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BEHIND THE SCENES OF *HTLS*: THE CASE STUDY OF ἐντρέπω

One of the indubitable strengths of the ongoing project of the *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint* is the effort of placing a selected number of Septuagint lemmas in a context which is not only (which would already be a valuable task) that of contemporary literature, but also, more broadly, that of the history of ancient Greek language[1]. Although the Septuagint is still poorly studied in faculties of Classics, it has now been largely recognized that it provides scholars with a huge amount of linguistic information, by representing one of the widest and most complete witnesses of the development of the Greek language in the Hellenistic period[2]. While the lexicon does not deny the importance of the Christian theological development by including the early reception of Septuagint vocabulary (in both the New Testament and the works of Church Fathers), it gives at the same time a solid framework to place its language in the context where it was first conceived. The structure of the lexicon may thus be an encouragement to new perspectives by means of giving a transdisciplinary view on a lemma: it has in fact a dedicated focus on the LXX use which at the same time traces the semantic development from the first attestation in ancient Greek literature up to the early reception of the Septuagint. The selection of lemmas is based on the interest of this kind of development and on the possibility for each article of a meaningful discussion of semantic changes and of the losses and gains which characterize intercultural

[1] E. Bons (ed.), *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint. Volume I Alpha – Gamma* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020). I here take the liberty of warmly thanking the editor and supervisor of my PhD course, Prof. Eberhard Bons, as well as Prof. James K. Aitken, member of the advisory board of the HTLS, for their precious advice on my studies. A special thanks goes to Monica Campeggi (University of Milan), who kindly made available to me sources that are not in Bologna and to Marco Palma (University of Cambridge) for his constant and invaluable support.

[2] As Millar argues, «in a "Western" culture based on a (very partial) fusion of Judaeo-Christian and Classical traditions, it is puzzling to reflect on how very few students of Greek will have been offered the chance to read a private letter on papyrus or an honorific decree put up by a Greek city – or the Septuagint, or the New Testament or Josephus or Eusebius», in F. Millar, *The Greek World, the Jews and the East* (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 506. Although there are some exceptions, this statement still holds true for the majority of Classics department in Europe. On the (often ancillary) role of the Greek translation in Biblical studies, see the analysis by E. Bons, «Septuagint Studies between Past and Future. State of the Art and New Perspectives», in *Id. et al.* (ed.), *Die Septuaginta – Themen, Manuskripte, Wirkungen*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 444 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 3-17.

translation. In studying the Greek Bible, the lexical level is of outmost interest since it is probably the first and foremost layer of the language in which the *symbolon*, the unique coming together of Jewish and Hellenistic cultures is made visible[3]. On the one hand the lexical choices of the translators testify the high level of integration of Jewish communities within Hellenistic cultural spaces and their interest in participating to these spaces[4]; on the other, the success of the whole operation owes much to the permeability and malleability of the Greek language, which permits a considerable variety of word formations as well as multiple possibilities of interpretation of the same word, especially in the case of compounds[5]. The relative frequency of occurrence of roots as well as the selection of secondary or even completely new meanings are witnesses to the process of actualization and interpretation of Scripture that was realized through the translation.

This paper aims to present some work in progress in preparation for the lemma ἐντρέπω/ἐντροπή, included in the upcoming second volume of the HTLS, and to use the case study to point out some recurrent methodological issues, as well as some exemplary content outcomes[6]. The analysis will concentrate on the first phases of the history of those words and will only give some preliminary observations based on both a literary and documentary corpus, previous and contemporary to the Septuagint[7]. The word formation at the basis of the verb ἐντρέπω is very transparent, a compound from the root *τρεπ-, with the approximate meaning of 'turning', and the preposition ἐν; the new meaning created by the compound

