

*Kyropaideia versus Paideia Kyriou:*  
The Semantic Transformation of Paideia and  
Cognates in the Translated Books of the Septuagint

Patrick Pouchelle

Any study of pedagogy in early Judaism raises the question of its relationship with Greek paideia, whose influence may well have been very important throughout the Hellenistic kingdoms. In that respect, the decision of translators of the Septuagint (LXX) to use a word of the family of παιδεύω to translate the Semitic root יסר, probably at the time of translating the Pentateuch, is striking. The correspondence between the root יסר and words of the family of παιδεύω is so strong that of around one hundred occurrences of the root יסר in the Masoretic Text (MT), only twelve do not correspond to παιδεύω and cognates in the LXX, including six occurrences with no correspondence at all.<sup>1</sup>

Among the ancient translations of the Hebrew Bible, only the Targum Neofiti is as systematic as the LXX in the translation of the root יסר. To take one example, in the Pentateuch, the Vulgate uses *erudio*, “to educate” (Deut 8:5); *correptio/corruptio*, “to rebuke” (Lev 16:18, 28); *doceo*, “to teach” (Deut 4:26); *coerceo*, “to rebuke” (Deut 21:18); and *verbero*, “to chastise” (Deut 22:18).<sup>2</sup> In the LXX, the only exception is the Old Greek of Job, which renders יסר with *νοθετέω* and cognates, similarly

---

1. Jer 10:8, Jer 30:11, and Prov 8:33 are verses with no parallel in the LXX. For the LXX of Hos 7:15, Ezek 5:15, and Job 36:10, where there is nothing corresponding to the root יסר, see Patrick Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur: Une nouvelle approche d'un concept de la théologie biblique entre Bible Hébraïque, Septante et littérature grecque classique*, FAT 2/77 (Tübingen.: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 234–35. As for the occurrences of יסר that correspond to a Greek word other than παιδεύω and cognates, see *ibid.*, 235–43.

2. Even the Peshitta, which systematically renders יסר by ארדא, makes an exception for Deut 4:36, with ארלך.

to Josephus, whereas the asterisked material of Job follows the LXX with παιδεύω and cognates.<sup>3</sup>

The choice of the LXX is a systematic rendering, but the semantic fields of the Hebrew and the Greek terms are not identical. To take just one example, Deut 22:18 deals with the punishment of a young man who gives a false testimony:

ולקחו זקני העיר ההוא אתהאיש ויסרו אתו

The elders of that town shall take the man and punish him. (NRSV)

καὶ λήμψεται ἡ γερουσία τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον καὶ παιδεύσουσιν αὐτόν.

And the council of elders of that city shall take that man and discipline him. (NETS)

In the frame of the “interlinear paradigm,” which constitutes the organizational pattern of the *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS),<sup>4</sup> the replacement of “punish” by “discipline” is problematic. There is only one reason why here NETS dares to change NRSV: the lexical choice of the NRSV to represent the Hebrew differs significantly from that of the

3. See Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 240–45.

4. The aim of NETS was to produce a translation based on the NRSV according to the so-called interlinear paradigm that focuses on the text “as produced” rather than the text “as received” (NETS, xiv–xvi). In other words, when the Greek corresponds to the MT exactly, then the translation of NRSV is kept. The introduction of NETS gives many reasons for NETS being different from NRSV. When we apply these reasons to our verse, we observe that the presence of καὶ corresponding to ו (which was left untranslated by NRSV, as the form ולקחו was a *wayyiqtol*) may reflect reason no. 2 as listed in NETS—the Greek was “hyper-literalistic, where the NRSV is not”—and the replacement of “the man” by “that man” may reflect reason no. 4—the Greek “apparently rendered a text at variance with MT” (here, the presence of ההוא in the *Vorlage*, a variant also attested in the Samaritan Pentateuch). The three other differences could only be justified by reason no. 1—“The lexical choice of the NRSV to represent the Hebrew differs significantly from that of the Greek translator’s even though either rendering, independently, might be regarded as an adequate translation of the same Hebrew” (NETS, xvi). Obviously, γερουσία, “council of elders,” is not an exact rendering of זקנים, “elders,” even if both terms denote an assembly of elders, and it would be debatable to keep here the wording of NRSV. More problematic is the case of πόλις, which renders עיר. The correspondence between עיר and πόλις seems to be very systematic, such that it could be questioned whether “town” may have been kept.

Greek translator's, even though either rendering, independently, might be regarded as an adequate translation of the same Hebrew text.

The interlinear paradigm asserts that the LXX was produced so as to bring the Greek readers to the Hebrew text and not the opposite. In this context, a Greek lexeme that consistently renders a Hebrew one is to be understood as a pointer. It loses its Greek semantic field to adopt that of the Hebrew lexeme and should be considered as a symbol of that Hebrew lexeme and translated accordingly. However, NETS has chosen to replace "punish" by "discipline." Two reasons could be given: (1) *παιδεύω* really points to *יִסַר*, and there is no reason to alter NRSV except to correct it; in this case, the difference is not due to the Greek translator but to the modern assessment of what *יִסַר* should mean here (i.e., a nuance of discipline more than punishment); (2) *παιδεύω* points to a part of the semantic field of *יִסַר* only; in this case the systematic rendering of *יִסַר* by *παιδεύω* reveals a semantic shift between the Hebrew and the Greek text: the Greek conveys a more pedagogic nuance, owing to the meaning of *παιδεύω* in Classical Greek.

The second reason is probably correct, since all the occurrences of *παιδεύω* and *παιδεία* corresponding to *יִסַר* have been rendered in the NETS by the unique lexeme "discipline."<sup>5</sup> The NETS considers that *παιδεύω* and cognates convey a more pedagogical nuance than *יִסַר*.<sup>6</sup> However, in this case, why has the Greek translator chosen to render the root *יִסַר* by a cognate of *παιδεύω* even in the less pedagogic occurrences of *יִסַר*, when the Greek Jewish literature had already begun to use *παιδεύω* in the Greek classical sense?

Apart from Georg Bertram, there were no systematic studies of that question until I published my dissertation in French.<sup>7</sup> The aim of this chapter is to present the state of research and to study the root *יִסַר* in Classical Hebrew and *παιδεύω* and cognates in classical and Hellenistic

5. In Deut 32:10, NETS translates by "to educate." Here, *παιδεύω* does not correspond to *יִסַר* but to *בִּין*, "to understand" or "to take care."

6. It should be clear enough that these arguments are neither intended to contradict the "interlinear paradigm" nor to discredit NETS, but only to show that the systematic rendering of *יִסַר* by *παιδεύω* poses a problem. In this regard, the translation of Brenton is probably closer to the assumptions of the NETS, as his is very close to that of KJV: "and the elders of that city shall take that man, and shall chastise him" (Brenton), to be compared to: "And the elders of that city shall take that man and chastise him" (KJV Webster). The only difference is the appearance of a second "shall" in the Brenton translation, maybe for stylistic reasons.

7. Georg Bertram, "*παιδεύω κτλ.*," *TDNT* 5:608–11 Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*.

literature as well as in papyri and inscriptions, in order to try to answer the aforementioned question by studying the use of παιδεύω and cognates in the translated books of the LXX.<sup>8</sup>

#### STATUS QUAESTIONIS

It seems that the first modern scholar to deal with this problem is Hermann Cremer.<sup>9</sup> Assuming the specificity of a Greco-Jewish language, he simply states that παιδεύω and cognates are synonyms of רט' and do not convey the classical meaning of the term before Acts 7:22. Cremer was influenced by the theory of a Greco-Jewish language, which has been abandoned since the publication of the studies of Adolf Deissmann.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Deissmann demonstrates that many specific meanings of the LXX could be found in the nonliterary works of Hellenistic era. In this context, the nuance of punishment and discipline found in the LXX use of παιδεύω and cognates may well be found in the papyri and in the Greek Koine, as presumed by Paul Harlé and Didier Pralon.<sup>11</sup> In this case, its use in the LXX and in the New Testament (esp. Luke 23:16) would simply be a normal usage in the contemporary Greek.

---

8. In other words, in all the books with a counterpart in the MT, as well as the translated deuterocanonical texts. This chapter does not present a comprehensive study of all occurrences of these terms. In particular, the coverage of Sirach's usage of παιδεύω and cognates, despite the importance of these terms in his book, will not be exhaustive.

9. Hermann Cremer, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 11th ed. (Gotha: Klotz, 1923), s.v. παις.

10. Adolf Deissmann, *Bibelstudien: Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums* (Marburg: Elwert, 1895); and Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien: Sprachgeschichtliche Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Erklärung des Neuen Testaments* (Marburg: Elwert, 1897).

11. See Paul Harlé and Didier Pralon, *Le Lévitique: Traduction du texte grec de la Septante, introduction et notes*, BA 3 (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 207. However, they do not present a single example.

