

Translation Techniques and Interpretative Phenomena in the Greek Version of the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Figurative Use of the Noun \aleph 'Shadow'*

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Abstract:

The first part of this article explores the figurative exploitations of the word \aleph 'shadow' in Biblical Hebrew. Special attention is paid to the poetical language. Alongside the metonymy "shelter", the metaphorical usage of this word is centred on the ideas of protection and transitoriness. The second part of the article takes into account the renderings of \aleph in the Old Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. The data collected suggest that the translators refrain from using the equivalent $\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\alpha}$ in those contexts involving the abstract idea of protection and rather opt for the noun $\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta$. The discussion moves further by evaluating the motivations that could have led the translators to judge the term $\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\alpha}$ as unsuitable to express the idea of protection metaphorically. A first line of argument takes into account factors within the Hebrew biblical text; a second line of argument considers the usage of $\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\alpha}$ within Greek literary sources; finally, a third line of argument looks at those non-literary varieties of Greek found in documentary papyri of the Ptolemaic age.

Keywords: Ancient Hebrew Linguistics, Biblical Studies, Lexical Semantics, Septuagint

1. The Figurative Use of \aleph in Biblical Hebrew Poetry

The main aspects which the Biblical Hebrew poetic language draws from the idea of shadow that extends into the figurative usage of the noun \aleph are

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those of protection and transitoriness. On the one hand, the analogy between shadow and protection reveals how being defencelessly exposed to the heat of the sun was both common and experienced as dangerous in Palestinian life; such an idea is widespread in Ancient Near Eastern cultures.¹ On the other hand, mapping shadow as both lengthening and fleeting is rooted in the system of measuring the flow of time, more specifically the passing of the day, by the sun's shadow. In both cases, the notion and the values of shadow, as linguistically shaped in Biblical Hebrew poetry, have to be weighed against the notion of the sun, rather than against those of light or darkness.

1.1 Protection

Within Early Biblical Hebrew poetry, shadow evokes first and foremost the idea of benefit, particularly protection. Semantically speaking, this figurative use arises from the merging of two distinct processes: metonymy and metaphor. Firstly, shadow is conceived as a site² shielded from sunlight, in metonymical relation to the screen that cast it. Consequently, the screen is metaphorically equated with the idea of protective power, whereas the projected shadow is equated with the idea of a protected place where individuals or people can seek refuge (חסה) from dangers and threat in distressed circumstances of their life or live and flourish (ישב, שכן) in peacetime.

In a first group of occurrences, this semantic process appears to be more evident since this kind of a screen is mentioned. As will be shown in detail, within the imagery of Early Hebrew poetry (EBH 2, see Appendix 1), only God and, in a more questionable and unstable way, various human rulers, have the capacity to provide such protection. In the literary context of an Isaian oracle against those rulers of the Southern kingdom of Judah who turn to Egypt to form a defensive alliance against the advance of Assyria, the ex-

¹ Many Semitic languages mirror this cultural attitude in the semantic shift from 'shadow', towards 'shelter' and, figuratively, 'protection', see e.g. the Ugaritic derivation with a *mem* prefix *mzll* 'shield, roof, house' from the noun *zl* 'shadow' (*KTU* 1.3 v. 39 ff.), for which the closest cognates are Aram. *mlll* 'roof' (*TAD A* 4.7 r.11; *TAD A* 4.8 r.10), and Aram./Syr. *mllh*, *mllt'*, *mllt'*, 'shelter' (*TgJ Is4:6*; *P Jonah4:5*), 'booth' (*TgJ Is1:8*; *TN Lev23:42*).

² It should be noticed that in 23 cases (out of the 52 occurrences of the term in the Hebrew Bible) the noun is found in adverbial phrases with the preposition *בְּ* denoting position in a place, or movement to a place to remain there. Examples of this usage are found also in early Hebrew narrative. In Gen 19:8, for instance, Lot begs the people of Sodom not to harm his foreign guests as they are *בְּצֵל קַרְתִּי* 'under the shelter (lit. shadow) of my roof'. This expression metaphorically indicates the protection provided by hospitality. The semantic load of such a metaphor, however, is shared by both components, namely the nouns *צֵל* and *קִוְיָה* 'beam', and metonymically 'roof', 'house'. While the idea of protection appears to be a function performed by the shadow (more precisely, the shady place), the idea of hospitality is rather conveyed by the image of the house.

pression *וְלִהְיוּתוֹ בְּצֶלַח מִצְרַיִם* ‘to seek shelter in the shadow of Egypt’³ (Isa 30:2), has to be read as “seeking shelter in the protection of the Pharaoh”, or “begging for Pharaoh’s assistance” against the Assyrian threat.⁴ In the book of Jeremiah, the Moabite refugees, fleeing from the invasion of their territories, are said to be standing without strength *בְּצֶלַח הַשְּׁבוּן* ‘in the shadow of *Hesbôn*’ (Jer 48:45), indicating a large city in Moab’s Northern boundary on the king’s highway,⁵ capable of ensuring temporary security. Another oracle of Isaiah, on the other hand, portrays the Moabites as pleading with the king of Judah (allegorically referred to as *הַר בֵּית-צִיּוֹן* ‘the mount of daughter Zion’, v. 1) to be a hiding place (*סֶתֶר*, v. 4) for them from the Assyrian invader: *עֲשֵׂה לְךָ כַּלִּיל צֶלֶה בְּתוֹךְ צִהְרֵי הַיּוֹם* ‘make your shadow as the night in the midst of the noonday’ (Isa 16:3).⁶ Within an allegory which depicted the Northern Israelite kingdom as a vine,⁷ the expression *כָּסוּ הַרִים צֶלֶה* ‘the mountains were covered with its shadow’ (Ps 80:11) designates figuratively the past extension of that kingdom’s power,⁸ by that time irredeemably lost because of the Assyrian invasion.

From the earliest poetic exploitation of צֶלַח, however, God is the only one who can effectively guarantee comprehensive and vital protection to those

³ English translations of reference have been: *The New Jewish Publication Society of America Tanakh* (TNK) and *New Revised Standard Version* (NRSV), for the Hebrew Bible; and *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS) for the Septuagint. When alternative translations are suggested, it will be emphasised in the text.

⁴ Further lexemes and expressions in this passage evoke a diplomatic framework, namely *שָׂר* ‘representative of the king’, and *מַלְאָךְ* ‘messenger’ (v. 4); *עֲצָה* ‘counsel’, ‘plan’ (v. 1); *נָסַד מִסְכָּה* ‘to enter into an alliance’ (v. 1) (cf. *HALOT* 605). The term *סֶתֶר*, on the other hand, should be regarded as a word retaining a particular expressive poignancy, as it occurs in early poetic language with reference to God (Ps 32:7), and designates metaphorically divine protection (Ps 91:1; remarkably, in parallel with צֶלַח). In this passage, therefore, the nature of Judah’s rebellion is harshly emphasized. It is not merely the making of a defensive alliance with a neighbouring country that is so odious; it is rather the repudiation of a relationship of affection and dependence upon their God. In fact, they had exchanged the shadow of the Almighty (Ps 91:1) for the shadow of a human being, the Pharaoh (cf. Oswalt 1986: 546).

