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A PILLAR OF CLOUD TO GUIDE
TEXT-CRITICAL, REDACTIONAL,
AND LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES
ON THE OLD TESTAMENT
IN HONOUR OF MARC VERVENNE

EDITED BY

HANS AUSLOOS – BÉNÉDICTE LEMMELIJN

PEETERS
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THE SEPTUAGINT OF GEN 49,10 AND CONCEPTS OF LEADERSHIP IN EARLY JUDAISM

INTRODUCTION

Gen 49,10 is a well-known passage that has drawn, in the course of time, a great deal of attention. Being one of the mysterious oracular passages in the Testament of Jacob (Gen 49,1-27), the meaning of the Hebrew text as preserved in the Masoretic text (MT) is disputed, particularly so because of the enigmatic שִׁלְהָ¹. Jewish sources from Antiquity, translations and other types of texts, display an interesting variety of interpretations of this passage. In this contribution in honour of Marc Vervenne I would like to deal with the most ancient witness to the reception and interpretation of this text – the Septuagint (LXX). In what follows I shall comment on the LXX Genesis 49,10 and discuss questions that have been raised by scholars regarding its meaning. I will argue that the issue of leadership is not only at stake in the first half of the verse but also in the second half of it. In order to address the question of which kind of leadership might be involved I shall make the attempt of reading the Greek text against the backdrop of concepts of leadership in Jewish sources dating to the Hellenistic era as well as in light of other passages in LXX Pentateuch.

I. STATE OF THE ART

The Old Greek version of Gen 49,10 reads as follows:

οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ,
ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.
A ruler shall not be wanting from Ioudas and a leader from his thighs until
the things stored up for him come, and he is the expectation of nations.
(NETS)

It is clear that the first half of the verse (v. 10a) is about ‘leaders’ from Judah, but what about the second half (v. 10b)? Scholars have made various suggestions as may be illustrated by the following examples.

1. For a detailed discussion, see R. DE HOOP, *Genesis 49 in Its Literary and Historical Context* (OTS, 39), Leiden – Boston, MA – Köln, Brill, 1998, pp. 122-139; S. FROLOV, *Judah Comes to Shilo: Genesis 49,10ba, One More Time*, in *JBL* 131 (2012) 417-422.

According to M. Rösel, the text of LXX Gen 49,10 testifies to the expectation that “die Herrschaft eines Führers aus der Nachkommenschaft Judas dann beendet sein wird, wenn ein Ereignis eintritt, das für einen solchen Herrscher aufbewahrt ist, zu ihm gehört”². He regards αὐτῷ in v. 10b as a reference to the ruler who is presented as the one (“he”, αὐτός) who will be “the expectation of nations”. In his view, this points to a leader who will be hoped for by the nations, in a way similar to the expectations expressed in Isa 42,6 and Isa 49,1-6.

J. Lust, on the other hand, argues that αὐτῷ does not refer to a ruler, but to Judah. He goes so far in saying that “[t]he expectation of a person distinct from the tribe seems to be avoided”³. Hence, it can hardly be said that this text reflects a messianic interpretation.

N. Fernández Marcos, however, makes the opposite claim. Although he admits that the meaning of the phrase τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ is uncertain, it is in his view certain that the LXX interprets “el verso en el sentido de una esperanza mesiánica asociada con la tribu de Judá”⁴.

W. Horbury reaches the same conclusion. The rendering “‘there shall not fail a ruler from Judah’ brings the blessing close to Nathan’s promise”⁵. He also notes that the ruler who is said to be “the expectation (προσδοκία) of the nations”, recalls LXX Isa 11,10 (“the nations shall hope [ἐλπιοῦσι] in him”, *i.e.* the root of Jesse).

J. Collins, though, does not think so on the following grounds: (a) αὐτῷ in v. 10b denotes Judah, not the ‘ruler’ of v. 10a; (b) although the “expectation that something is laid up for Judah at the end of days is eschatological”, the neuter plural τὰ ἀποκείμενα “cannot refer to a messianic king”⁶; (c) the antecedent of αὐτός in the last clause is Judah, “rather than a later individual ruler”⁷. Thus, in his view, unlike the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Targums, LXX Gen 49,10 does not attest an

2. M. RÖSEL, *Die Interpretation von Genesis 49 in der Septuaginta*, in *BN* 79 (1995) 54-70, esp. p. 63.

3. J. LUST, *Septuagint and Messianism, with a Special Emphasis on the Pentateuch*, in H. GRAF REVENTLOW (ed.), *Theologische Probleme der Septuaginta und der hellenistischen Hermeneutik* (VWGT, 11), Gütersloh, Kaiser – Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1997, pp. 26-45, esp. p. 41.