However, Bertram does not follow that path.<sup>12</sup> For him, the Hebrew language does not have any pedagogical terms.<sup>13</sup> The root טר׳ especially denotes a coercive relationship between a person having authority (God, a father, a teacher) and a subordinate (the people, a son, a pupil). During the Hellenistic era, discipline was more and more understood as “education” through a “psychologization” of Jewish thought. Hence, a “pedagogical” nuance comes into the Jewish culture and conversely, παιδεύω gained a nuance of discipline and punishment, absent from the classical Greek.<sup>14</sup> The theory of Bertram is clearly biased, however. His anti-Semitism leads him to consider the LXX as the first step toward the de-Judaizing of the Jewish religion, the first entrance of classical Greek culture into Jewish religious belief. According to him, this step paved the way to Jesus and Christianity, considered as the second step toward de-Judaizing. Although this theory is never expressed as such in his academic writings, they are clearly permeated with these ideas, like those of many others of his colleagues.<sup>15</sup> Hence, the idea that Hebrew does not develop any pedagogical vocabulary is highly debatable and contradicted by Bertram himself when he wrote that:

The Heb. OT has a whole series of words for teaching and direction, for chastisement and correction, but only the one word טר׳ and the derived מוטרס can denote “to educate,” “education.”<sup>16</sup>

Despite its great biases, the theory of Bertram concerning παιδεύω and cognates still exerts great influence on scholars. Gerhard Schneider

---

12. Georg Bertram, “Der Begriff der Erziehung in der griechischen Bibel,” in *Imago dei: Beiträge zur theologischen Anthropologie, Gustav Krüger zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 29. Juni 1932 dargebracht*, ed. Heinrich Bornkamm (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1932), 33–51; and Bertram, “παιδεύω,” 5:595–625.

13. “If the substance of education is in some sense present, there is no psychological exposition or development. Hence no pedagogic vocabulary is formed” (Bertram, “παιδεύω,” 5:603).

14. *Ibid.*

15. This is one of two main problems in using the *TDNT* today; see Tobias Nicklas, “The Bible and Anti-Semitism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible*, ed. Michael Lieb, Emma Mason, and Jonathan Roberts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 267–80. The other problem is mixing words and concepts. This bias was notoriously shown by James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 206–62.

16. Bertram, “παιδεύω,” 5:604.

asserts that the unique character of παιδεύω and παιδεία could be found in the LXX.<sup>17</sup> Isac Leo Seeligmann, despite his critiques of Bertram, thinks that the LXX does promote an educative ideal based on its use of παιδεία.<sup>18</sup> Martin Rösel holds a similar position.<sup>19</sup> Leo Prijs and Knut Usener nuance these theories by stating that the ideal promoted by the LXX is Jewish education in the torah.<sup>20</sup>

A few scholars attempt to contradict Bertram. Werner Jentsch suggests that רס' does have a pedagogic nuance and that, in fact, it shares the same semantic field as παιδεύω.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, he observes that παιδεύω and cognates have lost most of their Greek meaning. On the contrary, James A. Arieti asserts that παιδεύω and cognates are deliberately used in a way different from their classical and "philosophical" sense, whereas Staffan Olofsson explicitly doubts the thesis of Bertram.<sup>22</sup> Developing similar ideas, Dorothea Betz observes that the verb παιδεύω conveys more a nuance of discipline and chastisement in the LXX than a nuance of "education."<sup>23</sup>

---

17. Gerhard Schneider, "παιδεία, κτλ.," *EDNT* 3:3.

18. Isac Leo Seeligmann, "Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research," in Isac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognates Studies*, ed. Robert Hanhart and Hermann Spieckermann, *FAT* 40 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 73; trans. from Seeligmann, "Problemen en Perspectieven in het Moderne Septuaginta Onderzoek," *JEOL* 7 (1940): 359–90, 763–66.

19. Martin Rösel, "Theologie der griechischen Bibel: Zur Wiedergabe der Gottesaussagen im LXX-Pentateuch," *VT* 48 (1998): 49–62, at 50–51; Rösel, "Towards a 'Theology of the Septuagint,'" in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolgrant Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, *SCS* 53 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 249.

20. Leo Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), xiv–xvi, 64; and Knut Usener, "Die Septuaginta im Horizont des Hellenismus: Ihre Entwicklung, ihr Charakter und ihre sprachlichkulturelle Position," in *Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel*, vol. 2 of *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer and Jürgen Peter Lesch, *BWANT* 161 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004), 111–12.

21. Werner Jentsch, *Urchristliches Erziehungsdenken: Die Paideia Kyriou im Rahmen der hellenistisch-jüdischen Umwelt*, *BFCT* 45.3 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1951), 81–91.

22. James A. Arieti, "The Vocabulary of Septuagint Amos," *JBL* 93 (1974): 346; Staffan Olofsson, "The Crux Interpretum in Ps 2,12," *SJOT* 9 (1995): 195.

23. Dorothea Betz, "Gott als Erzieher im Alten Testament: Eine semantisch-traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der Begrifflichkeit *jsr/musar (paideuo/paideia)* mit Gott als Subjekt in den Schriften des AT" (PhD diss., Universität Osnabrück, 2007), 317–21.

To sum up, the possible explanations of the relationship between יסר and παιδεύω and cognates could be summarized this way: (1) יסר means “to chastise” and παιδεύω “to educate”; the Greek translators chose παιδεύω to denote the difference between Greco-Jewish thought and Hebrew-speaking Judaism (Bertram, but also with important differences and nuances, Seeligmann, Rösel, Prijs, and Usener); (2) יסר and παιδεύω mean to educate; the choice of the LXX was obvious (Jentsch); (3) יסר means “to chastise” and παιδεύω “to chastise,” especially in the papyri and inscriptions; the choice of the LXX was also obvious (Harlé and Pralon); and (4) Παιδεύω was used deliberately used in a way different from its Greek background (Arieti).

In my book on God as an educator, I argue that the semantic field of יסר and of παιδεύω and cognates are not fully identical, but they share the nuance of oral rebuking. When corresponding to יסר, παιδεύω and cognates are to be understood as denoting discipline, as received by the scribes. However, the systematic rendering of יסר by παιδεύω leads the Greek lexeme to develop a nuance of punishment that is absent from the ancient Greek but does survive in modern Greek. Conversely, the LXX also witnesses uses of παιδεύω that convey some classical Greek nuances, especially when not corresponding to יסר.

#### CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC GREEK

##### Educating

It is obvious that παιδεύω (and cognates) means “education” in classical and Hellenistic Greek. Many famous monographs have been published to deal with the importance of παιδεία in Greek culture and in Greek identity.<sup>24</sup> It seems, however, that this widely attested usage eclipsed some other nuances.

---

24. The most famous one is Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939–1944; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967–1971). But see also Henri Irénée Marrou, *History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb, WSC (London: Sheed & Ward, 1956); trans. of *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Seuil, 1948); and more recently Graham Anderson, “The *pepaideumenos* in Action: Sophists and Their Outlook in the Early Empire,” *ANRW* 33.1:80–208; and Anderson, *The Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1993).

Etymologically deriving from *παῖς*, the basic meaning of *παιδεύω* is “to act toward someone as if he or she is a child.”<sup>25</sup> Non-Homeric, this word is not particularly ancient. The substantive *παιδεία* is the verbal noun of *παιδεύω*. Its earliest occurrences, mingled with *παιδία*, denote the youth of someone,<sup>26</sup> explaining why *παιδεία* gained the important nuance of “education” or “culture.” Indeed, having spent one’s youth somewhere is also having been educated in a specific manner of life.<sup>27</sup> From there, these terms gained the primary nuance of “education” and “culture,” especially under the influence of philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, and Isocrates. Some linguistic markers that point to such a meaning can be enumerated: (1) the use of the verb in the passive voice, with the dative or the preposition *ἐν* indicating the subject taught;<sup>28</sup> (2) the substantive usage of the passive perfect participle *πεπαιδευμένος*, denoting a person who has finished his educative *cursus*; (3) the triple characterization of a person as being born (*γεννάω*), nurtured (*τρέφω*), and educated (*παιδεύω*) somewhere; (4) the *nomen rectum* of *παιδεία* denoting the person who received the education, and never the one who provided it; for instance, it is Chiron who educated Hercules, as well as many other heroes, but Chiron is never employed as the *nomen rectum* of *παιδεία*; accordingly, the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon describes the education received by Cyrus the Persian king; and (5) the noun *παιδεία* denoting education or culture in the abstract but never the subject taught; there is never any mention of *παιδεία* “in” a particular subject.

But more basically, the verb is also employed as a synonym of *τρέφω*. In a fragment of Sophocles, it means “to rear” or “to nourish” (*TrGF* 4.648). This nuance is rare but attested until Hellenistic times. For instance, Theophrastus uses it to denote the growth of a plant (*Caus. plant.* 3.7.4.), and Athenaeus, that of fishes (*Deipn.* 7).

---

25. Hélène Perdicoyianni, *Étude lexicologique des familles de δαῖναί, de διδάσκειν et παιδεύειν d’Homère à Hippocrate* (Athens: Perdicoyianni, 1994), 81.

26. Aeschylus, *Sept.* 18. See also Euripides, *Iph. taur.* 205–207, in which *ἐξ ἀρχᾶς λόχαι στερρὰν παιδείαν Μοῖραι συντείνουσιν θεαί* means that the destiny of Iphigenia is cruel: her youth was just finished when she had to be sacrificed. See also Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 164–65.

27. Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 165.

