

# The Reception of Septuagint Words in Jewish-Hellenistic and Christian Literature

Edited by  
EBERHARD BONS,  
RALPH BRUCKER and  
JAN JOOSTEN

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*  
367

---

**Mohr Siebeck**

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgeber / Editor  
Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber / Associate Editors  
Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford)  
James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala)  
Hans-Josef Klauck (Chicago, IL)  
Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg)

367





# The Reception of Septuagint Words in Jewish-Hellenistic and Christian Literature

Edited by  
Eberhard Bons, Ralph Brucker and Jan Joosten

Mohr Siebeck

EBERHARD BONS, born 1958; 1988 Dr. phil., University of Mainz; 1993 Dr. theol., Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule St. Georgen, Frankfurt; 2000 Habilitation; since 2004 Professor for Old Testament at the University of Strasbourg.

RALPH BRUCKER, born 1961; 1996 Dr. theol., University of Hamburg; since 2010 lecturer for Old and New Testament at the Justus Liebig University Giessen; since 2011 Post-Doc Research Fellow at the University of Strasbourg.

JAN JOOSTEN, born 1959; 1989 PhD Hebrew University, Jerusalem; since 1994 Professor for Old Testament at the University of Strasbourg; head of the Groupe de Recherches sur la Septante; since 2012 president of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies.

e-ISBNPDF 978-3-16-152954-2

ISBN 978-3-16-152953-5

ISSN 0340-9570 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2014 by Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, Germany. [www.mohr.de](http://www.mohr.de)

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset by Ralph Brucker in Hamburg, printed by Laupp & Göbel in Nehren on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Nädele in Nehren.

Printed in Germany.

## Preface

The projected *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint (HTLS)* will offer historical studies of Septuagint words, retracing their usage from early Greek authors, over Koine Greek and the Septuagint translation itself, into Jewish-Hellenistic and early Christian literature. The latter two of these phases were the object of a workshop held in Bühl (Germany) on January 21 and 22, 2011. Indeed, the reception of the Septuagint in Greek-speaking Judaism and Christianity involves many questions touching the lexicon, such as:

- How do Jewish or Christian authors writing in Greek handle the difference existing for some words between the “biblical” usage created in the Septuagint and the usual meaning in Greek?
- To what extent is it possible to affirm that New Testament authors borrowed their religious terminology from the Septuagint?
- Which words of the Septuagint continue in later writings with their specific meaning, and which ones go out of use?
- Is it possible to observe further semantic developments in the use of “biblical” words by Jewish or Christian authors writing in Greek?

These and similar questions are of concern not only to the narrow fields of lexical semantics and philology. More often than not, they have important historical and theological implications. The aim of the present volume is to contribute to the development of an adequate approach to the problems sketched out. Focussing on selected words or word groups, some articles investigate their use in Greek literature, in the Septuagint and in later Jewish and Christian texts: the verb ἔδω, which is presented in a sample article (Ralph Brucker), the words deriving from the root ἄθλ- (ἄθλος, ἄθλον, etc.) and their presence or absence in the Septuagint (Christoph Kugelmeier), the Septuagint use of ἀνάθεμα/ἀνάθημα/ἀναθεματίζω and its impact on later Jewish literature in Greek and on the New Testament (Katell Berthelot), the divine title βοηθός in the Septuagint and its Jewish and Greek background (Eberhard Bons), the noun δόξα in the Septuagint and in the New Testament, in particular the Gospel of John and the Pauline Letters (Jörg Frey), the use of εὐλογέω by Philo and Josephus who are familiar with its biblical and its non-biblical meanings (Jan Joosten), the noun ὁμόνοια in the Septuagint and in

early Christian literature (Emanuela Prinzivalli). Needless to say these articles go far beyond making an inventory of the respective words or word groups but address several crucial questions: their background in Greek literature as well as in papyri and inscriptions, their biblical and non-biblical meanings which in some cases can merge, the knowledge which early Christian writers had of the Septuagint. The volume is complemented by two articles dealing with the impact of the Septuagint on the Christian testimonia (Enrico Norelli) and with the approach of grammatical phenomena typical of the Septuagint and the New Testament (Thomas J. Kraus). James K. Aitken, who was present at the workshop but did not present a paper, kindly accepted to write an “Outlook” in response to the other papers.

Our thanks go to the authors of the contributions gathered in this volume who have accepted the challenge of approaching the Septuagint from an interdisciplinary point of view, as well as to Prof. Dr. Jörg Frey for accepting the present volume into the series “Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament”.

Thanks are due to Dr. Henning Ziebritzki and the editorial staff of Mohr Siebeck Publishing House, in particular Dominika Zgolik, for supporting this editorial project. Dr. Bernard Laurot provided crucial help with the copy-editing of some of the French contributions. Axel Horstmann checked the Greek in all articles. The *Agence Nationale de la Recherche*, Paris, has granted financial fundings. We also thank our research groups, the *Équipes d'accueil* 4377 and 4378 of the University of Strasbourg, for providing a framework enabling the interdisciplinary study of ancient texts.

October 2013

Eberhard Bons, Ralph Brucker, Jan Joosten

## Table of Contents

Preface . . . . .	V
<i>Ralph Brucker</i>	
A Sample Article: ἄδω . . . . .	1
<i>Christoph Kugelmeier</i>	
Kämpfen, Mühsal und Elend in der Septuaginta: Die von ΑΕΘΛ-/ΑΘΛ- abgeleitete Wortgruppe . . . . .	17
<i>Katell Berthelot</i>	
The Notion of <i>Anathema</i> in Ancient Jewish Literature Written in Greek . . . . .	35
<i>Eberhard Bons</i>	
The Noun βοηθός as a Divine Title . . . . .	53
<i>Wolfgang Kraus</i>	
Die Bedeutung von διαθήκη im Hebräerbrief . . . . .	67
<i>Jörg Frey</i>	
The Use of δόξα in Paul and John as Shaped by the Septuagint . . . . .	85
<i>Jan Joosten</i>	
Mixed Blessings: The biblical notion of blessing in the works of Philo and Flavius Josephus . . . . .	105
<i>Emanuela Prinziwalli</i>	
The Use of ὁμόνοια and Related Terms in the Septuagint and in Christian Literature of the First Three Centuries . . . . .	117
<i>Enrico Norelli</i>	
La Septante dans quelques <i>testimonia</i> non canoniques des origines chrétiennes . . . . .	129



*Thomas J. Kraus*

Eine Grammatik der Septuaginta und des Neuen Testaments: Methodische Überlegungen zu Grenzen und Möglichkeiten . . . . .	163
---	-----

*James K. Aitken*

Outlook . . . . .	183
-------------------	-----

List of Contributors . . . . .	195
--------------------------------	-----

Index of Ancient Sources . . . . .	197
------------------------------------	-----