4. N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, *Tradiciones tribales: Los hijos de Jacob*, in *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 6 (2001) 147-165, esp. p. 157.

5. W. HORBURY, *Monarchy and Messianism in the Greek Pentateuch*, in M.A. KNIBB (ed.), *The Septuagint and Messianism* (BETL, 195), Leuven, University Press – Peeters, 2006, pp. 79-128, esp. p. 109. See also W. HORBURY, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ*, London, SCM, 1998, p. 50.

6. J.J. COLLINS, *Messianism and Exegetical Tradition: The Evidence of the LXX Pentateuch*, in KNIBB (ed.), *The Septuagint and Messianism* (n. 5), 129-150, esp. p. 139.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

expectation of a messianic or Davidic king. On the contrary, as he concludes, “Judah was destined to play a leadership role not only for the tribes of Israel, but also for the nations”⁸.

So far a survey of recent contributions to the discussion of our text. As may be clear, points of discussion concern the question to whom αὐτῷ and αὐτός in v. 10b might refer, and the meaning of the phrase τὰ ἀποκείμενα in the same part of the verse.

II. SOME REMARKS ON THE GREEK TEXT

Before discussing further the issue of how to interpret the Greek text of Gen 49,10 the following comments on the Greek text compared to the MT may be in order.

1. V. 10a

The Greek ἄρχων for Hebrew שבט (‘scepter’) occurs only here in the LXX, but a similar case is found in Num 24,17 where the same Hebrew word is rendered with ἄνθρωπος. In both passages, the LXX speaks of a leader, designated ‘a ruler from Judah’ and ‘a man from Israel’, respectively. The interpretation in v. 10a also reminds one of CD 7:20 where Hebrew שבט as found in Num 24,17 (“a scepter arises out of Israel”) is said to refer to “the prince (נשיא) of the whole congregation”⁹. Interestingly, 1 Esdras 7,8 testifies to a similar case because it contains the rendering φύλαρχος for Hebrew שבט in Ezra 6,17, albeit that the latter is used here in the sense of ‘tribe’.

Greek ἐκλείπω as equivalent of the verb סור is not found elsewhere in the LXX, but its choice may well be due to the use of ‘ruler’ as interpretative rendering of ‘scepter’. Although ἡγούμενος for מקק is not attested elsewhere, it corresponds to the way the Hebrew term is taken (in the sense of ‘ruler’) at other places (Deut 33,21 [LXX ἀρχόντων]; Isa 33,22 [LXX ἄρχων])¹⁰.

The phrase ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ as rendering of מבין רגליו has a parallel in Deut 28,57 (MT and LXX [διὰ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ]). Strictly

8. *Ibid.*

9. Cf. 4Q266, 3 iii 21.

10. Cf. L. MONSENGWO-PASINYA, *Deux textes messianiques de la Septante*, in *Bib* 61 (1980) 357-376, esp. p. 363. For more examples (e.g., Sir 10,5), see J. ELWOLDE, *Distinguishing the Linguistic and the Exegetical: The Biblical Book of Numbers in the Damascus Document*, in *DSD* 7 (2000) 1-25, esp. pp. 6-8.

speaking the term μηρός evokes Hebrew ךרר; see for example Gen 46,26, a passage about the offspring of Jacob¹¹.

2. V. 10b

This part of the text contains the enigmatic phrase τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ. It presupposes a reading of the Hebrew *shiloh* as *shelloh*, “that which belongs to him”, an interpretation also attested in other ancient versions (Aquila, Symmachus, Targums)¹². The verb ἀπόκειμαι occurs a few times only in the LXX – e.g. Job 38,23 where it is used in the context of things (“snow”) being reserved as ‘treasures’ (v. 22) – but the expression used in our text (τὰ ἀποκείμενα) does not. It is found in the later version of Symmachus (Isa 10,17).

The final clause of v. 10 reads καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν. Instead of “and to him” (MT), the LXX reads “and he”, αὐτός being the subject of a nominal clause. Scholars agree that the rendering προσδοκία, “expectation”, is based on a understanding of תקה as derived from the root הק. One may compare Lam 2,16 – about the enemies of Zion saying, this is the day (of victory) we longed for – where in the LXX the verb προσδοκάω is employed as rendering of הק.