28. E.g., music, with a simple dative: Plato, *Resp.* 430A; with *ἐν*: Plato, *Crito* 50E.



## Rebuking

Neither παιδεύω nor παιδεία seems to adopt the nuance of violent rebuking. Such nuances are expressed by words like κολάζω, τιμωρέω, ἐπιτρίβω, τύπτω, δέρω, and νοθετέω, but never with παιδεύω. The closest example may be found in Aristophanes, who compares παῖς to παῖω:

τί δ' ἐστίν, ὦ παῖ; παῖδα γάρ, κὰν ἤ γέρων, καλεῖν δίκαιον ὅστις ἂν πληγὰς λάβῃ. (Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1297)

Why, what's the matter, my child? For, old as he may be, one has the right to call anyone a child who has let himself be beaten. (O'Neill and Oates)

The fact of being educated somewhere also means that a child is acquainted with a specific way of life, even if this way of life is hard, like that of the Athenian. In that context, παιδεύω may have developed a nuance of “to be trained”:

τήν τε ψυχὴν ἐπαίδευσε καὶ τὸ σῶμα (Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.3.5)

He schooled his body and soul (Marchant, LCL)

Furthermore, Xenophon also uses παιδεύω to denote the training of a horse:

ἂ δ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ τραχέος παιδευθῆ (Xenophon, *Eq.* 10.6)

what he has been trained to do with the aid of the rough one. (Marchant, LCL)

To obtain the obedience of a slave is similar to taming a horse.<sup>29</sup> However, it is hard to say whether παιδεύω is here synonymous with “rebuking” a horse in order to tame it. Indeed, the metaphorical use of παιδεύω to denote the taming of a horse also means that the taming is a long process that leads the horse to be useful:

ἐρωτηθεὶς τίμη διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν, ἔφη, ὥπερ οἱ δεδαμασμένοι ἵπποι τῶν ἀδαμάστων. (Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. Phil.* 2.69)

29. See also Yun Lee Too, *A Commentary on Isocrates' Antidosis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 194–95.

To the question how the educated differ from the uneducated, he replied, “Exactly as horses that have been trained differ from untrained horses.” (Hicks, LCL)

It is only later that παιδεύω is used as a synonym of “to chastise,” in *Vita Aesopi* G.61 and in Libanius:

παιδευε δὲ αὐτοὺς μήτε θανάτοις μήτε πληγαῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀρκείτω δεσμός. (Libanius, *Or.* 26.10)

Don’t punish them by death or by chastisement, but may a bond suffice. (my translation)

Neither *Vita Aesopi* nor Libanius may be used a witness for such a meaning in the non-Jewish and non-Christian Greek culture, as they may well be influenced by the LXX owing to their lateness. Therefore, in classical and Hellenistic Greek, παιδεύω is not attested as meaning “to punish.”

However, a clear nuance of rebuking is conveyed when παιδεύω is used with an adult as an object. This metaphorical usage usually denotes an action or a discourse whose aim is to change the mind or the behavior of someone. This nuance is attested from Sophocles onward. In his *Ajax*, the hero gets angry and thereafter wishes to die. When his partner, Tecmessa, tries to dissuade him from committing suicide, Ajax replies:

Μῶρά μοι δοκεῖς φρονεῖν, εἰ τοῦμὸν ἦθος ἄρτι παιδεύειν νοεῖς. (Sophocles, *Aj.* 595)

You have foolish hope, I think, if you plan so late to begin schooling my temper. (Jebb)

In this semantic field, the verb could be used with the preposition ἐν indicating the event that caused the behavior to be altered:

παιδεύοντας δ’ ἐν τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων ἔργοις τοὺς ζῶντας (Lysias, *Ep.* 3)  
and finding in the achievements of the dead so many lessons for the living. (Lamb, LCL)

In his *Funeral Oration*, Lysias asserts that after a war the living people are “educated,” or more precisely, “exhorted,” by the examples of the dead. Claudius Aelianus relates a story which recalls Deut 21:18. A father has seven sons and the last one is disrespectful:

Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐπειρᾶτο αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ παιδεύειν, καὶ ῥυθμίζειν λόγῳ  
(Aelian, *Var. hist.* 1.34)

And firstly, the father attempted to exhort him and to correct him by words. (my translation)

Once the father fails to discipline his son, he asks judges to sentence him to death. In this meaning, *παιδεύω* is used together with *νουθετέω*. The two terms occur together also in a statement attributed to Apollonius, who exhorts his brother to rebuke him as their recently deceased father used to do:

ὃς ἐπαιδεύε τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐνουθέτει (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.13)

He who admonishes and rebukes us. (my translation)

The fact that Philostratus and his brother are adults whose father has passed away and the fact that the verb *παιδεύω* is conjugated in present and not in perfect indicate that the meaning here is “to rebuke” more than “to educate.”

It is noteworthy that this meaning only belongs to the verb. The noun *παιδεία* seems to belong to the semantic field of education only and is never used to denote the process of rebuking.

### Gnomic Wisdom

Gnomic wisdom is hard to date and to identify. These collections of sayings were made long after the lifetimes of the speakers, and a gnomic sentence is frequently attributed to three or more authors.<sup>30</sup> However, these sentences are worth studying because they associate *παιδεύω* more closely with violence without using it as a synonym for “to chastise.”<sup>31</sup> See, for example, the well-known sentence of Menander:<sup>32</sup>

30. See, for example, the sentence: Ἡ παιδεία εὐτυχοῦσι μὲν ἐστὶ κόσμος, ἀτυχοῦσι δὲ καταφύγιον, attributed to Democritus (frag. 180) by Stobaeus, *Flor.* 2.31.58, to Aristotle by *GV* 50, and finally to Socrates by John Chortasmenos, *Ep.* 23.

31. See also Dennis Michael Searby, *Aristotle in the Greek Gnomological Tradition*, *SGU* 19 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1998), 166; and John T. Fitzgerald, “Proverbs 3:11–12, Hebrews 12:5–6, and the Tradition of Corporal Punishment,” in *Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Carl R. Holladay*, ed. Patrick Gray and Gail R. O’Day, *NovTSup* 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 314–15. For other examples, see Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 191–92.

32. See also Βακτηρία γάρ ἐστὶ παιδεία βίου (Menander, *Sent.* 122), “And the rod is the education of life” (author’s translation).

Ὁ μὴ δαρεῖς ἄνθρωπος οὐ παιδεύεται (Menander, *Sent.* 573).  
The man who is not thrashed is not educated. (my translation)

More than emphasizing the hardness of the education, gnomic wisdom also praises παιδεία. It is the most precious thing for humanity:

Κάλλιστόν ἐστι κτῆμα παιδεία βροτοῖς (Menander, *Sent.* 384)  
The best of the possessions for mortals is education. (my translation)

Or:

ἡ παιδεία εὐτυχοῦσι μὲν ἐστι κόσμος, ἀτυχοῦσι δὲ καταφύγιον (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 2.31.58)  
Education is for the fortunate an ornament and for the unfortunate a refuge. (my translation)

That is to say, a person does not owe his or her beauty to good fortune (*tychē*) but to “education.” Education leads to real wisdom and is sometime used as warning against encyclopedic knowledge. Hence, the Tabula of Cebes distinguishes between false and true paideia. False paideia is technical education, while the true one is a conversion to wisdom. Such a description may well be influenced by the myth of the cave of Plato, who also sees paideia not as knowledge but as a conversion.<sup>33</sup>

This conception interestingly resonates with the semantic evolution of the passive perfect participle *πεπαιδευμένος*. Whereas during the classical period it denotes a person perfectly integrated into the city for acting toward the common good (e.g., Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 1180b2), during the Hellenistic era this person becomes a gentleman whose main characteristic is his correct and moderate behavior (e.g., Plutarch, *Dion* 1.4).<sup>34</sup>

### The Contribution of the Papyri

In the documentary papyri, the nuance of education is widely attested.<sup>35</sup> Some rare nuances could be expressed, however. Two documents are of special interest.

33. Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 213–18.

34. See also Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 171–76.

35. In inscriptions this seems the only attested meaning, apart from one attesta-

The first example is a papyrus from Arsinoe, which dates to the third century CE. The papyrus BGU 3.846 is a letter from Antonius to his mother. Antonius is ashamed for having done something bad, revealed to his mother by one of his relatives, Postumus. Accordingly, his mother has decided to cut him off from her support. This letter is an attempt by Antonius to sway his mother.

Παιπαίδδευμαι, καθ' ὃν δι' τρόπον (BGU 3.846, line 11)  
I admonish myself that it was my fault. (my translation)

According to George Milligan,<sup>36</sup> the verb here means “to punish.” However, in the papyrus, this verb is flanked by two occurrences of οἶδα, so the context implies a meaning close to the metaphoric usage of παιδεύω.<sup>37</sup>

The second papyrus, PSI 8.972, was found in Oxyrhynchus and dates to the fourth century CE. This is a complaint from Antoninos, a Christian, to his boss, Gonatas. Antoninos quarreled with Tithoes and was thrashed by Pantheros. These two people must be known to Gonatas because Antoninos states that he did not respond to the attack, but warns that he will:

Γνώπι οὖν ὅτι δύναμε αὐτῷ πεδεύσω (PSI 8.972, lines 18–19)  
Know then that I can, I will thrash him. (my translation)

Pace John R. Rea,<sup>38</sup> it seems improbable that the meaning intended here is the metaphoric one, “to rebuke.” The context implies a harsher meaning, “to beat.”

Both documents are characterized by their incorrect grammar and orthography. They were written by less-educated people. The first one witnesses a meaning of rebuking, the second one a meaning of chastisement. This last nuance is probably influenced by the LXX, as the author is Christian.

---

tion of παιδεία in the plural meaning “training” in the epitaph of a gladiator (IGUR 3.1243, line 7, unknown date, Rome).

36. George Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 94–95.

37. See also Régis Burnet, *L'Égypte ancienne à travers les papyrus: Vie quotidienne* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2003), no. 210.

38. John R. Rea, “Two Christian Letters: PSI VII 831 and VIII 972,” *CdE* 45 (1970): 357–68.

## CLASSICAL HEBREW

## The Masoretic Text

The basic meaning of the root יִסֵּר is not easy to determine for two main reasons. First, this root is composed of a weak consonant, י, and an alveolar consonant, ס, both subject to alteration. Second, the root is hardly attested outside the Hebrew language.

