Translation Techniques and Interpretative Phenomena in the Greek Version of the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Figurative Use of the Noun צֵל 'Shadow'*

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Abstract:

The first part of this article explores the figurative exploitations of the word צֵל 'shadow' in Biblical Hebrew. Special attention is paid to the poetical language. Alongside the metonymy "shelter", the metaphorical usage of this word is centred on the ideas of protection and transitoriness. The second part of the article takes into account the renderings of צֵל in the Old Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. The data collected suggest that the translators refrain from using the equivalent σκιά in those contexts involving the abstract idea of protection and rather opt for the noun σκέπη. The discussion moves further by evaluating the motivations that could have led the translators to judge the term σκιά as unsuitable to express the idea of protection metaphorically. A first line of argument takes into account factors within the Hebrew biblical text; a second line of argument considers the usage of σκιά within Greek literary sources; finally, a third line of argument looks at those non-literary varieties of Greek found in documentary papyri of the Ptolemaic age.

Keywords: Ancient Hebrew Linguistics, Biblical Studies, Lexical Semantics, Septuagint

1. *The Figurative Use of* צֵל *in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*

The main aspects which the Biblical Hebrew poetic language draws from the idea of shadow that extends into the figurative usage of the noun צֵל are

those of protection and transitoriness. On the one hand, the analogy between shadow and protection reveals how being defencelessly exposed to the heat of the sun was both common and experienced as dangerous in Palestinian life; such an idea is widespread in Ancient Near Eastern cultures.[1] On the other hand, mapping shadow as both lengthening and fleeting is rooted in the system of measuring the flow of time, more specifically the passing of the day, by the sun's shadow. In both cases, the notion and the values of shadow, as linguistically shaped in Biblical Hebrew poetry, have to be weighed against the notion of the sun, rather than against those of light or darkness.

1.1 Protection

Within Early Biblical Hebrew poetry, shadow evokes first and foremost the idea of benefit, particularly protection. Semantically speaking, this figurative use arises from the merging of two distinct processes: metonymy and metaphor. Firstly, shadow is conceived as a site[2] shielded from sunlight, in metonymical relation to the screen that cast it. Consequently, the screen is metaphorically equated with the idea of protective power, whereas the projected shadow is equated with the idea of a protected place where individuals or people can seek refuge (חסה) from dangers and threat sin distressed circumstances of their life or live and flourish (חיה, יֹשב, שׁכן) in peacetime.

In a first group of occurrences, this semantic process appears to be more evident since this kind of a screen is mentioned. As will be shown in detail, within the imagery of Early Hebrew poetry (EBH 2, see Appendix 1), only God and, in a more questionable and unstable way, various human rulers, have the capacity to provide such protection. In the literary context of an Isaian oracle against those rulers of the Southern kingdom of Judah who turn to Egypt to form a defensive alliance against the advance of Assyria, the ex-

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[1] Many Semitic languages mirror this cultural attitude in the semantic shift from 'shadow', towards 'shelter' and, figuratively, 'protection', see e.g. the Ugaritic derivation with a *mem* prefix *mẓll* 'shield, roof, house' from the noun *ẓl* 'shadow' (*KTU* 1.3 v. 39 ff.), for which the closest cognates are Aram. *mṭll* 'roof' (*TAD* A 4.7 r.11; *TAD* A 4.8 r.10), and Aram./Syr. *mṭlh*, *mṭltˀ*, *mṭlltˀ*, 'shelter' (*TgJ Is4:6*; *P Jonah4:5*), 'booth' (*TgJ Is1:8*; *TN Lev23:42*).

[2] It should be noticed that in 23 cases (out of the 52 occurrences of the term in the Hebrew Bible) the noun is found in adverbial phrases with the preposition בְּ denoting position in a place, or movement to a place to remain there. Examples of this usage are found also in early Hebrew narrative. In Gen 19:8, for instance, Loṭ begs the people of Sodom not to harm his foreign guests as they are בְּצֵל קֹרָתִי 'under the shelter (lit. shadow) of my roof'. This expression metaphorically indicates the protection provided by hospitality. The semantic load of such a metaphor, however, is shared by both components, namely the nouns צֵל and קוֹרָה 'beam', and metonymically 'roof', 'house'. While the idea of protection appears to be a function performed by the shadow (more precisely, the shady place), the idea of hospitality is rather conveyed by the image of the house.

pression וְלַחְסוֹת בְּצֵל מִצְרָיִם 'to seek shelter in the shadow of Egypt'[3] (Isa 30:2), has to be read as "seeking shelter in the protection of the Pharaoh", or "begging for Pharaoh's assistance" against the Assyrian threat.[4] In the book of Jeremiah, the Moabite refugees, fleeing from the invasion of their territories, are said to be standing without strength בְּצֵל חֶשְׁבּוֹן 'in the shadow of *Ḥešbôn*' (Jer 48:45), indicating a large city in Moab's Northern boundary on the king's highway,[5] capable of ensuring temporary security. Another oracle of Isaiah, on the other hand, portrays the Moabites as pleading with the king of Judah (allegorically referred to as הַר בַּת־צִיּוֹן 'the mount of daughter Zion', v. 1) to be a hiding place (סֵתֶר, v. 4) for them from the Assyrian invader: שִׁיתִי כַלַּיִל צִלֵּךְ בְּתוֹךְ צָהֳרָיִם 'make your shadow as the night in the midst of the noonday' (Isa 16:3).[6] Within an allegory which depicted the Northern Israelite kingdom as a vine,[7] the expression כָּסּוּ הָרִים צִלָּהּ 'the mountains were covered with its shadow' (Ps 80:11) designates figuratively the past extension of that kingdom's power,[8] by that time irredeemably lost because of the Assyrian invasion.

From the earliest poetic exploitation of צֵל, however, God is the only one who can effectively guarantee comprehensive and vital protection to those

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[3] English translations of reference have been: *The New Jewish Publication Society of America Tanakh* (TNK) and *New Revised Standard Version* (NRSV), for the Hebrew Bible; and *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS) for the Septuagint. When alternative translations are suggested, it will be emphasised in the text.