Index of Greek Words . . . . .	211
--------------------------------	-----

Index of Hebrew Words . . . . .	213
---------------------------------	-----

## A Sample Article: ᾄδω\*

RALPH BRUCKER

### 1. Greek literature

The verb can be found frequently in poetry as well as in prose. Homer and Pindar always use the non-contracted Ionic form ἀείδω (also found in Ionic prose and sometimes in Tragic and Comic poetry), whereas the contracted Attic form ᾄδω predominates in classical and post-classical literature. Etymologically, the stem ἀφειδ- is probably related to ἀοδή “voice” and ὑδέω “to call” (cf. Sanskrit *vadati* “to speak, say, utter, tell, report”), but the basic meaning of ἀείδω/ᾄδω is “to sing”. Apart from human beings, it is frequently used of birds (e.g. Theocritus, *Id.* 7.141; Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 536a20–32; Aelian, *Nat. an.* 6.19), especially of the nightingale whose Greek name ἀηδών literally means “songstress” (LSJ) (e.g. Homer, *Od.* 19.518–519 [cf. Demetrius, *Eloc.* 133]; Aesop, *Fab.* 4). Another bird whose singing is highlighted is the swan (κύκνος), which is said to sing a most beautiful song in the moment just before death (e.g. Plato, *Phaed.* 84e–85b; Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 615b2–5; Callimachus, *Iambi*, fr. 194.47; Aesop, *Fab.* 277; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 37.2). The verb ᾄδω is further used of cocks (e.g. Plato, *Symp.* 223c; *Theaet.* 164c; Lucian, *Philops.* 14) and owls (Aratus, *Phaen.* 1000), as well as of other animals: cicadas (Hesiod, *Scutum* 393–395; Stesichorus as quoted by Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1412a23; Plato, *Phaedr.* 258e, 259c; *Anacreont.* 34.1–4; Aesop, *Fab.* 114.1b, 3), mosquitoes (Aristophanes, *Nub.* 156–158), and even frogs (Ps.-Aristotle, *Mir. ausc.* 835b3–4; Theophrastus, *Sign.* 15 [= fr. 6.15]). Occasionally, ἀείδω is used in poetic language for the sounds of inanimate things: a bow-string (Homer, *Od.* 21.411), a tree in the wind (Moschus, fr. 1.8), a stone when struck (Theocritus, *Id.* 7.26), a lyre (*Anacreont.* 23.11–12).

---

\* This article will be part of a larger *HTLS* article comprising the lemmata ᾄδω, συνᾄδω, ἐπάδω, ᾄσμα, ᾠδή, and ᾠδός. A first draft was presented at a Septuagint conference in Strasbourg on June 19, 2009, and at a New Testament colloquium in Hamburg on July 18, 2009. I thank all colleagues for their questions and hints in the discussions. I also thank Jill Husser (*HTLS* staff, Strasbourg) for improving my English.

Apart from humans and animals, ἀείδω is frequently found, especially in poetry, with the Muses as its subject (e.g. Homer, *Il.* 2.594; *Hymn. Hom.* 32.1; Hesiod, *Theog.* 75, 965–966, 1021–1022; Theognis, *Eleg.* 1.15–16; Mesomedes, *Hymn. Mus.* 1; also Homer, *Il.* 1.1: ἄειδε θεά “sing, goddess!”). Though rarely, the verb is also used of other gods (Hermes: *Hymn. Hom.* 4.54; Phoibos: Nonnus, *Dion.* 2.82; the Nymphs: *Cypria* fr. 5.4–5 Bernabé; ἢ θεὸς ἢ γυνή “some goddess or some woman”, Homer, *Od.* 10.254–255).

Besides the intransitive use, ἄδω is used transitively as well, frequently with an accusative object that can denote what is sung (e.g. μέλος, ὕμνον, ᾠδὴν, παίηονα/παιᾶνα/παιῶνα, ᾄσμα), but also about what or whom (e.g. μῆνιν ἄειδε “sing of the wrath”, Homer, *Il.* 1.1; κλέα ἀνδρῶν “the glorious deeds of men”, *Il.* 9.189; νόστον “the return”, *Od.* 1.326; Ζῆνα θεῶν τὸν ἄριστον ἀείσομαι “I will sing of Zeus, chiefest among the gods”, *Hymn. Hom.* 23.1; cf. 10.1; 15.1; 30.1; Δήμητρ’ ἠύκομον, σεμνὴν θεόν, ἄρχομ’ ἀείδειν “I begin to sing of rich-haired Demeter, awful goddess”, *Hymn. Hom.* 2.1 [ed. Evelyn-White]; 13.1; cf. 11.1; 16.1, etc.). The latter is also expressed with a genitive (sc. μέλος, “sing [an air] of”, e.g. Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 269, 1225; *Lys.* 1237), or with prepositions such as ἀμφί τινος (Homer, *Od.* 8.266), ἀμφί τινα (*Hymn. Hom.* 22.1; Euripides, *Tro.* 511–513), εἰς τινα (Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1243; Epictetus, *Diss.* 1.16.16). If a song is accompanied by musical instruments or musicians, the prepositions πρὸς or ὑπὸ are used (ἐάν τις πρὸς αὐλὸν ἢ λύραν ἄδῃ “if someone sings to the accompaniment of an aulos or lyre”, Ps.-Aristotle, *Probl.* 918a22–23; [ὑπ’ α]ὐλητῆρος ἀείδο[ν] “They sang [or I sang] with the aulete [with the accompaniment of a piper]”, Ibycus, fr. S166.5 [P.Oxy. 35.2735]; τῶν ὑπ’ αὐλοῖς ᾄδόντων “persons singing to the aulos”, Plutarch, *Rect. rat. aud.* 41C; ὑπ’ αὐλοῖς καὶ λύραις “with auloi and lyres”, idem, *Glor. Ath.* 348D [NB: the traditional translation of αὐλός as “flute” is clearly wrong and should not be used anymore; see WEST, *Ancient Greek Music*, 1–2; LSJ Rev. Suppl. s.v. αὐλός]).

Sometimes a dative signifies to whom a certain song is sung (ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀείδω “me, who sing to gods and men”, Homer, *Od.* 22.346; ὁ παιᾶν ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὃν Ἀθήνησι τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἄδουσιν “the paeon of Sophocles which they sing at Athens to Asclepius”, Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.17; οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐμβατήρια τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ ᾄδον καὶ ἔσπενδον, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ὕμνον τῇ Δήμητρι χαριστήριον ἐχόρευον “on embarking, the men made libation to Dionysos and sang to him while the women danced a thanksgiving hymn to Demeter”, Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 5.15.3). On the other hand, the dative can occasionally also indicate a singing competition (thus Theocritus, *Id.* 8.6: Δάφνι, λῆς μοι ἀεῖσαι; “Daphnis, do you want to sing a match with me?”).