Two mutually exclusive theories try to explain the root יִסֵּר. The first one is formulated by R. D. Branson.<sup>39</sup> This root originally meant “to educate.” Owing to the coercive pedagogical methods of that period, especially in the influential Egyptian culture, the root יִסֵּר developed the nuance of coercive punishment, losing completely its pedagogic character even before the writing of the biblical texts.<sup>40</sup> The speculative nature of this hypothesis, associated with a doubtful reference to Akkadian, weakens the theory of Branson.<sup>41</sup> Yet, a major argument could be made from the presence of this root in a few texts from Ugarit. However, it is attested only four times, and the meaning of this root in the Ugaritic corpus is largely based on its meaning in the Hebrew Bible, so it is hard to draw clear-cut conclusions. Only one occurrence may be used to strengthen the thesis of Branson:

You are great, O El, so very wise [*hkm*]; The gray hair of your beard so instructs you [*tsrk*]. (KTU 1.4 V 4 [Smith and Pitard])

Here *tsrk*, presumably derived from *ysr*, is used in parallel with “to be wise.” However, the use of *ysr* with an inanimate subject, here “the gray hair of your beard,” is rare (only attested in Ps 16:7). Moreover, could we convincingly base a theory on a single form which may possibly derive from other roots containing /s-r/?<sup>42</sup>

39. R. D. Branson, “יִסֵּר,” *TDOT* 6:127–34.

40. On Egyptian influence, see See Nili Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom be Found? The Sage’s Language in the Bible and in Ancient Egyptian Literature*, OBO 130 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), for whom the Egyptian lemma *sb3* means both “to educate” and “to chastise,” but see also Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 68–77. On the development of the term, see Branson, “יִסֵּר,” 6:128.

41. Branson, “יִסֵּר,” 6:127–28; see Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 56–58.

42. See, for instance, the discussion of Mark S. Smith and Wayne T. Pitard, *Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3–1.4*, vol. 2 of *The*

The second theory is developed by Magne Sæbø.<sup>43</sup> For this scholar, the etymology of this root is unknown. It could be an Akkadian loanword.<sup>44</sup> Its principal meaning is related to punishment and fines (Deut 22:18; 2 Kgs 12:11, 14). Later, it develops the nuance of a disciplinary measure when it was applied to the relationship between a father and his son (Deut 21:18) or a teacher and his pupils (Prov 5:12). Finally, the root denotes the results of this coercive process: an obedient son.<sup>45</sup>

The main argument to be advanced for discerning between the theory of Branson and that of Sæbø is to note that, although there are some occurrences of the root יסר without any pedagogic nuances (Deut 22:18; 2 Kgs 12:11, 14; Hos 5:2; Prov 7:22), the occurrences associated with education always link an authoritative person with a subordinate in a coercive context.<sup>46</sup> Hence, Branson is forced to make the assumption that the root יסר developed all of its nuances before the writing of the biblical text. This assumption weakens his theory because his etymological study is based on too few occurrences.

To take one example, even in Deut 4:36 such a coercive nuance is at stake, even if some deny it:<sup>47</sup>

---

*Ugarit Baal Cycle*, VTSup 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 691, for the form *ystrn* in KTU 1.4 VII 48.

43. Magne Sæbø, “ysr, to chastise,” *TLOT* 2:548–51.

44. According to Hayim Tawil, “Hebrew יסר, Akkadian *esuru*: A Term of Forced Labor,” in *Teshûrôt LaAvishur: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, in Hebrew and Semitic Languages; Festschrift Presented to Prof. Yitzhak Avishur on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Michael Heltzer and Meir Malul (Tel Aviv: Archeological Center Publications, 2004), 185\*–90\*. Furthermore, the disciplinary nuance sometimes conveyed by לָמַד, close to the basic meaning of יסר (A. S. Kapelrud, “לָמַד,” *TDOT* 8:4–5), may be an indicator of this loan: יסר may have supplanted לָמַד in its nuance of discipline.

45. G. Gerleman, “Bemerkungen zum alttestamentlichen Sprachstil,” in *Studia Biblica et Semitica: Theodoro Christiano Vriezen qui munere professoris theologiae per XXV annos functus est, ab amicis, collegis, discipulis dedicata*, ed. W. C. van Unnik and A. S. van der Woude (Wageningen: Veenman, 1967), 112, and Gerhard von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols. (Munich: Kaiser, 1957), 1:429.

46. See Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 139–40; and Wendy L. Widder, “To Teach” in *Ancient Israel: A Cognitive Linguistic Study of a Biblical Hebrew Lexical Set*, BZAW 456 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 193.

47. Although the Peshitta translates with אָלַף and the Vulgate with *doceo*, and *pace* Karin Finsterbusch, *Weisung für Israel: Studien zu religiosem Lehren und Lernen im Deuteronomium und seinem Umfeld*, FAT 44 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 157–58.

מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם הִשְׁמִיעַךְ אֶת־קוֹלֹ לַיִסְרֹךְ

From heaven he made you hear his voice to discipline you. (NRSV)  
 Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice, that he might instruct thee. (KJV)

Indeed, *pace* KJV, God's voice relates to the law and the commandments that God addresses to the people as a warning to adopt the correct behavior:

So acknowledge today and take to heart that the LORD is God in heaven above and on the earth beneath; there is no other. Keep his statutes and his commandments, which I am commanding you today for your own well-being and that of your descendants after you, so that you may long remain in the land that the LORD your God is giving you for all time. (Deut 4:39–40 NRSV)

This kind of oral rebuke is frequently attested in the sapiential literature and in some prophetic oracles (Prov 3:11; 4:1; Ps 50:17; Jer 7:28 with מוֹסֵר). The verb יִסֵּר introduces in Prov 31:1 such a discourse of admonition from a mother to her son, Lemuel (Prov 31:2–9). The link made between this root and the law in Ps 94:10 may be understood this way:

Happy are those whom you discipline, O LORD, and whom you teach out of your law. (NRSV)

The warning, rebuke, or discipline of God to the believers is based on the law he gave.

The verb יִסֵּר is mainly used in the *piel* stem.<sup>48</sup> The disciplinary nuance is emphasized by the construction of the verb with the preposition בּ, which always denotes the means by which someone is disciplined. Hence, it is never used to denote intellectual or technical teaching, even if a few occurrences are sometimes translated according to this hypothesis:

וַיִּסְרוּ לְמִשְׁפַּט אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

For they are well instructed; their God teaches them. (Isa 28:26 NRSV)

וַיִּסְרֹתֶיךָ לְמִשְׁפַּט

48. See Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 92 n. 103; and Widder, "To Teach," 166, who observe that since the verb is used almost exclusively in the *piel* stem, it is unsafe to draw conclusions regarding the potential difference with the *qal*.



I will chastise you in just measure. (Jer 30:11 NRSV; see also Jer 46:28)<sup>49</sup>

The NRSV, according to most scholars, interprets Jer 30:11 as assuring the people that their correction will not exceed measure.<sup>50</sup> The same Hebrew construction in Isa 28:26 is interpreted differently: God instructs the farmer about how to deal with his field. However, this interpretation raises some questions, such as the separation of the verb and its subject (אלהיו). Another interpretation, promoted by Joseph Blenkinsopp and Dorothea Betz, suggests that the subject is the farmer and that the object of the verb is the platted land or the grain.<sup>51</sup>

For he<sup>52</sup> will chastise [or: “thresh”] him<sup>53</sup> in just measure; his God teaches him.<sup>54</sup> (my translation)

The text draws a comparison between the people and the grain and between God and the farmer. Indeed, this comparison is clear in Isa 28:27–28, where the grains are crushed but not destroyed.

The verbal noun מוסר also expresses the importance of the person who has authority over someone else. Accordingly, the *nomen rectum* is the person who originates the discipline and never the one who endures it. The word מוסר, then, expresses the process of disciplining or chastising, hence “punishment” (e.g., Prov 13:24; 22:15; 23:13), but also the results of this process, hence “good behavior,” “good education.” This nuance is confirmed by the use of מוסר with verbs expressing reception, like לקח “to

49. Contrast the French translation TOB: “Je t’apprends à respecter l’ordre.”

50. So, Georg Fischer, *Jeremia*, 2 vols., HThKAT (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2005), 2:118, 129; Gerald L. Keown, Pamela J. Scalise, and Thomas G. Smothers, *Jeremiah 26–52*, WBC 27 (Waco, TX: Word, 1995), 94; Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21–36: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 21B (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 392; and Finsterbusch, *Weisung*, 65.

51. For the argument that the subject is the platted land, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 396. However, the land (אדמה) is feminine, whereas the object of the form ויסרו is masculine. For the argument that the object is the grain, see Betz, “Gott als Erzieher,” 228.

52. The farmer (החרש); see Isa 28:24.

53. The grain, “dill” (קצח), or “cart” (כמן), mentioned in Isa 28:25 and 28:27, treated as singular collective masculine, according to Betz, “Gott als Erzieher,” 228.

