul.” LXX translates with the functional equivalent καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ, “by himself,” thereby avoiding the implication that God has a soul.

In the MT of 7:7 Amos tells his readers that he had seen ארני standing on a wall, whereas LXX has ἀνὴρ, “a man.” Although it is very probable that ארני was not in the LXX *Vorlage*, it is the most plausible understanding that the participle נצב refers to God and therefore Amos had seen יהוה. In contrast LXX probably imagines an unspecified angelic figure, thus avoiding the concept of a corporeal god.

In 9:1 the prophet proclaims “I have seen the Lord,” and this time the Lord is standing on an altar. The statement is even bolder than in 7:7 because ארני is unambiguously the object of the verb ראה. Nevertheless LXX does not hesitate to translate accordingly: εἶδον יהוה, “I have seen the LORD.”

Apparently there was no systematic suppression of the concept of a physical God in LXX Amos.

Likewise, actions of God that imply some sort of bodily activity were not suppressed consistently. Most of them are translated accurately: e.g., 3:15, “I will crush and smite”; 4:13, “tread on the heights”; 5:17, “I will pass through the midst”; 7:15, “יהוה took me”; 9:1, “I will kill with the sword”; 9:11, “I will raise up the booth”; and 9:15, “I will plant.” However, there are also cases where the translator seems to avoid anthropomorphic concepts. In 7:1 the MT seems to imply that God is to be identified with the one who forms a swarm of locusts. The LXX, whatever its *Vorlage* may have been, leaves open the question of how the locusts came into being and simply states that they came from the east.²¹ One may compare 8:9 where the MT has a first person announcement of God: “I will make the sun go down at noon, and darken the earth in broad daylight.” In contrast the LXX has the sun and the light as subjects: “The sun shall go down at noon, and the light shall be darkened on the earth by day.” It may be that in these cases the LXX translator intentionally avoided the concept that God gets directly involved in physical activities.

When considering the cases of anthropopathic statements about God, the same inconsistent picture emerges. In the MT of 5:21 it is proclaimed that God “will not smell the assemblies” of the accused. Even English translations choose a functional equivalent for this idiomatic expression, and thus for example the NRSV translates, “I take no delight in your solemn assemblies.” In contrast LXX translates very literally with ὀσφραίνομαι, “I smell, I scent.” In the same verse the statement of God “I hate” is not eliminated in the Greek lexeme μισέω.

²¹ In 7:1 there is a significant difference between the LXX and the MT.

Likewise in Amos 6:8 the LXX follows its *Vorlage* literally by using the word βδελύσσομαι, “I abhor.” In Amos 7:8 and 8:2 the phrase לֹא־אוֹסִיף עוֹר, “I will not continue,” implies that God’s patience has a definite limit; it is almost as if God could tolerate a certain amount of sin but no more. This anthropopathic connotation is preserved in the literal translation οὐκέτι μὴ προσθῶ τοῦ παρελθεῖν αὐτόν, “I will not continue to pass by him any more.”²²

There are, however, two cases where the Septuagint modified the Hebrew: in the case of the first two visions the MT states clearly that the mind of God changed on behalf of the intervention of the prophet (נחם Amos 7:3, 6). Septuagint instead transformed the sentence into a petition of the prophet: μετανοήσον יהוה! , “Repent, O LORD!” In this variant the prophet, obviously in a mood of great distress, applies a concept that is very probably not supported by the narrator. One is at least allowed, if not encouraged, to speculate that God does not need a change of mind, because God had never intended to destroy Israel, but instead God’s aim was to give a warning through Amos. A second example is the famous “perhaps” at 5:17. Although the MT leaves it open to God’s freewill whether to have mercy in case the addressees start to hate evil and love the good, the Septuagint is firmer: the “perhaps” does not show up in the translation. The Septuagint probably favors a strict symmetry between the moral quality of human action and God’s response so that the human person can be sure that good actions will be rewarded.

In summary, apparently the Septuagint did not eliminate either the image of a bodily God (eyes, hand, voice), with the possible exception of the soul; or the application of sensations, which presume a corporal existence (passive, seeing God; active, God smells); or actions that imply a direct physical contact with an inanimate object (God erects a tent, kills with the sword); or the concept of overwhelming feelings (hate, abhor). The only theological point seems to be the possible change of mind by God without being a foreseeable response to human actions (to change the mind “perhaps”).