For the idea that something “new” should be sung, which is found in the LXX (→ 3.c) and the NT (→ 5.), the following quotations from Athenian

poets of the late 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. (all three of them exponents of the controversial “New Music”) may be compared: Euripides, *Tro.* 511–513 (ἀμφὶ μοι Ἴλιον, ᾗ | Μοῦσα, καινῶν ὕμνων | ἄισον σὺν δακρύοις ὠιδὰν ἐπικήδειον “Sing me, O Muse, of Ilium. Sing a new strain, a strain of weeping, a funeral dirge”), Timotheus of Miletus, fr. 20 *PMG* (οὐκ ἀεῖδω τὰ παλαιά, | καινὰ γὰρ ἀμὰ κρείσσω “I do not sing the old things, for the new are far better”), and Eupolis, fr. 148 *PCG* (τὰ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος Σιμωνίδου τε | ἀρχαῖον ἀεῖδεν· ὁ δὲ Γνήσιππος ἔστιν ἀκούειν “It is old-fashioned to sing the [songs] of Stesichorus and Alcman and Simonides; but Gnesippus is there to hear”).

Derived from the basic meaning “to sing”, ᾄδω is also used in the sense of “to praise, to celebrate” (of persons, e.g. Arrian, *An.* 1.11.2 [Alexander]; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 5.8 [Nero]; also of places, e.g. Bacchylides, *Epinic.* 6.5–6 [Ceos]; Pindar, *Pyth.* 8.25–27 [Aegina, “celebrated as the nurse of heroes”]).

When prose is to be distinguished from poetry, ᾄδω can be used in contrast to λέγω (e.g. Plato, *Lys.* 205d–e: λέγων τε καὶ ᾄδων ... τὰ λεχθέντα καὶ ἄσθέντα “which he sings and recites ... discourses and songs”, cf. 206b: λόγοις τε καὶ ᾠδαῖς, Xenophon, *Cyr.* 3.3.55: λόγος καλῶς ῥηθείς ... ᾄσμα καλῶς ἄσθεν “a word well spoken ... a song well sung”).

In later Greek, ᾄδω is also used – in accordance with the etymology of the word – in the broader sense “to tell, report, speak out” (e.g. Ἰδεται δὴ τις αὐτῷ καὶ τοιοῦτος μῦθος “the following fable also is told by him [sc. Aesop]”, Maximus of Tyre, *Dial.* 32.1b; Φύλαρχος ... ᾄδει τοιαῦτα “Phylarchus ... reports the following”, Aelian, *Nat. an.* 17.5; θεσπίζειν καὶ ᾄδειν τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης κέλευε λόγια “command her to speak from inspiration, and utter the oracles of justice”, Epictetus, *Gnom.* 26; ἃ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι περὶ αὐτοῦ ᾄδουσιν “what the Egyptians tell about it [sc. the Phoenix]”, Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.49; μῦθόν τε ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ᾄδουσιν “they tell a story about this promontory”, *Vit. Apoll.* 4.34; cf. 5.16; 6.43; τὸ ἀδόμενον τοῦτο “as the saying is”, Aelian, *Nat. an.* 5.11; cf. 2.6; 6.15; ὁ μῦθος ὁ ἀδόμενος 16.5; τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα καὶ τὸ ἀδόμενον λόγιον ἦν ὅτι ὁ τρώσας αὐτὸς ἰάσεται “this was the real meaning of the well-known saying, ‘He who caused the wound shall work the cure’”, Chariton, *Call.* 6.3.7). Hence, ᾄδω may also be combined with λέγω as a hendiadys (λέγουσι γοῦν καὶ ᾄδουσιν “[the philosophers] affirm with constant iteration”, Plutarch, *Frat. amor.* 479F). This usage is also attested in an inscription (→ 2.) and in Philo (→ 4.).

Plato uses two phrases that seem to be proverbial: πρὶν νενικηκέναι ᾄδειν “to sing before winning the victory” or, since the reference is to a cock, “to crow too soon” (LSJ), *Theaet.* 164c (cf. *Lys.* 205d), and ἅπερ αἱ γραῖαι ᾄδουσιν “such old wives’ tales” (i.e. myths), *Lys.* 205d. Photius, *Lex.* α 551, quotes a

proverbial use of ᾄδεις “you sing” in the sense of “you speak in vain” from a lost comedy of Aristophanes (= fr. 101 *PCG*; cf. *Av.* 41).

## 2. Papyri and inscriptions

The verb is found in several inscriptions, especially in cultic contexts and in funerary epigrams.

As regards its use in cultic contexts, two decrees should be mentioned: Firstly the so-called “Canopus Decree” (*OGIS* 56), a bilingual inscription in three writing systems (Greek, Egyptian hieroglyphs, Egyptian Demotic) that survives in three copies; it contains the resolutions of an assembly of Egyptian priests meeting at Canopus (near Alexandria) in 238 B.C.E. to honor king Ptolemy III Euergetes, his wife Berenike, and his deceased daughter, also named Berenike. Among instructions on several other matters, the decree declares the deceased princess a goddess and creates a cult for her. In this cult, the men and women singers are required “to sing to her each day (ᾄδειν δ’ εἰς αὐτὴν καθ’ ἡμέραν), during the feasts and festivals of the other gods, whatever hymns the sacred scribes write and give to the teacher of songs, of which also copies shall be entered in the sacred books” (lines 68–70). The second example to be mentioned here is a decree instituting religious ceremonies in honor of the deceased queen Apollonis of Pergamon (*OGIS* 309 = *SEG* 4.619, Teos, 166/159 B.C.E.). This decree requires the free boys to sing an altar hymn (line 8: ᾄσαι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους παῖδας παραβώμιον) after the offering and the maidens to dance and to sing a hymn (lines 8–9: [χορ]εῦσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς παρθένους . . . | [καὶ] ᾄσαι ὕμνον); and for the rest of the time the respective hymns should be sung by both groups (lines 10–11: ἵνα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν παίδων ἄ|[δητ]αι τὸ παραβώμιον, ὁ δὲ ὕμνος ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων).