54. Blenkinsopp suggests here another nuance of the verb ירה, “to water.”

take” (e.g., Jer 2:30; 5:3; Song 3:2, 7; Prov 1:3; 8:10), or acceptance/rejection, like נִאָץ “to despise” (Prov 15:5).<sup>55</sup> Another nuance is denoted by the collocation with שמע “to hear”: מוֹסֵר is an oral discourse whose aim is to rebuke someone.<sup>56</sup>

Therefore, in accordance with Michael Carasik and Wendy L. Widder, it is more accurate to state that the root יִסַּר basically conveys a negative nuance of rebuking and then to follow Sæbø and to schematize the evolution of the semantic field of יִסַּר as follows:

chastisement → corporal discipline → oral rebuke → result of the discipline/rebuke.<sup>57</sup>

### Late Classical Hebrew

Even if the MT does not attest a meaning for יִסַּר close to the meaning “education” for παιδεύω and cognates, it is possible that such nuances occurred in Late Biblical Hebrew and particularly in Ben Sira and Qumran. In particular, E. J. Bickerman, basing his assertion on Ben Sira, stated that the concept of paideia entered Jerusalem during the third century BCE.<sup>58</sup>

Indeed, Ben Sira attests a shift in the use of מוֹסֵר.<sup>59</sup> First, the *nomen rectum* may refer to the person who receives the discipline rather than the one who gives it (Sir<sup>B, M</sup> 42:8). Second, it can denote the content of an oral

55. For other Hebrew verbs, see Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 98–100.

56. A good example of such discourse is given by Prov 31:1–9.

57. Michael Carasik, *Theologies of the Mind in Biblical Israel*, StBibLit 85 (New York: Lang, 2006), 148–49; Widder, “To Teach,” 194–95; Sæbø, *TLOT* 2:548–51. However, Widder nuances her position by taking into account verses she considers to have a more pedagogical nuance, like Deut 4:36 and Isa 28:26.

58. See E. J. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 171. A few pages earlier (166), he states the interesting hypothesis that, during the Hellenistic Era, the Hebrew term חכמה could have gained something of the semantic field of παιδεία, that is to say, “culture.” This article will not aim to assess this hypothesis further.

59. One should not neglect the difficulty of dealing with the Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira. Even though the discovery of the Masada manuscript has shown that the Cairo Genizah manuscripts are not a retranslation into Hebrew of the Syriac or the Greek, we cannot exclude such marginal corrections, errors or even retranslation; see W. Th. van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*, SSSL 41 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 9–26.

discourse (Sir<sup>B</sup> 31:11, Sir<sup>B, M</sup> 41:15). Indeed, in Ben Sira, מוסר becomes increasingly a sapiential term. It seems difficult to prove, however, that the idea of παιδεία permeated Jewish thought in Jerusalem, because the traditional meanings of chastisement, discipline, and rebuking still exist for some occurrences of מוסר (e.g., Sir<sup>B, M</sup> 42:8),<sup>60</sup> and, in my opinion, for all the occurrences of יסר.<sup>61</sup>

In Qumran and in the Damascus Document, a more spectacular shift occurs. The verb is used in the *hithpael* stem with the preposition ב. However, although in the MT this preposition introduces the means of discipline—mainly the rod—here it introduces the law or the commandments:

[שר ישפטו] א[שר שפטים] ואלה הם [4Q270 7 I, 15]  
[And these are the reg]ulations by which [shall be ruled] all those  
disciplined.<sup>62</sup>

Although it is still possible that this usage corresponds to a basic meaning of יסר attested only in Qumran, the close parallel to the Greek construction of the passive participle with ἐν may be an indication of a possible influence of the relationship between יסר and παιδεύω in the LXX.<sup>63</sup> Hence, in Qumran Hebrew, יסר may have gained the semantic field of the Greek παιδεύω. Such influences of the Greek on Qumran Hebrew have been noticed by some scholars but are still an open field to explore.<sup>64</sup>

60. As for the wordplay in Sir<sup>A</sup> 6:22, please refer to Núria Calduch-Benages, “A Wordplay on the Term *músar* (Sir 6:22),” in *Weisheit als Lebensgrundlage: Festschrift für Friedrich V. Reiterer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Renate Egger-Wenzel, Karin Schöpfelin, and Johannes Friedrich Diehl, DCLS 15 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 13–26.

61. See Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 109–12. The only exception would be Sir<sup>A, C</sup> 7:23, in which an injunction to “discipline” one’s son is associated with his marriage. Such an injunction is close to that of Sir 30:13 or of Prov 19:18; 29:17, but there the context more clearly indicates the meaning of “discipline.” The Hebrew text of Sir<sup>A, C</sup> 7:23 could hardly be the *Vorlage* of either the Greek or the Syriac version. For Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, AB 39 (New York, Doubleday, 1987), 204, this is a late gloss, whereas Charles Mopsik, *La Sagesse de Ben Sira*, DP (Lagrasse: Verdier, 2003), 109–10 n. 5, considers it to be authentic.

62. Trans. by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997–1998).

63. Illustrated, for instance, by Aristotle: *παιδευμένοι ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ* (Pol. 1310A 14).

64. For more detail, please refer to Patrick Pouchelle, “The Contribution of IQS and CD to the Lexicography of יסר,” *KUSATU* 19 (2015): 225–236.

## THE SEPTUAGINT

When παιδεύω and cognates correspond to יסר, the LXX attests a grammatical usage that is unknown to non-Jewish and non-Christian Greek and that corresponds exactly to the grammatical usage of יסר: (1) the rection of παιδεύω with the preposition ἐν or with the dative denotes the means by which someone disciplines someone else and not the discipline taught;<sup>65</sup> contrary to the metaphorical usage,<sup>66</sup> the means is not an event but a material tool, like a bond (3 Kgms 12:11 LXX), or a divine quality, like anger (Ps 6:2); (2) the *nomen rectum* of παιδεία expresses the person who disciplines and not the one who endures it; that is, the παιδεία κυρίου: the discipline of the Lord (e.g., Deut 11:2); and (3) the substantive παιδεία is used with ἀκούω. Hence, παιδεία is a discourse to be heard, which is never the case in non-Jewish and non-Christian Greek.<sup>67</sup>

Such usages clearly show that παιδεύω was indeed a pointer to יסר and means “to discipline.” Another argument for giving to παιδεύω the meaning of יסר is the LXX of Deut 8:5:

וידעת עם-לבבך כי כאשר ייסר איש את-בנו יהוה אלהיך מיסרך

Know then in your heart that as a parent disciplines a child so the LORD your God disciplines you. (NRSV)

καὶ γνώσῃ τῆ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὡς εἴ τις παιδεύσαι ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, οὕτως κύριος ὁ θεός σου παιδεύσει σε

And you shall know in your heart that as a certain person might discipline his son, so the Lord your God will discipline you. (NETS)

The main difference between the MT and LXX is the tense of יסר and παιδεύω when God is the subject. In MT the form is a participle, which denotes simultaneity: God disciplines his people during the wandering in the desert. On the contrary, the LXX uses the future tense: God will discipline his people later. This tense better fits the contents of a discourse that warns the people to keep God’s commandments when they will enter the

65. E.g. Pss 6:2; 37:2 LXX (Ps 38:2 MT); Prov 29:19, with dative; and 3 Kgms 12:11, 14; 2 Ch 10:11, 14, with ἐν.

66. See above, “Rebuking,” under the heading “Classical and Hellenistic Greek.”

67. This is not the case for the association of παιδεία with verbs of prehension and acceptance that can be found in Greek: with δέχομαι, Plato, *Leg.* 832D; with λαμβάνω, Aeschines, *Tim.* 11; with ἀλιγώρω, Plutarch, *Gen. Socr.* 579C.

promised land. Therefore, the discipline here evoked is the chastisement promised to the people if they do not obey God's commandments. Such a future tense in a similar context also occurs in Lev 26:18, 26, 28 LXX.

The cause of this difference is difficult to determine. I would be inclined to think that the LXX witnesses a different *Vorlage* from the MT. This *Vorlage* may well be more ancient, but it is difficult to prove. However, this difference clearly shows that the nuance conveyed by the verb παιδεύω is not a nuance of "education" but of "discipline," in line with the meaning of יסר.

This thesis is not contradicted by other differences that occur when the use of παιδεύω and cognates literally corresponds to that of the root יסר.<sup>68</sup> Accordingly, παιδεύω and cognates could be considered more or less as a pointer to יסר.<sup>69</sup>

### The Development of the Septuagintal Meaning

Leaving aside textual variants,<sup>70</sup> the LXX sometimes uses παιδεύω and cognates when the MT does not have the root יסר. Generally speaking, the meaning is close to that of יסר. This is particularly true in Psalms:

δράξασθε παιδείας, μήποτε ὀργισθῆι κύριος καὶ ἀπολείσθε ἐξ ὁδοῦ δικαίας  
(Ps 2:12)

Seize upon instruction, lest the Lord be angry and you will perish from the righteous way. (NETS)

The corresponding verse in the MT has the *crux interpretationis* נשקו בן, literally "kiss a son." Many scholars have attempted to resolve the link between the MT and the LXX. The simple solution is probably that the

68. Of course, there are some differences between the MT and the LXX that are of some interest, for example the use of παιδευτής in Hos 5:2. This choice probably denotes that the translators conceive of God as the one who disciplines his people in the desert (see also Pss. Sol. 8:29). See Eberhard Bons, "'Je suis votre éducateur' (Os 5:2 LXX): Un titre divin et son contexte littéraire," in *Mélanges offerts à Raymond Kuntzmann*, vol. 1 of *Le jugement dans l'un et l'autre Testament*, ed. Eberhard Bons, LD 197 (Paris: Cerf, 2004), 191–206.

69. For example, a *niphal tolerativum* is translated by a passive form that does not convey such a nuance. See particularly the difference between Jer 31:18 MT and Jer 38:18 LXX; see also Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 243–44.