[4] Further lexemes and expressions in this passage evoke a diplomatic framework, namely שַׂר 'representative of the king', and מַלְאָךְ 'messenger' (v. 4); עֵצָה 'counsel', 'plan' (v. 1); נָסַךְ מַסֵּכָה 'to enter into an alliance' (v. 1) (cf. *HALOT* 605). The term סֵתֶר, on the other hand, should be regarded as a word retaining a particular expressive poignancy, as it occurs in early poetic language with reference to God (Ps 32:7), and designates metaphorically divine protection (Ps 91:1; remarkably, in parallel with צֵל). In this passage, therefore, the nature of Judah's rebellion is harshly emphasised. It is not merely the making of a defensive alliance with a neighbouring country that is so odious; it is rather the repudiation of a relationship of affection and dependence upon their God. In fact, they had exchanged the shadow of the Almighty (Ps 91:1) for the shadow of a human being, the Pharaoh (cf. Oswalt 1986: 546).

[5] See Lundbom (2004: 248); Fischer (2005: 525).

[6] At this passage, the idea of protection seems to be built on a conceptualization of צֵל which points particularly at the notion of darkness: the shadow would thus represent the dark place where it is possible keeping oneself out of sight.

[7] The mention of Israel and Joseph in v. 2, together with the mention of the tribes of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh in v. 3, support the thesis of a Northern origin of the composition, the Northern Kingdom was destroyed in 721 B.C.E. (see Dahood 1973a: 255).

[8] Cf. Hossfeld and Zenger (2007: 463): "V. 9-12 beschreibt YHWHs heilvolle Zuwendung zu Israel, vom Exodus über die Landnahme bis zum Aufstieg zu einem mächtigen Staat inmitten der Staatenwelt des Vorderen Orients".

who rely on him forced by circumstances, or alternatively promise prosperity to those who put themselves steadily under his beneficent influence. One of the earliest images evoking such ideas is found in the poetic language of Hosea (EBH 3)[9]:

(1) Hos 14:8

יָשֻׁבוּ יֹשְׁבֵי בְצִלּוֹ יְחַיּוּ דָגָן וְיִפְרְחוּ כַגָּפֶן זִכְרוֹ כְּיֵין לְבָנוֹן

'They that dwell under *my*[10] shadow (i.e. YHWH's shadow) shall again make corn to grow, and shall blossom as the vine'.

This passage is part of a broader allegory in which YHWH is compared to a tree, namely a luxuriant cypress (cf. v. 9: אֲנִי כִּבְרוֹשׁ רַעֲנָן),[11] that casts its beneficent shadow on those who are faithful to him; this allegory encompasses a wonderful promise of restoration of the people of Israel: if they relinquish foreign alliances and idolatry, then God himself will be their protector.

Elsewhere, the motif of YHWH's shadow as protected place presupposes the combination with other possible metaphors for God as a screen providing shadow.

In early poetic language, the expression בְּצֵל שַׁדַּי יִתְלוֹנָן 'he who *spends the night*[12] (TNK 'abide') in the shadow of the Almighty' (Ps 91:1) suggests God portrayed as a house or some sort of dwelling place.[13] A similar image might be envisaged in Isaiah: כִּי־הָיִיתָ מָעוֹז לַדָּל מָעוֹז לָאֶבְיוֹן בַּצַּר־לוֹ מַחְסֶה מִזֶּרֶם צֵל מֵחֹרֶב 'For you (YHWH) have been a stronghold to the poor, a stronghold to the needy in his distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat' (Isa 25:4), where צֵל is in parallel with other terms evoking some sort of stable structure, namely מָעוֹז 'stronghold', 'fortress', מַחְסֶה 'refuge', 'shelter'.

Nevertheless, in the early Psalms, the image of YHWH as a great bird, casting his shadow on his faithful ones to protect them, largely prevails.[14] The expression בְּצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ 'in the shadow of your wings' is commonly chosen to denote the place where every faithful person can find real refuge:

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[9] For a discussion of the peculiar linguistic features of the early language of Hosea, see Sáenz-Badillos (1997: 71).

[10] After *BHS*, *baṣillô*: *fortasse legendum bṣly* 'in my shadow'.

[11] On the originality of this motif see Feuillet (1971: 392).

[12] Cf. *HALOT* 529, לין II hitpol. 'to be resident throughout the night'. Moreover the parallel term סֵתֶר 'covering', 'place of security' seems to suggest the idea of an architectural structure, even if rough (see Wagner, סָתַר, *TDOT*, 369-370; note the phrase בַּסֵּתֶר 'in a hiding place', 'under cover', adverbially used as 'secretly').

[13] See Hossfeld and Zenger (2007: 621).

[14] For a discussion on the motif of the divine bird within Canaanite and biblical literature see Dahood (1973b: 108) and Riede (2000: 325-338).

(2)   Ps 36:8

וּבְנֵי אָדָם בְּצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ יֶחֱסָיוּן

'All people may take refuge in the shadow of your wings'.

(3)   Ps 57:2

וּבְצֵל־כְּנָפֶיךָ אֶחְסֶה עַד יַעֲבֹר הַוּוֹת

'In the shadow of your wings I will take refuge, until the calamities pass by'.

In such a shadow God hides his faithful, protecting him from any opponent or threat:

(4)   Ps 17:8-9

בְּצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ תַּסְתִּירֵנִי

מִפְּנֵי רְשָׁעִים זוּ שַׁדּוּנִי אֹיְבַי בְּנֶפֶשׁ יַקִּיפוּ עָלָי

'Hide me in the shadow of your wings // from the wicked who despoil me, my deadly enemies who surround me'.

And finally, having escaped the danger, in such a place those who trust in him rejoice:

(5)   Ps 63:8

כִּי־הָיִיתָ עֶזְרָתָה לִּי וּבְצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ אֲרַנֵּן

'For you have been my help, and in the shadow of your wings I do rejoice'.