1.3.2 *The concept of prophecy*

Many of the deliberate changes introduced in the LXX Amos are related to the concept of prophecy. In the superscription (1:1) the Hebrew has דְּבָרֵי עָמוֹס אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה “the words of Amos who was ...” The LXX translates λόγοι Αμωσ οἱ ἐγένοντο, “words of Amos that happened ...” Although in the Hebrew text the setting of Amos the prophet is explained thus emphasizing the importance of the person, in the Greek text the “words” are the subject of the relative clause. That places the focus on the godly origin of the words and not on the human transmitter.

²² The allusion to the exodus is also maintained (Exod 12:23; 34:6).

A further hint of how the LXX perceived the role of the prophet is found in 7:14. In the Hebrew text לֹא־נָבִיא אֲנִי, “I am no prophet,” Amos denies that he is a prophet. He sees himself as a layman who must prophesy because the persons who routinely declare the will of God do not do their duty. He has been called by יהוה because the professionals were not inclined to hear the message. The LXX translates the passage with οὐκ ἦμην προφήτης, “I was no prophet,” thereby implying that Amos had become a true prophet through his call.²³ The title “prophet” is thus no longer a sociological term denoting a certain type of religious expert but is a theological term reserved only for the canonical prophet, one who is truly called by God.

Related to the theme of prophecy is the blurring of the distinction between the two parts of Amos 3–6 in the Greek. In the Hebrew *Vorlage* Amos commences the first part, chs. 3–4, declaring that he transmits the Word of God (3:1 “Hear this word that יהוה has spoken concerning you”), whereas the second part opens with the statement that the prophet now speaks on his own authority (5:1 “Hear this word that I take up over you”). The Septuagint inserts κύριος in 5:1, which yields “Hear this word of the Lord that I take up over you.” This brings both opening verses in line with each other. Obviously for the Septuagint it is important that the prophet received all of his oracles directly from God and had no mandate to utter oracles of his own. The prophet is seen solely as a channel used by God and not as a person who is authorized by God to formulate his own message, or even parts of it, to the addressees.

1.3.3 Future as eschaton

In the Hebrew *Vorlage* the predictions of Amos mostly concern the near future of northern Israel, and mainly its political downfall through an unidentified, overwhelming hostile military force. Only in the last paragraphs does Amos envision a future beyond this downfall, which can in the very last verses be described as eschatological insofar as it presupposes a fundamental change of nature (9:13–15). In the Septuagint there are some hints that more oracles are perceived as eschatological, if not the prophetic message as a whole.

In Amos 7:1 the narrative flow of the Hebrew *Vorlage* is interrupted by a rather unmotivated note: in the midst of a highly dramatic vision about a swarm of locusts that will devastate the land, the narrator hastens to explain that, “by the way, it was the later growth after the king’s mowings.”

²³ Aaron W. Park, *The Book of Amos as Composed and Read in Antiquity* (Studies in Biblical Literature 37; New York: Peter Lang, 2001) 160.

Amos 7:1

MT // LXX	והנה־לקש אחר גזי המלך	καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἰς Γ'ωγ ὁ βασιλεύς
	it was the latter growth after the king's mowings	and behold, one caterpillar, Gog the king.
<i>Vorlage</i> of LXX		והנה ילקש ²⁴ אחר גג המלך

Already the LXX *Vorlage* had imported a new meaning: the swarm of locusts was understood as a symbol for “Gog and all his multitude” (LXX Ezek 39:11), i.e., the last eschatological enemy who would be defeated before God restored the land of Israel together with its capital city (Ezek 38–39 are before 40–48).²⁵ In Amos 8:8 and 9:5 the Greek συντέλεια was chosen as the equivalent for Hebrew כלה. The Septuagint variant presupposes a different vocalization than the MT. Since, according to LXX Dan 9:26, συντέλεια is a *terminus technicus* denoting the end of history, this meaning may be inferred in these cases too.²⁶ It is also used in Amos 1:14 where it translates the Hebrew phrase [יום סופ[ה]. However in this case the pronoun αὐτῆς, matching the supposed Hebrew feminine suffix “her,” may exclude an eschatological understanding.²⁷

