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IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF
SHERLOCK HOLMES

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in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus*



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TO SETTLE AND TO DWELL. ON LEXICAL VARIATION IN THE OLD GREEK OF ISAIAH

Arie VAN DER KOOLJ

I

Far from being a literal translation, the Old Greek of Isaiah (LXX Isaiah) is marked, among other features, by a great deal of lexical variation. In this contribution in honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus, who herself has contributed significantly to this phenomenon in the Old Greek of the Psalter,¹ I would like to discuss an interesting example of lexical variety in LXX Isaiah which has no parallel in the other books of the Greek Bible. It concerns the way the Hebrew ישב as well as שכן has been rendered. While elsewhere in the Septuagint, apart from οἰκέω, κάθημαι and καθίζω, the Greek κατοικέω is the common equivalent, particularly as far as שׁיב is concerned, in LXX Isaiah two verbs are employed – κατοικέω and ἐνοικέω.² The former occurs 36 times, and the latter 22 times.³ Notably, apart from the fact that ἐνοικέω occurs only a few times in the rest of the Septuagint,⁴ its frequency in LXX Isaiah is quite high when compared

¹ Anneli Aejmelaeus, “‘Rejoice in the Lord!’ A Lexical and Syntactical Study of the Semantic Field of Joy in the Greek Psalter”, in Martin F.J. Baasten and Wido Th. van Peursen (eds.), *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (OLA 118; Leuven, 2003), pp. 501-521; idem, ‘Faith, Hope and Interpretation. A Lexical and Syntactical Study of the Semantic Field of Hope in the Greek Psalter’, in Peter W. Flint, Emanuel Tov and James C. VanderKam (eds.), *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (VTSup 101; Leiden, 2006), pp. 360-376.

² In addition, οἰκέω (excl. ἡ οἰκουμένη) is found in 5:8; 6:5; 30:19; 33:16; 34:11; 37:37, κάθημαι in 6:1; 9:9(8); 19:1; 36:12; 37:16; 42:7; 47:8, and καθίζω in 14:13; 16:3; 30:8; 47:1(2x), 5, 8, 14; 52:2.

³ Κατοικέω: 6:11; 8:18; 9:1-2; 10:14, 24, 31; 12:6; 13:20, 22; 14:23; 16:7; 18:3(2x); 20:6; 23:18; 24:5, 6; 27:10; 32:16, 18; 33:5; 34:11; 40:22; 42:10, 11(2x); 44:26; 45:18; 49:19, 20; 51:6; 54:3; 57:15; 62:5; 65:9, and ἐνοικέω: 5:3, 9; 21:14; 22:21(2x); 23:2, 6; 24:1, 6, 17; 26:5, 9, 18, 21; 27:5; 32:18, 19; 33:24; 37:26; 40:22; 65:21, 22. For κατοικίζω, the causative of κατοικέω, see 54:3.

⁴ Lev 26:32; 4 Ki 19:26; 22:16, 19; Sir 25:16; Jer 29:19; 30:1; 34:9; 38:24; 49:17; 51:8; Bar 2:23; Theod Dan 9:7.

to Greek literature (see e.g. Herodotus, *Histories*: 6 times εν- and 30 times κατ-; Polybius, *Histories*: 8 times εν- and 79 times κατ-). In what follows I would like to examine whether these two verbs are used synonymously or rather reflect, in a number of instances, a different nuance of meaning.

