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Doing Good and Bad: Links between Exodus and the Deutero-canonical Books

1 Setting the Tone

In the first chapter of the Book of Exodus, it is reported that the new king in Egypt is considering the growing numbers of the Israelites and that he wants to deal shrewdly with the Israelites.¹ He proposes to "set taskmasters over them to oppress them with forced labor"² (Ex 1:11). The Masoretic text uses the verb ענה "to oppress" combined with הסבלות, "with forced labor." The verb covers a range of actions: causing someone to feel dependent, humiliate someone, to do violence (such as rape) to someone.³ The "forced labour" is mentioned only in 1:11 and in 2:11 – the latter reporting on how Moses was confronted with the forced labour.

Whereas Wevers is correct in pointing to the fact that "the plural (= that is מסים, added by KDT) of MT is probably intended to show various kinds of forced labors", 4 one could wonder whether the action of the taskmasters was indeed what the new king had in mind. In the Hebrew text of Ex 1:10, the text reads: "come and let us deal wisely with him", with the singular suffix referring to עם בני ישראל, the people of the sons of Israel (1:9). 5 The verb (hitp) means "to deal wisely (with)" or "to show oneself wise". 6 Did the taskmasters with their oppressing of the Israelites (1:11) do what their king wanted?

The Old Greek of Ex 1:10 picks up the element of being shrewd by rendering with κατασοφίζομαι, "to outwit". The Old Greek however makes it clear beyond doubt that the action in 1:11 "oppressing with forced labour" is indeed a very negative action and uses the verb κακόω. This very negative evaluation of the "dealing wisely" with the Israelites is later picked up in the Deuterocanonical book of Wisdom of Solomon 19:16 where the same verb is used in the description

¹ The NRSV precisely reads: "let us deal shrewdly with them."

² Again, according to NRSV.

³ Ludwig Koehler & Walter Baumgartner, revised by Baumgartner/Stamm, The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon.

⁴ Wevers, Notes, 5.

⁵ As John W. Wevers notes: "The Israelites (αὐτοῖς) are still referred to in the singular in the MT to agree with the antecedent pp, a nicety that all the versions reject." See Wevers, Notes, 5.

⁶ Wevers, Notes, 5.

of the labour conditions of the Israelites in Egypt. The Old Greek translation of the Book of Exodus has thus set the tone for a negative interpretation of the oppression of the Israelites in the Book of Wisdom of Solomon.

In this contribution, an analysis is offered of the concept of doing good and doing bad in the Book of Exodus and how this concept was received and interpreted in the Deutero-canonical Books. It will be argued that the Old Greek translation of the Book of Exodus has set the tone for many events which are recorded in the Book of Exodus, but also of actions of specific characters, and that this tone was picked up in other Jewish literature, especially the Deutero-canonical literature.

The analysis of the concepts happens on two levels. First, the concepts will be studied in both the MT and the OG of Exodus. Then, the further reception of the concept in esp. Greek Deutero-canonical literature will be traced and the concepts in their new context analysed. Finally, as it is the habit to first always give the bad news and then the good news, this contribution will systematically first address doing bad and then doing good.

2 From the MT Exodus to the OG Exodus

2.1 Doing bad

As stated in the introduction, in Ex 1:11 it is reported that "they set taskmasters over them to oppress them with forced labor". The verb ענה II pi. "to oppress" is used in Ex 1:11, 12; and 22:22 (twice), and in the nifal in 10:3. In 1:11 and 1:12 it is the case of the oppressing of the Israelites (by using forced labour⁸). In 22:22 there is the warning about not mistreating widows and orphans: "you shall not afflict any widow or orphan" and "if you afflict them ...". In 10:3 (albeit nifal), the Hebrew text clearly does not have "oppression" in mind, as it is the pharaoh who is reprimanded for not "listening appropriately" to God, that is humbling himself before God. The use of the Hebrew verb is thus used in a variety of ways: from humbling, to afflicting, and finally to oppressing. In 1:10, it is especially the addition of בסבלות, "with forced labour", that points to the graveness of the situation.

These different acts of oppressing are rendered with different Greek verbs: the oppressing of the Israelites as well as the afflicting of the widows and or-

⁷ The example will be further developed below.