Let us now turn to the question which meaning the Greek text might convey. Obviously, the first part contains the perspective that there will not fail, in the course of time, a ruler or leader from Judah. As is indicated by the phrase “from his thighs” the rulers implied are descendants of Judah. One wonders which kind of leadership might be at stake here – leader of the tribe (compare LXX Num 1,16), or leader of the people of Israel, and if the latter applies, the question arises whether the “ruler” is a royal figure, or not. I will come back to this issue below.

As the second half of the verse indicates, there ever will be a ruler from Judah until a period of time that is marked by the coming of “things that were laid up, reserved, to him”. Here we touch upon the expression (τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ), which has been said to be ‘mysterious’¹³. Various suggestions have been made.

11. Also the term δσφός is employed, see LXX Gen 35,11.

12. Cf. A. SALVESEN, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (JSS Mon, 15), Manchester, Victoria University of Manchester, 1991, pp. 61-63.

13. J.W. WEVERS, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SBL SCS, 35), Atlanta, GA, Scholars, 1993, p. 826. Compare M. RÖSEL, *Jakob, Bileam und der Messias: Messianische Erwartungen in Gen 49 und Num 22–24*, in KNIBB (ed.), *Septuagint and Messianism* (n. 5), 151-176, esp. p. 159: “auffällig und rätselhaft”.

On the assumption that “to him” denotes Judah, L. Monsengwo-Pasinya states: “Quant à ce qui est réservé à Juda, nous estimons que le traducteur pense à Micah 5,1, ou, du reste, un ἄρχων, annoncé pour tout Israël, est dit sortir de Juda”¹⁴. However, if one takes “to him” as referring to the ruler of v. 10a, “ce qui est réservé” could be understood, he argues, in a way similar to what is attested by the Targums¹⁵, namely, as “le royaume, ou bien la royauté, le pouvoir royale”¹⁶. As to the question what are the things held in reserve J.W. Wevers offers two suggestions: “The perquisites of royalty? Or possibly spoils, tribute?”¹⁷. Rösel, on the other hand, thinks of a particular event being stored for a ruler from Judah (“wenn ein Ereignis eintritt, das für einen solchen Herrscher aufbewahrt ist”)¹⁸. And Horbury, on the other hand, states that the ἀποκείμενα are like “the [good] things that are ready for you” in LXX Deut 32,35. R. Sollamo, finally, notes that it “might point to the scepter and the ruler’s staff”¹⁹.

What to make of all this? Does the phrase τὰ ἀποκείμενα refer to royalty, in one way or another, or to something else? An important issue is: Who is referred to in αὐτῷ? As we have seen, some think “him” is the “ruler” of v. 10a, or alternatively, the “he”-figure of the final clause of v. 10, whereas others have argued that the antecedent of “him” is Judah. In my view, the latter option is more plausible than the former one: v. 10a is about rulers “from Judah” and leaders from “his” thighs; hence the phrase “the things reserved to him” makes good sense if taken as alluding to things being reserved for Judah. Moreover, he is the one who is already thought to be present before the particular moment arrives.

How then to understand τὰ ἀποκείμενα? As to this question I would suggest to read our text in light of a passage, also hinted at by Horbury (cf. above), which seems to reflect an idea which is quite similar – LXX Deut 32,34-35:

³⁴ οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα συνῆκται παρ’ ἐμοὶ
καὶ ἐσφράγισται ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου;

14. MONSENGWO-PASINYA, *Deux textes* (n. 10), p. 364.

15. E.g., Targ Onk Gen 49,10: “until the Messiah shall come, whose is the kingdom”.

16. MONSENGWO-PASINYA, *Deux textes* (n. 10), p. 364.

17. WEVERS, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (n. 13), p. 826.

18. RÖSEL, *Interpretation* (n. 2), 63. For a similar idea, see M. KARRER – W. KRAUS (eds.), *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*. Bd. I: *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011, p. 252 (“die Vorstellung eines kommenden messianischen Zeitalters” [P. Prestel, S. Schorch]).

19. R. SOLLAMO, *Messianism and the ‘Branch of David’: Isaiah 11,1-5 and Genesis 49,8-12*, in KNIBB (ed.), *Septuagint and Messianism* (n. 5), 357-370, esp. p. 369.