[3] The image of the *symbolon* to describe the Septuagint is taken from V. Olivero, «A Genealogy of Lust. The Use of Hesiod's *Theogony* in the LXX Translation of the Book of Proverbs» (Textus 2021), 1-2.
[4] See the brilliant analysis by T. Rajak, *Translation and survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), esp. 64-91, 125-175.
[5] See the remarks on «new semantic developments in old words» by J.A.L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 53-84, a section which includes a very brief mention of ἐντρέπομαι (83). See also J. K. Aitken, «Neologisms: A Septuagint Problem», in Id. – J.M.S. Clines – C.M. Maier (ed.), *Interested Readers: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David J. A. Clines* (Atlanta: SBL, 2013), 7.
[6] Though the final article in HTLS will include the analysis of the substantive, though this paper is only concerned with the verb.
[7] This material will pertain to the first three paragraphs of the standard HTLS article, which is divided into 6 paragraphs based on the corpus examined (*i.e.*, 1. Greek Literature; 2. Papyri and inscriptions; 3. Septuagint; 4. Jewish Literature in Greek; 5. New Testament; 6. Early Christian Literature).

would thus be something like 'to turn about', 'to turn towards'[8]. In the active, the verb is extremely rare. It is attested in a passage from Herodotus, where the designation of a concrete physical movement is used in a military context with reference to the action of turning one's back in a (simulated) retreat. Since it is a hapax in the *Histories*, it might be interesting to cite the whole passage:

Λακεδαιμόνοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὁρῶντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήισαν, οἱ δ ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων. […] Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνέατο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω.
The Spartans fought memorably, in many ways showing that they were able to use weapons among people who weren't, especially when they turned their backs and feigned flight: the Barbarians, seeing that they were running away, set to follow them shouting and making noise, but as soon as they were close to be reached, they always turned again and faced the Barbarians and with these sudden turnings they killed a big number of Persians. […] Since they could not occupy even a part of the pass, although they had tried to attack it in ranks and in every other way, the Persians retreated[9].

It could be that this isolated instance of the active form of the verb is here used to highlight the contrast between the strategic move of the Spartans, who feigned retreat, and the following unexpected move, expressed by ὑποστρέφω and μεταστρέφω; the final retreat of the Persians, which is on the contrary a real one, is then rendered with the closing ἀπελαύνω[10].

However, the most common usage of the verb in Greek literature is metaphorical and pertains to the idea of respect and of shame consequent to failing in performing the due respect. A characteristic of this relation of the verb to the sphere of shame is the use of the medium form since this feeling is experienced by the inner self and directly concerns the

[8] The origin of the word is not clear, and its original meaning is debatable; cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1999), *sub voce τρέπω*: «L'étymologie pose un problème. Si l'on admet une base **trep-* on peut rapprocher skr. *trápate* 'avoir honte, être embarrassé' dont la resemblance pour le sens avec grec ἐντρέπομαι est remarquable». H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1961), *sub voce τρέπω*, recognizes «verschiedene Sinnfärbungen» and «Zahlreiche Ableitungen» to the root, and adds the example of Latin *turpis*, «wovon man sich abwendet, wovor man sich scheut?».

[9] *Historiae*, VII, 211 (my translation).

[10] Commentators linger on the military aspects of this passage, and do not seem to pay much attention to the verbal *hapax*; cf. W.W. How – J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus with Introduction and Appendixes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 224; P. Vannicelli – A. Corcella, *Erodoto. Le storie. Libro VII. Serse e Leonida* (Milano: Fondazione Valla/Mondadori, 2017), 562. Another instance of the verb in the active form, though in a totally different context, is found in Aristophanes' *Acarnians*, 981.

personal involvement of the subject[11]. The first attestation of the verb in this form is in a rare Homeric formula which occurs twice in the poems (*Il* XV, 554 and *Od* I, 60) and is the only usage in Greek epic. The expression ἐντρέπεται φίλον ἦτορ is usually interpreted as 'to show regard in one's heart' (litt. 'the heart shows regard')[12]. In the two identical attestations, the ἦτορ, normally identified with the heart, is asked whether it feels respect or not[13]. The presence of this meaning in the Homeric poems, although sporadic, testifies that this nuance has been felt in the linguistic sensibility of the Greeks since the earliest times and in an advanced state of abstractness. Already in Homer, in fact, the verb traces a direct link with the complex conception of shame and respect that is mostly qualified by the word αἰδώς, the mixed feeling of reverence induced by someone who is felt as superior or worthy, or by the conscience of the possibility of one's wrongdoing and consequent ruin that counts as a deterrent from bad actions[14].