In these examples, the metaphor of shadow blends with the metaphor of divine wings, producing a baffling imagery, which has been explained in different ways by commentators. On the one hand, the so called Temple-Asylum theory (Heiligtumsasyl-Theorie) draws a parallel between the wings of God and the wings of the cherubim surrounding the ark placed in the holy of holies of the Jerusalem temple (cf. 1 Kgs 6:23; 1 Kgs 8:6-8), demarcating an impenetrable and inviolable area.[15] On the other hand, the expressions found in the Psalms have been regarded as an echo of motifs that originated elsewhere within Ancient Near Eastern culture, especially in Egyptian iconography. Particularly, the outstretched wings of bird-deities, encompassing the Egyptian king, form a well-known symbol for representing the divine protection bestowed on him.[16]

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[15] Nevertheless, strong arguments have been put forward that the theory of the Temple as asylum-area as an explanation of such metaphor should be abandoned (see Riede 2000: 330). It is worth mentioning, here, that the cell containing the ark (דְּבִיר) where the winged cherubs were placed, never represented in the Bible an asylum area; this function was rather performed by the altar area (cf. Exod 21:14; 1 Kgs 1:50), as witnessed also by the expression וַיַּחֲזֵק בְּקַרְנוֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ 'he grasps the horns of the altar', denoting the attitude of supplication (1 Kgs 1:50; 2:28).

[16] For a discussion on the rich imagery of the wing in Ancient Near Eastern iconography, especially in Egypt, see Keel (1997: 190-192); Riede (2000: 325-338, in particular 326-327); Hossfeld and Zenger (2007: 123-127).

1.2 Expression for Measuring the Period of Day

Both in early and in late poetic language, the image of shadow (more specifically the shadow*s*) either lengthening or fleeting has been exploited in expressions of time. While in early poetic language, the phrase כִּי־פָנָה הַיּוֹם כִּי יִנָּטוּ צִלְלֵי־עָרֶב (Jer 6:4) 'for the day declines, the shadows of evening lengthen' denotes the close of day,[17] almost equal to עֶרֶב; in later poetry, the expression עַד שֶׁיָּפוּחַ הַיּוֹם וְנָסוּ הַצְּלָלִים (Cant 2:17; 4:6) 'until the day breathes and the shadows flee' may refer to a more extended time-span, equal to the afternoon.[18] Such uses clearly derive from the practice of measuring time against the regular progress of shadow;[19] any vertical body could be used indeed as a natural device for this purpose, even though more sophisticated sundials may be presupposed elsewhere in the Bible.[20]

1.3 The Transience of Human Life

The comparison between a shadow and the human life span (יָמִים) arises in early poetic language; it is fully exploited, however, only later in the late language of Job (LBH 3), and, mostly, in the wisdom tradition.[21] The basis for this simile appears to be the conception that human life is transient,

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[17] It is worth recalling here that in Biblical Hebrew the basic lexemes denoting the measurable parts of the day are בֹּקֶר 'morning', צָהֳרַיִם 'midday', עֶרֶב 'evening', לַיְלָה 'night', and חֲצִי הַלַּיְלָה 'the middle of the night' (this lexical system is differently organized depending on the functional language); see Niehr עֶרֶב *TDOT*: 336, and also Miano (2010: 13).

[18] Cf. Keel (1986: 110): "Das *Wehen des Tages* spielt auf den täglichen Wind an (vgl. 1. Mose 3,8), der im Laufe des Nachmittags vom Meer her zu wehen beginnt. Das Fliehen der Schatten meint ihr Längerwerden (vgl. Jer 6,4). Für den biblischen Menschen, der früh aufzustehen pflegte, begann der Tag schon mitten im Nachmittag schlaff zu werden und sich dem Abend zuzuneigen (Ri. 19,9), also zu einem Zeitpunkt, den wir als Mitt-Nachmittag bezeichnen würden".

[19] Cf. Schwab, צֵל, *TDOT*, 378.

[20] See Isa 25:4-5; 2 Kgs 20:9-11.

[21] Cf. Schwab, צֵל, *TDOT*, 381; the image of shadow pointing to the brevity of life is found also in late historical-narrative Hebrew (LBH 1), cf. 1 Chr 29:15, Qoh 6:12, 7:12, 8:13. Especially in the second book, we find the image of the shadow intertwined with the theme of inconsistency (cf. Qoh 6:12). At 8:13, on the other hand, a further development appears: the life of the wicked will not be long; he will not live enough as to see the shadow lengthening: וְטוֹב לֹא־יִהְיֶה לָרָשָׁע וְלֹא־יַאֲרִיךְ יָמִים כַּצֵּל אֲשֶׁר אֵינֶנּוּ יָרֵא מִלִּפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים 'but it will not be well with the wicked, neither will he prolong his days like a shadow, because he does not stand in fear before God'. However, the interpretation of the simile here remains problematic; cf. Krüger (2004): 161: "According to 6:12a, namely, a person's life is in any case short and fleeing 'like a shadow'. Similarly, v. 13 can be understood as an ironic commentary on v. 12a: even if the sinner or the wicked man 'lives a long time', his life is still 'short as a shadow'. Injustice can preserve a person from contingency and transitoriness no better than righteousness and piety".

it runs forward without stopping and quickly passes, just like a shadow which lengthens after midday and then vanishes when night comes.

The salient feature drawn from the meaning of צֵל to build the simile is thus essentially transience. The shadow stretches out and becomes long (נטה):

(6) Ps 102:12
יָמַי כְּצֵל נָטוּי וַאֲנִי כָּעֵשֶׂב אִיבָשׁ
'My days are like a lengthening (NRSV *evening*) shadow; I wither away like grass'.

(7) Ps 109:23
כְּצֵל־כִּנְטוֹתוֹ נֶהֱלָכְתִּי נִנְעַרְתִּי כָּאַרְבֶּה
'I am gone like a shadow when it lengthened (NSRV *at evening*); I am shaken off as the locust'.

It does not persist (לֹא עמד):

(8) Job 14:1-2
אָדָם יְלוּד אִשָּׁה קְצַר יָמִים וּשְׂבַע־רֹגֶז
כְּצִיץ יָצָא וַיִּמָּל וַיִּבְרַח כַּצֵּל וְלֹא יַעֲמוֹד
'A mortal, born of woman, few of days and full of trouble, comes up like a flower and withers, flees like a shadow, and does not last'.

Finally, it disperses (עבר):[22]

(9) Ps 144:4
אָדָם לַהֶבֶל דָּמָה יָמָיו כְּצֵל עוֹבֵר
'Man is like a breath // his days like a shadow that passes away'.

As already observed in the case of expressions of time, this figurative use of צֵל may also be based on the common experience of measuring time from the progress of a shadow.