³⁵ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω,
ἐν καιρῷ, ὅταν σφαλῆ ὁ ποὺς αὐτῶν·
ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἡμέρα ἀπολείας αὐτῶν,
καὶ πάρεστιν ἔτοιμα ὑμῖν.

³⁴ Look, have not these things been gathered with me
and sealed up in my treasuries?

³⁵ In a day of vengeance, I will repay,
in a time when their foot slips,
because near is the day of their destruction
and things prepared for you are at hand. (NETS)

This passage in Greek has it that God has “gathered” (MT כָּמַט, Samaritan Pentateuch [SP] כְּנוֹס) “things” (MT and SP: sing. [הָרָא]) which, in the Greek, are best understood as the things mentioned in the next verse – “things prepared for you”²⁰. (It is interesting to note that in v. 34a Symmachus reads ἀπόκειται instead of συνῆκται.) The underlying idea is that God has stored up, sealed up in his treasuries, things that will happen at a particular moment in history²¹. The things prepared pertain to the destruction of Israel’s enemies (cf. also v. 36); “for you” refers to Israel. These things will happen at a “day” which is said to be near; they “are at hand”, that is to say, the destruction will happen soon.

According to LXX Deut 32, salvation from the enemies is what was stored up, prepared for Israel. Notably, salvation is also a major topic in the last words of Jacob for his son Judah in LXX Gen 49,8-12 as is clear from v. 8: “Judah, may your brothers praise you; your hands (shall be) on the back of your enemies”. So one could argue that the things stored up to Judah allude to the expectation that at a certain moment in history, in the last days (cf. v. 1), Judah will bring liberation from enemies, the result being peace as is in line with vv. 11-12 (for these verses, see below).

The last clause of v. 10 reads, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἔθνῶν. Here two questions need an answer: who is “he”, and who are the “nations”? In line with the previous clause, “he” should be taken as a reference to Judah. However, since the passage of v. 10b is of an eschatological nature, it is obvious that “he” is not Judah in the strict sense of the word, *i.e.* the son of Jacob. One could argue that the tribe of Judah might be

20. For a discussion of this passage, see C. DOGNIEZ – M. HARL, *Le Deutéronome* (BdA, 5), Paris, Cerf, 1992, p. 336. As to the exegesis of v. 34 in MT, see P. SANDERS, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32* (OTS, 37), Leiden – New York – Köln, Brill, 1996, pp. 225-228.

21. For a similar idea – God “preparing” (ἐπιτιμάζων) things to be done later – see LXX 1 Sam 2,3. Compare also LXX Job 38,22-23.

meant here but this does not fit the context of the passage as a whole (vv. 8-12) because not only the focus on leadership in v. 10a but also what follows in vv. 11-12 strongly suggests that a ruler from Judah is meant:

¹¹ Binding his foal to a vine and his donkey's foal to the tendril,
he shall wash his robe in wine and his garment in the blood of a bunch of grapes;

¹² his eyes are gladdening from wine, and his teeth are more white than milk. (NETS)

This feature is typical of blessings and genres such as a 'testament' that open up vistas of the future far beyond the lifetime of the one addressed. A similar case is known from the book of *Jubilees*. In chapter 31 we are told that Isaac, after having blessed Levi (vv. 13-17) said to Judah, in v. 18: "May the LORD give you the power and strength to trample on all who hate you. Be a prince – you and one of your sons – for Jacob's sons". Judah is the one addressed, but it is clear that "you", 'Judah', also implies "one of your sons" as far as the role of 'prince' is concerned.

In the last clause of v. 10, (the ruler of) Judah is characterized as the "expectation of nations". Most scholars assume that the "nations" are to be understood here as the nations in general. Read that way, it is understandable that the clause has been considered to be messianical – so, e.g.: "L'expression 'attente des nations' (...) explicite le sens messianique"²² –, and that it has been regarded close to passages like LXX Isa 11,10²³. However, this understanding of "nations" is not compelling because, as has been pointed out by Monsengwo-Pasinya²⁴, it is possible to interpret the term in v. 10b in a different way. He rightly observes that there are several passages in LXX Genesis where the plural of ἔθνος is used in order to denote a great and strong people. The relevant passages he refers to are Gen 17,16; 28,3; 35,11; 48,19. Most of them are about the people promised to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, i.e. the people of Israel. The last one (Gen 48,19), on the other hand, has the sons of Joseph in mind: "his younger brother – Ephraim – shall be greater than he – Manasse –, and his seed shall become a multitude of nations (εἰς πλῆθος ἔθνῶν)".