⁵ See Lundbom (2004: 248); Fischer (2005: 525).

⁶ At this passage, the idea of protection seems to be built on a conceptualization of צֶלַח which points particularly at the notion of darkness: the shadow would thus represent the dark place where it is possible keeping oneself out of sight.

⁷ The mention of Israel and Joseph in v. 2, together with the mention of the tribes of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh in v. 3, support the thesis of a Northern origin of the composition, the Northern Kingdom was destroyed in 721 B.C.E. (see Dahood 1973a: 255).

⁸ Cf. Hossfeld and Zenger (2007: 463): “V. 9-12 beschreibt YHWHs heilvolle Zuwendung zu Israel, vom Exodus über die Landnahme bis zum Aufstieg zu einem mächtigen Staat inmitten der Staatenwelt des Vorderen Orients”.

(2) Ps 36:8
 וּבְצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ יִתְחַסֵּיוּ
 'All people may take refuge in the shadow of your wings'.

(3) Ps 57:2
 וּבְצֵל־כְּנָפֶיךָ אֶחְסֶה עַד יַעֲבֹר הַחַוּת
 'In the shadow of your wings I will take refuge, until the calamities pass by'.

In such a shadow God hides his faithful, protecting him from any opponent or threat:

(4) Ps 17:8-9
 בְּצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ תַסְתִּירֵנִי
 מִכְּפִי רְשָׁעִים זֶה שָׂדוּנַי אֲבִי בְּנֹפֵשׁ יִקִּיפוּ עָלַי
 'Hide me in the shadow of your wings // from the wicked who despoil me, my deadly enemies who surround me'.

And finally, having escaped the danger, in such a place those who trust in him rejoice:

(5) Ps 63:8
 כִּי־הָיִיתָ עֲזָרְתָהּ לִי וּבְצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ אֶרְגֵּן
 'For you have been my help, and in the shadow of your wings I do rejoice'.

In these examples, the metaphor of shadow blends with the metaphor of divine wings, producing a baffling imagery, which has been explained in different ways by commentators. On the one hand, the so called Temple-Asylum theory (Heiligtumsasyl-Theorie) draws a parallel between the wings of God and the wings of the cherubim surrounding the ark placed in the holy of holies of the Jerusalem temple (cf. 1 Kgs 6:23; 1 Kgs 8:6-8), demarcating an impenetrable and inviolable area.¹⁵ On the other hand, the expressions found in the Psalms have been regarded as an echo of motifs that originated elsewhere within Ancient Near Eastern culture, especially in Egyptian iconography. Particularly, the outstretched wings of bird-deities, encompassing the Egyptian king, form a well-known symbol for representing the divine protection bestowed on him.¹⁶

¹⁵ Nevertheless, strong arguments have been put forward that the theory of the Temple as asylum-area as an explanation of such metaphor should be abandoned (see Riede 2000: 330). It is worth mentioning, here, that the cell containing the ark (דְּבִיר) where the winged cherubs were placed, never represented in the Bible an asylum area; this function was rather performed by the altar area (cf. Exod 21:14; 1 Kgs 1:50), as witnessed also by the expression וַיִּחְזַק בְּקַרְנֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ 'he grasps the horns of the altar', denoting the attitude of supplication (1 Kgs 1:50; 2:28).

¹⁶ For a discussion on the rich imagery of the wing in Ancient Near Eastern iconography, especially in Egypt, see Keel (1997: 190-192); Riede (2000: 325-338, in particular 326-327); Hossfeld and Zenger (2007: 123-127).

1.2 Expression for Measuring the Period of Day

Both in early and in late poetic language, the image of shadow (more specifically the shadows) either lengthening or fleeting has been exploited in expressions of time. While in early poetic language, the phrase *בְּיָנוּסוֹ צִלְלֵי-עֶרֶב* (Jer 6:4) ‘for the day declines, the shadows of evening lengthen’ denotes the close of day,¹⁷ almost equal to *עֶרֶב*; in later poetry, the expression *עַד שְׂיִפּוֹתַּ הַיּוֹם וְנָסוּ הַצִּלְלִים* (Cant 2:17; 4:6) ‘until the day breathes and the shadows flee’ may refer to a more extended time-span, equal to the afternoon.¹⁸ Such uses clearly derive from the practice of measuring time against the regular progress of shadow;¹⁹ any vertical body could be used indeed as a natural device for this purpose, even though more sophisticated sundials may be presupposed elsewhere in the Bible.²⁰

1.3 The Transience of Human Life

The comparison between a shadow and the human life span (*יָמִים*) arises in early poetic language; it is fully exploited, however, only later in the late language of Job (LBH 3), and, mostly, in the wisdom tradition.²¹ The basis for this simile appears to be the conception that human life is transient,

¹⁷ It is worth recalling here that in Biblical Hebrew the basic lexemes denoting the measurable parts of the day are *בֹּקֶר* ‘morning’, *צָהָרִים* ‘midday’, *עֶרֶב* ‘evening’, *לַיְלָה* ‘night’, and *הַצִּי הַלַּיְלָה* ‘the middle of the night’ (this lexical system is differently organized depending on the functional language); see Niehr *עֶרֶב TDOT*: 336, and also Miano (2010: 13).

¹⁸ Cf. Keel (1986: 110): “Das *Wehen des Tages* spielt auf den täglichen Wind an (vgl. 1. Mose 3,8), der im Laufe des Nachmittags vom Meer her zu wehen beginnt. Das Fliehen der Schatten meint ihr Längerwerden (vgl. Jer 6,4). Für den biblischen Menschen, der früh aufzustehen pflegte, begann der Tag schon mitten im Nachmittag schlaff zu werden und sich dem Abend zuzuneigen (Ri. 19,9), also zu einem Zeitpunkt, den wir als Mitt-Nachmittag bezeichnen würden”.

¹⁹ Cf. Schwab, *צֶל*, *TDOT*, 378.

²⁰ See Isa 25:4-5; 2 Kgs 20:9-11.

²¹ Cf. Schwab, *צֶל*, *TDOT*, 381; the image of shadow pointing to the brevity of life is found also in late historical-narrative Hebrew (LBH 1), cf. 1 Chr 29:15, Qoh 6:12, 7:12, 8:13. Especially in the second book, we find the image of the shadow intertwined with the theme of inconsistency (cf. Qoh 6:12). At 8:13, on the other hand, a further development appears: the life of the wicked will not be long; he will not live enough as to see the shadow lengthening: *וְטוֹב לֹא יִהְיֶה לְרָשָׁע וְלֹא יֵאָרִיד יָמָיו כִּצֶּל אֲשֶׁר אֵינָנו יָרֵא מִלִּפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים* ‘but it will not be well with the wicked, neither will he prolong his days like a shadow, because he does not stand in fear before God’. However, the interpretation of the simile here remains problematic; cf. Krüger (2004): 161: “According to 6:12a, namely, a person’s life is in any case short and fleeting ‘like a shadow’. Similarly, v. 13 can be understood as an ironic commentary on v. 12a: even if the sinner or the wicked man ‘lives a long time’, his life is still ‘short as a shadow’. Injustice can preserve a person from contingency and transitoriness no better than righteousness and piety”.

it runs forward without stopping and quickly passes, just like a shadow which lengthens after midday and then vanishes when night comes.