In sum, the term צֵל is seen to be mainly exploited figuratively to produce allegories, metaphors and similes, in both prose and poetry. It is rarely used literally (see Appendix, Table 1). Accordingly, the noun can be legitimately regarded as a poetic word, associated with highly expressive power. Its figurative use exhibits a diachronic development. The *positive* meaning of protection, especially royal and divine, is largely dominant in early poetic language; later, a new meaning appears, associated with the *negative* idea of the brevity and transitory nature of life, which gradually prevails in late poetic language.[23]

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[22] For the figurative meaning 'to scatter', 'to disperse' of the verb עבר see Fuhs עָבַר *TDOT*, 415-416.

[23] It should be stressed, however, that *negative* figurative uses appear already in early poetic language (see Appendix 1), whereas *positive* uses never disappear completely, see e.g. the late language of Ben Sira (see Sir 14:27), and possibly late poetic language (cf. Cant 2:3).

2. Pattern of Use of Equivalents in the Greek Versions

In the *Greek translation*[24] of the Hebrew Bible, the equivalent σκιά 'shadow' is predominant; the noun is found 30 times out of the 52 occurrences of the term צֵל.[25]

The Greek noun matches the contexts in which the term צֵל literally indicates the shadow made by any type of screen:

(10) a. Isa 38:8 LXX
          τὴν σκιὰν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, οὓς κατέβη ὁ ἥλιος, τοὺς δέκα ἀναβαθμοὺς
          τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου, ἀποστρέψω τὸν ἥλιον τοὺς δέκα ἀναβαθμούς.
          The shadow of the steps on which the sun has gone down – ten steps of the
          house of your father (i.e. Aḥaz) – I will turn back the sun those ten steps.
       b. MT אֶת־צֵל

(11) a. Jonah 4:5 LXX
          καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ ἐκεῖ σκηνὴν καὶ ἐκάθητο ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς ἐν σκιᾷ
          And he (Jonas) made a tent for himself there, and he sat under it in the shade.
       b. MT בַּצֵּל

The Greek noun fits equally well those semantic extensions of צֵל denoting expressions of time:

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[24] The expression needs some clarification. By *Greek translation* we refer here to the so-called Septuagint, i.e. the first translation of the Bible, often called the *Old Greek* (translation), and the collection of Jewish-Greek Scripture, containing *inter alia* this translation (cf. Tov 1988: 161). The project of the Old Greek translation originated within the Jewish community of Alexandria in the 3rd cent. B.C.E.; initially conceived as a Greek version of the תוֹרָה (according to the Letter of Aristeas), later on, the translation was extended to include all the books that came to be part of the Hebrew canon (i.e. the נְבִיאִים 'Prophets', and the כְּתוּבִים 'Writings'), and also to further non-canonical Hebrew texts (e.g. Ben Sira, Tobit). After nearly three centuries of work, this process had been completed in approximately the 1st cent. B.C.E. (see Harl, Dorival, and Munnich 1994, in particular 83-110). The Septuagint text that has come down to us is thus a collection of writings of different ages and origins that cannot be treated as homogeneous, either linguistically or stylistically. Already by the 1st cent. B.C.E., the Old Greek translation underwent a process of revision (commonly referred to as the καίγε revision); its basic aim was to make the Greek version as close as possible to the Masoretic text which, by that time, had been almost definitively established as canonical. These revisions had an impact on the textual transmission of the Septuagint, to the point that entire revised sections were incorporated in the manuscript of the Old Greek, making the text and the language available to us even more heterogeneous and multifaceted. For the identification and the study of these sections, see Barthélemy (1963, especially 91-143).

[25] It should be said that for a few passages (namely Isa 32:2; Jer 48:45; Job 17:7) significant divergences between the Greek text and the Masoretic text prevent making a clear equivalence.

(12) a. Jer 6:4 LXX

οὐαὶ ἡμῖν, ὅτι κέκλικεν ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅτι ἐκλείπουσιν αἱ σκιαὶ τῆς ἑσπέρας.
'Woe to us, for the day has declined, because the shadows of evening fail'.
b. MT צִלְלֵי־עָרֶב

(13) a. Cant 2:17; 4:6 LXX

ἕως οὗ διαπνεύσῃ ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ κινηθῶσιν αἱ σκιαί
'Until the day breathes and the shadows stir'.
b. MT הַצְּלָלִים

As for the similes and the metaphors involving the negative idea of transitoriness and brevity of life, the use of σκιά is throughout attested:

(14) a. Ps 101(102):12 LXX[26]

αἱ ἡμέραι μου ὡσεὶ σκιὰ ἐκλίθησαν
'My days faded like a shadow'.
b. MT יָמַי כְּצֵל נָטוּי

(15) a. Job 8:9 LXX

σκιὰ γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὁ βίος
'For our life is a shadow on the earth'.
b. MT כִּי צֵל יָמֵינוּ עֲלֵי־אָרֶץ

With regard to the renderings of the positive imagery of protection and security evoked by the metaphorical use of the Hebrew term, however, the picture turns out to be far more intriguing.

On the one hand, the books labelled by Thackeray as *translations in literal or unintelligent Greek*[27] follow the practice of stereotyped equivalence, extending the choice of σκιά to each occurrence of צֵל.

On the other hand, a group of books deviates from this trend, by manifesting a marked preference for the noun σκέπη 'shelter' or the cognate verb σκεπάζειν 'to cover', 'to shelter' in these contexts.

Among these, the most striking cases are in the book of Isaiah, the A text of Judges[28], and the book of Psalms. Within this corpus of texts, the

[26] The number in brackets refers to the numbering of the Masoretic text.

[27] For the purposes of the present investigation, these books are Lamentations and Song of Solomon; see Table 1. For a complete list see Thackeray (1909: 6-16). According to his grouping, the following texts belong to this category: Jeremiah 29-51; Judges (B text); Song of Solomon; Lamentations; Qohelet.