There are, however, other passages, not mentioned by Monsengwo-Pasinya, that are of interest. According to LXX Gen 17,20, Ishmael, son

22. M. HARL, *La Genèse* (BdA, 1), Paris, Cerf, 1986, p. 309. Cf. RÖSEL, *Jakob, Bileam und der Messias* (n. 13), p. 160 ("ein universales Heilsverständnis").

23. So already Jerome in his *Commentary to Isaiah* (ad Isa 11,10).

24. MONSENGWO-PASINYA, *Deux textes* (n. 10), p. 366.

of Abraham, is blessed by God thus: “[I] will increase him and multiply him exceedingly, twelve nations shall he beget (δώδεκα ἔθνη γεννήσει), and I will make him a great nation”. The picture of “twelve nations” (MT “twelve princes”, cf. Gen 25,16 [MT and LXX]) gives rise to the idea that “nations” are considered to be the (twelve) tribes of the people of Ishmael. This connotation, however, does not fit Gen 48,19, the blessing of Ephraim. Here the plural “nations” rather reflects the idea of great strength. This probably applies also to the phrase συναγωγὰι ἔθνῶν in Gen 28,3; 35,11; 48,4 because the same expression is found in LXX Jer 27,9 (MT 50,9) in the sense of a large and most powerful army.

Last but not least, another passage, also not referred to by Monsengwo-Pasinya, should not go unnoticed – Gen 17,4-6. Here the well-known designation of Abraham is found – “father of a multitude of nations” (v. 4, cf. v. 5), followed by the promise that God will make “nations of you” (v. 6). There are good reasons to believe that in these instances too the “(multitude of) nations” does not denote the nations in general, but rather the people of Israel²⁵. First, this would be in line with v. 16 where it says the son of Abraham shall become “nations”, as well in line with the passages in Gen 28, 35, and 48 referred to above. Moreover, it is also supported by the use of “nations” in Gen 17,20, and finally, the last verse of Gen 17 (v. 27) contains an expression in Greek, which also favours the view that the “nations” of Abraham pertain to the people of Israel. Gen 17,27 refers to two groups of slaves, the latter one being designated in Greek οἱ ἀργυρώνητοι ἐξ ἀλλογενῶν ἔθνῶν. The use of ἀλλογενής together with the plural of ἔθνος seems to mark the distinction between the “nations” of which Abraham is said to be the father, on the one hand, and the “other” nations, on the other²⁶.

What does this mean for v. 10b? The above would imply that the clause “he is the expectation of nations” alludes to a ruler from Judah who is hoped for by Israel. As a matter of fact, this understanding makes good sense in v. 10b as a whole because the reference in the first clause to a ruler who in the last days shall liberate the people of Israel from the enemies fits the idea of a leader expected by this people.

All in all, the Greek text of Gen 49,10 contains the promise that there ever will be a leader, or ruler, from Judah (v. 10a), ending in the perspective of a ruler from Judah expected by the people of Israel (“nations”) as the one who will bring liberation from the enemies (v. 10b), the result

25. This interpretation is also found in Josephus, *Ant.* 1.191 and in Targ Onk Gen.

26. See A. VAN DER KOIJ, *ἀλλογενής*, to be published in the *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint*, ed. by E. BONS and J. JOOSTEN.

being a situation of peace (cf. vv. 11-12). Understood this way, the verse, in particular the second half of it, points to a ruler in the sense of a military leader.

III. A MESSIANIC KING?

As we have seen, some scholars have argued that the figure implied in v. 10b is to be seen as a ‘messiah’. Due to the constraints of this contribution, I shall deal with this issue briefly only. Since the term ‘messiah’ evokes the big issue of what might be called ‘concepts of leadership in Early Judaism’ I will start by depicting a rough picture of these concepts.

Jewish and non-Jewish sources in the Hellenistic era testify to various concepts of leadership as far as the Jewish nation is concerned. They reflect, roughly speaking, two models – a single rulership and a joint one (also called the diarchic type), the former representing priestly rule with royal status, the latter being marked by two persons sharing leadership of the polity, a priestly figure, and a king-like one (prince)²⁷.