The salient feature drawn from the meaning of צַל to build the simile is thus essentially transience. The shadow stretches out and becomes long (נטה):

(6) Ps 102:12

יְמֵי כְצַל נִטְוִי וְאַנִּי כְעֵשֶׁב אֵיבֹשׁ

'My days are like a lengthening (NRSV *evening*) shadow; I wither away like grass'.

(7) Ps 109:23

כְּצֵל-כַּנְטוּתוֹ נִהְלַכְתִּי בְנִעְרֹתַי כְּאַרְבֵּה

'I am gone like a shadow when it lengthened (NSRV *at evening*); I am shaken off as the locust'.

It does not persist (לא עמד):

(8) Job 14:1-2

אָדָם יְלוּד אִשָּׁה קֶצֶר יְמָיו וּשְׁבַע-רִגְזוֹ

כְּצִיץ יֵצֵא וְיִמָּל וְיִכְרַח כְּצַל וְלֹא יַעֲמֹד

'A mortal, born of woman, few of days and full of trouble, comes up like a flower and withers, flees like a shadow, and does not last'.

Finally, it disperses (עבר):²²

(9) Ps 144:4

אָדָם לְהִבָּל דָּמָה יְמָיו כְּצַל עוֹבֵר

'Man is like a breath // his days like a shadow that passes away'.

As already observed in the case of expressions of time, this figurative use of צַל may also be based on the common experience of measuring time from the progress of a shadow.

In sum, the term צַל is seen to be mainly exploited figuratively to produce allegories, metaphors and similes, in both prose and poetry. It is rarely used literally (see Appendix, Table 1). Accordingly, the noun can be legitimately regarded as a poetic word, associated with highly expressive power. Its figurative use exhibits a diachronic development. The *positive* meaning of protection, especially royal and divine, is largely dominant in early poetic language; later, a new meaning appears, associated with the *negative* idea of the brevity and transitory nature of life, which gradually prevails in late poetic language.²³

²² For the figurative meaning 'to scatter', 'to disperse' of the verb עבר see Fuhs עבר *TDOT*, 415-416.

²³ It should be stressed, however, that *negative* figurative uses appear already in early poetic language (see Appendix 1), whereas *positive* uses never disappear completely, see e.g. the late language of Ben Sira (see Sir 14:27), and possibly late poetic language (cf. Cant 2:3).

2. Pattern of Use of Equivalents in the Greek Versions

In the *Greek translation*²⁴ of the Hebrew Bible, the equivalent σκιά ‘shadow’ is predominant; the noun is found 30 times out of the 52 occurrences of the term לִצֵּל.²⁵

The Greek noun matches the contexts in which the term לִצֵּל literally indicates the shadow made by any type of screen:

(10) a. Isa 38:8 LXX

τὴν σκιάν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, οὓς κατέβη ὁ ἥλιος, τοὺς δέκα ἀναβαθμοὺς τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου, ἀποστρέψω τὸν ἥλιον τοὺς δέκα ἀναβαθμούς. The shadow of the steps on which the sun has gone down – ten steps of the house of your father (i.e. Αἰζα) – I will turn back the sun those ten steps.

b. MT לִצֵּל־תִּצֵּל

(11) a. Jonah 4:5 LXX

καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ ἐκεῖ σκηνην καὶ ἐκάθητο ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς ἐν σκιά. And he (Jonas) made a tent for himself there, and he sat under it in the shade.

b. MT לִצֵּל

The Greek noun fits equally well those semantic extensions of לִצֵּל denoting expressions of time:

²⁴ The expression needs some clarification. By *Greek translation* we refer here to the so-called Septuagint, i.e. the first translation of the Bible, often called the *Old Greek* (translation), and the collection of Jewish-Greek Scripture, containing *inter alia* this translation (cf. Tov 1988: 161). The project of the Old Greek translation originated within the Jewish community of Alexandria in the 3rd cent. B.C.E.; initially conceived as a Greek version of the תנ"ך (according to the Letter of Aristeas), later on, the translation was extended to include all the books that came to be part of the Hebrew canon (i.e. the ספרים הנביאים ‘Prophets’, and the ספרים הכתובים ‘Writings’), and also to further non-canonical Hebrew texts (e.g. Ben Sira, Tobit). After nearly three centuries of work, this process had been completed in approximately the 1st cent. B.C.E. (see Harl, Dorival, and Munnich 1994, in particular 83-110). The Septuagint text that has come down to us is thus a collection of writings of different ages and origins that cannot be treated as homogeneous, either linguistically or stylistically. Already by the 1st cent. B.C.E., the Old Greek translation underwent a process of revision (commonly referred to as the *κατῆγε* revision); its basic aim was to make the Greek version as close as possible to the Masoretic text which, by that time, had been almost definitively established as canonical. These revisions had an impact on the textual transmission of the Septuagint, to the point that entire revised sections were incorporated in the manuscript of the Old Greek, making the text and the language available to us even more heterogeneous and multifaceted. For the identification and the study of these sections, see Barthélemy (1963, especially 91-143).

²⁵ It should be said that for a few passages (namely Isa 32:2; Jer 48:45; Job 17:7) significant divergences between the Greek text and the Masoretic text prevent making a clear equivalence.

- (12) a. Jer 6:4 LXX
 οὐαὶ ἡμῖν, ὅτι κέκλικεν ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅτι ἐκλείπουσιν αἱ σκιαὶ τῆς ἑσπέρας.
 ‘Woe to us, for the day has declined, because the shadows of evening fail’.
 b. MT רָצַל יְלֵצֵר
- (13) a. Cant 2:17; 4:6 LXX
 ἕως οὗ διαπνεύσῃ ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ κινήθῳσιν αἱ σκιαὶ
 ‘Until the day breathes and the shadows stir’.
 b. MT רָצַל יְלֵצֵר
- As for the similes and the metaphors involving the negative idea of transitoriness and brevity of life, the use of σκιά is throughout attested:
- (14) a. Ps 101(102):12 LXX²⁶
 αἱ ἡμέραι μου ὡσεὶ σκιά ἐκλίθησαν
 ‘My days faded like a shadow’.
 b. MT רָצַל יְלֵצֵר
- (15) a. Job 8:9 LXX
 σκιά γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὁ βίος
 ‘For our life is a shadow on the earth’.
 b. MT רָצַל יְלֵצֵר

With regard to the renderings of the positive imagery of protection and security evoked by the metaphorical use of the Hebrew term, however, the picture turns out to be far more intriguing.