[28] Remarkably, Ralphs identified two separate traditions, which he believed were so diverse that they amounted to separate recensions of the book. Accordingly, he printed two separate texts in his edition: A and B. The A-text goes back to Codex Alexandrinus, whereas the B-text represents the one witnessed by Codex Vaticanus. Recent research on this topic has shown that both A and B should be regarded as quite literal translations which moved

term צֵל occurs 22 times, displaying each of the uses already described, i.e. literal,[29] as well as figurative (ranging from metaphor to allegory and simile), associated with the imagery of divine or royal protection[30] and, on the other hand, with the idea of the transitory nature of life.[31] This enables us to weigh the distribution of σκιά and σκέπη against the whole semantic range of the Hebrew noun. From this exploration, one expects to understand whether this lexical pair is linguistically functional or not. The Septuagint evidence seems to support an affirmative answer. Firstly, the instances of σκέπη are found exclusively in agreement with those occurrences of צֵל involving the idea of protection. This can be illustrated by the following example:

(16) a. Judg A 9:15 LXX[32]
    πεποίθατε ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ μου
    'Trust in my protection'.
  b. MT חֲסוּ בְצִלִּי; Judg B ὑπόστητε ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ μου subsist in my shade.[33]

(17) a. Isa 30:2-3 LXX
    (v. 2) οἱ πορευόμενοι καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον (…) τοῦ βοηθηθῆναι ὑπὸ Φαραω καὶ σκεπασθῆναι ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων. (v. 3) ἔσται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἡ σκέπη Φαραω εἰς αἰσχύνην καὶ τοῖς πεποιθόσιν ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον ὄνειδος
    'Those who walk to go down to Egypt (…) to be helped by Pharaoh and to be sheltered by Egyptians. For the shelter of Pharaoh shall become a shame to you and to those who trust in Egypt, a reproach'.

away from a freer original version (the Old Greek), whose text is retrievable on the basis of the following criteria: a) the A-text is very influenced by the Origen recension; b) the B-text exhibits many καίγε features; c) the Lucianic text (i.e. the Antiochene tradition) can preserve very ancient readings (probably the Old Greek version) especially when it agrees with Vetus Latina; d) Vetus Latina is an important pre-Hexaplaric witness, in some cases to be preferred to the rest of the Greek witnesses; cf. Fernández Marcos (2011: 6-10).

[29] Judg 9:36; Isa 38:8.

[30] Judg 9:15; Isa 4:6; 16:3; 25:4-5; 30:2-3; 32:2; 49:2; 51:16; Ps 16(17):8; 35(36):8; 56(57):2; 62(63):8; 79(80):11; 90(91):1; 120(121):5.

[31] Pss 101(102):12; 108(109):23; 143(144):4.

[32] In Jotham's fable (Judg 9:8-15) the trees crowned the buckthorn (עָטָד, LXX ῥάμνος, v. 14) as a king over them. In this passage, its shadow metaphorically represents the function of the protective power performed by the king towards his people. Such imagery presupposes a royal ideology that viewed the ruler as the "tree of the world"; see Schwab, צֵל, *TDOT* (379); Boling (1975: 171-173); and Harlé (1999: 167).

[33] In this passage, the A-reading agrees with the Vetus Latina (*in protectione mea*; see Field 1875: 432); moreover, the term σκέπη occurs in the Lucianic reading (ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην μου); on the other hand we have the reading ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ μου, shared by B, the fifth column of the Hexapla, and the revisions of Theodotion and Aquila. On the basis of the criteria mentioned above (see note 28), the A-reading can be plausibly regarded as a good representative of the Old Greek text.

b. MT וְלַחְסוֹת בְּצֵל מִצְרָיִם
to seek shelter in the shadow of Egypt.
לָעוֹז בְּמָעוֹז פַּרְעֹה וְלַחְסוֹת בְּצֵל מִצְרָיִם
'Therefore the protection of Pharaoh shall become your shame, and the shelter in the shadow of Egypt your humiliation'.

(18) a. Isa 49:2 LXX
καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔκρυψέν με
'Under the shelter of his (YHWH's) hand he hid me'.
b. MT בְּצֵל יָדוֹ

(19) a. Ps 16(17):8 LXX
ἐν σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου σκεπάσεις με
'With the shelter of your wings you will shelter me'.
b. MT בְּצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ

(20) a. Ps 90(91):1 LXX
ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐλισθήσεται
'He who lives by the help of the Most High, in a shelter of the God of the sky he will lodge'.
b. MT בְּצֵל שַׁדַּי

The analysis of the few exceptions[34] proves to be of additional interest. In two cases, an alternative reading σκέπη does actually appear among the major manuscripts of the Greek text, arousing the suspicion that the reading σκιά was at least questionable in the eyes of the translators or the copyists. At Ps 56(57):2, a variant ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου is witnessed by the Verona Psalter.[35] At Isa 51:16, Ziegler follows Codex Alexandrinus and reads καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν τῆς χειρός μου σκεπάσω σε.[36] Interestingly, a variant σκέπην makes its appearance in Codex Sinaiticus; actually, it is found overwritten by a corrector, before a third hand restored the original reading.[37]

The remaining two exceptions, namely Isa 4:6 and Ps 79(80):11, deserve a separate discussion. Strictly speaking, here the term צֵל is used allegorically, rather than metaphorically, indicating respectively the shadow of a cloud and the shadow cast by a vine. Although both involve a transfer of meaning, metaphor and allegory should be kept distinct. On the one hand, the allegory is a rhetorical device, whose purpose is to construct a narrative in which each

[34] Namely 4 out of 22 occurrences of צֵל: Isa 4:6; 51:16; Ps 56(57):2; Ps 79(80):11.

[35] i.e. Codex Veronensis, 6th cent. C.E.

[36] Cf. Ziegler (1983).

[37] The overwriting is visible on the website of the Codex Sinaiticus Project: <http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/en> (09/2015).

element (characters, setting, and other types of symbols) retains simultaneously
its literal and its potential figurative meaning. In other words, the figurative
meaning is a function of the narrative as a rhetorical unit. Metaphor, on
the other hand, is a linguistic device; in this case the transfer of meaning is
a function of the lexeme, and can be produced by the use of a single lexical
item[38]. At Isa 4:6, for instance, a cloud (νεφέλη v. 5) is portrayed as being over
Mount Zion εἰς σκιὰν ἀπὸ καύματος 'as a shade from the heat'.[39] Comment-
ing on the Hebrew source text לְצֵל־יוֹמָם מֵחֹרֶב, Williamson points out that the
expression was understood as metaphorical from early times, referred to God,
who guards his people and protects them;[40] nevertheless, the word צֵל as well
as its equivalent σκιά retain their full literal meaning within the scope of the
allegory. The same applies to Ps 79(80):11, where Israel is allegorically referred
to as a vine (ἄμπελος v. 9), whose shadow (ἡ σκιὰ αὐτῆς) covers mountains;
indicating through this imagery the extent of its kingdom's power. Since in
these cases the transfer of meaning is rhetorically expressed by allegory, the
expressive load of each lexical item turns out to be lightened.