70. See Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 278–84.

translator has freely translated a difficult Hebrew form and that he indicated his difficulty by using a rare Greek word, here *δράσσομαι*, used only here with *παιδεία*.<sup>71</sup>

The book of Psalms offers other examples in which the MT conveys a nuance of humiliation and oppression, and the LXX does introduce the concept of *παιδεία* in its disciplinary nuance. An example among others is Ps 89:10 LXX (Ps 90:10 MT):<sup>72</sup>

ὅτι ἐπήλθεν πραΰτης ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ παιδευθησόμεθα  
Because meekness came upon us, and we shall become disciplined. (NETS)

Here *καὶ παιδευθησόμεθα* does not correspond to the MT, *הפגנו*, which has a different meaning (“to fly”).<sup>73</sup> Either the *Vorlage* contained the root *רפ* or the Greek translator read the idea of discipline into the verse.<sup>74</sup>

Two occurrences in Psalms have been interpreted as introducing a more classical meaning of *παιδεύω* and cognates: Ps 118:66 LXX (Ps 119:66 MT) and Ps 104:22 LXX (Ps 105:22 MT):

χρηστότητα καὶ παιδείαν καὶ γνώσιν δίδαξόν με (Ps 118:66 LXX)  
Kindness and discipline and knowledge teach me. (NETS)

τοῦ παιδεῦσαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ ὡς ἑαυτὸν (Ps 104:22 LXX [Ps 105:22 MT])  
to educate his officials to be like himself. (NETS)

However, in Ps 104:22 LXX, the meaning of *παιδεύω* is not incompatible with that of *רפ* in its usage in Proverbs. In the first place, it corresponds to *רפל*, a form in the MT that could have been interpreted as deriving from *רפ*; and secondly, the verb *παιδεύω* does not share some of the characteristics common to classical Greek: the officials are not children and we know nothing about their origins. Another way to interpret this verse is that it is claiming that Joseph has the same authority over the officials that a master has over his pupils, as described in Proverbs.

71. Such a metaphorical usage is sometimes attested in classical Greek literature; see, for example, Sophocles, *Ant.* 235.

72. See also Ps 17:36 LXX (Ps 18:36 MT), or Ps 140:5 LXX (Ps 141:5 MT).

73. NRSV: “and we fly away.”

74. See Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 287–88.

The same could be said about Ps 118:66 LXX (Ps 119:66 MT), which is far from the MT. In classical Greek, παιδεία is neither heard nor taught. In line with the evolution of מוסר from Proverbs to Ben Sira, παιδεία could mean here a rebuking discourse which evolves into a sapiential one.

According to this interpretation, there are three occurrences in the LXX where a prophet is described as announcing the παιδεία κυρίου: Amos 3:7; Hab 1:12; and Ezek 13:9. All these occurrences have in common that they contain the two letters טד deriving either from the word טוד or the verb טדי. It could be argued that the *Vorlage* contains a form associated with the root טדי; however, this is debatable.<sup>75</sup> The main idea of these passages, to which we may add Isa 50:4,<sup>76</sup> is to identify God's action as a rebuking discourse to his people. The divine action in history is conceived as discipline announced by the prophets.

### The Appearance of the Classical Meaning

Another argument to deny to παιδεύω and cognates the classical meaning is to observe that this meaning appears in the LXX in some occurrences when παιδεύω and cognates do not correspond to the root טדי. In these occurrences, the context as well as the grammatical use of παιδεύω and cognates implies such a meaning.

The first case is in Ezek 28:3:

μη σοφώτερος εἶ σὺ τοῦ Δανιηλ; ἢ σοφοὶ οὐκ ἐπαίδευσάν σε τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ αὐτῶν;

Surely, you are not wiser than Daniel? Or did wise ones not discipline you with their knowledge? (NETS)

The first part of the verse follows more or less the MT: the second part, however, departs from it:

הנה חכם אתה מדנאל כל-סתום לא עממוך

You are indeed wiser than Daniel; no secret is hidden from you. (NRSV)

No link can be drawn between the MT and the LXX, which is here probably a free rendering. It is noteworthy that παιδεύω does not corre-

75. See *ibid.*, 297–302.

76. See *ibid.*, 302–3.

spond to יִסְר and that the grammatical construction perfectly fits classical Greek usage, with the dative denoting the discipline taught.<sup>77</sup> This usage is unique in the LXX. Tyre is here praised for having been educated in all knowledge and for being wiser than Daniel.

Daniel contains, in fact, virtually all the occurrences of παιδεύω and cognates with the meaning of “education.”<sup>78</sup> In Dan 1:5 LXX the unique compound ἐκπαιδεύω<sup>79</sup> corresponds to the Hebrew verb לָדַג:

καὶ ἐκπαιδεῦσαι αὐτοὺς ἔτη τρία  
and to educate them for three years. (NETS)

The context precludes interpreting ἐκπαιδεύω with a nuance of rebuking. According to R. Glenn Wooden, the rendering of לָדַג with a verb linked to education is unique in the LXX.<sup>80</sup> In fact, we can note the rendering of this verb with τρέφω in Dan 1:5 LXX (Th.) and in Num 6:5. Both τρέφω and (ἐκ)παιδεύω belong in their classical meaning to the semantic field of education, with the meaning “to rear.” Such a nuance can also be found in Dan 1:20 LXX:

77. See above, “Educating,” under the heading “Classical and Hellenistic Greek.”

78. There is also Esth 2:7 LXX, in which Mordechai is said to train Esther “for himself as a wife” (NETS). The construction of παιδεύω with εἰς expressing the end or final product does not occur in the LXX (Jer 37:11 LXX [Jer 30:11 MT] is a literal rendering of its *Vorlage*) and the use of the verb παιδεύω to describe the education of women is attested in classical Greek (see Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 314–16). A last occurrence is noteworthy: Deut 32:10. The presence of παιδεύω does not fit the context if it conveys the meaning of יִסְר, *pace* Marguerite Harl, “Le grand cantique de Moïse en Deutéronome 32: Quelques traits originaux de la version grecque des Septante,” in *La langue de Japhet: Quinze études sur la Septante et le grec des chrétiens* (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 137 n. 29. Corresponding to יְבוֹנְנָהוּ, it was probably chosen for etymological reasons, as the complex Hebrew form may have not been interpreted as deriving from בִּין but from בָּנָה, like the Samaritan tradition (see *BHQ*), with a probable nuance of “sustenance.” Such a nuance is rarely but clearly attested in classical Greek; for more detail, see Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 164. In this context, the best way to interpret παιδεύω is probably to see it as a synonym of τρέφω, “nourish,” with Deut 32:10 referring here to the manna (see Pouchelle, *Dieu éducateur*, 316–20).

79. Unique in the LXX, this compound is frequently used in Classical Greek.

80. R. Glenn Wooden, “The Recontextualization of Old Greek Daniel 1,” in *Ancient Version and Traditions*, vol. 1 of *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture*, ed. Craig A. Evans, LSTS 50; SSEJC 9 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 58.



καὶ ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ συνέσει καὶ παιδείᾳ, ὅσα ἐζήτησε παρ' αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεύς, κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς σοφωτέρους δεκαπλασίως ὑπερφέροντας τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ φιλολόγων<sup>81</sup> ἐν πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ

And in every topic and understanding and education, which the king inquired of them, he took them to be ten times wiser, surpassing the savants and scholars that were in the whole kingdom. (NETS)

According to Usener,<sup>82</sup> παιδεία, corresponding here to בִּינָה, “understanding,” conveys its classical meaning. Indeed, this verse shows some semantic associations unknown to the LXX but frequent in classical and Hellenistic literature: παιδεία and λόγος, παιδεία and σύνεσις, and the presence of sophists and philologists.<sup>83</sup> The text of Daniel is not only translated but actualized so as to present the wise Daniel as wiser than the wise people of the time of the translator, that is to say the πεπαιδευμένοι, as Wooden perfectly stated,<sup>84</sup> even if the word itself is not used in the LXX of Daniel.

This participle, frequent in the non-Jewish and non-Christian literature, is very rare in the LXX. Sirach contains almost all of its occurrences.<sup>85</sup> Interestingly, whereas παιδεύω and παιδεία correspond to the root רִס' (when the Hebrew counterpart is available), only one occurrence of πεπαιδευμένος corresponds to the root רִס'.<sup>86</sup> On the contrary, the participle rather corresponds to Hebrew words or a group of words denoting wisdom or moderation.<sup>87</sup> The same could be said of the occur-

81. Rahlfs: ὑπὲρ τοὺς σοφιστὰς καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους. For textual criticism, see Wooden, “Recontextualization,” 53–54.

82. Usener, “Septuaginta im Horizont des Hellenismus,” 111–12.

83. Or philosophers; see n. 81 above.

84. Wooden, “Recontextualization,” 54–55, 58–59.

85. Prov 10:4, υἱὸς πεπαιδευμένος σοφὸς ἔσται, τῷ δὲ ἄφρονι διακόνῳ χρῆσεται, has no correspondence in the MT. In my opinion, the future sense ἔσται precludes interpreting πεπαιδευμένος as meaning “to be educated,” and the form πεπαιδευμένος should here be interpreted as the perfect participle of παιδεύω so as to express an efficient action and not an accomplished one; see Pierre Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec*, CollLing 21 (Paris: Champion, 1927). Psalm 89:12 LXX (Ps 90:12 MT) is controversial, as some manuscripts read πεπεδημένους. Tobit 4:14 is in line with the interpretation of Sirach: the πεπαιδευμένος is the one who masters his or her passion.

86. In Sir 40:29, πεπαιδευμένος could correspond to the verbal noun רִסוֹר. However, the Hebrew text is corrupt, and this form occurs in the margin only in a Hebrew sentence that considerably differs from the Greek text; see Patrick Pouchelle, “On the use of πεπαιδευμένος in Greek Sirach,” *JSCS* 47 (2014): 64–65.