⁸ The example will be further developed below.

phans is rendered in the OG with κακόω in 1:11 and 22:22 (twice). In 1:12 there is a reference to the act of 1:11, however, the translator does not use κακόω but ταπεινόω, "to humble". Moreover, the nifal in 10:3 is rendered with ἐντρέπω, "to reverence", again indicating an action of humbling. In other words, the Old Greek translator has attempted to render the different "modes" of oppression, by carefully choosing the Greek equivalent. The pharaoh thus is scolded for refusing to reverence God while the act of oppressing of 1:11 is taken up by an act of humiliation in 1:12.

What is however remarkable is that besides rendering the verb ענה, the verb κακόω is also used to render the following Hebrew verbs: ינה (5:22, 23) and ינה (22:20, treating a ger badly¹⁰). In 5:22, Moses accuses God of mistreating (רעע) his people and then continues to point to the fact that the Pharaoh has mistreated the people (5:23, also רעע).¹¹

Whereas the mistreating of the Israelites by the pharaoh in 1:11 is describing the MT using the Hebrew verb ענה II pi. "to oppress" combined with בסבלות and mistreating is described in 5:22-23 using the verb רעע, in the OG the mistreating is described using the same verb, namely κακόω. In the OG there is thus a linguistic link between the original plan to oppress the Israelites (with forced labour; 1:11) and the second reinforced plan to oppress the Israelites (5:1-4, 5-23). Whereas in the first attempt to deal with the Israelites, they were oppressed with forced labour (1:11), in the second attempt the pharaoh commands the taskmasters of the people to take away the straw needed to make bricks and still required the people to make bricks (5:5-9) – the latter resulting in even more hard hardship (5:10 – 14; 15 – 19). With the use of the verb κακόω the link between the two attempts to oppress the Israelites is made more clear on the Greek level than on the Hebrew. 12 At the end of the report of the second attempt to create hardship (5:1–19), it is reported that the taskmasters are complaining to Moses and Aaron (5:20-21), who then in turn accuse God of mistreating his people, etc. (5:22-23).

⁹ This observation is in line with the description of the OG translator by Aejmelaeus, What Can We Know, 71-106, 92: "The translator of Exodus may thus be characterized as a competent translator, mindful of genuine Greek expressions, free in his relationship to the original, but still exact in reproducing his original relatively faithfully."

¹⁰ See Jokiranta, Conceptualizing, 659-677.

¹¹ Whether the Hebrew editor wanted to establish a parallel between God and the pharaoh, who both are mistreating the people, or indicate that the pharaoh is just acting as God had done is beyond the scope of this contribution.

¹² That the OG translator also used κακόω to render the afflicting of the widows and orphans (Ex 22:22 [twice]) as well as the ger (Ex 22:20) is very interesting.

Moreover, the claim that God is mistreating "this people" (5:22) is parallel to the claim that the pharaoh is mistreating "this people", that is the Israelites (5:23).¹³ The parallel between God mistreating this people and pharaoh mistreating this people is guaranteed not only by the use of the expression ה)עם הזה (ה)עם "this people", but also by the use of the same verb רעץ, hi., to mistreat.

2.2 Doing good

With the creation of the parallel between God and the pharaoh in their mistreating the people, the issue at stake is not just the mistreating as such, but the issue as to why God not only allowed the Israelites to be mistreated, but also why God himself mistreated his people. Whereas this question is similar on both the Hebrew Masoretic level and on the Old Greek level, the question receives a much more consistent answer in the OG than in the MT. Whereas in the MT different verbs are used to indicate "saving" (i.e. on the one hand ישע in Ex 2:17, Moses saving; 14:30, God saving and on the other hand געל, in Ex 2:19, Moses saving: 6:6 and 12:27, God saving), in the OG one verb, namely ῥύομαι, is used. 14 The OG translator thus considers saving by Moses and saving by God as parallels. The OG is thus not only setting the tone for the depiction of the hardship of the Israelites, but also for the saving act by God.

Finally, that God is accused of mistreating his people in 5:22 is counterbalanced by the general remark in Ex 18:9, which contains a reference to "all the good" that God did and by the almost summative statement that God looks upon Israel and "understands" the situation (of hardship; 2:25).