In Amos 8:7 the Hebrew לנצח is translated with εἰς νεῖκος, “until victory.” The same phrase is found in the LXX at Amos 1:11; Zeph 3:5; Jer 3:5; Lam 5:20; and Job 36:7, and it may have the connotation of “until the final battle of history is won by God.”²⁸ At least this was the meaning that the phrase had in the tradition that Paul quoted in 1 Cor 15:55.²⁹

1.3.4 The messiah

A further hint that the Septuagint perceived Amos as someone speaking of the end time is that the translator found the “messiah” in Amos 4:13. However, the change in meaning may go back to a misreading of the Hebrew. Instead of מֹדֵה־

²⁴ The lexeme βροῦχος is used as a translation for ילקש in Ps 104:34; Joel 1:4; and Nah 3:16.

²⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 157.

²⁶ Cf. Joachim Schaper, “Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Interpretation, Aktualisierung und liturgische Verwendung der biblischen Psalmen im hellenistischen Judentum,” in *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum: Norbert Lohfink zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. E. Zenger and N. Lohfink; HBS 18; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1998), 49, 165–83.

²⁷ The Hebrew סופה is, of course, the word for “storm, gale” (*HALOT*), not סוף, “end.”

²⁸ Johan Lust et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996), 2:314, “until final victory.”

²⁹ Cf. the note by Robert Hanhart, “Die Bedeutung der Septuaginta für die Definition des ‘Hellenistischen Judentums,’” in *Studien zur Septuaginta und zum hellenistischen Judentum* (ed. R. Hanhart and R. G. Kratz; FAT 24; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 203, and in general 194–213.

שדו, “what his thoughts are,” the Greek translator read משהו “his Messiah.” It is implied that God had planned from the beginning to proclaim the Messiah not only to Israel but to all humanity.

In summary, the Septuagint translator strove hard to give a faithful translation of the Hebrew *Vorlage* and in only a few cases deliberately created new meanings.

2. The Christian Greek Old Testament Version of Amos

The early Christian authors used the LXX as a source for their understanding of the significance of Jesus for Israel and the nations.³⁰ This is quite natural because their view of the Holy Scriptures was the basis on which they accepted Jesus as Messiah in the first place. When in a second step Christian redactors added a collection of New Testament writings to their Jewish Septuagint, they created a new book, the Christian Bible. This book was clearly divided into two parts called the Old and the New Testaments. Nevertheless, the redactors made it very clear that both parts deal with the one and only true God. The God of Israel and the Father of Jesus were conceived as being identical. Probably in order to underline this identity, the Christian scribes invented the *nomina sacra* writing style.³¹ The oldest set of *nomina* attested in the manuscripts comprise κύριος, θεός, Ἰησοῦς, and χριστός. These four *nomina sacra* express the belief that Jesus of Nazareth was the expected Messiah whom the God of Israel, YHWH, had sent. In a very few cases the Christian copyists even modified the Greek Jewish *Vorlage*.

How Amos was understood by the Christian readers can be demonstrated by its use in Acts, the only writing in the New Testament that quotes Amos.³² On

³⁰ Hans Hübner, “Vetus Testamentum und Vetus Testamentum in Novo Receptum: Die Frage nach dem Kanon des Alten Testaments aus Neutestamentlicher sicht,” *JBTH* 3 (1988): 147–62: “Weitesthin berufen sich die neutestamentlichen Autoren auf die Septuaginta. Vornehmlich gilt dies für Paulus. Dieser Sachverhalt ist deshalb von theologischer Brisanz, weil an entscheidenden Stellen, etwa der paulinischen theologischen Argumentation, der dort geführte Schriftbeweis mit Hilfe des hebräischen Textes gar nicht möglich wäre.” (p. 148)

³¹ See Larry Hurtado, “The Earliest Evidence of an Emerging Christian Material and Visual Culture: The Codex, the ‘Nomina Sacra’ and the Staurogram,” in *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson* (ed. S. G. Wilson, M. R. Desjardins, and P. Richardson; Studies in Christianity and Judaism 9; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 271–88; and Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (SchL 1977; London: Oxford University Press, 1979), 26–48.