Apart from these decrees, the verb ἀεῖδω is also found in cultic hymns themselves; see for texts, translations and commentaries FURLEY/BREMER, *Greek Hymns*, no. 1.1 (hymn to Zeus of Mt. Dicta, Palaikastro, Crete, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.E., line 9 ἀειδομεν); no. 6.1 (paian to Asklepios, preserved in four inscriptions, Erythrai et al. [Athens: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4509], 380–360 B.C.E., line 1 ἀείσατε); no. 6.4 (= *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>,1 128; Isyllos’ paian to Apollo and Asklepios, Epidauros, late 4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.E., line 37 [i.e. first line of the paian itself] ἀείσατε); no. 6.5 (hymn to Pan, Epidauros, mid-hellenistic time, line 2 ἀεῖδω [= *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>,1 130, line 15]); no. 7.5 (Makedonikos of Amphipolis, paian to Apollo and Asklepios, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B.C.E.–1<sup>st</sup> cent. C.E., line 5 ἀεῖδοι [= *SEG* 23.126, line 7]); no. 7.7.2 (hymn to Telesphoros, Athens, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. C.E., line 6 [ᾄδο]υσι, line 9 ᾄδομεν [= *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4533, line 37 ᾄδουσι, line 40 ᾄδομεν]). In almost all of these examples, the name of the deity (or a pronoun) is found as

an accusative object, so that the verb can mean “to sing of” or “to praise”, as is typical in ancient hymns. With regard to the LXX (→ 3.a), the aorist imperative plural *ᾄείσατε* that is attested twice at the beginning of a hymn is particularly noteworthy; cf. also no. 6.2 (= *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>, 1 131, hymn to the Mother of the Gods, 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C.E., line 3 *μοι συναείσατε* “sing together with me!”). In Greek literature, the imperative *ᾄείσατε* is only found in Hesiod, *Theog.* 965, 1021 (cf. Theocritus, *Id.* 10.24: *συναείσατε* ... *μοι* “praise together with me”; Aristophanes, *Ran.* 874: *ὑμεῖς δὲ ταῖς Μούσαις τι μέλος ὑπάσατε* “And you, sing [by way of accompaniment] a song to the Muses!”).

As for funerary epigrams, the verb *ᾄείδω* occurs with a certain variety:

In *IG* IV 491 (= *EG* 471 = *GVI* 1735, Kleonai, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B.C.E.), a widower greets his deceased wife with the words, “Homer praised in his writings Penelope above others, but none of the poets is sufficiently powerful to sing from their lips (*ᾄσαι ἀπὸ στο[μάτων]*, line 6) of your uppermost virtue and glory” (lines 3–6).

A stele from Cyrene for a woman named Plauta who died at the birth of her second child (*SEG* 9.194, 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> cent. C.E.) states in the epigram that “the fame of her life is sung (*τῆς μὲν βιότου κλέος ᾄδεται*, lines 9–10) as much as the everlasting grief of her unhappy husband (*μελέου πένθος ἀεὶ πόσιος*)” (lines 9–13). (For *κλέος ᾄδεται* cf. especially Sextus, *Sent.* 54; see also *EG* 441 = *GVI* 655 = *IG* VI 2474, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. C.E., Busr-el-Hariri, line 5: *καλὸν ἀεὶ κλέος ἀείδουσιν* “they always sing your good fame”.)

A Roman inscription written for a girl who died before she could marry (*IGUR* 3.1234 = *EG* 655 = *GVI* 658 = *IG* XIV 1663, 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> cent. C.E.) laments that Hades snatched her away as his bride, “and we did not sing the bridal song of the wedding (*οὐδὲ | γάμων ὑ(μ)έναιον ᾄείσαμεν*, line 9–10)” (lines 7–11). (For the motif cf. Sophocles, *Ant.* 806–816; Bion, *Epitaph. Adon.* 87–90; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 3.10.5.)

The later Greek use of *ᾄδω* as a synonym of *λέγω* (→ 1.) is attested in an inscription from Smyrna that is dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. (*CIG* 3256 = *EG* 237 = *GVI* 760): it commemorates two men (father and son, both called Democles) depicted in a relief, and below is an eight-line epigram ending with the words, “Stranger, having bidden farewell (*ξεῖνε, σὺ δ’ ᾄείσας ... χαίρειν*) to Democles, son of Democles, may you travel with safe footsteps” (lines 7–8).

Finally, an interesting practice of Hellenistic and Roman times should be mentioned: from this period, there are a large number of epitaphs for animals. Among these is a stele from Syracuse (*IG* XIV 56 = *EG* 628, 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. C.E.) with a two-line epigram in memory of a nightingale (imitating the language of famous poets, cf. e.g. Theognis, *Eleg.* 2.1232–1233; Homer, *Il.* 9.189 etc.; *Il.* 5.882–883; Sappho, fr. 1.1):

ὄλετ[ο· πον]τοπόροις θυμὸ[ν τέρ]ψασα δ' ἀηδὼν  
ἀθαν[άτ]ης κόλπῳ Κύπρι[δος ἀ]ίσομένη.

She has perished: the nightingale that used to be soul-delighting to the seafarers  
is now singing in the bosom of immortal Aphrodite.

In the papyri, the verb is not found very often. It does occur in a literary papyrus found at Hibeh (P.Hib. 1.13, 280–240 B.C.E.), which is the beginning of a rhetorical discourse on music, or rather on harmony. The unknown author is apparently a Sophist rhetorician and a contemporary of Plato (for the attribution to Hippias or Alcidas see WEST, “*Analecta Musica*”, 16–23, who prefers the latter and also offers a new edition of the text). He attacks certain musical theorists, who claimed that different harmonies and rhythms had different moral effects on the human mind and therefore some of them should be avoided (for this view cf. Plato, *Resp.* 398c–403c). According to him, these theorists “waste all their life over strings, harping far worse than the harpers, singing worse than the singers (ψάλλοντες μὲν [πολὺ χ]εῖρον τῶ]ν | [ψαλ]τῶν, ἄιδοντες δὲ τῶν ὠιδῶν, lines 24–25) ... – doing everything worse than any one else” (lines 23–26).

The verb also occurs once in the acts of a religious association, an Apollo cult in Hermopolis (P.Giss. 99, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. C.E.), containing a fragment from the protocol of a lawsuit against the members of the association. The prosecution speech contains the accusation that at their services “hymns are sung in a foreign tongue (ὑμνοὶ μὲν ἄ-|δονται] γλώττῃ ξενικῇ)” (lines 8–9) and that they offer goats (line 11), a practice which does not belong to Egyptian custom. The papyrus quotes two steles that are also extant and allow the identification of the founders of the association as Semitic, probably Idumaean soldiers (see *JIGRE* 155 and 156, with translation and commentary).

A third occurrence can be found in a magical papyrus (*PGM* VI = P.Lond. 1.47, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. C.E.) that contains an invocation to Helios, then to Selene, called “virgin Laurel (Δάφνη παρθε[νι]κή)” (line 41). The latter is summoned: “Hither to me come quickly; haste to sing | Divine precepts to me in dark night (δεῦρό μοι, ἔρχε[ο θ]ᾶσσον, ἔπειγέ μοι [ms. επειγομαι] ἀείσασθα | θεσμοὺς θεσπ[εσί]ους νυκτὶ δ' ἐνὶ δνοφερῇ)” (lines 43–44).