In the literature of the Classical period, ἐντρέπομαι is still scarcely attested and mostly found in the negative form, especially in highly polemical or ironical contexts, where the protagonist should feel a certain degree of respect but fails. Attic tragedy presents the following examples:

ΑΘΗΝΑ: ὦ οὗτος, Αἴας, δεύτερόν σε προσκαλῶ / τί βαιὸν οὕτως ἐντρέπῃ τῆς συμμάχου;
ATHENA: You there, Ajax, I call you a second time! Why have you so little regard for your ally? (Sophocles, *Ajax*, 90)[15].
ΙΟΚΑΣΤΗ: τί δ' ὄντιν' εἶπε; μηδὲν ἐντραπῇς. μάτην / ῥηθέντα βούλου μηδὲ μεμνῆσθαι τάδε.

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[11] Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven – Paris – Bristol CT: Peeters, 2016), 239. See also R.J. Allan, *The Middle Voice in Ancient Greek. A Study in Polysemy* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 2003).

[12] H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1885), *sub voce ἐντρέπομαι*, understood the meaning to be more physically connotated, and translates it as «vertor intus, penitus permoveor, tangor, afficior cura». For R.J. Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), *sub voce ἐντρέπω*, the meaning «to heed, have regard, care» comes directly from the physical movement of «turning oneself towards something».

[13] On the 'mental organs' and their role in the Homeric poems, see H. Pelliccia, «Mental Organs», in M. Finkelberg (ed.), *The Homer Encyclopedia. Volume II* (Chichester: Blackwell, 2011), 509-510 and relative bibliography.

[14] See R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary. Volume IV: books 13-16* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 289, who traces the link to αἰδώς and sees the usage here as «but a step from its modern sense 'feel shame'». On αἰδώς and its centrality in Greek literature, see D. Cairns, *Aidos: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

[15] All translations from Sophocles' plays are taken from H. Lloyd-Jones, *Sophocles. Ajax. Electra. Oedipus Tyrannus* (Cambridge, Massachussets – London: Harvard University Press, 1994).

Iocaste: Why ask of whom he spoke? Take no thought of it! Let these words go for nothing and not be remembered (Sophocles, *Oedipus tyrannus*, 1056-1057).

The first usage is highly ironical; Athena is pretending to be Ajax' ally and is calling him out of his tent so that Odysseus can see his disgrace and laugh. She is thus asking for a respect she does not really deserve. The example from *Oedipus Tyrannus* is a passage from the third episode, where Iocaste is desperately trying to prevent Oedipus from listening to the witness about his real origin. Oedipus completely misunderstands the plea of his wife, believing that she is ashamed to discover that he was born in a lower class (l. 1080: τὴν δυσγένειαν τὴν ἐμὴν αἰσχύνεται) and goes on undaunted to discover the abominable truth about his real parents. Both examples see a similar employment of the verb in the negative form; in both situations the respect that would be expected is in effect lacking. In *Ajax*, Athena is ironically appealing to what should be the conformity of the protagonist to the social codes expressed by the semantic area of αἰδώς, which is effective, as the hero immediately emerges from the tent and greets her. In the second example, the usage of ἐντρέπομαι comes at the peak of the distress of the character, who tries everything she can to stop Oedipus' inquiry[16]. Given the rarity of the verb ἐντρέπομαι, there might be a will by the author to underline passages that are central to the plot[17].