³² To be sure, Amos is not mentioned explicitly. The quotation is introduced as being from “the prophets,” which is probably a reference to the Book of the Twelve Prophets.

two occasions quotations from Amos play an important role: in the speech of Stephen in Acts 7, which culminates in a quotation from Amos 5:25–27; and in Acts 15, which quotes Amos 9:11–12. It is very probable that the author of Acts found both passages in one of his sources, presumably a formerly Hebrew, Jewish *testimonia* collection that was translated and adapted by Christians.³³

In the narrative flow of Acts the speech of James at the Jerusalem council (Acts 15) is of eminent importance. The author of Acts wanted to demonstrate that all of the apostles finally agreed on the status of the Gentiles in the Christian community. Several speeches lead towards the final statement of James. They all contain arguments from the Scriptures and from the present experience of God's deeds, so that in the end James could summarize everything with a concluding statement. This was accepted by all participants of this council, acknowledged as revealed by the Holy Spirit (Acts 15:28), and promoted to all congregations.³⁴ Although James claims to give an accurate quotation from Scripture, a comparison of the Greek Old Testament text of Amos 9:11–12 with the quotation in Acts shows important differences:

Table 7. Amos 9:11–12 and Acts 15:16–18

(a)	Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ	Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω
(b)	ἀναστήσω τὴν σκητὴν ΔΑΔ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω	καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκητὴν ΔΑΔ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω

Cf. Claude E. Hayward, "A Study in Acts 15:16–18," *EvQ* 8 (1936): 162–66. He writes, "He is giving us the gist of O.T. prophecy on the subject, using language closely resembling that of Amos" (p. 163). Cf. Sabine Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids und Wolkensohn: Eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Studie zu Amos 9:11 in der jüdischen und christlichen Exegese* (AGJU 24; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 105.

³³ This hypothesis can explain why both quotations from Amos show up in the *Damascus Document* in the same sequence and in an analogous eschatological framework. The collection was, however, modified significantly by Christians. Martin Stowasser, "Am 5:25–27; 9:11–12 in der Qumranüberlieferung und in der Apostelgeschichte: Text- und traditionsgeschichtliche Überlegungen zu 4Q174 (Florilegium) III 12/CD VII 16/Agp 7:42b–43; 15:16–18," *ZNW* 92 (2001): 47–63, especially 63.

³⁴ Philip Mauro, "Building Again the Tabernacle of David," *EvQ* 9 (1937): 398–413: "It is an impressive fact that the brief prophecy of Amos, quoted above, was cited by the apostle James, and was, moreover, accepted unhesitatingly and unanimously by the apostles and elders assembled at Jerusalem, as being decisive of that truly momentous and hotly disputed question, for the settlement of which they had been expressly and specially convened" (p. 398).

	καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτήν	καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν
	καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος	
(c)	ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν	ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν
	οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων	οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων
	τὸν ΚΝ̄ [Alexandrinus]	τὸν ΚΝ̄
(d)	καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη	καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη
	ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου	ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου
	ἐπ' αὐτούς	ἐπ' αὐτούς
	λέγει ΚΣ̄	λέγει ΚΣ̄
	ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα	ποιῶν ταῦτα
(e)		γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος

It is clear that Acts 15:16–18 presupposes a Greek version of the Amos text. In v. 17 this is obviously the LXX, which deliberately or not had mistranslated its Hebrew *Vorlage*.³⁵ The case is different, however, for v. 16 in which the text in Acts differs significantly from the LXX version. In addition, the variants are of different character.³⁶ This can be explained with the assumption that the Acts text combines different translations: Amos 9:11 was taken from an independent, non-LXX Greek translation, whereas Amos 9:12 was added from the LXX either from a pre-Acts source or by the author of Acts.³⁷ Since the use of Amos 9:11, without v. 12, as a proof text for the coming of the messianic kingdom is also attested in the *Damascus Document* (VII, 15–16), the verse probably was part of a Hebrew *testimonia* collection in the first place that was translated into Greek and used by Christians. The differences between the Greek Amos and the Acts versions are:

The beginning (a) and the end (e) of the quotation in Acts do not stem from Amos. The beginning highlights God's initiative: *Ἀναστρέψω* picks up the concept that God will turn towards Israel (cf., Amos 9:14; Zech 1:16; and probably Hos 3:5 and Jer 12:5); the use of *ἀναστρέψω* instead of *ἐπιστρέψω* can

³⁵ For a convenient list of the differences see Arie van der Kooij, "De Tent van David": Amos 9:11–12 in de Griekse Bijbel," in *Door het oog van de Profeten: Exegetische studies aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. C. van Leeuwen* (ed. B. Becking, J. van Dorp, and A. van der Kooij; Utrechtse theologische reeks 8; Utrecht: Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1989), 49–56; and Park, *Book of Amos as Composed and Read in Antiquity*, 173–77.

³⁶ Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids und Wolkensohn*, 97: "Wir hatten oben schon darauf hingewiesen, daß wegen der Ähnlichkeit von V. 17 mit der LXX Version von Am 9,12 eigentlich alle Exegeten annehmen, daß nur V. 17 vom Einfluß des griechischen ATs geprägt sei. Dadurch kommt es zu einem unbefriedigenden Auseinanderklaffen von V. 16 und V. 17, da V. 16 sich keinesfalls aus der LXX ableiten läßt."

³⁷ According to *ibid.*, part A, Amos 9:12 played no role in other Jewish interpretations either.

be explained as an opposition to καταστρέψω in Acts 7:42.³⁸ For the closing phrase it was often presumed that Isa 45:21 served as model. This may be true for the idea but not for the exact wording.³⁹

The first part of Acts (part b) is shorter than the Amos text.

In part c, τὸν κύριον is inserted as the object of “seeking.” In contrast in Amos the object would be the “booth of David.” The author of the variant in Acts may have inferred the object by means of verses like Hos 3:5 and Joel 3:5. In a Christian Bible where the reader could easily compare the quotation of James with the original text of Amos, the differences between the passages create a tension that some ancient scribes tried to soften. Codex Alexandrinus, for example, inserts τὸν κύριον in the Amos text for this reason.⁴⁰ Whether the text was actually inserted or not, Christian readers very probably understood the Amos text in this way.

In the context of Acts 15 it is difficult to determine how the highly metaphorical, if not allegorical, Amos text was understood as a scriptural proof. It becomes very clear from the context that James could only use Amos’s prediction as an argument if he maintained that the predicted future had become reality in his own time.⁴¹ The opening temporal clause, μετὰ ταῦτα, “after this,” replaces the formula “on that day” possibly for that reason.⁴² Peter’s missionary success and

³⁸ Ibid., 82.

³⁹ Ibid., 88: “Direkter, wörtlicher Einfluß von Jes 45,21, wie ihn Schlatter, Dupont, Stählin, Haenchen, Williams, Conzelmann, Roloff, Schneider, Schille, Mussner und Pesch vermuten, scheint mir dagegen nicht vorzuliegen, da die Übereinstimmungen zu gering sind.”

⁴⁰ It is a well-known phenomenon that the Old Testament source text of New Testament quotations is corrected towards the New Testament text; see, e.g., ibid., 163: “Für den alexandrinischen Text, zu dem ja die meisten der genannten Zeugen gehören, ist außerdem häufig Einfluß des NT anzunehmen (vgl. Appg.)” Cf. also Amos 5:26 where the text is influenced by Acts 7:43.

⁴¹ Hayward, “Study in Acts 15:16–18,” 164: “James quoted Amos ix. 11, 12 as having fulfilment in his day.”

⁴² The author of Acts uses the opening phrase of Hos 3:5 and Joel 3:1 (LXX 2:28), μετὰ ταῦτα, as an introduction for his quotation of Amos 9:11, whereas in Acts 2:17 the phrase καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἑσχάταις ἡμέραις, which stems from Isa 2:2 (compare Mic 4:1), is used as an introduction for the quotation of Joel 3:1 (LXX 2:28). In Acts 2:17 the text at the beginning of the quoted Joel passage was not relevant to the context in Acts and therefore the author of Acts chose an opening formula that could serve as an absolute beginning, thereby alluding to Isa 2:2–4 where it is stated that in the end time the nations will come to Jerusalem. In contrast, at Acts 15:16 the context of the quoted passage is important to understand the full analogy between prediction and fulfillment. Walter C. Kaiser Jr., “The Davidic Promise and the Inclusion of the Gentiles (Amos 9:9–15 and Acts 15:13–18): A Test Passage for Theological Systems,” *JETS* 20 (1977): 97–111: “*Meta tauta*, ‘after