3 From Exodus to the Deutero-canonical Books

3.1 Doing bad

An almost direct reference to the Egyptians oppressing the Israelites with bad labour can be found in the Book of Wisdom. Ws 19:16 reads: "... the latter, having first received them with festal celebrations, afterward afflicted with terrible suf-

¹³ The parallel is made stronger by the repeated use of הזה. In 17:4, it is not God, nor the pharaoh who are doing something with "this people", but Moses who asks God: "What shall I do with this people?" In other words, Moses stands at the brink of also doing something bad to the Israelites.

¹⁴ See also Weves, Notes, 21.

ferings those who had already shared the same rights". The Greek text uses the same verb as in Ex 1:11: κακόω. However, instead of rendering the "forced labour" with ἔργον, as in OG Ex 1:11, the Book of Wisdom uses πόνος, which is the word used in OG Ex 2:11, where Moses reports how he is seeing the forced labour, πόνος. Moreover, the context of the reference in 19:16 is clearly to the mistreating of the Israelites by the Egyptians, as the section Ws 19:13–17 is portraying Egypt as being more blameworthy than Sodom, ¹⁵ and as the third part of Wisdom (11–19) in its entirety is a "comparison" between the results of the Exodus events for the Egyptians and the Israelites, illustrating "the theme that Egypt was punished measure for measure, whereas Israel was benefited by those very things whereby Egypt was punished". Thus, Wisdom of Solomon takes over the verb from OG Ex 1:11 and the noun of OG Ex 2:11.

Moreover, not only is there a direct reference in Ws 19:16 to the suffering of the Israelites in Egypt, there is also an additional link made between the suffering $(\pi \acute{o} v \circ \varsigma)$ of the Israelites in Egypt and the suffering $(\pi \acute{o} v \circ \varsigma)$ of the righteous in the Book of Wisdom through the usage of the word $\pi \acute{o} v \circ \varsigma$. Indeed the noun $\pi \acute{o} v \circ \varsigma$ indicates in Wisdom either work (3:15; 8:7, 18; 9:16; 15:4), even hard work (10:10) or oppression of the righteous (5:1; 10:9). Wisdom of Solomon thus takes over the concept of the oppression of the Israelites and applies it to the suffering of the righteous!¹⁷

The oppressing of the Israelites is being noticed by God. In Ex 2:24, God is said to listen to the groaning of the Israelites and in Ex 2:25 God is said to look down upon the sons of Israel and became known to them. In Ex 3:7, God then makes a first oral statement about the situation of the Israelites. God says: "I saw the affliction of my people in Egypt" (MT and OG), with κάκωσις, mistreatment, rendering ν , affliction (similar in 3:17). The Greek word κάκωσις is also used in Ws 3:2. Whether there is however a direct link between the affliction of the Israelites as in OG Ex and the suffering of the righteous who were departing as in Ws 3:2 could be questioned. The departing of the righteous, however, is described with $\dot{\eta}$ έξοδος $\alpha \dot{\nu} \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$, which is an obvious link to the Book of Exodus. In the OG of Exodus, the going out is rendered twice with "exodus": Ex 19:1 and 23:16, with the first being a reference to their "exoding" Egypt. Again,

¹⁵ See Winston, Wisdom, 327 – 329.

¹⁶ Winston, Wisdom, 6. See also for a further discussion about the structure, form, contents, and theology: Marböck, Denn in allem, 156-178.

¹⁷ See also: Ziener, Begriffssprache, 94-97.

¹⁹ The author of Wisdom of Solomon uses the concept of exodus also for going out of life (as the opposite of entering life): see Ws 7:6.

Wisdom of Solomon uses a concept from OG Exodus and expands the concepts from the Israelites "exoding" Egypt to the righteous "exoding" suffering.²⁰

Another interesting application of a text of Exodus can be seen in the Book of Esther. Confronted with the misery in which the Jews find themselves, Esther asks the king: "how can I see upon the misery of the people?" (Esth 8:6). In the book of Exodus it is God who is seeing and in Esther it is Esther who is questioning her ability of seeing. Both Esther and God are "seeing". However, whereas in MT Exodus 3:7, God is said to have seen the misery of his people (ראה ראיתי אמראני אמי), in Esther's rhetorically questions "how can I see upon the misery of the people" (וראיתי ברעה ... את־עמי), the noun used for "misery" is different, namely אני in the Exodus text and רעה in the Esther text. In the OG of both Exodus and Esther, however, the same noun is used, namely κάκωσις, making the link between the seeing of God and the seeing of Esther more clear on the Greek level than on the Hebrew.