II

At first glance, one gets the impression that the variation is of a stylistic nature only, thus conveying the same meaning. The following sets of passages are of interest in this regard, the more so since the underlying Hebrew presents the same idiom (MT/1QIsa^a [hereafter 1Qa]):

5:3	οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ
and 42:11	οἱ κατοικοῦντες Πετραν
9:2(1)	οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν χώρα (καὶ σκιᾶ θανάτου)
and 21:14	οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν χώρα Θαιμαν
20:6	οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ νήσω ταύτη
and 23:6	οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ νήσω ταύτη

It thus seems that in these cases the participle of both verbs has the same meaning. However, although an overlap of meaning between both verbs is part of the picture, there are cases in LXX Isaiah which do point to different shades of meaning. Of particular note are those passages where both verbs have been employed. LXX Isa 32:18 is an interesting example; it reads,

καὶ κατοικήσει ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει εἰρήνης
καὶ ἐνοικήσει πεποιθώς, καὶ ἀναπαύσονται μετὰ πλοῦτου

The Hebrew text (MT=1Qa) has one verbal form – ‘(My people) will abide (ישב)’ – followed by two prepositional phrases – ‘in a peaceful habitation (בנוה שלום), and in secure dwellings (ובמשכנות מבטחים)’. The Septuagint, on the other hand, contains two verbal forms – κατοικήσει and ἐνοικήσει, the first being the rendering of ישב while the latter seems to reflect the root שכן of the noun משכנות. How to interpret the variation in this verse? In the light of their usage in Greek literature of the time⁵, the first one obviously conveys the notion of ‘settling (in)’, whereas the

⁵ See LSJ, and more in particular Michel Casevitz, *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien. Étude lexicologique: les familles de κτίζω et de οἰκέω – οἰκίζω* (Études et Commentaires 97; Paris, 1985), pp. 139-142 (ἐνοικέω), pp. 161-163 (κατοικέω).

second denotes the idea of ‘residing’ somewhere permanently. Hence, the verse can be read and understood as follows, ‘his people shall *settle* in the city of peace – Jerusalem – and shall *dwell* there in confidence’.

Another passage where the two verbs occur is to be found in LXX Isa 40:22:

ὁ κατέχων τὸν γῦρον τῆς γῆς,
καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς ἀκρίδες,
ὁ στήσας ὡς καμάραν τὸν οὐρανὸν
καὶ διατείνας ὡς σκηνὴν κατοικεῖν

In the Hebrew text of the verse (MT=1Qa) the verb **ישב** occurs three times: ‘It is he who sits (**ישבה**) above the circle of the earth, and its inhabitants (**ישביה**) are like grass-hoppers, who stretches out the heavens like a curtain, and spreads them like a tent to dwell in (**לשבת**)’.

The Septuagint however offers in each of these cases a different rendering. For the image of ‘sitting above’ the circle of the earth, alluding to God’s exalted position as ruler of the world, the Septuagint has the participle of *κατέχω* followed by the accusative of *γῦρος*. Greek *κάθημαι ἐπί*, ‘to sit on’, as rendering would be misleading because the text does not refer to a throne (like in 6:1), but to God sitting high ‘above’ the earth. The verb *κατέχω* here carries the notion of ‘possessing’ relating to rulers. An example of this usage is to be found in LXX Dan 7:18, 22 where the same verb occurs together with the accusative *τὴν βασιλείαν* and *τὸ βασίλειον* respectively.

For the phrase ‘its inhabitants’, constituting the second occurrence of the verb **ישב**, the Septuagint reads *οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ*. The participle of *ἐνοικέω* here designates, in line with 32:18, those who are considered the (permanent) inhabitants or residents of the earth.

The third instance is part of the second half of the verse which is about the creation of heaven, the latter being compared to a tent to ‘dwell in’ (**לשבת**). Here the Greek version offers the other equivalent, *κατοικέω*. Heaven is compared with a tent for men to live in. Interestingly, unlike MT in the Septuagint heaven is also compared to a ‘vault’ (*καμάρα*; MT **דק**, ‘(like) a curtain’[?]), an arched cover, which strenghtens the idea of heaven as a vaulted room for mankind. The verb *κατοικέω* in this instance means to inhabit, to live in, presumably conveying also the notion of settling in.