The discussion of these examples leads us to the conclusion that those
translation units which show greater attention to the grammatical and lexical
rules of the target language (namely Isaiah, Judges A), clearly hesitated to use
σκιά in those contexts in which צֵל indicates figuratively the protection of
someone powerful. This approach can be ascribed to the translator of Psalms
as well. This book has been regarded as a literal translation, inclined to follow
its Hebrew source text slavishly,[41] as well as a specimen of "indifferent Greek"
from the point of view of the language.[42] However, recent studies have shown
that on closer examination, the Greek Psalter proves to be more creative than a
mere word-for-word rendering,[43] especially in lexical terms,[44] and even shows

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[38] For the distinction between metaphor and allegory, see Prandi (2004: 476): "while
a metaphor opposes a conflictual focus to a coherent frame, an allegory is a whole sentence
whose non-conflictual meaning taken as a whole enters into conflict with a co-textual or
contextual information, and therefore receives an analogical interpretation".

[39] After Williamson (see Williamson 2006: 301); in this case the metaphor also affects
the parallel terms "as a refuge (מַחְסֶה, LXX σκέπη) and shelter (מִסְתּוֹר, LXX τὸ ἀπόκρυφος)
from the storm and the rain".

[40] Cf. Williamson (2006: 315).

[41] This book has been understood also as an early representative of the καίγε tradition
(see Olofsson 1997: 189-230).

[42] Thackeray (1909: 13).

[43] See Aejmelaeus (2007: 223-240, especially 238-239).

[44] The translators of Psalter prove to be careful on the choice of the equivalents and
many of these choices clearly reveal cultural motivations, as in the case of divine epithets,
cf. Muraoka (2001, in particular 40-43); see also Siegert (2001: 311): "Der Psalter ist reich
an behutsamen ‚Interpretamenten', die jedoch nie den Charakter von Glossen oder Erwei-
terungen haben, sondern den einer interpretierenden Wortwahl"; for a comprehensive dis-

some concern for the stylistic demands of the target language.[45] Nevertheless, as pointed out by Aejmelaeus, the translator of the Psalter first and foremost focused on content, i.e. he "concentrated his efforts on the qualitative aspect"[46] of the translation and the choice of the equivalents can be legitimately regarded as an integral part of this aspect.

3. Discussion

The data collected through examination of the Greek renderings of צֵל raise a question: what kind of motivations could have led the translators to consider the term σκιά as unsuitable to express the idea of protection metaphorically? Answering such a question goes beyond the purposes of the present article; nevertheless, some lines of argument can still be sketched out.

A first line of argument relies on factors within the Hebrew biblical text. In early poetic Hebrew and in the late language of Job we find the poetic term צַלְמָוֶת 'gloom',[47] an abstract construction deriving from the verb צלם II, 'be dark'.[48] The Masoretic pointing resulted from a popular folk etymology that understood it as "shadow of death".[49] This reading is also witnessed by the Septuagint version, which almost exclusively translates the term with the phrase σκιά θανάτου – in fact, this is a clear-cut equivalence in the books of Isaiah and Psalms.[50] In the Hebrew Bible the term צַלְמָוֶת bears a strong negative nuance, denoting a gloom deeper than חֹשֶׁךְ,[51] associated with the underworld, and death. It is worth mentioning that in one example the term σκιά on its own is chosen by the Greek translator to convey such a strong negative meaning:

(21) a. Job 16:16

פָּנַי חֳמַרְמְרוּ מִנִּי־בֶכִי וְעַל עַפְעַפַּי צַלְמָוֶת

'My face is red with weeping, and deep darkness is on my eyelids'.

cussion see Austermann (2003: 104-106), who draws the conclusion that "PsLXX verfügt besonders über ausgeprägte semantische und stilistische Kompetenzen, die sich vor allem in seiner kontext- und stilorientierten Verwendung von Äquivalenten niederschlägt".

[45] For an examination of the rhetorical features of the Greek Psalter that cannot be explained by adherence to the source text, see Bons (2011, in particular 72-79), where the lexical stylistic devices are treated.

[46] Cf. Aejmelaeus (2001: 73).

[47] Gesenius 1120 'Dunkelheit', 'Finsternis'; *HALOT* 1029 'gloom', 'an impenetrable gloom, pitch, darkness'; see also Barr (1974: 52).

[48] See Niehr, צַלְמָוֶת, *TDOT* (396).

[49] Niehr points out that: "one must consider that the (in part) positively understood lexeme צֵל bears a negative connotation here"; Niehr צַלְמָוֶת (397).

[50] See Isa 9:1; Ps 23(22):4; 44(43):19; 106(105):10.14.

[51] See *HALOT* 361-362 'darkness', and metaphorically 'sorry state', 'disaster'.

b. LXX

ἡ γαστήρ μου συγκέκαυται ἀπὸ κλαυθμοῦ ἐπὶ δὲ βλεφάροις μου σκιά
'My belly is aflame from weeping, and there is a shadow on my eyelids'.

This example supports the idea that a significant negative nuance was some-how already available in the semantic range of σκιά, as documented by the earliest occurrences of the noun in Greek poetry.[52]

Therefore, it is not unfounded to assume that the negative value associated to the fixed rendering σκιά θανάτου could have played some role on the usage of σκιά, especially within the books of Psalm. The effect of this interference may be the tendency to avoid the word in those contexts involving the positive concept of protection, especially divine protection.

A second line of argument takes into consideration the uses of σκιά within Greek literary sources. As a result of a comprehensive search of the vocabulary and the imagery of shadow in Greek poetry,[53] Ciani points out that from Homer up to Hellenistic poetry, this concept, and its lexical representation did not undergo a significant development; in particular, the semantic range of σκιά, throughout Greek poetry, retains steadily the following meanings and *denotata*: 1) shadow of the dead;[54] 2) shadow cast by a body; 3) shadow as relative darkness caused by shelter from sunlight; 4) shadow as shelter; 5) shadow as a metaphor of precariousness and lack of consistency – mainlyin respect of human existence; 6) shadow as complete obscurity – synonymous with σκότος 'darkness', 'gloom'; 7) shadow as a sketch.[55] It is worth here drawing attention to the fact that meanings 3 and 4 must be regarded as instances of metonymy rather than as metaphors, inasmuch as they involve

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[52] Cf. the usage of σκιά in Homer; see note 55.