The connection with shame in its most common expression (αἰσχύνη) is hinted at in a third example from Attic tragedy, always in a play by Sophocles:

ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑ: Ἀνειμένη μέν, ὡς ἔοικας, αὖ στρέφῃ. / Οὐ γὰρ πάρεστ' Αἴγισθος, ὅς σ' ἐπεῖχ' ἀεὶ / μή τοι θυραίαν γ' οὖσαν αἰσχύνειν φίλους· / νῦν δ' ὡς ἄπεστ' ἐκεῖνος, οὐδὲν ἐντρέπῃ / ἐμοῦ γε κτλ.
CLYTEMNESTRA: You are ranging about once more, it seems, at large; because Aegisthus is not here, he who always used to prevent you from shaming your family at least outside the house. But now that he is away, you show no respect for me (*Electra*, 519-520).

[16] See P.J. Finglass, *Sophocles. Oedipus the King* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 485.
[17] The fourth and last example in Sophoclean drama is in *Oedipus at Colonus*, 1541, where the verb shows an isolated meaning close to 'hesitation': στείχωμεν ἤδη, μηδ' ἔτ' ἐντρεπώμεθα (let us hurry on and no longer hesistate).

At the beginning of the second episode, Clytemnestra is lamenting how Electra is made impudent by the absence of Aegisthus. She is not ashamed to leave the house and show her grief openly, with no attention to her mother's and family's reputation. This failure to show the respect that would be expected from her is here associated with a shameful behaviour in the eyes of the public. The same connection to what is considered as a natural outcome of not showing respect is sometimes more explicit, as in Plato's *Crito*, when the laws of the city are reproaching a hypothetical Socrates that flees from the city to escape the death penalty and ask him whether he is not ashamed of such thoughts (νῦν δὲ οὔτ'ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους αἰσχύνῃ) or is willing to show his respect for them (οὔτε ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων ἐντρέπῃ)[18]. Even in this case, the use is in the negative form, although the prosopopoeia is hypothetical and in the end Socrates remains to face his death penalty, thus showing the respect that the laws were asking for. The feeling expressed by the verb in these examples counts as a deterrent to bad actions and represents the most attested usage. Towards the end of the Classical period, the popularity of the verb starts to shift. Polybius is the first among extant authors to show a predilection for the verb (35 occurrences in the *Histories*) and features different nuances previously unattested, such as the idea of being moved by some news (X, 38.3; XXXI, 2.6) or to yield (XI, 4.6; XIII, 6.5). When Polybius employs the term with reference to the sphere of shame, however, he does in a similar way compared to earlier examples. The idea of failed respect is still present (cf. IX, 36.10; XXI, 46.6; XXX 9.2; XXXIII, 16.3) and, although the verb normally appears in contexts where the outcome is negative in previous literature, Polybius also refers it to cases in which the deterrent is successful (such as in VII, 12.10, where Philip takes the advice of Aratus and is willing to avoid hypocrisy).

The verb ἐντρέπομαι is very rarely attested in documentary sources: among the few papyri that feature the occurrence, one is literary, namely a fragment from Philodemus' *De*

[18] *Crito*, 52c. The only other attestation in Plato's writings is in *Phaedrus*, 254a, similarly in the negative form, with relation to the description of the human soul that is bent by desire.

amore in the collection from Herculaneum (*P. Herc* 1384 col. 22)[19]. Another witness is a petition to the *strategos* Diodotus against the plundering of a temple (*UPZ* 1.5 = *P. Par.* 37, from 163 a.C), in which the form ἐντρεπέντος (l. 24) has been corrected to follow the sense expressed more clearly in *UPZ* 1.6 (= *P. Par*. 35), a similar document to which the former might be the *Vorlage*[20]. The meaning pertains to the idea of 'caring', or 'being preoccupied', which is close to the literary attestations up to this period. Two other occurrences are found in UPZ 62 (= *P. Par.* 49) and UPZ 70 (= *P. Par.* 47), both from the II cent. BCE. The second papyrus is particularly interesting, since it could be a witness to a synonymity between ἐντρέπομαι and αἰσχύνομαι, which might be relevant to the analysis of some occurrences from the Greek Bible. It is a private letter from the Serapeum correspondence, sent by Dionysius to Ptolemy, in which the author is lamenting the behaviour of the recipient's brother, who promised him a favour but afterwards started to ignore him. The text goes as follows:

ὁ δὲ φαίνεται τὴν / ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἀσχοληθεὶς <ἢ> ᾐσχυνται / συμμεῖξαί μοι: εἴπερ οὖν ἐστιν αὕτη / ἡ αἰτία καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτι ἥκει πρὸς ἐμὲ / αἰσχυνθείς: παρακαλέσας αὐτὸν / ἀπόστειλον πρὸς ἐμὲ, γίνεται γὰρ / ἐντραπῆναι: κτλ. (ll. 23-29 recto).
But evidently, since he had no time on that day, he has been ashamed to meet with me. Therefore, if that is the cause and because of this, having become ashamed, he no longer will come to me, encourage him, and send him to me; for it happens that one may feel shame[21].

In this case, the sense of the verb is debated: Wilcken proposes to consider it as 'to change one's mind', because «nach den vohergehenden αἰσχυνθείς wird man hier eine andere Nuance suchen»[22]. Witkowski presents the possibility to consider the verb to be here a near synonym to the close αἰσχύνομαι[23]; in fact, there does not seem to be a real need to imply a different sense where the verb might just be a way of avoiding extensive repetition. The combination of

[19] Cf. A. Antoni, «Le *PHerc.* 1384: édition critique», *Cronache ercolanensi* 42 (2012), 17-92.
[20] See the commentary in U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde). Erster Band. Papyri aus Unterägypten* (Berlin – Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1927), 133.
[21] Translation by J.L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 70-71.
[22] Cf. Wilcken, *Urkunde*, 313. A similar usage is however never attested in other sources, although one might recall some passages in Polybius where characters yield or concede, a behaviour that would fit in Dionysius' invitation (cf. *supra*, 6).
[23] Cf. S. Witkowski, *Epistuale privatae Graecae quae in papyris aetatis Lagidarum servantur* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911), 71.

the two verbs in reference to the sphere of shame is relevant to the translators of the Septuagint, as shall be seen from the following considerations.

From the brief analysis of literary and documentary texts[24], previous and contemporary to the Septuagint, what can be gathered with certainty is that the verb ἐντρέπομαι is relatively rare. In the Septuagint, however, the picture looks different. The verb occurs 48 times in the corpus and counts as one of the four main roots that are used by the translators to express the broad concept of shame and its cognates, together with the most common αἰσχύνομαι (99 times)[25], the rare and more high register αἰδέομαι (5 times)[26], and the causative ὀνειδίζω (58 times). The three occurrences of the word in the Pentateuch are very different from each other:

Exodus 10:3 (ἐντρέπομαι translates ענה):

וַיָּבֹא מֹשֶׁה וְאַהֲרֹן אֶל־פַּרְעֹה וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הָעִבְרִים עַד־מָתַי מֵאַנְתָּ לֵעָנֹת מִפָּנָי שַׁלַּח עַמִּי וְיַעַבְדֻנִי (MT)
εἰσῆλθεν δὲ Μωυσῆς καὶ Ααρων ἐναντίον Φαραω καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν Εβραίων Ἕως τίνος οὐ βούλει ἐντραπῆναι με; ἐξαπόστειλον τὸν λαόν μου, ἵνα λατρεύσωσίν μοι (LXX)
Then Moses and Aaron went in before Pharao and said to him "This is what the Lord, the God of the Hebrews, says 'For how long are you unwilling to respect me? Send away my people so that they may serve me!' (NETS)