Another case where both Greek verbs are used concerns two passages – 5:9 and 6:11 – both of which are similar in content sharing at the same time a specific phrase in Hebrew: **מאין יושב**, ‘without inhabitant’. The first reads, according to MT (= 1Qa): ‘Surely, many houses shall be desolate,

large and beautiful houses, *without inhabitant*’, and the second: ‘And he said, Until cities lie waste *without inhabitant*’. The Septuagint reads in both verses as follows:

- 5:9 ἔὰν γὰρ γένωνται οἰκίαι πολλαί, εἰς ἔρημον ἔσονται μεγάλοι καὶ καλαί,
καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν αὐταῖς
- 6:11 καὶ εἶπεν Ἔως ἂν ἐρημωθῶσιν πόλεις
παρὰ τὸ μὴ κατοικεῖσθαι

In Isa 5:9 it is announced that ‘if houses become many, they shall be desolate, great ones and fair ones, and those who dwell in them shall not be there’. So, although people might be successful in making many houses, great ones and fair ones, these houses will be without any inhabitant. For the expression ‘without inhabitant’ (MT) the Greek text offers οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν αὐταῖς. The verb ἐνοικέω is used here to designate people occupying houses.⁶ There is one other instance in LXX Isaiah where ἐνοικέω occurs relating to houses conveying the same notion – 65:21-22: καὶ οἰκοδομήσουσιν οἰκίας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνοικήσουσιν, καὶ καταφυτεύσουσιν ἀμπελῶνας καὶ αὐτοὶ φάγονται τὰ γενήματα αὐτῶν· (22) καὶ οὐ μὴ οἰκοδομήσουσιν καὶ ἄλλοι ἐνοικήσουσιν, καὶ οὐ μὴ φυτεύσουσιν καὶ ἄλλοι φάγονται. For occurrences outside the Septuagint, see Herodotus, *Histories* 2, 66,4; Plato, *Laws* 9, 877d.

In 6:11 things are different because the relevant phrase in Hebrew (‘without inhabitant’) has been rendered as ‘(And he said, Until cities will be deserted) because they are not inhabited’ (παρὰ τὸ μὴ κατοικεῖσθαι). The verb chosen here (κατοικέω) is in the passive. One may wonder why the translator did not use the verb ἐνοικέω in this verse, like in 5:9. True, the latter is about houses, but the verb ἐνοικέω does also occur relating to cities in LXX Isaiah: see 5:3 (οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ), 22:21 (τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ), and 37:26 (ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν πόλεσιν ὀχυραῖς).⁷ As to the underlying reason one might consider that, as noted above, ἐνοικέω focuses on the idea of being resident somewhere, while κατοικέω conveys a broader meaning which on the one hand can be similar (‘to inhabit’) but which on the other hand can also have the connotation of ‘settling’ somewhere. Although the emphasis is on the situation of being (not) inhabited, the element of settling may well be implied. More importantly, however, in order to produce a construction in the

⁶ For this connotation, see Casevitz, *Le vocabulaire*, p. 141.

⁷ Compare also 26:5 (τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ὑψηλοῖς).

passive, the verb κατοικέω was chosen since in Greek the other verb (ἐνοικέω) does not occur in the passive.

The passive of κατοικέω is also found at the following places in LXX Isaiah: 10:14 (πόλεις κατοικουμένας), 13:20 (οὐ κατοικηθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον), 18:2 (πάντες ὡς χώρα κατοικουμένη· κατοικηθήσεται ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν), 44:26 (ὁ λέγων Ἱερουσαλημ Κατοικηθήσῃ), and 45:18 (see below). As far as shades of meaning are concerned, in the case of a participle (10:14 and 18:2 [first occurrence]) the verb clearly denotes a situation of being populated, but in other cases (inf. or fut.) the idea that a given place will be settled clearly is part of the picture (13:20; 18:2 [second occurrence]; 44:26).