On the one hand, the books labelled by Thackeray as *translations in literal or unintelligent Greek*²⁷ follow the practice of stereotyped equivalence, extending the choice of σκιά to each occurrence of לָצַל.

On the other hand, a group of books deviates from this trend, by manifesting a marked preference for the noun σκέπη ‘shelter’ or the cognate verb σκεπάζω ‘to cover’, ‘to shelter’ in these contexts.

Among these, the most striking cases are in the book of Isaiah, the A text of Judges²⁸, and the book of Psalms. Within this corpus of texts, the

²⁶ The number in brackets refers to the numbering of the Masoretic text.

²⁷ For the purposes of the present investigation, these books are Lamentations and Song of Solomon; see Table 1. For a complete list see Thackeray (1909: 6-16). According to his grouping, the following texts belong to this category: Jeremiah 29-51; Judges (B text); Song of Solomon; Lamentations; Qohelet.

²⁸ Remarkably, Ralphs identified two separate traditions, which he believed were so diverse that they amounted to separate recensions of the book. Accordingly, he printed two separate texts in his edition: A and B. The A-text goes back to Codex Alexandrinus, whereas the B-text represents the one witnessed by Codex Vaticanus. Recent research on this topic has shown that both A and B should be regarded as quite literal translations which moved

term לָצַד occurs 22 times, displaying each of the uses already described, i.e. literal,²⁹ as well as figurative (ranging from metaphor to allegory and simile), associated with the imagery of divine or royal protection³⁰ and, on the other hand, with the idea of the transitory nature of life.³¹ This enables us to weigh the distribution of σκιά and σκέπη against the whole semantic range of the Hebrew noun. From this exploration, one expects to understand whether this lexical pair is linguistically functional or not. The Septuagint evidence seems to support an affirmative answer. Firstly, the instances of σκέπη are found exclusively in agreement with those occurrences of לָצַד involving the idea of protection. This can be illustrated by the following example:

(16) a. Judg A 9:15 LXX³²

πεποιθατε ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ μου
‘Trust in my protection’.

b. MT יִשְׁבֹּר וְיִצְדַּק; Judg B ὑπόσσητε ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ μου subsist in my shade.³³

(17) a. Isa 30:2-3 LXX

(v. 2) οἱ πορευόμενοι καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον (...) τοῦ βοηθηθῆναι ὑπὸ Φαραῶ καὶ σκεπασθῆναι ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων. (v. 3) ἔσται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἡ σκέπη Φαραῶ εἰς αἰσχύνην καὶ τοῖς πεποιθόσιν ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον ὄνειδος

‘Those who walk to go down to Egypt (...) to be helped by Pharaoh and to be sheltered by Egyptians. For the shelter of Pharaoh shall become a shame to you and to those who trust in Egypt, a reproach’.

away from a freer original version (the Old Greek), whose text is retrievable on the basis of the following criteria: a) the A-text is very influenced by the Origen recension; b) the B-text exhibits many καίτε features; c) the Lucianic text (i.e. the Antiochene tradition) can preserve very ancient readings (probably the Old Greek version) especially when it agrees with Vetus Latina; d) Vetus Latina is an important pre-Hexaplaric witness, in some cases to be preferred to the rest of the Greek witnesses; cf. Fernández Marcos (2011: 6-10).

²⁹ Judg 9:36; Isa 38:8.

³⁰ Judg 9:15; Isa 4:6; 16:3; 25:4-5; 30:2-3; 32:2; 49:2; 51:16; Ps 16(17):8; 35(36):8; 56(57):2; 62(63):8; 79(80):11; 90(91):1; 120(121):5.

³¹ Pss 101(102):12; 108(109):23; 143(144):4.

³² In Jotham’s fable (Judg 9:8-15) the trees crowned the buckthorn (τῦψ, LXX ῥάμνος, v. 14) as a king over them. In this passage, its shadow metaphorically represents the function of the protective power performed by the king towards his people. Such imagery presupposes a royal ideology that viewed the ruler as the “tree of the world”; see Schwab, לָצַד, *TDOT* (379); Boling (1975: 171-173); and Harlé (1999: 167).

³³ In this passage, the A-reading agrees with the Vetus Latina (*in protectione mea*; see Field 1875: 432); moreover, the term σκέπη occurs in the Lucianic reading (ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην μου); on the other hand we have the reading ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ μου, shared by B, the fifth column of the Hexapla, and the revisions of Theodotion and Aquila. On the basis of the criteria mentioned above (see note 28), the A-reading can be plausibly regarded as a good representative of the Old Greek text.

b. MT מִצָּרִים לְצֶלֶת מִצָּרִים
 to seek shelter in the shadow of Egypt.
 לְעוֹז בְּמִעוֹת פְּרַעֲוִה לְצֶלֶת מִצָּרִים
 ‘Therefore the protection of Pharaoh shall become your shame, and the shelter in the shadow of Egypt your humiliation’.

(18) a. Isa 49:2 LXX

καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔκρυψέν με
 ‘Under the shelter of his (YHWH’s) hand he hid me’.

b. MT יָדָא לְצֶלֶת

(19) a. Ps 16(17):8 LXX

ἐν σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου σκεπάσεις με
 ‘With the shelter of your wings you will shelter me’.

b. MT דָּפְנָא לְצֶלֶת

(20) a. Ps 90(91):1 LXX

ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 ἀύλισθήσεται
 ‘He who lives by the help of the Most High, in a shelter of the God of the sky he will lodge’.

b. MT יְשֻׁב לְצֶלֶת

The analysis of the few exceptions³⁴ proves to be of additional interest. In two cases, an alternative reading σκέπη does actually appear among the major manuscripts of the Greek text, arousing the suspicion that the reading σκιά was at least questionable in the eyes of the translators or the copyists. At Ps 56(57):2, a variant ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου is witnessed by the Verona Psalter.³⁵ At Isa 51:16, Ziegler follows Codex Alexandrinus and reads καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν τῆς χειρὸς μου σκεπάσω σε.³⁶ Interestingly, a variant σκέπην makes its appearance in Codex Sinaiticus; actually, it is found overwritten by a corrector, before a third hand restored the original reading.³⁷

The remaining two exceptions, namely Isa 4:6 and Ps 79(80):11, deserve a separate discussion. Strictly speaking, here the term לָצֶלֶת is used allegorically, rather than metaphorically, indicating respectively the shadow of a cloud and the shadow cast by a vine. Although both involve a transfer of meaning, metaphor and allegory should be kept distinct. On the one hand, the allegory is a rhetorical device, whose purpose is to construct a narrative in which each

³⁴ Namely 4 out of 22 occurrences of לָצֶלֶת: Isa 4:6; 51:16; Ps 56(57):2; Ps 79(80):11.

³⁵ i.e. Codex Veronensis, 6th cent. C.E.

³⁶ Cf. Ziegler (1983).