Leviticus 26:41 (ἐντρέπομαι translates כנע):

אוֹ־אֲנִי אֵלֵךְ עִמָּם בְּקֶרִי וְהֵבֵאתִי אֹתָם בְּאֶרֶץ אֹיְבֵיהֶם אוֹ־אָז יִכָּנַע לְבָבָם הֶעָרֵל וְאָז יִרְצּוּ אֶת־עֲוֹנָם
καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπορεύθην μετ' αὐτῶν ἐν θυμῷ πλαγίῳ καὶ ἀπολῶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν· τότε ἐντραπήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν ἡ ἀπερίτμητος, καὶ τότε εὐδοκήσουσιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.
and I, in turn, walked in skewed anger with them, and I shall destroy them in the land of their enemies. Then their uncircumcised heart will feel ashamed, and then they will be content with their iniquities.

Numbers 12:14 (ἐντρέπομαι translates כלמ):

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה וְאָבִיהָ יָרֹק יָרַק בְּפָנֶיהָ הֲלֹא תִכָּלֵם שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תִּסָּגֵר שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה וְאַחַר תֵּאָסֵף
καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν Εἰ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς πτύων ἐνέπτυασεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἐντραπήσεται ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας; ἀφορισθήτω ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσελεύσεται.
And the Lord said to Moyses, "If her father when spitting had spat in her face, would she not be put to shame for seven days? Let her be separated for seven days outside the camp, and afterwards she shall enter."

In the first example, the idea of respect that is predominant in previous literature is probably assumed by the translator for the corresponding Hebrew ענה, which is more usually translated

[24] Inscriptions do not witness the verb, apart from two fragmentary (and in one case dubious) entries, *SEG* 8.246 and *SEG* 34.1532.
[25] See N. Grütter – R. Brucker, *αἰσχύνη, αἰσχύνω*, HTLS vol. I, 403-414.
[26] See W. Loader – N. O'Sullivan, *αἰδέομαι, αἰδήμων, αἰδώς, ἀναίδεια, ἀναιδής*, HTLS vol. I, 337-346.

with ταπεινόω, a verb of humiliation and low condition [27]. A similar idea of being humbled is expressed by the Hebrew כנע in the second example: this is no more an isolated case, as the same correspondence is found in later texts (cf. Judg 3:30; 4Kgdms 22:19; 2Chr 7:14, 12:7, 12:12, 30:11), although a translation with ταπεινόω is also an option for this verb (cf. 1 Chr 20:4; 2Chr 33:23). In the third example, the Hebrew idea of humiliation is even more explicit in the root כלמ and again the translation is not isolated but occurs in many places (cf. 2Esdr 9:6; Is 41:11, 45:16, 45:17, 50:7, 54:4; Ez 36:32; Ps 69:7MT/68:7LXX; 40:15MT/39:15LXX).

The humiliation that is expressed by the *niph'al* causative form of the verbs translated by ἐντρέπομαι is more the outcome of a bad action or behaviour, rather than the dutiful sense of respect that should be the deterrent of such actions. This causative sense of being humbled by someone is alien to previous attestations and is a witness of the creative attitude of the translators. Why did they find ἐντρέπομαι so appealing in returning the idea of an inflicted humiliation in Greek? Some examples from the *Psalms* might help answering this question[28].