Moreover, the parallel between LXX Ex 3:7 and LXX Esther 8:7 is made more explicit by the slight reorganization of the Esther 8:6 text. Instead of reading as in the MT: "how can I see the evil in which my people found themselves" the OG uses almost precisely the same phrase as in in the OG Ex. Compare OG Ex 3:7; ίδὼν εῖδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου, with OG Esther 8:7: ἰδεῖν τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου. In my opinion, the LXX of Esther seems to have reinforced the parallel between the misery of the Israelites in Egypt with the misery of the Jews in

Moreover, in the OG Esther, there is yet another parallel with "the seeing of the misery". In Addition A:7, Mardochaios²² sees in a vision "a day of oppression". There is thus a link in the OG text of Esther between the general view of oppression, as seen by Mardochaios and the rhetorical questioning of Esther whether she can see the oppression. Whereas in the Exodus it was God seeing the oppression, in the (Greek) book(s) of Esther, it is Mardochaios and Esther who are seeing the oppression. This seeing of the oppression by both Mardochaios and Esther could not only be interpreted as yet another sign of the further

²⁰ That these "departing" righteous are said to be "in the hand of God" (Ws 3:1) is similar to the idea that God is noticing them in the Book of Exodus; but there is no further direct semantic

²¹ For a further development on how the theme of "seeing and hearing" of Exodus is received in the Vulgate version of the Book of Judith, see the contribution of Lydia Lange in this volume and, for a description of the theology of the Book of Judith, see Schmitz/Engel, Judit, 63-66, 64.

²² Mardochaios is the Greek translation of Mordecai.

religious interpretation of the Hebrew text of Esther in the OG,²³ but surely as an underlining of the parallel between Esther and Exodus, especially on the Greek level. The Old Greek text of Esther has thus made the parallel between what happened with the Israelites in Egypt and what happened with the Israelites/Jews in Persia much more clear and it has done so using the OG of Exodus, more than the MT.

One of the most impressive examples of how the Septuagint of Exodus has influenced a Deuterocanonical book is the well-known interpretation of the "signs and wonders" of the first part of the Book of Exodus. In the MT, there are different words and verbs to indicate the "wondrous deeds" of God which were done in order to convince the pharaoh (or maybe precisely to not convince him). For instance in 3:20 God declares to "strike Egypt with all my wonders", "all my wondrous (deeds)" – similarly in 15:11 and 34:10 – and in 10:2, in the summary which has to be given to the Jewish kids God instructs to refer to the "my signs that I have done among them", my signs being אחותי הוחים אחותי (12:13). There are also two more words used for the blows that God deals out: for instance, אונה (11:1) "a strike" and גוף (12:13) "a blow". In the NRSV these two nouns are rendered with "plague": "I will bring one more plague" (11:1) and "no plague shall destroy you..." (12:13).²⁴

The OG however has rendered both נגף and נגף with $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\dot{\eta}$, in OG Ex 11:1 and 12:13. In OG Ex 11:1, God warns: "I will bring one more plague upon Pharaoh and upon Egypt". To the Israelites, God reassures that on the occasion of this one more plague "there shall not be a plague among you to destroy" (OG Ex 12:13). This one more plague is the death of every firstborn – maybe the most serious of

²³ See especially the first chapter "Ein umgeschriebener hebräischer Bibeltext: Über die Hilfe Gottes im altgriechischen Estherbuch", in: De Troyer, Septuaginta, 26–48.

²⁴ There is also the expression דבר כבם, a "heavy thing", commonly rendered with "pestilence", used in Ex 9:3, but as this is analogous to the flies, locusts, etc, and not the general label of the events we will not deal with this expression.

²⁵ This warning is repeated and clarified in OG Ex 12:12: "I will strike down every firstborn in the land, Egypt", here however, not the word "plague" is used but the verb "to strike down".

all events.²⁶ It has to be noted that up till here, the MT and OG refer to the events as signs and wonders. Only in 11:1, the concept changes from signs and wonders to a blow or a strike!