his vision in Acts 11:1–18 were perceived as God’s initiative to build a nation from the Gentiles for his name.⁴³ This is connected with the pouring out of the Spirit that started at Pentecost.⁴⁴ From this viewpoint the process of “calling God’s name over the nations” (Amos 9:12) must be equated with the Christian mission.⁴⁵ Although James uses the quotation from Amos mainly to demonstrate that it was God’s will from early times to include the Gentiles in his renewed people, he apparently assumed that *all* aspects of Amos’s prophecy were realized in the present. If this were not so, his argument would be severely weakened.⁴⁶ Especially relevant are: the “end of my people Israel” (Amos 8:2), which coincides with the elimination of the temple (Amos 9:1); the destruction of the “kingdom of the sinners” (Amos 9:8 LXX); the establishing of a rest of Israel, which is called the “house of Jacob” (Amos 9:8); the dispersion of the survivors throughout the nations (Amos 9:9); and finally, the rebuilding of the booth of David (Amos 9:11). It would be only logical for the author of Acts to understand the Roman destruction of Israel and the Jerusalem temple as the realization of the prophecy of Amos.⁴⁷

In order to understand the conclusions that James drew for the status of the Gentile Christians, it is imperative to reconstruct how James must have perceived LXX Amos.⁴⁸ Let us attempt to read Amos through his eyes.⁴⁹ There is a clear contrast between the “kingdom of sinners” and the “house of Jacob.” The first would be totally destroyed, whereas the “house of Jacob” would endure (Amos 9:8). This leads one to assume a similar opposition between the “booth of

these things,’ probably has reference to the Amos context which James consciously included in his citation; both the Hebrew and the LXX had clearly read ‘in that day’—i.e., in the messianic times—yet James purposely departed from both! Why?” (p. 105).

⁴³ Mauro, “Building again the Tabernacle of David,” 400–401; Kaiser, “Davidic Promise and the Inclusion of the Gentiles,” 103.

⁴⁴ On this occasion Joel featured prominently. Cf. *ibid.*, 104.

⁴⁵ Maybe the phrase is aimed specifically at the act of baptism.

⁴⁶ Mauro, “Building again the Tabernacle of David,” 402–3, has rightly emphasized this point. Likewise Kaiser, “Davidic Promise and the Inclusion of the Gentiles,” 106, stresses the context in Amos.

⁴⁷ Mauro, “Building again the Tabernacle of David,” 402–3.

⁴⁸ “James” is here strictly a reference to the narrative character, and not to a historical person. It is highly unlikely that a leader of the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem would have based his argument on a LXX variant that is not found in the Hebrew text. In addition, this enterprise does not want to reconstruct the original meaning of the LXX; cf. van der Kooij, “De tent van David,” 49–56, who discusses as possibilities: Jerusalem, Israel as a people, and the Davidic kingdom. However, he ignores the immediate context in determining the sense of the phrase.

⁴⁹ LXX Isa 16:5, where the phrase “booth of David” is attested once more, seems to play no role for James.

David” and the sanctuary mentioned in Amos 9:1.⁵⁰ The “booth of David” would have a comparable function to the “house of Jacob” as the sanctuary from Amos 9:1 had for the “kingdom of sinners.” The “booth of David” would not be a complete new building but would be erected from the ruins of a destroyed building. One gets the impression that the ruins are those that were left over from the destruction of the sanctuary. This destruction was specifically aimed at the ἱλαστήριον (Amos 9:1), which is the necessary center for the proprietary cultic acts. The chosen phrase, “booth of David,” implies that the new building would not be a temple like the old one in Jerusalem, which was in any case erected by Solomon and not by David. Likewise it is not mentioned that cultic constructions would be rebuilt; instead a new quality of communication with God is envisioned.⁵¹

From the point of view of the author of Acts the basic constellation of the prophecy in Amos matched the contemporary situation of Israel. Jesus had announced that the temple in Jerusalem would be destroyed (Acts 6:14).⁵² According to Stephen it was obvious that false gods were worshipped at the temple (Acts 7:40–43). In addition he states in 7:46 that David prayed for a σκῆνωμα, “booth,” for the “house of Jacob,” but Solomon had built a house instead. A man made house could never be a residence for God.⁵³ The booth that David prayed for is probably to be equated with the “booth of David” in Acts 15:11.