³⁷ The overwriting is visible on the website of the Codex Sinaiticus Project: <<http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/en>> (09/2015).

element (characters, setting, and other types of symbols) retains simultaneously its literal and its potential figurative meaning. In other words, the figurative meaning is a function of the narrative as a rhetorical unit. Metaphor, on the other hand, is a linguistic device; in this case the transfer of meaning is a function of the lexeme, and can be produced by the use of a single lexical item³⁸. At Isa 4:6, for instance, a cloud (νεφέλη v. 5) is portrayed as being over Mount Zion εἰς σκιάν ἀπὸ καύματος ‘as a shade from the heat’.³⁹ Commenting on the Hebrew source text כִּלְיָיִם לְיְהוָה, Williamson points out that the expression was understood as metaphorical from early times, referred to God, who guards his people and protects them;⁴⁰ nevertheless, the word כִּלְיָיִם as well as its equivalent σκιὰ retain their full literal meaning within the scope of the allegory. The same applies to Ps 79(80):11, where Israel is allegorically referred to as a vine (ἄμπελος v. 9), whose shadow (ἡ σκιὰ αὐτῆς) covers mountains; indicating through this imagery the extent of its kingdom’s power. Since in these cases the transfer of meaning is rhetorically expressed by allegory, the expressive load of each lexical item turns out to be lightened.

The discussion of these examples leads us to the conclusion that those translation units which show greater attention to the grammatical and lexical rules of the target language (namely Isaiah, Judges A), clearly hesitated to use σκιὰ in those contexts in which כִּלְיָיִם indicates figuratively the protection of someone powerful. This approach can be ascribed to the translator of Psalms as well. This book has been regarded as a literal translation, inclined to follow its Hebrew source text slavishly,⁴¹ as well as a specimen of “indifferent Greek” from the point of view of the language.⁴² However, recent studies have shown that on closer examination, the Greek Psalter proves to be more creative than a mere word-for-word rendering,⁴³ especially in lexical terms,⁴⁴ and even shows

³⁸ For the distinction between metaphor and allegory, see Prandi (2004: 476): “while a metaphor opposes a conflictual focus to a coherent frame, an allegory is a whole sentence whose non-conflictual meaning taken as a whole enters into conflict with a co-textual or contextual information, and therefore receives an analogical interpretation”.

³⁹ After Williamson (see Williamson 2006: 301); in this case the metaphor also affects the parallel terms “as a refuge (הַצִּיָּוֶה, LXX σκέπη) and shelter (רִצְוֹן, LXX τὸ ἀπόκρυφος) from the storm and the rain”.

⁴⁰ Cf. Williamson (2006: 315).

⁴¹ This book has been understood also as an early representative of the καίτε tradition (see Olofsson 1997: 189-230).

⁴² Thackeray (1909: 13).

⁴³ See Aejmelaeus (2007: 223-240, especially 238-239).

⁴⁴ The translators of Psalter prove to be careful on the choice of the equivalents and many of these choices clearly reveal cultural motivations, as in the case of divine epithets, cf. Muraoka (2001, in particular 40-43); see also Siegert (2001: 311): “Der Psalter ist reich an behutsamen ‚Interpretamenten‘, die jedoch nie den Charakter von Glossen oder Erweiterungen haben, sondern den einer interpretierenden Wortwahl”; for a comprehensive dis-

some concern for the stylistic demands of the target language.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, as pointed out by Aejmelaeus, the translator of the Psalter first and foremost focused on content, i.e. he “concentrated his efforts on the qualitative aspect”⁴⁶ of the translation and the choice of the equivalents can be legitimately regarded as an integral part of this aspect.

3. Discussion

The data collected through examination of the Greek renderings of לַצֵּל raise a question: what kind of motivations could have led the translators to consider the term σκιά as unsuitable to express the idea of protection metaphorically? Answering such a question goes beyond the purposes of the present article; nevertheless, some lines of argument can still be sketched out.

A first line of argument relies on factors within the Hebrew biblical text. In early poetic Hebrew and in the late language of Job we find the poetic term צִלְמָוֶת ‘gloom’,⁴⁷ an abstract construction deriving from the verb צִלַּם II, ‘be dark’.⁴⁸ The Masoretic pointing resulted from a popular folk etymology that understood it as “shadow of death”.⁴⁹ This reading is also witnessed by the Septuagint version, which almost exclusively translates the term with the phrase σκιά θανάτου – in fact, this is a clear-cut equivalence in the books of Isaiah and Psalms.⁵⁰ In the Hebrew Bible the term צִלְמָוֶת bears a strong negative nuance, denoting a gloom deeper than חֹשֶׁךְ,⁵¹ associated with the underworld, and death. It is worth mentioning that in one example the term σκιά on its own is chosen by the Greek translator to convey such a strong negative meaning:

(21) a. Job 16:16

פְּנֵי חַמְרָמְרוּ מִצִּיָּבֹכִי וְעַל עַפְעַפֵּי צִלְמָוֶת

‘My face is red with weeping, and deep darkness is on my eyelids’.

cussion see Austermann (2003: 104-106), who draws the conclusion that “PsLXX verfügt besonders über ausgeprägte semantische und stilistische Kompetenzen, die sich vor allem in seiner kontext- und stilorientierten Verwendung von Äquivalenten niederschlägt”.

⁴⁵ For an examination of the rhetorical features of the Greek Psalter that cannot be explained by adherence to the source text, see Bons (2011, in particular 72-79), where the lexical stylistic devices are treated.

⁴⁶ Cf. Aejmelaeus (2001: 73).

⁴⁷ Gesenius 1120 ‘Dunkelheit’, ‘Finsternis’; *HALOT* 1029 ‘gloom’, ‘an impenetrable gloom, pitch, darkness’; see also Barr (1974: 52).

⁴⁸ See Niehr, צִלְמָוֶת, *TDOT* (396).

⁴⁹ Niehr points out that: “one must consider that the (in part) positively understood lexeme לַצֵּל bears a negative connotation here”; Niehr צִלְמָוֶת (397).

⁵⁰ See Isa 9:1; Ps 23(22):4; 44(43):19; 106(105):10.14.

⁵¹ See *HALOT* 361-362 ‘darkness’, and metaphorically ‘sorry state’, ‘disaster’.

b. LXX

ἡ γαστήρ μου συγκέκαυται ἀπὸ κλαυθμοῦ ἐπὶ δὲ βλεφάροις μου σκιά
 ‘My belly is aflame from weeping, and there is a shadow on my eyelids’.

This example supports the idea that a significant negative nuance was somehow already available in the semantic range of σκιά, as documented by the earliest occurrences of the noun in Greek poetry.⁵²

Therefore, it is not unfounded to assume that the negative value associated to the fixed rendering σκιά θανάτου could have played some role on the usage of σκιά, especially within the books of Psalm. The effect of this interference may be the tendency to avoid the word in those contexts involving the positive concept of protection, especially divine protection.