87. Sir<sup>C</sup> 21:23, תִּשְׂרֵי אִישׁ מְזֻמָּה, “a man of discretion”; Sir 26:14 has no counterpart but

rence of παιδευτής,<sup>88</sup> which corresponds to the *niphāl* of נִפְחָל. Moreover, the use of παιδεία in the translator's prologue conveys the classical meaning, whereas its use in the translated text corresponds to the meaning of יָסַר.<sup>89</sup> It is therefore possible to conclude that, whereas he acknowledges of the association of יָסַר and παιδεύω, the translator may well have felt free to choose πεπαιδευμένος or παιδευτής as the best rendering in Greek of different Hebrew expressions, emphasizing that the wise person promoted by Greek Sirach is a good challenger to the wise person offered by Greek culture, that is to say the πεπαιδευμένος.<sup>90</sup>

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

When corresponding to the root יָסַר, παιδεύω and cognates do not convey the nuance of classical Greek education, that is to say a process that trans-

---

Sir<sup>C</sup> 26:15, which is a doublet of Sir 26:14, contains פֹּה לְצִוּוֹרֵת, “chastity in mouth” denoting someone who speaks modestly; Sir 34:19 (Sir<sup>B</sup> 31:19), גְּבוּן, “intelligent person,” and Sir<sup>B</sup> 42:8, זָהִיר, “prudent person.”

88. For the occurrence of παιδευτής in Hos 5:2, see above, n. 68.

89. See also Alexander A. Di Lella, “Ben Sira’s Doctrine on the Discipline of the Tongue: An Intertextual and Synchronic Analysis,” in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology*, DCLS 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 233–52. Some verses clearly show a “Septuagintal” meaning of παιδεύω, like Sir 6:32. Even some more ambiguous verses could be explained this way. Sirach 10:1, Κριτής σοφός παιδεύσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, could refer to Job 4:3 MT or even to 3 Kgms 12:11, 14 LXX (see also Sir 37:23). Sirach 18:13 associates παιδεύω with ἐλέγχω and διδάσκω in a probable allusion to Ps 93:10, 12 LXX (Ps 94:10, 12 MT). Moreover, ἐπιστρέφω shows a process of conversion (see Deut 30:2 LXX) more than of acquiring knowledge. However, some verses are more problematic, like Sir 30:2, which opens the so-called discourse on education. However, in Sir 30:13, which closes the discourse, παιδεύω, which is frequently translated “to educate,” is better interpreted as meaning “to discipline.” Indeed, being associated with ἐργάζομαι, the occurrence of παιδεύω here points to a more “tactile” definition of “education,” to say the least. However, most of these passages could also be interpreted according to the classical meaning of παιδεύω. Accordingly, we should make the distinction between the text “as translated” and the text “as received,” without totally rejecting the idea that Sirach may have merged the two meanings. As for παιδεία, its whole semantic range seems to be represented, from wisdom (Sir 1:27; see also this association in Prov 1:2) to harsh discipline (Sir 4:17 or 21:19).

90. This is perfectly in line with the evolution of πεπαιδευμένος in the Hellenistic period. This person is less the one who is educated to be a good citizen than the one who adopts wise and moderate behavior (see above). See also Pouchelle, “On the Use of πεπαιδευμένος,” 68–69.

forms a child into a citizen or a virtuous person. Moreover, the Greek translators made their choice with regard to a more popular meaning of παιδεύω: “to rebuke” an adult so that he would change his behavior.<sup>91</sup> This fact is proven by the context as well as by the grammatical use of these words: when the classical meaning is present, some characteristic features are also detected.<sup>92</sup>

The presence of this more popular nuance may be an indication that the Greek translators of the Pentateuch were not part of the Hellenistic system of education.<sup>93</sup> In this regard, a comparison with the nonasterisked material of Job shows that this translator (who probably knows Homer) does not use παιδεύω and cognates to render the root רס' but instead uses νουθετέω and cognates, which were a better choice so that the translation could be understood by non-Jewish Greeks.<sup>94</sup> By contrast, the translator of the LXX version of Proverbs, who also seems to have a good knowledge of Hellenistic culture, maintains the relationship between παιδεύω and the root רס'.

---

91. “More popular” means here that this nuance is absent from the works of the best philosophers and present in papyri written by less educated people, as discussed above.

92. Such as the construction with the dative of the discipline taught or the association with some keywords like σύνεσις.

93. Of course, it is possible to assert like Arieti, “Vocabulary of Septuagint Amos,” 346, that the Greek translators deliberately chose this nuance as a reaction against the Hellenistic culture. But it seems hard to prove. Moreover, some scholars argue against this hypothesis, mainly with the help of the Letter of Aristeas; see for example Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003). For a similar opinion, see Natalio Fernández Marcos, “The Greek Pentateuch and the Scholarly Milieu of Alexandria,” *SEC* 2 (2009): 81–89. Jan Joosten, “Le milieu producteur du Pentateuque grec,” *REJ* 165 (2006): 349–61, has noted the use of military terms where the Hebrew does not justify such words. He then suggests that the LXX was produced in a milieu influenced by the Jewish soldiers in Egypt. The question is still open, and it is worth asking why the translated books of the LXX relatively rarely use words of great importance in Greek educated culture, like ἀρετή. A related question is why the main usage of παιδεύω in the LXX is so far away from the classical meaning.

94. See Pouchelle, “The Use of νουθετέω in the Old Greek,” in *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Munich, 2013*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Meiser, *SCS* 64 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 437–54.

This close relationship is very intriguing. In my opinion, in the Pentateuch, it implies that the root סר' was not interpreted as denoting chastisement only, but always a relationship between a person having authority and a person submitted to it, even in its less pedagogic occurrences, like Deut 22:18. This interpretation, in line with the use of סר' in the book of Proverbs, may indicate that the translators were scribes who were attached to their master, even if he beat them, precisely because a master beats his disciples for their own good.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, these translators interpret the relationship between God and his people as such: God disciplines his people so that they will not die but live. The close relationship of Deut 8:5 and Lev 26:18, 21, 28 is best understood in this context. Accordingly, παιδεύω and cognates were preferred to νοθετέω and cognates in the LXX because the latter may fail to express this relationship between the master and his people and because the word παιδεία, more than νοθεσία, was used in Greek culture, and mainly in gnomic wisdom, as a precious treasure to keep.

Of course, the relationship of παιδεύω and cognates to the root סר' should not be pressed too hard in an attempt to prove the identification of the translators with bilingual scribes who did not belong to the Hellenistic education system. In this respect, the comparison with gnomic wisdom that is close to the LXX in many aspects, like the hardness of education and the praise of παιδεία, may be interesting to pursue and could lead to the speculative hypothesis of a Jewish interpretation of a wisdom-like Hellenistic παιδεία.<sup>96</sup>

---

95. The article by Arie van der Kooij, "The Septuagint and Scribal Culture," *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 59 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 33–39, is a starting point for a renewal of studies on the scribes and the LXX. See also Emanuel Tov, "Les traducteurs des Écritures grecques et leur approches des Écritures," in *Traduire la Bible hébraïque: De la Septante à la Nouvelle Bible Segond / Translating the Hebrew Bible: From the Septuagint to the Nouvelle Bible Segond*, ed. Robert David and Michael Jinbajian, ScBib 15 (Montreal: Médiapaul, 2005), 122–26, and M. Rösel, "Schreiber, Übersetzer, Theologen: Die Septuaginta als Dokument der Schrift-, Lese-, und Übersetzungskulturen des Judentums," in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten; Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 98.

96. Even if the gnomic collection is very hard to date.

Such a hypothesis would need to be grounded on firmer arguments. However, it is harder to assert now, as Bertram did, that the translators of the LXX deliberately chose παιδεύω and cognates to introduce new educational thoughts or new pedagogical concepts into the Hebrew texts. On the contrary, it is παιδεύω and cognates that develop nuances of pure chastisement absent from the non-Jewish Greek texts, whereas it is only in some sectarian documents of Qumran that רס' really does develop nuances of education to law, perhaps under the influence of παιδεύω and cognates. The LXX texts of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Sirach clearly show, however, that their translators were aware of a Hellenistic concept of παιδεία, that is to say a sapiential way of life.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Graham. "The *pepaideumenos* in Action: Sophists and Their Outlook in the Early Empire." *ANRW* 33.1:80–208.
- . *The Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Arieti, James A. "The Vocabulary of Septuagint Amos." *JBL* 93 (1974): 338–47.
- Balz, Horst, and Gerhard Schneider, eds. *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*. ET. 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990–1993.
- Barr, James. *The Semantics of Biblical Language*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Bertram, Georg. "Der Begriff der Erziehung in der griechischen Bibel." Pages 33–51 in *Imago dei: Beiträge zur theologischen Anthropologie, Gustav Krüger zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 29. Juni 1932 dargebracht*. Edited by Heinrich Bornkamm. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1932.
- . "παιδεύω κτλ." *TDNT* 5:596–625.
- Betz, Dorothea. "Gott als Erzieher im Alten Testament: Eine semantisch-traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der Begrifflichkeit *jsr/musar* (*paideuo/paideia*) mit Gott als Subjekt in den Schriften des AT." PhD diss., Universität Osnabrück, 2007.
- Bickerman, E. J. *The Jews in the Greek Age*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 19. New York: Doubleday, 2000.
- Bons, Eberhard. "'Je suis votre éducateur' (Os 5:2 LXX): Un titre divin et son contexte littéraire." Pages 191–206 in *Mélanges offerts à Raymond*