As the author of Acts has shown through Stephen’s speech, the temple in Jerusalem was never acknowledged by God as a residence, because God *per definitionem* cannot reside in a handmade house (Acts 7:48). The temple of Solomon was erected by human hands, but the new booth of David would be rebuilt by God alone.

What then did the author of Acts have in mind when having James claim that the “booth of David” was being rebuilt in the time of the Christian mission? In my view one has to assume that three connotations coincide. First, one has to think of a new place of communication between God and Israel that replaces the destroyed Jerusalem temple. Secondly, this new “temple” is equated with the

⁵⁰ The “booth of David” cannot be identified with the “house of Jacob” because the “house of Jacob” will not be destroyed. It was to last from the time of Amos on. In contrast, the booth of David was to be a new entity out of the ruins of a destroyed one.

⁵¹ Mauro, “Building again the Tabernacle of David,” 403–4, has rightly observed this, although his reference to 2 Sam 6:17 seems far-fetched.

⁵² Although this quotation stems from false witnesses, the speech of Stephen explains in what way the message of Jesus was conceived truly; cf. Klaus Berger, *Theologiegeschichte des Urchristentums: Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (2d ed.; Tübingen: Francke, 1995), 163.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 161–62, traces this argument back to Hellenistic circles in the Jerusalem Christian community.

eschatological community of God's people.⁵⁴ In Qumran (*Damascus Document* and *Florilegium*) the contexts in which the phrase "booth of David" occurs are even more cryptic than in Acts. It seems that "the booth of David" refers to the (Qumran) community understood as an eschatological temple, but it does not refer to a messianic figure.⁵⁵ Thirdly, this new community belongs to the eschatological David who is Jesus Christ. The last point is clearly marked in the manuscripts because Δαυιδ is written as a *nomen sacrum* and thereby signals that "David" refers to Jesus Christ.⁵⁶ According to this interpretation James specifically equated the rebuilding of the booth of David with the resurrection of Christ.⁵⁷ This event was the eschatological point in history when the vision of Amos began to come true.

Reading Amos from the standpoint of the author of Acts, the establishment of a Christian community inaugurated by Jesus Christ's resurrection was the new center for two different communities: on the one hand the "house of Jacob" comprising the remnant of Israel, and on the other hand the remnant of the Gentiles, which was gathered through the Christian mission. In the context of Acts 15 it is presupposed and undisputed under the Jerusalem leaders that the Gentiles could and would belong to God's elect people. The point in James's interpretation of Amos 9:12, however, is that the Gentiles got this status solely by seeking τὸν κύριον, "the Lord," which was seen as a response to the "name of God being called over them," that is that they have heard the proclamation of the gospel through the Christian mission. From a Christian point of view κύριος can refer to both God and Jesus Christ (e.g., Rom 10:9). The confession "Jesus is Lord" as well as the calling of the Lord's name over a person may have been especially relevant in the baptism ceremony (cf. Jas 2:7).⁵⁸ In any case, Acts 15 claims that the act of "seeking the Lord" is the only prerequisite for a non-Israelite to be counted as someone who belongs to the "rest of humankind" (v. 17), that will be saved together with the "house of Jacob" Although it is not

⁵⁴ Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids und Wolkensohn*, 90–91, has elaborated this insight; see also Berger, *Theologiegeschichte des Urchristentums*, 27. This thesis is especially supported by the fact that in *Florilegium* 1:1–13 the Qumranites expect a מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדָמָה (1:6), which might possibly mean a "temple out of humans." Cf. 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19; and 2 Cor 6:16.

⁵⁵ See the careful discussion of possible meanings by Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids und Wolkensohn*, 1–38.

⁵⁶ Hayward, "Study in Acts 15:16–18," 166: "So to build again the tabernacle of David means to restore the Davidic line to dignity and power in the person of the Messiah." In Luke 1:27 (cf. Rom 1:3) Jesus is indeed viewed as a son of David in a physical sense.