### 3. Septuagint

#### a) Statistical observations

The verb ᾄδω has 73 occurrences in the LXX of which about one third (25) appear in the Psalms. In the historical books, mainly 1–2 Chronicles and 2 Esdras [Ezra/Nehemiah], it occurs almost always as a present participle and

is used as a technical term “singer” (belonging to the personnel of the temple) (33 times, in four cases – Eccl 2:8; 2 Kgdms 19:36; 2 Esdr 2:65; 17:67 [Neh 7:67] – the feminine participle is explicitly added to the masculine participle). There are only four occurrences in the Pentateuch (Exod 15:1[*bis*], 21; Num 21:17), five in the Prophets (Isa 5:1; 23:16; 26:1; Jer 20:13; 37:19), and one in Wisdom literature (Eccl 2:8). As for the books with no extant Hebrew original, the only occurrence is Jdt 16:1 (within the song of Judith). (Exod 15:1 and Isa 5:1 re-appear in the Christian book of Odes, Ode 1:1 and Ode 10:1, respectively.)

Besides the participles, the preferred forms are the imperative aorist plural ἄσατε “sing!” (15 times) and the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular future ἄσομαι/ἄσω “I will sing” (11 times), both typically hymnic (for the coexistence of the forms ἄσω and ἄσομαι cf. Theocritus, *Id.* 1.145 and 8.55, respectively).

### b) Hebrew equivalents

In the translated books, ᾄδω almost always renders a form of *šîr* “to sing” (qal, pil., hoph.). In four cases, the noun *šîr* “song” is translated by a form of ᾄδω (1 Chr 6:31[16] participle; 1 Chr 25:7; 2 Chr 29:27 infinitive; Isa 23:16 imperative). Apart from these, four isolated cases remain: In 2 Esdr 7:24, the Aramaic *zammār* “singer” – a *hapax legomenon* – is rendered adequately by the present participle of ᾄδω as technical term for “singer” (plural in both MT and LXX). The same applies to 2 Esdr 8:17, where the Hebrew has *m<sup>e</sup>šārtîm*, the participle of *šārat* pi., “ministers” (*hapax legomenon* in Ezra/Nehemiah, but elsewhere in the LXX, viz. in 1–2 Chronicles [5 times] and Ezek 44:11, always rendered with forms of λειτουργέω). In Ps 97[98]:4, the translator obviously did not know the verb *pāšah* “break forth (sc. with joy)” (*hapax legomenon* in the Psalms, otherwise restricted to Isaiah) and had to guess the meaning from the context (here, ἄσατε recalls the beginning of this psalm, v. 1b). Finally, in Jer 37[30]:19, *tôdāh* “thanksgiving” is freely rendered with the participle ᾄδοντες “singers (or, singing men)”.

### c) Septuagint use

In the LXX, ᾄδω is always used in the strict sense meaning “to sing”. As a restriction to the use in Greek literature (→ 1.), only human beings function as the subject of ᾄδω in the LXX. This is largely in accordance with the MT; cf. Ps 103:12 where birds just “utter their voices” (δῶσουσιν φωνήν as equivalent to the Hebrew expression *nātan qôl*, Ps 104:12 MT). But in the case of Zeph 2:14, the LXX goes even further: whereas the MT, after referring to several animals, and particularly two kinds of birds (owls), states, “(their) voice shall sing (*qôl* + *šîr*) in the windows”, the LXX has “wild beasts shall cry (θηρία φωνήσει) in the breaches thereof” (for φωνέω referring to birds cf. also



Isa 38:14; Jer 17:11). On two further instances, *šîr* is not translated by ᾄδω: 1 Kgdms [1 Sam] 18:6, and Prov 25:20. The reason could be that the context is profane, whereas in all other cases *šîr* is used in a cultic context (cf. FICKER, *THAT* 2, 895). Thus, the LXX would reinforce a tendency that is already present in the MT. In the non-translated books, there is one reference to a cock, and here the verb κράζω “to cry” is used (3 Macc 5:23).

Explicit subjects (3<sup>rd</sup> person) are Moses and the “sons of Israel” (Exod 15:1; cf. Ps 105:12: the “fathers” of Israel in the desert), Israel (Num 21:17), Debbora and Barak (Judg<sup>AB</sup> 5:1), and David (Ps 7:1). The implicit subject of the 1<sup>st</sup> person future “I will sing” is of course the singer/speaker of the psalm/song itself. As for the imperatives, the implicit subject is mostly unspecified but can be identified with the congregation of Israel. In some cases, the imperative is connected with a vocative: *πᾶσα ἡ γῆ* “all the earth” (1 Chr 16:23; Ps 95:1; 97:4), *αἱ βασιλεῖαι τῆς γῆς* “kingdoms of the earth” (Ps 67:33), and *πόρνη ἐπιλεησμένη* “forgotten prostitute” (Isa 23:16 as a metaphor for Tyre, cf. 23:15: *ἔσται Τύρος ὡς ἄσμα πόρνης* “Tyre shall be as the song of the prostitute”). – It may be noteworthy that angels (*ἄγγελοι*) are never the subject of singing in the LXX (and neither in the MT).

The verb ᾄδω is quite often connected with the personal dative, following the Hebrew *šîr* + *l*<sup>c</sup>. This is usually in reference to God (*τῷ κυρίῳ* Exod 15:1, 21; 1 Chr 16:23; Jdt 16:1; Ps 7:1; 12:6, etc.; Jer 20:13; *τῷ θεῷ* Exod 15:1; Ps 67:5, 33; cf. *σοι, κύριε* Ps 100:1; *ὁ θεός, ... σοι* Ps 143:9; *αὐτῷ* [i.e. *τῷ κυρίῳ*] 1 Chr 16:9; Ps 32:3; 104:2; metaphorically *τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ* Isa 5:1 [the “beloved friend” as owner of the vineyard, i.e. the Lord, v. 7]). On the exceptional *τῇ δυνάμει σου* “your power” Ps 58:17 [v.l. *τὴν δόναμιν*] see HELBING, *Kasussyntax*, 69.