This latter connotation is also apparent in Isa 45:18, a passage which reminds one of 40:22 (see above) because, in Hebrew, both share the phrase תבשׁל 'to live'. While in 40:22 the heaven is said to be stretched out as a tent to live in, 45:18 is about the earth as a place to live: God 'did not create it, i.e., the earth, a chaos (קִהָה), but he formed it to live (תבשׁל)'. The Septuagint reads οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἐποίησεν ἀλλὰ κατοικεῖσθαι, thus using, unlike in the case of 40:22, the passive of κατοικέω: God made the earth for a particular purpose (cf. εἰς κενὸν), hence the inf. is best understood as 'to be settled'.

As may be observed, the element of 'settling' is also present in cases where the verb is used in the active. As pointed out above, 32:18 is an interesting case in this regard. Other examples are: 13:22 (καὶ ὄνοκέ-νταυροι ἐκεῖ κατοικήσουσιν), 14:23 (καὶ θήσω τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἔρημον ὥστε κατοικεῖν ἐχίνους), 32:16 (καὶ ἀναπαύσεται ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κρίμα, καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἐν τῷ Καρμήλῳ κατοικήσει), 34:11 (καὶ κατοικήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ ὄρνεα καὶ ἐχῖνοι καὶ ἴβεις καὶ κόρακες). For 40:22, see above.

The instances mentioned so far all concern cases where the verb is used in the future sense, or in the infinitive. They do not include cases where the (active) participle of the verb κατοικέω is found, such as the ones quoted at the beginning of this section. I now would like to return to some of these cases because it would be interesting to see whether the participle form of κατοικέω carries the same meaning as the participle of ἐνοικέω as one might think, or not.

LXX Isa 24:5-6 is an interesting passage in this regard because it contains the participle forms (active) of both verbs. It reads as follows:

- 5 ἡ δὲ γῆ ἠνόμησεν διὰ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτήν,
 διότι παρέβησαν τὸν νόμον
 καὶ ἥλλαξαν τὰ προστάγματα, διαθήκην αἰώνιον.

6 διὰ τοῦτο ἀρὰ ἔδεται τὴν γῆν,
 ὅτι ἡμάρτοσαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν·
 διὰ τοῦτο πτωχοὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ,
 καὶ καταλειφθήσονται ἄνθρωποι ὀλίγοι.

MT: The earth lies polluted under its inhabitants (יִשְׁבֵי בָהּ)
 for they have transgressed the laws
 violated the statutes, broken the everlasting covenant
 Therefore a curse devours the earth
 and its inhabitants (יִשְׁבֵי בָהּ) suffer for their guilt,
 therefore the inhabitants (יִשְׁבֵי) of the earth are scorched,
 and few men are left.

The text of MT presents a picture of the earth being polluted (הִגָּח) by the transgressions of its inhabitants. The idea of profanation of land by the conduct of its inhabitants is found for example in Num 35:33. According to the Hebrew text of Isa 24:5-6, the inhabitants have transgressed the laws (plural), violated the statutes, and broken the eternal covenant.⁸ As a result, the inhabitants of the earth will suffer and will be scorched with great heat.

The Greek version of the passage offers a picture which is a bit different. Unlike MT, it seems to make a distinction between two groups of people: those who are designated as οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν (i.e., the earth), and those who are described as οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ. The latter ones are best understood, in line with 40:22 (see above), as men (mankind) who dwell and live on earth.⁹ The other group – οἱ κατοικοῦντες – also inhabiting the earth are said to be the ones who ‘transgressed the law’ and ‘changed the commands, ordinances’ (v. 5); they are the ones who ‘sinned’ (v. 6; ἁμαρτάνω for ἁμαρτάνω, an equivalence which is attested a few times only [see e.g. Lev 4:3; 2 Chron 19:10]). Unlike MT, the Greek text of v. 5a does not refer to pollution of the earth, as does for example LXX Num 35:33 (φονοκτονέω for הִגָּח),¹⁰ because it is said that ‘the earth acted lawlessly because of τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτήν’. The Greek ἀνομέω for הִגָּח being not attested elsewhere in LXX, is in line with the way this root has been translated at other places in LXX Isaiah.¹¹ ‘The earth’ is not to be taken here in the sense of land or ground (which would fit the idea of being polluted), but rather of people living

⁸ For a discussion of ‘the eternal covenant’, see Hans Wildberger, *Jesaja* (BKAT X/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1978), pp. 921-922.