⁵⁷ As Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids und Wolkensohn*, 108–17, points out, this is the usual understanding in Patristic exegesis.

⁵⁸ Jostein Ådna, "James' Position at the Summit Meeting of the Apostles and the Elders in Jerusalem (Acts 15)," in *The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles* (J. Ådna and H. Kvalbein; WUNT 127; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 125–61, especially 148.

stated explicitly, the flow of the argument implies that the Gentiles do not have to be included in the “house of Jacob” but have their own dignity.⁵⁹ They do not become Jews but have the status of guests. On the basis of this inference the final decree becomes understandable: the Gentile Christians gain the status of “resident aliens” within Israel, and the Jewish Christians have to observe the law in full.⁶⁰

Another passage where the Christian copyists imported a new meaning into Amos is at 4:13. When it became acceptable to include πνεῦμα, “spirit,” and ἄνθρωπος, “human being,” in the list of *nomina sacra*, Amos 4:13 became the one verse in the Christian Bible where κύριος, χρίστος, πνεῦμα, and ἄνθρωπος were found in this way. The mystery of the Trinity together with the orientation of God and the Messiah towards the whole of humankind could be found in this verse. In the Christian debate over the status of the nature of the Holy Spirit, whether an equal to God or created, the understanding of the verse was disputed.⁶¹

To sum up, the translator of LXX Amos tried to render the Hebrew *Vorlage* in a very accurate way. Every Hebrew lexeme was given a Greek equivalent. The word order was carefully preserved. There are very few deliberate changes of the meaning of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. The literalness of the translation produced a kind of “‘Bible Greek’ understandable only to people who had some acquaintance with the meaning of the original.”⁶² Nevertheless, the translation was done on the basis of a new understanding of Amos as a canonical prophet whose message was relevant for the translator’s own time. It is imperative to differentiate in this respect among three texts: the Hebrew *Vorlage*, which was identical with neither the MT nor the original Hebrew text; the first Jewish translator; and the Christian copyists.

⁵⁹ Cf. Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (17th ed.; KEK 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 394: “‘Ein Volk aus den Völkern’ ist hier nicht die Kirche aus Juden und Heiden. Israel ist und bleibt das Volk Gottes.... Es gibt aber ein(e) Volk(smeng)e aus den Heidenvölkern, das jetzt nicht mehr zu den Völkern, sondern mit Israel zusammengehört. Zum Gottesvolk gehören von nun an auch Nicht-Juden, ohne dass sie durch Beschneidung und Gesetz zu Israeliten werden. Die Kirche besteht aus dem erneuerten Israel und ‘einem Volk aus den Völkern.’”

⁶⁰ Ådna, “James’ Position at the Summit Meeting,” 159–60.

⁶¹ Cf. Ernst Dassmann, “Umfang, Kriterien und Methoden frühchristlicher Prophetenexegese,” *JBTH* 14 (1999): 117–43, especially 130–31. He presents the interpretation of the “Pneumatomachen” who claimed on the basis of Amos 4:13 that the Pneuma was created by God and could therefore not be of equal status to God.

⁶² Klaus Koch, “Some Considerations on the Translation of Kapporet in the Septuagint,” in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. D. P. Wright, D. N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 66.

In Amos 9:11–12 the Septuagint introduced a variant, presumably on the basis of its Hebrew *Vorlage*, that would serve, at least in the view of the author of Acts, as a scriptural proof for Paul's understanding of the mission to the Gentiles: since the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ it was possible for every single person who confessed Jesus as the κύριος to become a member of God's new people whether as part of the rest of Israel or as part of the rest of humankind. No cultic center or ceremonial laws were needed any longer. During the first century, especially outside of Palestine, Jewish and Christian communities depended on the very same version of the Greek Jewish scriptures. Although the Christian communities later produced their distinct copies as part of the Christian Bible and the Jewish communities abandoned the Septuagint version altogether, the common Greek heritage should be remembered.⁶³

⁶³ Ibid., 65: "The transfer of the ideas of the Hebrew Bible into the terms of Greek thinking was a very important event in the history of religion and a necessary precondition for the later spread of Christianity around the Mediterranean."