As for the accusative denoting the content (“sing of”), the personal accusative is absent from the LXX, whereas the impersonal accusative does appear (*τὰ ἐλέη σου* “your mercies” Ps 88:2, *ἔλεος καὶ κρίσιν* “mercy and judgment” Ps 100:1). More frequent, however, is the accusative object denoting the song itself. Predominant in the Psalms is *ᾄσμα καινόν* (in the recurring phrase *ᾄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ᾄσμα καινόν* “Sing to the Lord a new song” Ps 95:1; 97:1; 149:1; cf. 32:3 [*ᾄσατε αὐτῷ ᾄσμα καινόν*]). Furthermore, the object *ᾄσμα* appears Num 21:17 (*τότε ἤσεν Ἰσραηλ τὸ ᾄσμα τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος* “Then Israel sang this song at the well”) and Isa 5:1 (*ᾄσμα τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ* “a song of my beloved”). Four times, the object is *ὠδὴν* (Exod 15:1; Ps 136:3–4; 143:9; the latter is *ὠδὴν καινὴν*). The object *ᾠμον* can be found only once, in combination with *αἴνεσιν* “praise” (2 Esdr 22[Neh 12]:46); the latter occurs a second time (Ps 105:12). Finally, *ψαλμός* appears as an object of singing (by a relative clause) in the superscription of Ps 7:1: *ψαλμός τῷ Δαυιδ, ὃν ἤσεν τῷ κυρίῳ* “A psalm pertaining to David, which he sang to the Lord”.

On two instances, ᾄδω is followed by ἐν, corresponding to a Hebrew *bē*. This is clearly instrumental in 2 Chr 23:13 (οἱ ᾄδοντες ἐν τοῖς ὀργάνοις ᾠδοὶ “the singers singing with instruments”, cf. *ibid.* ἐσάλπισαν ἐν ταῖς σάλπιξι). In Ps 137:5, however, the phrase ἄσάτωσαν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κυρίου allows two interpretations: ἐν might either be understood in a local sense (“let them sing in the ways of the Lord”, cf. BRENTON; *LXX.D*) or as a Hebraism denoting the content (“let them sing of the ways of the Lord”, cf. HELBING, *Kasussyntax*, 69; *NETS*).

Several times, especially in narrative contexts, the use of ᾄδω precedes the quotation of a certain song (Exod 15:1 [τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην ... λέγοντες]; Num 21:17 [τὸ ᾄσμα τοῦτο]; Judg<sup>AB</sup> 5:1 [λέγοντες]; Isa 26:1 [τὸ ᾄσμα τοῦτο ... λέγοντες]; cf. Isa 5:1; similarly Ps 7:1, where ᾄδω appears in the super-scription, followed by the psalm itself).

The verb ᾄδω is frequently paralleled with other verbs, especially with ψάλλω (Judg<sup>AB</sup> 5:3 and 13 times in the Psalms). Further verbs used are ὑμνέω (1 Chr 16:9; 2 Chr 23:13), ἀγαλλιάομαι (Ps 58:17; 97:4), compounds of ἀγγέλλω (ἀναγγέλλω 1 Chr 16:23; ἀπαγγέλλω Ps 88:2), αἰνέω (Jer 20:13), and εὐλογέω (Ps 95:2). In Jdt 16:1, as many as five verbs are combined: ἐξάρχετε τῷ θεῷ μου ἐν τυμπάνοις, ᾄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν κυμβάλοις, ἐναρμόσασθε αὐτῷ ψαλμὸν καὶ αἶνον [v.l. ψαλμὸν καινόν], ὑψοῦτε καὶ ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ “Begin to my God with tambourines, sing to my Lord with cymbals: tune to him a psalm and a praise [v.l. a new psalm]: exalt him, and call upon his name”. For similar exuberance see Ps 97:4: ἀλαλάξατε τῷ θεῷ, πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, ᾄσατε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε καὶ ψάλατε “Shout to God, all the earth; sing, and exult, and make melody”.

#### 4. Jewish literature in Greek

The verb ᾄδω is attested 74 times in the works of Philo (including the verbal adjective ᾄστέον *Legat.* 204), of which 4 (*Deus* 74; *Agr.* 82; *Somn.* 2.269, 271) are in quotations from the Septuagint (Ps 100:1; Exod 15:1[*bis*]; Num 21:17). As in Classical Greek, ᾄδω is used by Philo in the basic sense of “to sing” as well as with the derived meaning “to praise, to celebrate”. The later Greek use of ᾄδω as a synonym of λέγω (→ 1., 2.) is also well attested in Philo’s works.

The subject of the singing is most often Moses, in most cases with reference to the song at the Red Sea, Exod 15 (*Leg. all.* 2.103; *Agr.* 94; *Ebr.* 79; *Sobr.* 13). In this context, Moses and his sister Miriam are also pictured as the leaders of a giant double choir of men and women singing the victory hymn of Exod 15 (*Agr.* 79–82; *Conf.* 35; *Vit. Mos.* 1.180; 2.256; *Vit. cont.* 87). This double choir forms the model for the choir of the Therapeutae, who

“sing hymns to God composed of many measures and set to many melodies” at their festal meetings (*Vit. cont.* 84; cf. 80, 85, 88). Another situation where the Israelites form a choir and sing together is at the well in the wilderness, Num 21:17 (*Somn.* 2.271; *Vit. Mos.* 1.255). Occasionally, musicians are the subject of singing (*Leg. all.* 2.21; *Sobr.* 36), and once it is Balaam, who, although a vain man, “sang loftiest hymns to God, among which is the most divine of canticles” (*Migr.* 113, referring to Num 23:19). Philo stresses repeatedly that the human voice is able not only to speak, but also to sing (*Post.* 106; *Spec. leg.* 1.342), and he invites his readers to praise God in speech and song (τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ᾄδειν) alike (*Plant.* 131; *Somn.* 1.256; 2.38; cf. *Post.* 163). But even more excellent are “those who raise the hymn of thankfulness with their hearts rather than with their voices” (*Ebr.* 94; similarly *Plant.* 126). Moreover, “it seems . . . that the heaven, the original archetype of all musical instruments, was tuned with consummate skill [Pythagorean idea of the “Harmony of the Spheres”] for no other purpose than that the hymns sung in honor of the Universal Father may have a musical accompaniment” (*Somn.* 1.37), and the stars may become a single choir and sing in praise of God (*Vit. Mos.* 2.239). On the other hand, singing occasionally has a negative connotation: The “frenzied worshippers” of Exod 32, maddened by wine and dancing around the Golden Calf, sing hymns that are actually “their own funeral chant (θρηνηος)” (*Ebr.* 95; *Vit. Mos.* 2.162), and the Emperor Gaius (Caligula), dressed as Apollo, has “drilled choirs” who are “at his side singing paeans to him . . . and honoring him with hymns” as if he were a god (*Legat.* 96). Gaius himself receives advice by an actor, how to mock and how to sing (ὡς σκωπτέον . . . ὡς ᾄστέον, *Legat.* 204).