⁹ See also 24:1, 17; 26:9, 18, 21.

¹⁰ So the translation of Symmachus of our verse (Isa 24:5). Alternatively, μιαινόω ‘to defile’ could be used as rendering of הִגָּח (Jer 3:1, 2).

¹¹ Cf. ἄνομος for הִגָּח in Isa 9:17; 10:6, and 32:6.

on the earth. Hebrew תחת has been rendered with δια + acc. ('because of'). This rendering, which is also found in LXX Isa 60:15, reflects an 'understanding of תחת as expressing the reason or cause for the earth's lawless behavior'.¹² Hence, the κατοικοῦντες turn out to be the ones who make others acting lawlessly.

Who are the 'others'? They must be the other group in our passage, the ἐνοικοῦντες. Because of the sins of the κατοικοῦντας 'a curse will devour the earth' (v. 6), the result being that the ἐνοικοῦντες shall be 'poor'. The notion of becoming poor is presumably not based on the Hebrew חרה 'to burn up',¹³ but rather on the verb חרר 'to wax pale' (cf. the reading of 1Qa/4Qc [חרור]; see also 29:22).¹⁴ Be that as it may, the choice for 'becoming poor' makes good sense in the context where the coming disaster (cf. the 'curse') is depicted, in the Septuagint, as 'the vine will mourn' (v. 7), and 'cities will be left desolate, abandoned houses will perish' (v. 12). To quote Liebmann: 'die Wirkung des Fluches wird die gänzliche Verarmung des Menschen sein, denn auf den Feldern kann infolge der Verwünschung nichts mehr wachsen'.¹⁵ Interestingly, the idea of 'poor' people is also found in a related passage – 25:3: ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός (MT/1Qa is different: 'strong people'). As soon as the strong and 'fortified cities', as well as 'the city of the ungodly' (25:2 [τῶν ἀσεβῶν πόλεις]), will be destroyed, 'the poor people' will bless God.

All this raises the question of who are meant by the κατοικοῦντες. Apparently, they are not be the same people as the ἐνοικοῦντες, but rather people who have power because they are not only the ones who made men on earth sin. They are also the ones who 'changed the ordinances'. The verb in Hebrew (חלל) has not been read as qal (so MT),¹⁶ but as piel. For ἀλλάσσω as rendering of this root, see also 40:31 and 41:1 (MT: hifil in both cases). The 'ordinances' (τὰ προστάγματα) are clearly related to 'the law' (MT/1Qa 'laws') in the same verse. The idea of changing ordinances also seems to imply a position of power. This can be illustrated by other texts of the time where the same motif is found: Dan 7:25 and 1 Macc 1:41-49. Dan 7:25 (MT) reads, 'He (i.e. Antiochus IV) will

¹² Wilson de Angelo Cunha, *LXX Isaiah 24:1-26:6 as Interpretation and Translation. A Methodological Discussion* (Unpublished dissertation; Leiden University, 2012), p. 68.

¹³ Wildberger prefers 'to diminish' (*Jesaja*, p. 915).

¹⁴ For a similar meaning cf. the rendering of Sym: ἐκτροχωθήσονται (of ἐκτροχῶω 'to wear out, exhaust').

¹⁵ E. Liebmann, 'Der Text zu Jesaja 24-27', *ZAW* 23 (1903), p. 222. Cf. De Angelo Cunha, *LXX Isaiah 24:1-26:6*, p. 147.