[53] It must be said that the occurrences of σκιά are limited in epic poetry (because of the dactylic hexameter metre), whereas the noun is extensively attested in tragedy.

[54] In fact, the earliest occurrences of the term in Homer bear witness to this meaning, see *Od*. 10.494-5 τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια // οἴῳ πεπνῦσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀίσσουσιν 'to him (the seer Teiresias) in death Persephone has granted reason, so that he alone has understanding; while the others are shadows that flit'; and 11:204-8 ἐγὼ γ' ἔθελον φρεσὶ μερμηρίξας // μητρὸς ἐμῆς ψυχὴν ἑλέειν κατατεθνηυίης. // τρὶς μὲν ἐφωρμήθην· ἑλέειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει· // τρὶς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἴκελον καὶ ὀνείρῳ // ἔπτατο 'I pondered in heart, and was fain to clasp the spirit of my dead mother. Three times I sprang towards her, and my heart bade me clasp her, and thrice she flitted from my arms like a shadow or a dream'. In these contexts, the notion of shadow is clearly related to the idea of εἴδωλον 'phantom', 'ghost' (see *LSJ*, σκιά; cf.*Il*. 5.451; *Od*. 4.796). The shadow is thus conceived as a weakened reproduction of the body that casts it, as faithful, just as inconsistent.

[55] Cf. Ciani (1970: 363-372).

contiguity[56] between the source (the shadow cast) and the target concepts (the screen that casts it, or the darkness that is thus produced). Meanings 1 and 5, on the other hand, are really metaphors, as they imply analogy and transfer between disjoint concepts. Moreover, Ciani explains that metonymies 3 and 4 are always exploited "puramente in senso materiale",[57] as the following examples clearly show:

(22) Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 967
ῥίζης γὰρ οὔσης φυλλὰς ἵκετ' ἐς δόμους,
σκιὰν ὑπερτείνασα σειρίου κυνός
'For if the root still lives, leaves come again to the house and spread their over-reaching shade against the scorching Dog Star'.

(23) Euripides, *Bacchae*, 458
λευκὴν δὲ χροιὰν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἔχεις
οὐχ ἡλίου βολαῖσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σκιᾶς
τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καλλονῇ θηρώμενος
'You have a white skin from careful preparation, hunting after Aphrodite by your beauty not exposed to strokes of the sun, but beneath the shade'.

(24) Euripides *Heracles*, 971
οἱ δὲ ταρβοῦντες φόβῳ
ᾖσσον ἄλλος ἄλλοσ', ἐς πέπλους ὁ μὲν
μητρὸς ταλαίνης, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ κίονος σκιάν,
ἄλλος δὲ βωμὸς ὄρνις ὣς ἔπτηξ' ὕπο.
'And they in wild fright darted here and there, one to his hapless mother's skirts, another to the shadow of a pillar, while a third cowered beneath the altar like a bird'.

In other words, the meaning 'shelter', actually rather peripheral within Greek poetry,[58] did not originate an additional metaphorical shift towards the

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[56] Cognitively speaking, "contiguity is to be taken in a very broad sense, comprising not only spatial contact, but also temporal proximity, causal relations, part-whole relation, and so on"; cf. Koch (2004: 7).

[57] Cf. Ciani (1970: 395).

[58] It is worth pointing out that the semantic shift from 'shadow' to 'shelter' was to some extent regarded as ambiguous also with respect to the cognate terms of σκιά. In Hesiod, for example, the adjective κατάσκιος is used with the passive meaning 'being covered, being shielded'; in *Op.* 512-514 the skin of animals is said λάχνη κατάσκιον 'sheltered by fur'; a scholium glosses the expression as follows: σκεπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τριχῶν; see Pertusi (1955: 172). Something very similar occurs with the adjective ἐπίσκιος, found in Sophocles with the active meaning 'covering', 'sheltering', *Oed. Col.* 1650 ἄνακτα δ' αὐτὸν ὀμμάτων ἐπίσκιον χεῖρ' ἀντέχοντα κρατός 'holding his hand in front of his face to screen his eyes'; once again the verb σκέπω is chosen to explain the ambiguous term: ὅ ἐστι, τῇ χειρὶ σκέποντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς; see Papageorgiou 1888, ad *Oed. Col.* 1650.

abstract notions of protection and security, as in the case of the Hebrew noun צֵל. This lexical information may have been available to the translators, who avoided accordingly the term σκιά where the context demanded this semantic shift.

A further line of argument looks at those non-literary varieties of Greek found in documentary papyri of the Ptolemaic age. From the works of Deissmann[59] onwards, this perspective has proved to be very fruitful in research on the language of the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, as "the vocabulary, the grammar and the syntax of the Septuagint are not representative of classical Greek, nor of the literary koinè used by Hellenistic authors (…) but stand closer to the non-literary language of contemporary documentary papyri".[60]

　　Examination of these sources reveals extremely few occurrences of σκιά, proving that the noun does not belong to the current language. It should be emphasised, as Ciani correctly does, that not only the word 'shadow', but also the notion of shadow itself is eminently poetic.[61]

　　On the other hand, the word σκέπη, chosen 10 times by the translators of Isaiah, Judges and Psalms as an equivalent for צֵל,[62] proves to be the opposite, at least in literature. Indeed, the noun occurs almost exclusively in prose,[63] with the rather concrete meaning 'covering'[64] or 'shelter'.[65] Nevertheless, a

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[59] E.g. Deissmann (1895, 1897, and 1910).

[60] Joosten (2015: 211). In this regard, one should mention also the conclusions drawn by the linguist Vít Bubeník on the status of the Septuagint Greek among the varieties of Hellenistic koinè. He speaks of Hellenistic koinè in terms of "an educated supra-dialectal variety, which represent an intermediate level between high and low level varieties of the same language", describing a continuum ranging from purely koinè, to predominantly koinè (*dialectizing koinè*), predominantly dialectal (*koineizing dialect*), up to purely dialectal variety. According to Bubeník, the language of the Greek version of the Bible constitutes a specimen of dialectizing koinè. He goes even further, stating that the language of this document may reflect some features of a "Jewish-Greek" language, spoken at that time by the Jewish community of Alexandria; see Bubeník (1989: 10 and 67.)