The object of ᾄδω in the sense of “to praise, to celebrate” are the nobility of the ancestors (celebrated by the multitude, *Deus* 150); Moses as a prophet (*Her.* 262); heroes and demi-gods (celebrated in “vain fables”, *Congr.* 15); “the communal meals and sense of fellowship” of the Essenes (*Prob.* 91); a Laconian boy who was an example of a free mind even when in captivity (*Prob.* 114); Anaxagoras and Democritus (celebrated by the Greeks because they deemed philosophy more important than their estate, *Vit. cont.* 14). The Classical combination of singing or celebrating the “fame” of someone (ᾄδεται τὸ κλέος, → 1., 2.) is attested twice: once referring to Ptolemy Philadelphus who, due to his virtues, was the most excellent sovereign so that “even now” his fame is celebrated (*Vit. Mos.* 2.29), and a second time in Agrippa’s letter to Gaius, flattering the emperor (“your glory should be celebrated and your praises mingled with thanksgiving resound”, *Legat.* 284).

The use of ᾄδω as a synonym of λέγω (“to tell, report, speak out”) is most often found in the present passive form ᾄδεται. This is sometimes combined with λόγος, referring to a proverbial saying or a philosophical thought (παλαιὸς . . . ᾄδεται λόγος “there is an old saying often quoted”, *Plant.* 127;

*Somn.* 1.233; similarly *Sacr.* 131). Repeatedly, Philo uses the words ἐν (τοῖς) χρησιμοῖς ᾄδεται “it is uttered in the sacred oracles” as a citation formula for quotations from the Pentateuch (*Migr.* 60, 108; *Her.* 21; *Fug.* 50; cf. *Plant.* 63). Likewise, quotations from the Psalms are introduced by the formula ἐν ὕμνοις ᾄδεται “it is said in the Hymns [i.e. the Psalms]” (*Mut.* 115; *Somn.* 1.75; 2.242) – which is synonymous to ἐν ὕμνοις λέγεται (*Fug.* 59, → ὕμνος 4.) –, and once a corresponding formula referring to the prophets is found: ἐν προφητικαῖς ᾄδεται ῥήσασιν “the orations of the prophets proclaim” (*Mut.* 169). For the use of ᾄδεται as a citation formula see further *Fug.* 59, 178; *Mut.* 20; similarly the present passive participle τὸ ᾄδόμενον (“which is proverbial”, *Post.* 114; “which is uttered repeatedly by the best philosophers”, *Migr.* 128; however, τὸ ᾄδόμενον could as well be rendered “which is celebrated”).

Flavius Josephus uses the verb ᾄδω nine times, and only in his *Antiquitates* (*Ant.* 3.64; 6.167, 193, 354; 7.80, 364; 8.124; 9.269; 17.235).

Grammatical use of the verb reflects the range of the common usage: intransitive, transitive, with the personal object in the sense of “to praise, to celebrate”, with the dative mentioning instruments. In four cases, ὕμνους is the object (*Ant.* 3.64; 6.167; 8.124; 9.269).

The verb occurs also in combination with other verbs: with ψάλλω (*Ant.* 6.167; 7.180), ὑμνέω (*Ant.* 7.80), and χορεύω (*Ant.* 7.235). Whereas the first two combinations are also attested in the LXX (→ 3.), the combination “dancing and singing” can only be found in the MT (cf. 1 Sam 18:6 MT).

In four cases, ᾄδω is connected with David: the young David is “skilful in playing on the harp, and in singing of hymns” (*Ant.* 6.167), the victorious David, having killed many ten thousands of the Philistines, is the one whom the virgins celebrate (*Ant.* 6.193, 354), when the temple is dedicated by Solomon, the singers sing to the instruments which David had prepared (*Ant.* 7.364, referring back to 305–306), and when temple worship is restored under Ezekias, the Levites follow the musical instructions left by David (*Ant.* 9.269).

Whereas the first eight instances refer to biblical scenes, the ninth one (*Ant.* 17.235) refers to the inappropriate behavior (χορεύειν καὶ ᾄδειν “dancing and singing”) of Archelaus at the funeral of his father, Herod (according to the accusation by Antipas).

As for the eight biblically inspired scenes (*Ant.* 3.64, cf. Exod 18:9–12; *Ant.* 6.167, cf. 1 Kgdms 16:18; *Ant.* 6.193, cf. 1 Kgdms 18:6–8; *Ant.* 6.354, cf. 1 Kgdms 18:6–7; *Ant.* 7.80, cf. 2 Chr 5:13; *Ant.* 7.364, cf. 1 Chr 23:5; 2 Chr 7:6; *Ant.* 8.124, cf. 3 Kgdms 8:66; 2 Chr 7:10; *Ant.* 9.269, cf. 2 Chr 29:24–30), it is striking that the use of the verb ᾄδω goes back largely to Josephus himself, not to the LXX: in just one of these instances is ᾄδω used in

the biblical sources (2 Chr 29:27–28; the verb *šîr*, however, occurs 1 Sam 18:6; 2 Chr 5:13 MT).

In the remaining Jewish literature extant in Greek, ἄδω is very rare; DENIS, *Concordance*, gives only three instances: *1 En.* [= *Apoc. En.*] 1.5; *4 Bar.* [= *Par. Jer.*] 7.29[33–34]; *T. Abr.* B 3.

Whereas the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Enoch* (*1 En.*) 1.5, in a description of an eschatological vision, has the words “and the Watchers shall quake, and great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth”, the Greek version (*Apoc. En.* 1.5) differs remarkably: instead of “quake”, it reads “believe” (πιστεύουσιν), and it adds the words “and they will sing hidden things (ἄσουσιν ἀπόκρυφα) to all the heights of the [earth]. And all the heights of the earth will shake”. These words are most probably a later gloss and not a part of the original text (see *Apocalypsis Enochi Graece*, ed. Black, app. ad loc.).

*4 Baruch*, also known as *Paraleipomena Jeremioi*, is probably of Jewish origin, although with Christian interpolations and a Christian ending. Chapter 7 refers to correspondence between Jeremiah and Baruch (via a miraculous eagle). In his letter, Jeremiah reports from exile that the Babylonians oppress the Israelites, saying: “Say to us a song from the songs of Zion, the song of your God (Εἶπατε ἡμῖν ᾠδὴν ἐκ τῶν ᾠδῶν Σιών, τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν)”, and that the Israelites answer “How can we sing for you, being in a foreign land? (Πῶς ἄσωμεν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλλοτρίας ὄντες;)” (*Par. Jer.* 7.29[33–34]). The biblical allusion to Ps 136[137]:3–4 is obvious (note that the imperative ἄσατε “sing” in the mouth of the Babylonians is replaced by εἶπατε “say”).

In the third chapter of the *Testament of Abraham*, a miraculous tree addresses Abraham, citing freely the *Trisagion* (Isa 6:3). This is described in the longer recension with the verb βοάω “to cry out” (*T. Abr.* A 3.3). But in the shorter recension the verb ἄδω is used (and the *Trisagion* is merely alluded to): “And they heard a voice from its branches singing (ἄδομένην), ‘Holy (are you), because you have kept the purpose for which you were sent’” (*T. Abr.* B 3.3).