The concept of the high priest as the leader of the Jewish nation is to be found in several sources, *e.g.*, the Wisdom of Ben Sira (Hebrew) and the Letter of Aristeas. Interestingly, this picture is also attested by a source dating to the beginning of the Hellenistic era: the description of the Jewish nation by Hecataeus of Abdera (ca. 300 BCE), a Greek scholar who lived in Alexandria. He tells his readers that priests were selected by Moses “to head the entire nation”, and that they did so under the supreme direction of a priest who was “regarded as superior to his colleagues in wisdom and virtue” – the high priest²⁸.

The legitimization of priestly rule on the basis of Scripture, that is to say, of books that were considered authoritative because of being “ancestral” (cf. Sir Prologue 10), was an important issue at stake. As has been demonstrated by scholars, Sir 45,24-25 (H) reflects an ideology according to which the high-priesthood granted by God to Phinehas also embodies the royal office granted to David²⁹. The question of the relationship

27. For these two types, see D. GOODBLATT, *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity* (TSAJ, 38), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1994, pp. 30-76.

28. See M. STERN, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*. Vol. I: *From Herodotus to Plutarch*, Jerusalem, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974, p. 28.

29. See K.E. POMYKALA, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (SBL EJS, 7), Atlanta, GA, Scholars, 1995, p. 142; A. VAN DER KOOIJ, *The Claim of Maccabean Leadership and the Use of Scripture*, in

between the covenant with Phinehas (Num 25) and that of David is 'solved' here in a remarkable way, the latter having been added to the former in order to serve the interests of priestly rulership³⁰. Hence, the high priest is presented as a ruler having royal status.

Beside this model, the priestly office embodying the royal one in a single leader, other sources testify to a justification of the diarchic type. *Jub.* 31, focusing on Levi and Judah, offers an interesting example in this regard³¹. It is told that a "spirit of prophecy descended into the mouth" (v. 12) of Isaac who then blessed Jacob's two sons, Levi first and Judah afterwards. Levi is promised that he and his descendants will serve God in his temple, and that they will be "princes, judges, and leaders of all the descendants of Jacob's sons" (v. 15). And to Judah it is said (among other things): "Be a prince – you and one of your sons – for Jacob's sons" (v. 18). The passage reflects the idea of a dual leadership, Levi being superior to Judah. It is to be noted though that the priestly part is described in the plural – "princes" – and the lay part in the singular – "prince". While the latter refers to a leader from Judah, the former envisages a group of leading priests, including presumably the figure of the high priest³². The role of Judah, the "prince", is that of a military leader because it is said: "Then the nations will be frightened before you (...) all peoples will be disturbed. May Jacob's help be in you; may Israel's safety be found in you" (31,18-19).

As is well-known, the Dead Sea Scrolls contain a number of texts which also testify to forms of a diarchy. CD for example provides the following picture: (a) the Interpreter of the law, to be understood as a priestly figure, and (b) the Prince of the whole congregation (CD

B. ECKHARDT (ed.), *Jewish Identity and Politics between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba: Groups, Normativity, and Rituals* (JSJS, 155), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2012, 29-49, esp. pp. 32-34.

30. 1 Macc is yet another writing testifying to the model of a single leadership. It too reflects a legitimization of leadership related to Phinehas and David (1 Macc 2,54.57), albeit in a way different from Ben Sira. Both heroes of the past are depicted as exemplars to be imitated, the result being a particular reward. Instead of being a ruler who is high priest and leader as stated in the Honorary Decree in 1 Macc 14, the final testament of Mattathias in 1 Macc 2 conveys the promise that his family will be rewarded eventually not only with the office of high priest but also with the heritage of the royal throne (VAN DER KOOIJ, *Claim of Maccabean Leadership* [n. 29], pp. 42-47).

31. Cf. GOODBLATT, *Monarchic Principle* (n. 27), p. 61; J.J. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, New York – London, Doubleday, 1995, pp. 85-86.

32. On these (leading) priests, see A. VAN DER KOOIJ, *The Septuagint of the Pentateuch*, in J. COOK – A. VAN DER KOOIJ (eds.), *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom: On the Provenance of Translators and Their Books in the Septuagint Version* (CBET, 68), Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, Peeters, 2012, 15-62, pp. 51-53.

7:18-20)³³. A similar picture is to be found in 1QS which speaks of two messiahs, a messiah of Aaron and a messiah of Israel (CD 9:11). Other documents do not use the term “prince” but “branch” by referring to the lay leader as the Branch of David (4Q161; 4Q174; 4Q285)³⁴.