¹⁶ On the meaning of the qal, see Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p. 914.

speak words against the Most High. He will think to change time and law'. According to 1 Macc 1:41ff. the same Seleucid king is the one who got people to change their laws. He 'sent agents to Jerusalem with written orders that ways and customs foreign to the country should be introduced' (v. 44 [REB]). As a result, the Jews were to 'forget the law and change all their statutes' (ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἀλλάξαι πάντα τὰ δικαιώματα).

If read in its immediate context, the κατοικοῦντες of 24:5-6 are best understood as 'the exalted ones of the earth' of v. 4 (οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τῆς γῆς) as well as the 'ungodly' in v. 8 (ἄσεβδων). This is confirmed by passages such as 25:2-3, referred to above, and 26:9-10, both of which display a clear distinction between the 'ungodly' on the one hand (25:2; 26:10), and the 'poor' people (25:3) and the ἐνοικοῦντες respectively (26:10), on the other. As to the latter passage, it is interesting to note that the preceding verse (26:9) is the only other occurrence in LXX Isaiah where the term προστάγματα is found: 'your (i.e., God) ordinances are a light upon the earth'. The next verse, 26:10, then reads: 'Learn righteousness, you who dwell on the earth (οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς), for the ungodly (ἄσεβής) has come to an end'. Since the 'ungodly' are no longer in power (cf. their 'arrogance' and 'wealth' mentioned in 24:8), the ἐνοικοῦντες, the people on earth, are called on to learn righteousness, in line with God's 'ordinances'.¹⁷ So the context too makes clear that the plural κατοικοῦντες in 24:5-6 refers to people having a position of rulers.¹⁸

In sum, the participle forms of both verbs to be found in 24:5-6 turn out to refer to two groups of people on earth. Those who are designated as οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν are to be distinguished from οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ. As to the question which nuance of meaning may be implied in the wording under discussion it can be said that latter ones are those who live on earth, representing the indigenous and local people so to say

¹⁷ The 'law' (// 'ordinances') is regarded as universal law (cf. LXX Isa 2:3), a view which is also attested in other literature of the time, see esp. SibOr III, 719f., 757f.. For the concept of 'law' being marked by the idea of 'righteousness' in LXX Isaiah, see Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (eds.), *Septuaginta Deutsch. Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*. Bd. II: *Psalmen bis Daniel* (Stuttgart, 2011), pp. 2491-2492, and for SibOr III, see Riewerd Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and its Social Setting with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (SVTP 17; Leiden, 2003), p. 341 (for the author of SibOr III, 'the Mosaic law is a specific, divine revelation of the universal principles of righteousness').

¹⁸ The idea of having a position of power is also supported by the relationship between the 'ungodly' and the motif of the cities, both the 'fortified' ones and 'the city of the ungodly', in LXX Isa 24-26. On this relationship, see De Angelo Cunha, *LXX Isaiah 24:1-26:6*, pp. 216-217.

(cf. 40:22), whereas the term κατοικοῦντες seems to denote people who have settled all over the place in recent times, presumably in order to rule the (permanent) residents of it.¹⁹ This idea of ‘settlers’²⁰ is in line with the fact that the verb κατοικέω is related to nouns like κατοικία (‘colony’) and κάτοικος (‘settler, colonist’). More importantly, there is evidence in Greek documents of that time that the participle was used this way. For instance, in a document dating to 180 BCE a distinction is made between the citizens of a given city, on the one hand, and the people designated as κατοικοῦντες, those who have settled in the city recently and were not (yet) regarded its citizens, on the other: ἐὰν δέ τις Μιλησίῳν ἢ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐμ Μιλήτῳι [...] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐὰν τις Ηρακλεωτῶν ἢ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν Ηρακλείαι.²¹