A second line of argument takes into consideration the uses of σκιά within Greek literary sources. As a result of a comprehensive search of the vocabulary and the imagery of shadow in Greek poetry,⁵³ Ciani points out that from Homer up to Hellenistic poetry, this concept, and its lexical representation did not undergo a significant development; in particular, the semantic range of σκιά, throughout Greek poetry, retains steadily the following meanings and *denotata*: 1) shadow of the dead;⁵⁴ 2) shadow cast by a body; 3) shadow as relative darkness caused by shelter from sunlight; 4) shadow as shelter; 5) shadow as a metaphor of precariousness and lack of consistency – mainly in respect of human existence; 6) shadow as complete obscurity – synonymous with σκότος ‘darkness’, ‘gloom’; 7) shadow as a sketch.⁵⁵ It is worth here drawing attention to the fact that meanings 3 and 4 must be regarded as instances of metonymy rather than as metaphors, inasmuch as they involve

⁵² Cf. the usage of σκιά in Homer; see note 55.

⁵³ It must be said that the occurrences of σκιά are limited in epic poetry (because of the dactylic hexameter metre), whereas the noun is extensively attested in tragedy.

⁵⁴ In fact, the earliest occurrences of the term in Homer bear witness to this meaning, see *Od.* 10.494-5 τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνηα // οἶψα πεπνύσθαι τοὶ δὲ σκίαι ἀίσσουσιν ‘to him (the seer Teiresias) in death Persephone has granted reason, so that he alone has understanding; while the others are shadows that flit’; and 11:204-8 ἐγὼ γ’ ἔθελον φρεσὶ μερμηρίζας // μητρὸς ἐμῆς ψυχὴν ἐλέειν κατατεθνηυῖς. // τρίς μὲν ἐφωρμήθην· ἐλέειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει // τρίς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἴκελον καὶ ὄνειρον // ἔπτατο ‘I pondered in heart, and was fain to clasp the spirit of my dead mother. Three times I sprang towards her, and my heart bade me clasp her, and thrice she flitted from my arms like a shadow or a dream’. In these contexts, the notion of shadow is clearly related to the idea of εἶδωλον ‘phantom’, ‘ghost’ (see *LSJ*, σκιά; cf. *Il.* 5.451; *Od.* 4.796). The shadow is thus conceived as a weakened reproduction of the body that casts it, as faithful, just as inconsistent.

⁵⁵ Cf. Ciani (1970: 363-372).

contiguity⁵⁶ between the source (the shadow cast) and the target concepts (the screen that casts it, or the darkness that is thus produced). Meanings 1 and 5, on the other hand, are really metaphors, as they imply analogy and transfer between disjoint concepts. Moreover, Ciani explains that metonymies 3 and 4 are always exploited “puramente in senso materiale”,⁵⁷ as the following examples clearly show:

(22) Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 967

ρίζης γὰρ οὐσης φυλλὰς ἵκετ' ἐς δόμους,
σκιάν ὑπερτείνασα σειρίου κυνός

‘For if the root still lives, leaves come again to the house and spread their over-reaching shade against the scorching Dog Star’.

(23) Euripides, *Bacchae*, 458

λευκήν δὲ χροιάν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἔχεις
οὐχ ἡλίου βολαῖσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σκιᾶς
τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καλλονῇ θηρώμενος

‘You have a white skin from careful preparation, hunting after Aphrodite by your beauty not exposed to strokes of the sun, but beneath the shade’.

(24) Euripides *Heracles*, 971

οἱ δὲ ταρβοῦντες φόβῳ
ῶρουον ἄλλος ἄλλος', ἐς πέπλους ὁ μὲν
μητρὸς ταλαίνης, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ κίονος σκιάν,
ἄλλος δὲ βωμὸς ὄρνις ὡς ἐπηξ' ὑπο.

‘And they in wild fright darted here and there, one to his hapless mother’s skirts, another to the shadow of a pillar, while a third covered beneath the altar like a bird’.

In other words, the meaning ‘shelter’, actually rather peripheral within Greek poetry,⁵⁸ did not originate an additional metaphorical shift towards the

⁵⁶ Cognitively speaking, “contiguity is to be taken in a very broad sense, comprising not only spatial contact, but also temporal proximity, causal relations, part-whole relation, and so on”; cf. Koch (2004: 7).

⁵⁷ Cf. Ciani (1970: 395).

⁵⁸ It is worth pointing out that the semantic shift from ‘shadow’ to ‘shelter’ was to some extent regarded as ambiguous also with respect to the cognate terms of σκιά. In Hesiod, for example, the adjective κατάσκιος is used with the passive meaning ‘being covered, being shielded’; in *Op.* 512-514 the skin of animals is said λάχνη κατάσκιον ‘sheltered by fur’; a scholium glosses the expression as follows: σκεπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τριχῶν; see Pertusi (1955: 172). Something very similar occurs with the adjective επίσκιος, found in Sophocles with the active meaning ‘covering’, ‘sheltering’, *Oed. Col.* 1650 ἄνακτα δ' αὐτὸν ὀμμάτων επίσκιον χεῖρ' ἀντέχοντα κρατὸς ‘holding his hand in front of his face to screen his eyes’; once again the verb σκέπω is chosen to explain the ambiguous term: ὁ ἐστι, τῆ χειρὶ σκέποντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς; see Papageorgiou 1888, ad *Oed. Col.* 1650.

abstract notions of protection and security, as in the case of the Hebrew noun לָצֶלֶת . This lexical information may have been available to the translators, who avoided accordingly the term $\sigma\kappa\iota\acute{\alpha}$ where the context demanded this semantic shift.

A further line of argument looks at those non-literary varieties of Greek found in documentary papyri of the Ptolemaic age. From the works of Deissmann⁵⁹ onwards, this perspective has proved to be very fruitful in research on the language of the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, as “the vocabulary, the grammar and the syntax of the Septuagint are not representative of classical Greek, nor of the literary koinè used by Hellenistic authors (...) but stand closer to the non-literary language of contemporary documentary papyri”.⁶⁰

Examination of these sources reveals extremely few occurrences of $\sigma\kappa\iota\acute{\alpha}$, proving that the noun does not belong to the current language. It should be emphasised, as Ciani correctly does, that not only the word ‘shadow’, but also the notion of shadow itself is eminently poetic.⁶¹

On the other hand, the word $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\pi\eta$, chosen 10 times by the translators of Isaiah, Judges and Psalms as an equivalent for לָצֶלֶת ,⁶² proves to be the opposite, at least in literature. Indeed, the noun occurs almost exclusively in prose,⁶³ with the rather concrete meaning ‘covering’⁶⁴ or ‘shelter’.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, a

⁵⁹ E.g. Deissmann (1895, 1897, and 1910).

⁶⁰ Joosten (2015: 211). In this regard, one should mention also the conclusions drawn by the linguist Vít Bubeník on the status of the Septuagint Greek among the varieties of Hellenistic koinè. He speaks of Hellenistic koinè in terms of “an educated supra-dialectal variety, which represent an intermediate level between high and low level varieties of the same language”, describing a continuum ranging from purely koinè, to predominantly koinè (*dialectizing koinè*), predominantly dialectal (*koinèizing dialect*), up to purely dialectal variety. According to Bubeník, the language of the Greek version of the Bible constitutes a specimen of dialectizing koinè. He goes even further, stating that the language of this document may reflect some features of a “Jewish-Greek” language, spoken at that time by the Jewish community of Alexandria; see Bubeník (1989: 10 and 67).