Apart from the occurrences of ἄδω, the crowing of the cock is mentioned in *3 Bar.* 6.16; 7.1; here the verb φωνέω is used (as in the LXX with reference to other birds, cf. Zeph 2:14; Isa 38:14; Jer 17:11).

## 5. New Testament

The verb ᾄδω has only five occurrences in the NT, with only two different grammatical forms: Col 3:16; Eph 5:19 (ᾄδοντες); Rev 5:9; 14:3; 15:3 (ᾄδουσιν).

The NT use of the verb reflects that of the LXX: used intransitively, ᾄδω takes the dative referring to God (τῷ θεῷ Col 3:16; τῷ κυρίῳ Eph 5:19) and when used transitively has the accusative object ᾠδὴν (ᾠδὴν καινὴν “a new song” Rev 5:9; 14:3; τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ ἁρνίου “the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb” Rev 15:3). The subject of the singing is the Christian congregation (as ἄγιοι, Col 3:12; cf. Eph 4:12; as “24 elders”, “the 144,000” and οἱ νικῶντες “those who conquer” in Revelation). Col 3:16 and Eph 5:19 locate the singing in the heart (καρδία, cf. Philo, *Ebr.* 94, → 4.).

In Eph 5:19, ᾄδω is paralleled with ψάλλω (ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες) as is frequently the case in the Psalms (cf. Ps 20:14; 26:6 etc.) and sometimes also in Josephus (→ 4.; cf. also P.Hib. 1.13, → 2.).

In Rev 5:9 and 15:3, the use of ᾄδω (ᾄδουσιν, followed by λέγοντες) precedes the quotation of the ᾠδὴ itself (cf. esp. Exod 15:1; further Num 21:17; Judg<sup>AB</sup> 5:1; Isa 26:1).

For the crowing of the cock in the passion narrative, the verb φωνέω is used in all four gospels (Matt 26:34, 74, 75; Mark 14:30, 68, 72; Luke 22:34, 60, 61; John 13:38; 18:27); this is also in accordance with the LXX with reference to birds (cf. Zeph 2:14; Isa 38:14; Jer 17:11), and particularly with 3 Bar. 6.16; 7.1, with reference to the cock (→ 4.).

As in the LXX, angels (ἄγγελοι) are never the subject of ᾄδω in the NT.

## 6. Early Christian literature

In the corpus of the so-called Apostolic Fathers, ᾄδω occurs four times in the Letters of Ignatius (Ign. *Eph.* 4.1, 2; Ign. *Magn.* 1.2; Ign. *Rom.* 2.2), once in the *Shepherd of Hermas* (Herm. *Sim.* 9.11.5) and once in the so-called *Epistle to Diognetus* (*Diogn.* 11.6).

Ignatius uses the verb among other musical terms in the context of his plea for unity between the congregation and its bishop: “in your concord and harmonious love, Jesus Christ is sung (ᾄδεται)”, and “form yourselves into a chorus, that being harmonious in concord and taking the keynote of God you may in unison sing (ᾄδετε – on the indicative after ἴνα see BAUER, *Briefe des Ignatius*, 205; the correction ᾄδητε found in several editions is not necessary) with one voice through Jesus Christ unto the Father” (Ign. *Eph.* 4.1, 2, similarly Ign. *Rom.* 2.2, with respect to Ignatius’ martyrdom: “forming your-

selves into a chorus in love you may sing to the Father in Jesus Christ”). So, Ignatius can also “sing the praise of the churches” (ᾄδω τὰς ἐκκλησίας), adding immediately “that there may be in them union . . .” (Ign. *Magn.* 1.2).

In the *Shepherd of Hermas*, ᾄδω occurs in a quasi-erotic scene: Hermas has to wait for the Shepherd until the next day in the company of twelve virgins who invite him to spend the night with them (but “like a brother, not like a man”) and then start to kiss him and play with him (Herm. *Sim.* 9.11.1–4). In this joyous playful context, singing and dancing are combined: “some of them formed a chorus, and others danced, and others sang (αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐχόρευον, αἱ δὲ ὠρχοῦντο, αἱ δὲ ᾄδον)” (Herm. *Sim.* 9.11.5).

In a later addition to the so-called *Epistle to Diognetus* (*Diogn.* 11–12), an eschatological outlook is given, expressed in short parallel sentences (isocola): “Then the fear of the law is sung/celebrated (φόβος νόμου ᾄδεται), and the grace of the prophets is known, and the faith of the gospels is established, and the tradition of the apostles is preserved, and the grace of the Church exults” (*Diogn.* 11.6).

Apart from the Apostolic Fathers, one occurrence of ᾄδω in the *Infancy Gospel of James* (*Protevangelium Jacobi*), probably also written in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E., is worth mentioning: On Mary’s first birthday, her mother Anna intones “a canticle unto the Lord God” (ᾄσμα Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ) beginning with the words “I will sing a holy song unto the Lord my God (Ἄισω ὠδὴν ἁγίαν Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου), because he has visited me and taken away from me the reproach of my enemies, and the Lord has given me a fruit of his righteousness, single and manifold before him.” (*Protev. Jac.* 6.3 [13–14 de Strycker]). This is clearly inspired not only by 1 Kgdms 2:1–10 and the *cantica* of Luke’s infancy narrative (where ᾄδω however is lacking), but also by the Psalms and cognate literature (for ᾄσω cf. Ps 12:6; 103:33; Isa 5:1).

In Justin Martyr, the verb ᾄδω is used nine times in quoting from Ps 95 LXX, where the imperative ᾄσατε is repeated three times within v. 1–2 (*Apol.* 41.1; *Dial.* 73.3; 74.2). Apart from these quotations, but in the same context, ᾄδω is used once more in the interpretation of Ps 95 (*Dial.* 74.3: ᾄδοντας καὶ ψάλλοντας).

Tatian uses ᾄδω three times in his *Oratio ad Graecos*, always in a polemical context. He explicitly mentions two of the most famous Greek singers, namely Orpheus and Sappho. Orpheus illustrates the statement that the Greeks derived all their institutions from the “Barbarians”: “Orpheus taught you to sing (ᾄδειν Ὀρφεὺς ὑμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν)” (*Or. Graec.* 1.1). Sappho is depicted as “a lewd, love-sick female (γύναιον πορνικὸν ἐρωτομανές)” who “sings of (or praises) her own wantonness (τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀσέλγειαν ᾄδει)” whereas Christian women are chaste (*Or. Graec.* 33.2). And the priests are described as “a number of singers (πολλῶν ᾄδόντων)” who are “winking and gesticulating in an unnatural manner (παρὰ φύσιν)” (*Or. Graec.* 22.2).