III

In this last section I would like to deal with a specific group of texts, all relating to Jerusalem / Zion, in which again the participle of both verbs play an important role. As we have seen, for people living as residents in a city such as Jerusalem the verb ἐνοικέω is employed:

5:3 καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ
22:21 καὶ ἔσται ὡς πατὴρ τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ

This usage is in line with 32:18, discussed above: after having settled (cf. κατοικήσει) God’s people will live as resident (ἐνοικήσει) in Jerusalem, ‘the city of peace’. (Alternatively, in two instances the verb ἐγκαθῆμαι is used: 8:14 καὶ ἐν κοιλάσματι ἐγκαθήμενοι ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ and 9:9(8) καὶ οἱ ἐγκαθήμενοι ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ. See also LXX Dan 9:7 καθημένοις ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ [Theod Dan 9:7 reads, τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ]).²²

However, as soon as Zion or the holy mountain comes into play, things are different: in these cases the verb κατοικέω turns out to be the favourite one in LXX Isaiah. According to 8:18 it is God, Lord Sabaoth, ὃς κατοικεῖ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιών, ‘who dwells on mount Zion’. The same verb is used in two places where God is called the one ‘dwelling on high’, in line with the idea that he is the Most High: 33:5 ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς ὁ

¹⁹ See also 51:6: οἱ δὲ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν ὥσπερ ταῦτα ἀποθανοῦνται.

²⁰ See also De Angelo Cunha, *LXX Isaiah 24:1-26:6*, p. 146.

²¹ SIG, Vol. 2, Inscription 633, l. 67 and l. 71f. respectively.

²² See also Sir 50:26 (G): οἱ καθήμενοι ἐν ὄρει Σαμαρειας.

κατοικῶν ἐν ὕψηλοις, and 57:15 κύριος ὁ ὑψιστος ὁ ἐν ὕψηλοις κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα. In all these instances, MT offers the verb יָשַׁב.

The same verb in Greek is used in places about a particular group of people designated as ‘those who dwell in Sion’, i.e., on the temple mount:

10:24 ὁ λαός μου οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Σιών

12:6 ἀγαλλιᾶσθε καὶ εὐφραίνεσθε, οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Σιών.

In these instances, MT reads יָשַׁב (10:24) and יֹשְׁבֵי (12:6) respectively.

Another instance belonging to the group under discussion – LXX Isa 23:18 – is very interesting. The Hebrew of this passage (MT = 1Qa) refers to people ‘who sit before the Lord’. The expression ‘to sit before (יָשַׁב לְפָנָיו) the Lord’ has been rendered in LXX as ‘to dwell before the Lord’:

καὶ ἔσται αὐτῆς ἡ ἐμπορία καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ·
οὐκ αὐτοῖς συναχθήσεται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἔναντι κυρίου
πᾶσα ἡ ἐμπορία αὐτῆς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἐμπλησθῆναι [...].

According to the Greek version the merchandise and the gain of Tyre shall be holy gift to the Lord and shall not be gathered in for Tyre, but for ‘those who dwell before the Lord’.²³ Who are they who ‘dwell before the Lord’? The expression in Hebrew alludes to priests ministering in the temple, and this interpretation makes also good sense in the Greek version of the passage.²⁴ The merchandise and gain of Tyre shall be a gift to the Lord in Sion, the result being that they who ‘dwell before the Lord’, namely, priests and Levites, will ‘eat and drink and be satisfied’. This is in line with 61:6, according to which those who are proclaimed as ‘priests of the Lord’ will have a good life because they will eat ‘the wealth of the nations’ (ἰσχυρὸν ἔθνῶν).

As it is likely that the expression in 23:18 refers to the same group of people as those who are said to ‘dwell in Sion’ in 10:24 and 12:6, it may be asked whether these two passages too can be understood as a reference to priests and Levites. As a matter of fact, this would make perfect sense because both passages are about people ‘dwelling’ where the Lord himself ‘dwells’ (8:18), i.e., in the temple on mount Sion.