⁶¹ See Ciani (1970: 331): “Il concetto di ombra, in una vasta gamma di immagini, di metafore, di sfumature semantiche, è motivo sempre presente in tutti i generi di poesia e nella poesia di tutti i tempi. Possiamo dire che «ombra» è parola poetica per eccellenza”.

⁶² Actually, 11 times, if one takes into account the variant $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\pi\eta$ in Ps 56(57):2 witnessed by the Verona Psalter, disregarding the correction $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\pi\eta\nu$ in Isa 51:16 Sinaiticus. It must be mentioned here that the noun appears also as equivalent of הַסִּתּוּף , and הַתּוּף ; cf. *Hatch/Redpath*, $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\pi\eta$.

⁶³ In poetic language, we find the form $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\pi\alpha\varsigma$ ‘shelter’ (always literal) in the Homeric formula $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\pi\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron$ (*Od.* 5.443, 6.210, 7:282, 12:336).

⁶⁴ E.g. clothes as covering the body (Hippocrates, *De aere aquis et locis*, 8); or hair as covering the head (Aristotle, *De partibus animalium*, 658A18).

⁶⁵ E.g. from the winds (Hippocrates, *De aere aquis et locis*, 3); a similar use of $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\pi\eta$ has been already noticed above in the scholia on Hesiod and Sophocles.

shift towards a more abstract idea is traceable already in Herodotus,⁶⁶ and, later on, in the works of Polybius. Here, we find the term σκέπη in reference to the protection guaranteed by the Romans,⁶⁷ denoting a kind of protection comparable to the one expressed by לָצֶלֶת in early poetic Hebrew.

Remarkably, the metaphorical extension is very well documented by the papyri. The use of σκέπη indicating ‘protection’, ‘refuge’, and also ‘patronage’ is well attested in non-literary koinè Greek, in both technical (legal) and common language.⁶⁸ Accounting comprehensively for the uses of σκέπη in Hellenistic documentary sources goes beyond the purposes of the present article; nevertheless, a few examples will be mentioned to acknowledge some similarity with the metaphors and the wordings found in the Septuagint. The formula ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ ἔξω ἱεροῦ καὶ βωμοῦ καὶ τεμένους καὶ πάσης σκέπης, and its variant ἐνφανῆ ... ἐκτὸς παντὸς ἀσύλου τόπου καὶ σκέπης πάσης, are quite significant in this regard.⁶⁹ Such expressions, widely attested from the 3rd cent. B.C.E. onwards, occur within oath declarations in respect of offices, contracts and payments. By using them, the contractor agrees to comply with the obligations, and adds a pledge to refrain from seeking sanctuary from justice, promising to remain available (ἐμφανής ‘visible’) outside any kind of protection or safe guard. These examples suggest a metaphorical reading of σκέπη, quite comparable with the one observed in the Septuagint.⁷⁰

4. Conclusion

Close study of the Greek renderings of לָצֶלֶת in the Old Greek translation of the Bible, suggests that the translators who were more concerned about the linguistic structures of the target language, considered the Greek equivalent σκιά, although highly similar in meaning and use, as unsuitable to express metaphorically the concept of protection. Evidence from Greek literature supports this view. These translators, thus, correctly identified the meaning and the

⁶⁶ Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.143.1: οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι ‘the Milesians were safe from the danger for they had made a treaty’.

⁶⁷ See Polybius, *Historiae*, 1.16.10: ὑποστείλας ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων σκέπην ‘having placed himself under the protection of the Romans’.

⁶⁸ For a thorough examination of the technical-legal usage of the term σκέπη in documentary sources see Piątkowska (1964 and 1975).

⁶⁹ See *P. Hib.* 1.93 ll. 4-5 (Egypt, circa 250 B.C.E.); SB 1.5680 = *P. Grad 3* (Heracleopolis, 229 B.C.E.); SB 3.6301 ll. 12-13 (Egypt, 227/226 B.C.E.); see also Piątkowska (1975: 49); Geraci (2003: 53).

⁷⁰ Remarkably, the locative constructions with the antonymic prepositions ἔξω/ἐκτός and ἐν highlight this similarity even more. It is worth recalling that σκέπη can also be found as equivalent of רֶחֶט ‘hiding place’, referring to comparable notions (see Ps 61(60):4 “inaccessible place”; Isa 16:4 “refuge”).

reference of the metaphors they dealt with in the source text, and in determining the equivalent in the target language, they chose to map the semantic domain of protection/security with a word different from σκιά, namely σκέπη, which would have achieved this goal, based on their lexical competence in Greek.

The choice fell on a lexeme drawn from a variety of Greek which stands close to prose (Polybius, scholia), specialised prose (as the medical language of Hippocrates) and even the non-literary legal language of papyri. Possibly, this word would have been regarded as quite unusual in Greek poetry, whereas the metaphorical use of לָצַח is rather typical of Hebrew poetic language (see Table 1).

On a semantic level, therefore, the resulting translation can be assessed as faithful to the source-text and attentive to the target language. On a stylistic level however, the outcome can be correctly considered rather peculiar.

Appendix 1

Table 1. Distribution of the Noun לָצַח in Biblical Hebrew, by Functional Language⁷¹

Early Historical Narrative Hebrew (EBH 1)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Gen 19:8		Protection provided by hospitality (M)
Num 14:9		Protection of a foreign god (M)
Judg 9:15		Protection of the king (A)
Judg 9:36	Shadow cast by mountains	
2 Kgs 20:9-11	Shadow cast by a sundial	

Early Poetic Hebrew (EBH 2)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Isa 4:6		Protection of YHWH (A)
Isa 16:3		Protection of the king (A)
Isa 25:4-5		Protection of YHWH (M)
Isa 30:2-3		Protection of Pharaoh (M)
Isa 32:2		Protection of the king (S)
Isa 38:8	Shadow cast by a sundial	
Isa 49:2		Protection of YHWH, through his hand (M)
Isa 51:16		Protection of YHWH, through his hand (M)

⁷¹ For a comprehensive account of Hebrew functional languages see Zatelli 2004.