It is precisely this tone of extremely hard "sign", namely a "plague" that has plagued the further interpretation of the signs and wonders done by God in the first part of the Book of Exodus. For instance, in Jdt 5:12 there is a clear references to what happened with the blows that God handed out to the Egyptians: "he afflicted the whole land of Egypt with incurable plagues" (5:12), with the word for plagues being $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\dot{\eta}$. In other words, all the events are now labelled a plague. They are no longer a sign or a wonder.²⁷

Moreover, these events in Egypt are now seen as punishments; for instance: Ws 16:1 "Therefore those people were deservedly punished through such creatures, and were tormented by a multitude of animals". That Ws 16:1 is a clear reference to the series of "signs" in Egypt can be seen by the further clarification in Ws 16:9: "For they were killed by the bites of locusts and flies, an no healing was found for them, because they deserved to be punished by such things". 28 Winston notes: "The only allusion to deadly effects of the locusts is in Ex 10:17, where Pharaoh calls the locusts 'this death'". 29 With regard to the verb: The verb κολάζω "to punish" is a favourite verb of Ws of Solomon.³⁰ The author not only uses this verb to indicate the punishment of the Egyptians (for instance, 11:5, 8, 16; 12:27; 16:1, 9; 18:11), but also to refer to the punishment of the Canaanites (for instance, 12:14) and the unrighteous (for instance, 14:10). In other words, by using the same verb, the author of the Book of Wisdom makes a clear connection between the Egyptians, the Canaanites and the unrighteous.

Similarly, the author of the Book of Wisdom uses the Exodus theme of the Egyptians being killed by the returning waters (Ws 18:5): καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀπώλεσας ἐν ὕδατι σφοδρῷ "you destroyed them all together with a mighty water/ flood".

²⁶ The issue is whether or not this additional plague is part of the original composition of the plagues, but as the so-called ten plagues have also had a complex literary history, we will deal with this issue in another contribution.

²⁷ How the three and seven final plagues of the Book of Revelation relate to plagues of Exodus (for instance, three plagues: Rev 9:18, and seven final plagues: Rev 15:1) is not considered in this contribution, but surely indicates that the "ten signs" have definitively become "seven + three" plagues in the New Testamental literature.

²⁸ See for a similar interpretation Josephus, Antiquities, 2.14.3

²⁹ Winston, Wisdom, 295.

³⁰ Ws 3:4; 11:5, 8, 16; 12:14, 15, 27; 14:10; 16:1, 9; 18:11 and 22. Also note that this verb is not used in the OG of Exodus.

3.2 Doing good

As in the Book of Esther, in the Book of Judith there is a parallel between God and the main character. Ex 18:9 there is a reference to "the good that the Lord had done". This phrase is not at all regular in the Book of Exodus, but it surely does echo in the description of Judith, who is praised for all the great good that she has done (for Israel, Jdt 15:10). What is remarkable is however, that in Jdt 15:8, there is a reference to the "good things that the Lord had done (for Israel)". In the Book of Judith there is thus a parallel developed between not only the Book of Exodus and the Book of Judith, but between Judith and God. Both are doing good.

That the Book of Judith is inspired by OG Ex can be glanced from Jdt 16:2. Not only is the same verb used in both Jdt 16:2 and Ex 18:4, 8, 9 and 10, namely έξαιρεῖν, used in the same context (God delivering from...), 32 but there is also the use of the same explicit statement of delivering "from the hands of ...". In Ex 3:8, the expression מיד מצרים is rendered with ἐκ χειρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. The latter expression is, however, a bit more common³³ in OG Exodus than in the MT. For instance, in 18:8, the OG has expanded the Hebrew short phrase יוצכם יהוה "and the Lord delivered them" into έξείλατο αὐτοὺς κύριους ἐκ χειρὸς Φαραω καὶ έκ χειρὸς Αἰγυπτίων "the Lord had rescued them out of the hand of the Pharaoh and out of the hands of the Egyptians". In 18:9 and 18:10, the expression מיד also includes reference to the hand of the pharaoh, besides the hands of the Egyptians: ἐκ χειρὸς Αἰγυπτίων καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς Φαραω. Finally, the OG also uses the expression έκ χειρὸς Φαραω to render מחרב פרעה, "the sword of the pharaoh". According to Wevers, the OG Ex "rightly understood the figurative use, and rendered it by another figure". 34 The latter figure is however also typical of OG Ex. Jdt 16:2 has thus clearly picked up the theme of "being rescued from the hands of ..." from the OG of Exodus – more so than from the MT Exodus.35

³¹ On the Hebrew level, "all the good that the Lord had done" can also be found in 1 Kgs 8:66 where King Solomon blesses his people, who are happy with "all the good that the Lord had done".