Regarding LXX Gen 49,10 these external data are of course of interest, but they can only help us further if LXX Pentateuch, being the literary context of our text, provides evidence concerning the constitutional issue of leadership. As I have argued elsewhere, the Old Greek of the Law contains a few passages that are very interesting in this regard. Passages such as Exod 19,6; 23,20-23 and Deut 17,14-20 in LXX Pentateuch, if read together, reflect the idea that a body of leading priests, the “royal priesthood” of Exod 19,6, under the supreme direction of the high priest (cf. Exod 23,20-23), is considered governing the Jews, whereas the “ruler” of LXX Deut 17 (ἄρχων, not “king” as in the MT) can be understood as a lay leader being subordinate to the priests heading the nation³⁵.

Seen from this perspective, it is reasonable to assume that LXX Gen 49,10 is about a type of leadership that is in line with a passage such as LXX Deut 17 – a “ruler” (ἄρχων in both passages) of Israel. Both passages have in common that this leader is marked by a military role³⁶. It is to be noted that this role is also typical of the figure of Joshua in the story of his appointment in LXX Num 27,15-23. Interestingly, this picture of the lay leader as a warrior agrees with what is found in other sources, referred to above – *Jub.* 31,18-20 and CD 7:20-21 (the Prince “will destroy all the sons of Seth” [cf. Num 24,17]).

Turning now to the question whether the ruler implied in the second half of LXX Gen 49,10 could be termed messiah, I would suggest the following. If read in the light of the passages in LXX Pentateuch mentioned above it is unlikely to regard him a ‘messianic’ king because the royalty belongs to the body of leading priests (cf. βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα

33. There is of course the question of how this picture is related to “the messiah of Aaron and Israel” in CD 14:19 and a few other places. It is disputed whether this phrase alludes to one or two messiahs. If one prefers the view, as I do, that the phrase refers to a single leader (the priestly one, cf. the Interpreter of the law) the Prince was not considered, in CD, a messianic king (of note is also the use of “prince” in CD 5:1 in relation to the law of the king in Deut 17).

34. For a discussion of the issues involved, see COLLINS, *Scepter and Star* (n. 31); POMYKALA, *Davidic Dynasty* (n. 29); G.G. XERAVITS, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (STDJ, 47), Leiden, Brill, 2003.

35. VAN DER KOOIJ, *Septuagint Pentateuch* (n. 32), pp. 42-54. For a most recent and detailed discussion of LXX Deut 17,14-20, see H. AUSLOOS, *The ‘Law of the King’ (Deut 17,14-20) in the Septuagint: Between Ideal and Reality*, in *Semitaica* 55 (2013) 157-172.

36. VAN DER KOOIJ, *Septuagint Pentateuch* (n. 32), p. 54.

in LXX Exod 19,6), whereas the military leader of LXX Deut 17 is not called “king” (as in the MT), but “ruler” (ἄρχων; cf. prince). The latter term is also employed in LXX Gen 49,10a, and it therefore is unlikely that the leader of our text is a king-messiah. It is arguable though that the type of ruler of v. 10a is to be distinguished from the one evoked in the second half of the verse because the latter, unlike the former, is connected with the eschatological liberation³⁷. But even so this does not mean that the latter was thought of as a king-messiah. True, as we know from Qumran there are instances where the Prince is also considered a royal messiah, but such an equation does not seem to be self-evident³⁸. So, as for LXX Gen 49,10b I end by saying that, although it cannot be excluded as a possibility, it does not seem likely that the figure being expected by the people of Israel is to be seen a messiah³⁹.

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37. As an example of such a distinction, see Targ Onk Gen 49,10: “ruler” and “scribe” in v. 10a, and “the messiah” in v. 10b. For the idea of a royal (and Davidic) leader in v. 10b, see also 4Q252 (DJD XXII).

38. CD is an interesting case in point; see note 31 above. The Hasmonean propaganda as reflected in 1 Macc and other sources (Josephus) is also of note in this regard. Although the term ‘leader’, or ‘ethnarch’, in use for the Maccabean leaders of the 2nd century BCE, conveys a notion close to kingship, the decision to introduce the term ‘king’ (about 100 BCE) was considered by Jewish circles an important political shift.

39. Further research is needed, not only of related texts in LXX Pentateuch, such as the prophecies of Num 24, but also of other related texts, such as *Jub.* 31,18-20.