²³ For a discussion of this verse, see Arie van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre. The Septuagint of Isaiah 23 as Version and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden, 1998), pp. 73-74.

²⁴ Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain, 2009), p. 391. See also Targum Isaiah 23:18: ‘those who minister before the Lord’.

The idea of ‘dwelling’ in the temple evokes the idea that the people involved were present in the temple permanently. The priesthood comprised of a large number of priests and Levites ministering in the temple, but as far as we know only specific groups among the priests and Levites did so on a permanent basis. A writing from Qumran, 1QM, contains a passage which is illuminating in this regard - 1QM 2:1-3; it provides the following picture of the priests and Levites:

- The chiefs of the priests behind the High Priest and of his second (in rank), twelve priests *to serve continually before God*;
- The twenty-six chiefs of the divisions;
- The chiefs of the Levites *to serve continually*, twelve;
- The chiefs of their divisions.

Thus, the ‘chiefs of the priests’ and the ‘chiefs of the Levites’ were the ones who were permanently employed at the temple.²⁵ Hence, one can imagine that they in particular could be regarded as ‘dwelling (before the Lord)’ in Zion.²⁶

Like in the case of 24:5-6, in the group of texts relating to Jerusalem / Zion²⁷ the two verbs used turn out to serve a distinction between two groups of people: οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Σιών on the one hand, and οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, on the other. While the latter expression refers to the residents in Jerusalem, the former phrase is best understood as designating people dwelling on the temple mount, namely, leading priests and Levites. One wonders which connotation of κατοικέω may lie at the basis of its use in the passages referring to Zion and the holy mountain. Perhaps, seen from the perspective of the people living in common houses (cf. ἐνοικέω), those dwelling in the house of God were considered a kind of settlers at a given place, a sacred colony so to say.

²⁵ On the chiefs of priests / the chief priests, and the chiefs of the Levites / the chief Levites, see Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (London, 1976), pp. 160-181.

²⁶ A similar picture is known for the Egyptian temples of the time: High-ranking priests dwelling permanently in the temples. Cf. the Rosetta Stone (Greek version) par. 10: ‘those that dwell therein (i.e., the temples)’ (τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ὄντας) (E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Rosetta Stone in the British Museum* [London 1976, reprint of 1929], pp. 54, 68). See also Pieter Willem van der Horst, *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher. The fragments collected and translated with explanatory notes* (EPRO 101; Leiden, 1984), pp. 16-17, 22-23.

²⁷ Other texts of interest are Isa 62:5 and 65:9.

IV

Although the above does not offer a discussion of all instances,²⁸ the analysis of a number of them has provided some evidence that both verbs, ἐνοικέω and κατοικέω, are not employed in LXX Isaiah synonymously, but rather reflect different nuances of meaning. On the basis of Isa 32:18 and related texts the conclusion can be drawn that ἐνοικέω focuses on a (permanent) dwelling in cities or houses, whereas the other verb (κατοικέω) conveys the meaning of settling as well as (the resulting) inhabiting somewhere. The notion of settling in is quite clear in 32:18, whereas at other places this notion, being part of the picture though, is less prominent. Furthermore, it is important to note that, since ἐνοικέω was not used in the passive, cases where the passive was considered the fitting rendering the other verb was to be employed.

An intriguing issue concerns the participle form (active) of both verbs. An examination of passages where the participle of both verbs occur – 24:5-6 and a group of passages relating to Jerusalem / Sion – has led to the conclusion that they mark a distinction between two groups of inhabitants: in the case of 24:5-6, between indigenous residents and others that have settled recently, and in the case of passages relating to Jerusalem / Sion, between the residents of the city and those who dwell in the temple, leading priests and Levites. Both distinctions seem to be typical of LXX Isaiah because, as far as I know, they have no parallel in any of the other books of the Septuagint.

²⁸ Including the cases where οἰκέω occurs.