In the *Psalms*, the verb ἐντρέπομαι is sometimes used together with the common αἰσχύνομαι and seems fit to highlight and strengthen the idea of a felt shame in particularly dense contexts, where the author wishes shame and humiliation to befall on enemies or wrongdoers. A common formula to express this wish in the MT is made up of two juxtaposed verbs, of which the first is usually בוש and the second varies between כלם and חפר, as can be seen from the following examples:

Ps 35:4MT/34:4LXX (ἐντρέπομαι translates כלם, cf. Ps 69:7MT/70:7LXX):

יֵבֹ֤שׁוּ וְיִכָּלְמ֨וּ מְבַקְשֵׁ֪י נַפְשִׁ֡י יִסֹּ֤גוּ אָחוֹר֮ וְיַחְפְּרוּ֮ חֹשְׁבֵ֪י רָ֫עָתִ֥י

αἰσχυνθήτωσαν καὶ ἐντραπήτωσαν οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχήν μου, ἀποστραφήτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὀπισω καὶ καταισχυνθήτωσαν οἱ λογιζόμενοι μοι κακά

[27] Cf. Ps 119:107 MT/118:107 LXX; Is 53:7; 58:10. Cf. A. Le Boulluec – P. Sandevoir, *La Bible d'Alexandrie. L'Exode* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2004), 136.

[28] The book of *Psalms* is particularly interesting for the development of the root, since here are contained 6 out of 7 occurrences of the noun ἐντροπή in the Septuagint (Ps 34:26, 43:16, 68:8, 68:20, 70:13, 108:29), whose analysis will also be included in the HTLS article.

let them be shamed and embarrassed who seek my soul. Let them be turned back, rearwards, and be put to shame who devise evil against me

Ps 40:15MT/39:15LXX (ἐντρέπομαι translates חפר, cf. Ps 35:26MT/34:26LXX; 70:3MT/69:3LXX)

יֵבֹשׁוּ וְיַחְפְּרוּ יַחַד מְבַקְשֵׁי נַפְשִׁי לִסְפּוֹתָהּ יִסֹּגוּ אָחוֹר וְיִכָּלְמוּ חֲפֵצֵי רָעָתִי
καταισχυνθείησαν καὶ ἐντραπείησαν οἱ θέλοντές μοι κακά, κομισάσθωσαν παραχρῆμα αἰσχύνην αὐτῶν οἱ λέγοντές μοι Εὖγε εὖγε
may those be put to shame and embarrassment who seek my soul to remove it; may those be turned back, rearwards, and embarrassed, who want my hurt

When ἐντρέπομαι is used in those couplets[29], it intensifies the meaning of αἰσχύνομαι and seems to convey a physical trait related to the shame of defeat; this image recalls military contexts, where the defeated army is forced to the humiliation of turning their back from the battlefield (cf. the example from Herodotus, *infra*, 3). It might be that the choice of the verb is reminiscent of its concrete meaning and word formation, and that the humiliation conveyed by the Hebrew root is maintained through a physical movement that, although different, brings the same idea of wrongdoing and strengthens the expression by adding a more concrete nuance to the image of defeat.

This kind of semantical passage is not foreign to the Greek Bible, as it is attested for other verbs, especially those concerning the expression of emotions; there are cases where the Greek translation appears very concrete and tends to the visualization and description of the physicality of the emotion more clearly than the Hebrew equivalent, by concentrating more on the movement of the human body. Two examples of this semantic shift, where verbs normally associated with movement are used to express a specific emotion, especially in the case of relational ones, that imply a concrete physical expression, are the following. To express surprise, a root that is sometimes used in Hebrew is תמה. A possible Greek translation of this verb is θαύμαζω (Ps 48:6MT/47:6LXX; Eccl 5:7; Jer 4:9), which is probably chosen for how close it sounds to the original, and is perfectly pertinent. In other cases, the choice falls on

[29] Cf. (on a different set of words) T. Muraoka, «Pairs of Synonyms in the Septuagint Psalms», in R.J.V. Hiebert – C.E. Cox – P.J. Gentry (ed.), *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 36-43.