- Kuntzmann. Vol. 1 of *Le jugement dans l'un et l'autre Testament*. Edited by Eberhard Bons. LD 197. Paris: Cerf, 2004.
- Branson, R. D. “יִסָּר.” *TDOT* 6:127–34.
- Burnet, Régis. *L'Égypte ancienne à travers les papyrus: Vie quotidienne*. Paris: Pygmalion, 2003.
- Calduch-Benages, Núria. “A Wordplay on the Term *mûsar* (Sir 6:22).” Pages 13–26 in *Weisheit als Lebensgrundlage: Festschrift für Friedrich V. Reiterer zum 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Renate Egger-Wenzel, Karin Schöpflin, and Johannes Friedrich Diehl. DCLS 15. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013.
- Carasik, Michael. *Theologies of the Mind in Biblical Israel*. StBibLit 85. New York: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Chantraine, Pierre. *Histoire du parfait grec*. CollLing 21. Paris: Champion, 1927.
- Cremer, Hermann. *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. 11th ed. Gotha: Klotz, 1923.
- Deissmann, Adolf. *Bibelstudien: Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums*. Marburg: Elwert, 1895.
- . *Neue Bibelstudien: Sprachgeschichtliche Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*. Marburg: Elwert, 1897.
- Di Lella, Alexander A. “Ben Sira’s Doctrine on the Discipline of the Tongue: An Intertextual and Synchronic Analysis.” Pages 233–52 in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology*. DCLS 1. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008.
- Diogenes Laertius. *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*. Translated by R. D. Hicks. 2 vols. LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959–1970.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio. “The Greek Pentateuch and the Scholarly Milieu of Alexandria.” *SEC* 2 (2009): 81–89.
- Finsterbusch, Karin. *Weisung für Israel: Studien zu religiösem Lehren und Lernen im Deuteronomium und in seinem Umfeld*. FAT 44. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Fischer, Georg. *Jeremia*. 2 vols. HThKAT. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2005.
- Fitzgerald, John T. “Proverbs 3:11–12, Hebrews 12:5–6, and the Tradition of Corporal Punishment.” Pages 291–317 in *Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Carl R. Holladay*.

- Edited by Patrick Gray and Gail R. O'Day. NovTSup 129. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- García Martínez, Florentino, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997–1998.
- Gerleman, G. “Bemerkungen zum alttestamentlichen Sprachstil.” Pages 108–14 in *Studia Biblica et Semitica: Theodoro Christiano Vriezen qui munere professoris theologiae per XXV annos functus est, ab amicis, collegis, discipulis dedicata*. Edited by W. C. van Unnik and A. S. van der Woude. Wageningen: Veenman, 1967.
- Harl, Marguerite. *La langue de Japhet: Quinze études sur la Septante et le grec des chrétiens*. Paris: Cerf, 1992.
- Harlé, Paul, and Didier Pralon. *Le Lévitique: Traduction du texte grec de la Septante, introduction et notes*. BA 3. Paris: Cerf, 1988.
- Honigman, Sylvie. *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Jaeger, Werner. *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*. 3 vols. Translated by Gilbert Highet. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939–1944. Repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967–1971.
- Jenni, Ernst, and Claus Westermann, eds. *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. 3 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson: 1997.
- Jentsch, Werner. *Urchristliches Erziehungsdenken: Die Paideia Kyriou im Rahmen der hellenistisch-jüdischen Umwelt*. BFCT 45.3. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1951.
- Joosten, Jan. “Le milieu producteur du Pentateuque grec.” *REJ* 165 (2006): 349–61.
- Kapelrud, A. S. “לְמִדָּה.” *TDOT* 8:4–10.
- Kayser, C. L., ed. *Flavii Philostrati Opera auctiora*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner: 1870–1871.
- Keown, Gerald L., Pamela J. Scalise, and Thomas G. Smothers. *Jeremiah 26–52*. WBC 27. Waco, TX: Word, 1995.
- Kooij, Arie van der. “The Septuagint and Scribal Culture.” Pages 33–39 in *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010*. Edited by Melvin K. H. Peters. SCS 59. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013.
- Lundbom, Jack R. *Jeremiah 21–36: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 21B. New York: Doubleday, 2004.

- Lysias*. Translated by W. R. M. Lamb. LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Marrou, Henri Irénée. *History of Education in Antiquity*. Translated by George Lamb. WSC. London: Sheed & Ward, 1956. Translation of *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 3rd ed. Paris: Seuil, 1948.
- Milligan, George. *Selections from the Greek Papyri*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910.
- Mopsik, Charles. *La sagesse de Ben Sira*. DP. Lagrasse: Verdier, 2003.
- Nicklas, Tobias. "The Bible and Anti-Semitism." Pages 267–80 in *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible*. Edited by Michael Lieb, Emma Mason, and Jonathan Roberts. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Olofsson, Staffan. "The Crux Interpretum in Ps 2,12." *SJOT* 9 (1995): 188–99.
- O'Neill, Eugene, Jr., and Whitney J. Oates. *The Complete Greek Drama: All the Extant Tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, and the Comedies of Aristophanes and Menander*. New York: Random House, 1963.
- Perdicoyianni, Hélène. *Étude lexicologique des familles de δαῖναί, de διδάσκειν et de παιδεύειν d'Homère à Hippocrate*. Athens: Perdicoyianni, 1994.
- Peursen, W. Th. van. *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*. SLL 41. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Pouchelle, Patrick. "The Contribution of 1QS and CD to the Lexicography of יָסַר." *KUSATU* 19 (2015): 225–36.
- . *Dieu éducateur: Une nouvelle approche d'un concept de la théologie biblique entre Bible Hébraïque, Septante et littérature grecque classique*. FAT 2/77. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015.
- . "On the Use of πεπαιδευμένος in Greek Sirach." *JSCS* 47 (2014): 59–68.
- . "The Use of νοουθετέω in the Old Greek." Page 437–54 in *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Munich, 2013*. Edited by Wolfgang Kraus, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Meiser. SCS 64. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016.
- Prijs, Leo. *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta*. Leiden: Brill, 1948.
- Rad, Gerhard von. *Theologie des Alten Testaments*. 2 vols. Munich: Kaiser, 1957.
- Rea, John R. "Two Christian Letters: PSI VII 831 and VIII 972." *CdE* 45 (1970): 357–68.



- Rösel, Martin. "Schreiber, Übersetzer, Theologen: Die Septuaginta als Dokument der Schrift-, Lese-, und Übersetzungskulturen des Judentums." Pages 83–102 in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten; Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006*. Edited by Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus. WUNT 219. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.
- . "Theologie der griechischen Bibel: Zur Wiedergabe der Gottesausagen im LXX-Pentateuch." *VT* 48 (1998): 49–62.
- . "Towards a 'Theology of the Septuagint.'" Pages 239–52 in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. Edited by Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden. SCS 53. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.
- Searby, Denis Michael. *Aristotle in the Greek Gnomological Tradition*. SGU 19. Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1998.
- Seeligmann, Isac Leo. "Problemen en Perspectieven in het Moderne Septuaginta Onderzoek." *JEOL* 7 (1940): 359–90, 763–66.
- . "Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research." Pages 230–80 in Isac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognates Studies*. Edited by Robert Hanhart and Hermann Spieckermann. FAT 40. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Shupak, Nili. *Where Can Wisdom be Found? The Sage's Language in the Bible and in Ancient Egyptian Literature*. OBO 130. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993.
- Skehan, Patrick W., and Alexander A. Di Lella. *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*. AB 39. New York: Doubleday, 1987.
- Smith, Mark S., and Wayne T. Pitard. *Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3–1.4*. Vol. 2 of *The Ugarit Baal Cycle*. VTSup 114. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Sophocles. *The Ajax of Sophocles*. Translated by Richard C. Jebb, with commentary by A. C. Pearson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912.
- Tawil, Hayim. "Hebrew יָסַר, Akkadian *esuru*: A Term of Forced Labor." Pages 185–90 in *Teshûrôt LaAvishur: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, in Hebrew and Semitic Languages; Festschrift Presented to Prof. Yitzhak Avishur on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Edited by Michael Heltzer and Meir Malul. Tel Aviv: Archeological Center Publications, 2004.
- Too, Yun Lee. *A Commentary on Isocrates' Antidosis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

- Tov, Emanuel. "Les traducteurs des Écritures grecques et leur approches des Écritures." Pages 103–26 in *Traduire la Bible hébraïque: De la Septante à la Nouvelle Bible Segond / Translating the Hebrew Bible: From the Septuagint to the Nouvelle Bible Segond*. Edited by Robert David and Michael Jibbachian. ScBib 15. Montreal: Médiaspaul, 2005.
- Usener, Knut. "Die Septuaginta im Horizont des Hellenismus: Ihre Entwicklung, ihr Charakter und ihre sprachlichkulturelle Position." Pages 78–118 in *Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel*. Vol. 2 of *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta*. Edited by Siegfried Kreuzer and Jürgen Peter Lesch. BWANT 161. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004.
- Widder, Wendy L. "To Teach" in *Ancient Israel: A Cognitive Linguistic Study of a Biblical Hebrew Lexical Set*. BZAW 456. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.
- Wooden, R. Glenn. "The Recontextualization of Old Greek Daniel 1." Pages 47–68 in *Ancient Version and Traditions*. Vol. 1 of *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture*. Edited by Craig A. Evans. LSTS 50; SSEJC 9. London: T&T Clark, 2004.
- Xenophon. *Memorabilia and Oeconomicus*. Translated by E. C. Marchant. LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.