Jer 6:4		Expression of time
Jer 48:45		Protection of a city (M)
Lam 4:20		Protection of the <i>māšīah</i> YHWH (M)
Ezek 17:23		Protection of the <i>māšīah</i> YHWH (A)
Ezek 31:6.12.17		Protection of Pharaoh (M)
Ps 17:8		Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)
Ps 36:8		Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)
Ps 57:2		Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)
Ps 63:8		Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)
Ps 80:11		Protection of the king (A)
Ps 91:1		Protection of <i>šadday</i> (M)
Ps 102:12		Transitoriness of life (S)
Ps 109:23		Transitoriness of life (S)
Ps 121:5-6		Protection of YHWH (M)

Language of Hosea (EBH 3)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Hos 4:13	The shadow cast by a tree	
Hos 14:8		Protection of YHWH (M)

Late Historical-Narrative Hebrew (LBH 1)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Qoh 6:12		Transitoriness of life (S)
Qoh 7:12 ⁷²		Transitoriness of wisdom (M)
Qoh 7:12		Transitoriness of money (M)
Qoh 8:13		Transitoriness of life (S)
Jonah 4:5-6	The shadow cast by a tree	
1 Chr 29:15		Transitoriness of life (S)

⁷² Following Seow (1997), “wisdom is as a shadow, money is as a shadow”; this interpretation is strongly supported by the data emerging from the present investigation into the figurative use of לָצַל in Late Hebrew. In this passage, the unreliability and ephemeral nature of wisdom and money seem to be emphasised (possibly in opposition to הִרְשָׁתָּךְ ‘inheritance’, v. 11) rather than their protective power; cf. also Schoors (2013: 527).

Poetic Language (LBH 2)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Ps 144:4		Transitoriness of life (S)
Cant 2:3		Protection of the beloved one (M)
Cant 2:17		Expression of time
Cant 4:6		Expression of time

Late Language of Job (LBH 3)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Job 7:2	Place of refreshment	
Job 8:9		Transitoriness of life (M)
Job 14:2		Transitoriness of life (S)
Job 17:7		Transitoriness of life (S)
Job 40:22	Shadow cast by a tree	

Late Hebrew of Ben Sira (BSH)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Sir 14:27 ⁷³		Protection of wisdom (M)

Appendix 2

Table 2. Renderings of צל in the Septuagint according to Thackeray's Classification

Good Koinè Greek

12 x	Literal / Figurative use	σκιά /σκέπη = 3/5
Gen 19:8	Protection provided by hospitality (M)	σκέπη
Num 14:9	Protection of a foreign god (M)	καιρός
Isa 4:6	Protection of YHWH (A)	σκιά

⁷³ The text of Ben Sira is not part of the Masoretic tradition or of the Hebrew canonical books. Nevertheless, the Hebrew Vorlage of this text is known from the Dead Sea Scrolls; for an edition of all extant Hebrew Ben Sira manuscripts, see Beentjes (1997). In this passage, Manuscript A (f. 6 r.) witnesses *חוסה בצלה מחרב* (חוסה בצלה מחרב) witnesses *חוסה בצלה מחרב* (Beentjes 1997: 43). The subject of the sentence is “the man who meditates on wisdom”, mentioned in v. 20 (*אנוש בחכמה יהגה*), and the feminine suffix in the phrase *המכה בצלה* refers to *המכה*.

Isa 16:3	Protection of the king (M)	σκέπη
Isa 25:4-5 ^{x2}	Protection of YHWH (M)	σκέπη, <i>minus</i>
Isa 30:2-3 ^{x2}	Protection of Pharaoh (M)	σκέπη, <i>minus</i>
Isa 32:2	Protection of the king (S)	≠
Isa 38:8	Shadow cast by a sundial	σκιά
Isa 49:2	Protection of YHWH, through his hand (M)	σκέπη
Isa 51:16	Protection of YHWH, through his hand (M)	σκιά (S σκέπη)

Indifferent Greek

20 x ⁷⁴	Literal / Figurative use	σκιά /σκέπη = 11/9
Jer 6:4	Expression of time	σκιά
Ezek 17:23	Protection of the <i>məšīaḥ</i> YHWH (A)	σκιά
Ezek 31:6.12.17 ^{x3}	Protection of Pharaoh (M)	σκιά, σκέπη, σκέπη
Hos 4:13	The shadow cast by a tree	σκέπη
Hos 14:8	Protection of YHWH (M)	σκέπη
Jonah 4:5-6 ^{x2}	The shadow cast by a tree	σκιά, σκιά
1 Chr 29:15	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκιά
Ps 16[17]:8	Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)	σκέπη
Ps 35[36]:8	Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)	σκέπη
Ps 56[57]:2	Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)	σκιά (R σκέπη) ⁷⁵
Ps 62[63]:8	Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)	σκέπη
Ps 79[80]:11	Protection of the king (A)	σκιά
Ps 90[91]:1	Protection of Šadday (M)	σκέπη
Ps 101[102]:12	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκιά
Ps 108[109]:23	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκιά
Ps 120[121]:5	Protection of YHWH (M)	σκέπη
Ps 143[144]:4	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκιά

⁷⁴ To this number must be added one occurrence in Sir 14:26 θήσει τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ αὐτῆς (i.e. σοφία v. 20), metaphorically denoting the protection of wisdom (M).

⁷⁵ R = Codex Veronensis 6th cent.

Literal or Unintelligent Greek

15 x	Literal / Figurative use	σκιά /σκέπη = 13/0
Judg 9:15	Protection of the king (A)	Β σκιά (Α σκέπη)
Judg 9:36	Shadow cast by mountains	Β σκία (Α σκία)
4 Kgdms 20:9-11 ^{x4}	Shadow cast by a sundial	σκία, σκία, σκία, <i>minus</i>
Jer 48:45	Protection of a city (M)	<i>minus</i>
Lam 4:20	Protection of the <i>māšīah</i> YHWH (M)	σκία
Cant 2:3	Protection of the beloved one (M)	σκία
Cant 2:17	Expression of time	σκία
Cant 4:6	Expression of time	σκία
Eccl 6:12	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκία
Eccl 7:12	Transitoriness of wisdom (M)	σκία
Eccl 7:12	Transitoriness of money (M)	σκία
Eccl 8:13	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκία

Paraphrases and Free Renderings

5 x	Literal / Figurative use	σκιά /σκέπη = 3/0
Job 7:2	Literal: Place of refreshment	σκία
Job 8:9	Transitoriness of life (M)	σκία
Job 14:2	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκία
Job 17:7	Transitoriness of life (S)	≠
Job 40:22	Shadow cast by a tree	σκιάζομαι

Abbreviations: (A) = allegory; (M) = metaphor; (S) = simile.

Abbreviations

BHS = Elliger, Kurt, and Wilhelm Rudolph, *et al.* (eds). 1997⁵. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

HALOT = Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner (eds). 1994-2000. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament: The New Koehler-Baumgartner in English*. Subsequently revised by Walter Baumgartner and Johann J. Stam. Trans. by M. E. J. Richardson. 5 vols. Leiden: Brill.

Hatch/Redpath = Hatch, Edwin, and Henry A. Redpath (eds). 1998². *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Baker.

KTU = Dietrich, Manfred, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín (eds). 2013³. *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

- LSJ* = Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. 1940⁹. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- NETS* = Pietersma, Albert, and Benjamin G. Wright (eds). 2009². *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York-Oxford: Oxford UP.
- NRSV* = *The New Revised Standard Version of the Bible*. 1989. Division of Christian education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA.
- TAD* = Porten, Bezalel, and Ada Yardeni. 1986. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* 1. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- TDOT* = Botterweck, Gerhard Johannes, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry (eds). 1977-2004. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- TNK* = *Tanakh. The Holy Scriptures*. 1985. The New Jewish Publication Society of America.

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