ἐξίστημι, which in Classical Greek mostly has the physical sense of 'moving', of 'changing one's position in space' or 'leaving' (*e.g.* Thucydides IV, 28.3) as well as, in a metaphorical sense, 'to change one's mind', (*e.g.* Thucydides II, 61.2). In Classical and Hellenistic Greek, the sense of a physical movement is never completely lost even in the most abstract connotations, as in the example of Euripides' *Bacchae*, where Dionysus announces that he will make Pentheus mad (l. 850, πρῶτα δ'ἔκτησον φρενῶν), getting him out from his own good reasoning. The same verb is used with a concrete sense in the Septuagint as well, as in Job 26:11. The context is that of natural forces that arise under the power of God. The verb, again a translation of תמה, is attributed to the pillars of the sky, which are uprooted by God's power and is thus used in its proper physical sense, since the pillars can physically move and fall. Yet, on the other hand, in the Septuagint there are attestations of the verb in its figurative sense of 'being lost', 'confounded', 'surprised'. In Gen 43:33 this semantic passage is clear: ἐξίσταντο δὲ […] ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, "they look at each other with surprise". The same holds for Is 13:8, where the physical sense of ἐξίστημι is underlined by the following sentence, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν ὡς φλὸξ μεταβαλοῦσιν "their face was turned to flames"[30]. Another example is found in one of the roots expressing disgust, the Hebrew נאץ: here the physical nuance implicit in the Hebrew root is rendered clearer in Greek using παροξύνω, whose literal meaning is 'to sharpen' (cf. Dt 32:41, where it is referred to a sword), but the usage in contexts of disgust is the most common in the Septuagint. It looks as if, to the translators, disgust appears as something like a physical indignation, a way of provoking someone; the action implied by παροξύνω is a visible expression of contempt, especially used to indicate the behaviour of the people of Israel in front of God (*e.g. Numbers* 16:30)[31].

[30] Cf. D. Hartman, *Emozioni nella Bibbia. Lessico e passaggi semantici fra Bibbia ebraica e LXX* (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale, 2017), 45-46.
[31] Cf. D. Hartman, *Emozioni*, 64-65.

Coming back to the verb ἐντρέπομαι, looking at previous data from literary and documentary sources, the Septuagint use appears noteworthy for at least two reasons: first there is a continuous interplay between concrete and metaphorical sense and secondly, the distribution of the occurrences is irregular as compared to the corpus of Classical and Hellenistic Greek literature. The verb is not commonly attested in Greek literature before the Hellenistic times and its usage seems confined to the scarce attestation in Homer discussed above, some occurrences in Attic drama and a more diffused, although irregular, employment in Polybius. On the contrary, Septuagint translators seem to like this verb, that appears for a total of 48 occurrences (which almost doubles the attestations of Classical and Hellenistic literature): it might be that the possibilities left open by the clear word formation have been exploited by the translators in contexts and for purposes different from those attested in previous and contemporary texts. Among the different kinds of possible fluctuation in the semantic and usage of a word between the Greek Bible and previous or contemporary literature, such as words with a new meaning from Classical Greek, terms used papyri and inscriptions, terms borrowed from Greek philosophical or anthropological language, new terms created by the translators, the fluctuation shown by ἐντρέπομαι is one of frequency (the word is more used in the Septuagint than in any other corpus) and focus (it is more strictly linked to the idea of directly shaming and humiliating someone). This fluctuation testifies of a complex world of intercultural and interlinguistic passages happening in the translation; from examples like this it is possible to glimpse into the manipulation of the Greek language made by the translators, who end up creating their own way of expressing ideas and concepts through the means of the long-lasting tradition of the Greek language. They were also able to adapt the literary tradition and the semantics of Greek words according to their needs of cultural maintenance within the diaspora. They seem to be conscious of their work and of the means that traditional literature was providing them to express a variety of nuances and

understandings of their own Scripture and culture. That is one of the reasons why there is a need for the scholarly tool of HTLS, which brings both a specific dimension of the history of Judaism and Bible tradition, but at the same time calls for a deeper understanding of the history of the Greek language and is therefore relevant to scholars in Classics. Each article opens a window in the translators' workshop, in which words and concepts are assessed, manipulated, forged, crafted, and finally given to the flow of history.

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