³² As Wevers notes with regard to 18:4: "ἐξείλατό is inflected with first aorist ending on a second aorist stem, a typical Hellenistic Greek phenomenon". See Wevers, Notes, 276.

³³ Albeit with some variety as to whom is first mentioned: the pharao or the Egyptians.

³⁴ Wevers, Notes, 276.

³⁵ According to Wevers, "Exod (= OG Ex, *added by KDT*) limits the realm of divine rescue by the two prepositional phrases to the dealings with the Pharaoh and Egypt, whereas MT does not, and by implication also included divine intervention after the Red Sea". See Wevers, Notes, 278. Although this might be the case, the reception history of the text demonstrates that the di-

The theme of God delivering from the enemies is certainly further developed in the Deuterocanonical Literature, but whether all references are directly from OG Ex can be discussed. For instance, in the Book of Baruch, there is the prayer to God to deliver them (Bar 2:14), as well as the reassurance that God indeed will deliver (Bar 4:18, 21), but it is more likely that these references in the Book of Baruch to the delivering capacities of God are more inspired by the (OG) Jeremiah, which has the delivering of God as a theme (1:19; 15:21; 20:13; 31:11; 34:13 and 42:11). Moreover, there is in the Book of Jeremiah a mentioning of the bringing out of the Israelites from the house of Egypt (MT Jer 34:13//OG Jer 41:13).³⁶

3.3 Reversals in doing good and bad

So far it has been argued that the tone of the OG Exodus with regard to the events and actions as depicted in the Book of Exodus has been picked up and in some cases intensified in Deutero-canonical literature. There seem to be however, also cases where the Deutero-canonical literature has reversed (elements of) reports of events in order to demonstrate their complete reversal.

For instance, in the OG of Exodus, the taskmasters are the persons who inflict misery on the Israelites, albeit that they have been ordered to do so by the pharao (Ex 5:6, 10, 13).³⁷ The taskmasters instruct the Israelites to build without having straw for their bricks. The taskmasters (ἐργοδιῶκται) are mentioned in Ex 3:7 and again in 5:6, 10 and 13. Curiously, in 1 Esdr 5:56 the Levites are identified as "taskmasters" and are supervising the re-building of the Temple. The roles have thus completely been switched. From being supervised by taskmasters, the great grand-children of the Israelites, the returned exiles, have now become themselves the taskmasters!

Similarly, whereas in OG Ex 14:4, 8, 9, and 23, it was the Pharaoh pursuing the Israelites (with $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\iota\dot{\omega}\kappa\omega$ rendering $(\tau\tau)^{38}$ and in Jdt 16:2 Judith's enemies pursuing her, in the Book of 1 Maccabees, the roles have been reversed. In 1 Macc 7:45 it is the Jews that are pursuing their enemies, and in 10:78 and 12:30, it is Jonathan pursuing the enemies and in 16:9, John! One needs however to be cau-

vine intervention was seen as going much further than just the time of the Pharaoh and the Egyptians.

³⁶ Which is then used further to make a parallel with the delivering out of the house of Babel: see MTJer 42:11//OGJer 49:11.

³⁷ Wevers points to the taskmasters only as the ones responsible, see Wevers, Notes, 29.

³⁸ Wevers notes: "God's hardening of Pharaoh's heart now will involve his pursuit after the Israelites", see Wevers, Notes, 209.

tious to see too much of a deliberate reversal as the image of Joshua pursuing his enemies could also be the model on which the pursuing of the enemies in the Book of 1 Maccabees is based.

4 Conclusions

The Book of Exodus has surely influenced the concepts of doing good or bad and who is doing good and bad in the Deutero-canonical literature. It is, however, especially the Old Greek text of the Book of Exodus which has set the tone for the further interpretation and reception of these concepts in Deutero-canonical literature. Finally, one has to be cautious and allow for a variety of texts to play an influential role.

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