[61] See Ciani (1970: 331): "Il concetto di ombra, in una vasta gamma di immagini, di metafore, di sfumature semantiche, è motivo sempre presente in tutti i generi di poesia e nella poesia di tutti i tempi. Possiamo dire che «ombra» è parola poetica per eccellenza".

[62] Actually, 11 times, if one takes into account the variant σκέπη in Ps 56(57):2 witnessed by the Verona Psalter, disregarding the correction σκέπην in Isa 51:16 Sinaiticus. It must be mentioned here that the noun appears also as equivalent of מַחְסֶה, and סֵתֶר; cf. *Hatch/Redpath*, σκέπη.

[63] In poetic language, we find the form σκέπας 'shelter' (always literal) in the Homeric formula ἐπὶ σκέπας ἦν ἀνέμοιο (*Od.* 5.443, 6.210, 7:282, 12:336).

[64] E.g. clothes as covering the body (Hippocrates, *De aere aquis et locis*, 8); or hair as covering the head (Aristotle, *De partibus animalium*, 658A18).

[65] E.g. from the winds (Hippocrates, *De aere aquis et locis*, 3); a similar use of σκέπη has been already noticed above in the scholia on Hesiod and Sophocles.

shift towards a more abstract idea is traceable already in Herodotus,[66] and, later on, in the works of Polybius. Here, we find the term σκέπη in reference to the protection guaranteed by the Romans,[67] denoting a kind of protection comparable to the one expressed by צֵל in early poetic Hebrew.

Remarkably, the metaphorical extension is very well documented by the papyri. The use of σκέπη indicating 'protection', 'refuge', and also 'patronage' is well attested in non-literary koinè Greek, in both technical (legal) and common language.[68] Accounting comprehensively for the uses of σκέπη in Hellenistic documentary sources goes beyond the purposes of the present article; nevertheless, a few examples will be mentioned to acknowledge some similarity with the metaphors and the wordings found in the Septuagint. The formula ἐν τῶι ἐμφανεῖ ἔξω ἱεροῦ καὶ βωμοῦ καὶ τεμένους καὶ πάσης σκέπης, and its variant ἐνφανῆ … ἐκτὸς παντὸς ἀσύλου τόπου καὶ σκέπης πάσης, are quite significant in this regard.[69] Such expressions, widely attested from the 3rd cent. B.C.E. onwards, occur within oath declarations in respect of offices, contracts and payments. By using them, the contractor agrees to comply with the obligations, and adds a pledge to refrain from seeking sanctuary from justice, promising to remain available (ἐμφανής 'visible') outside any kind of protection or safe guard. These examples suggest a metaphorical reading of σκέπη, quite comparable with the one observed in the Septuagint.[70]

4. Conclusion

Close study of the Greek renderings of צֵל in the Old Greek translation of the Bible, suggests that the translators who were more concerned about the linguistic structures of the target language, considered the Greek equivalent σκιά, although highly similar in meaning and use, as unsuitable to express metaphorically the concept of protection. Evidence from Greek literature supports this view. These translators, thus, correctly identified the meaning and the

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[66] Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.143.1: οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι 'the Milesians were safe from the danger for they had made a treaty'.

[67] See Polybius, *Historiae*, 1.16.10: ὑποστείλας ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων σκέπην 'having placed himself under the protection of the Romans'.

[68] For a thorough examination of the technical-legal usage of the term σκέπη in documentary sources see Piątkowska (1964 and 1975).

[69] See P. *Hib*. 1.93 ll. 4-5 (Egypt, circa 250 B.C.E.); SB 1.5680 = *P. Grad* 3 (Heracleopolis, 229 B.C.E.); SB 3.6301 ll. 12-13 (Egypt, 227/226 B.C.E.); see also Piątkowska (1975: 49); Geraci (2003: 53).

[70] Remarkably, the locative constructions with the antonymic prepositions ἔξω/ἐκτός and ἐν highlight this similarity even more. It is worth recalling that σκέπη can also be found as equivalent of סֵתֶר 'hiding place', referring to comparable notions (see Ps 61(60):4 "inaccessible place"; Isa 16:4 "refuge").

reference of the metaphors they dealt with in the source text, and in determining the equivalent in the target language, they chose to map the semantic domain of protection/security with a word different from σκιά, namely σκέπη, which would have achieved this goal, based on their lexical competence in Greek.

The choice fell on a lexeme drawn from a variety of Greek which stands close to prose (Polybius, scholia), specialised prose (as the medical language of Hippocrates) and even the non-literary legal language of papyri. Possibly, this word would have been regarded as quite unusual in Greek poetry, whereas the metaphorical use of צֵל is rather typical of Hebrew poetic language (see Table 1).

On a semantic level, therefore, the resulting translation can be assessed as faithful to the source-text and attentive to the target language. On a stylistic level however, the outcome can be correctly considered rather peculiar.

Appendix 1

Table 1. Distribution of the Noun צֵל in Biblical Hebrew, by Functional Language[71]

Early Historical Narrative Hebrew (EBH 1)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Gen 19:8		Protection provided by hospitality (M)
Num 14:9		Protection of a foreign god (M)
Judg 9:15		Protection of the king (A)
Judg 9:36	Shadow cast by mountains	
2 Kgs 20:9-11	Shadow cast by a sundial	

Early Poetic Hebrew (EBH 2)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Isa 4:6		Protection of YHWH (A)
Isa 16:3		Protection of the king (A)
Isa 25:4-5		Protection of YHWH (M)
Isa 30:2-3		Protection of Pharaoh (M)
Isa 32:2		Protection of the king (S)
Isa 38:8	Shadow cast by a sundial	
Isa 49:2		Protection of YHWH, through his hand (M)
Isa 51:16		Protection of YHWH, through his hand (M)

[71] For a comprehensive account of Hebrew functional languages see Zatelli 2004.

Jer 6:4		Expression of time
Jer 48:45		Protection of a city (M)
Lam 4:20		Protection of the *məšîaḥ* YHWH (M)
Ezek 17:23		Protection of the *məšîaḥ* YHWH (A)
Ezek 31:6.12.17		Protection of Pharaoh (M)
Ps 17:8		Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)
Ps 36:8		Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)
Ps 57:2		Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)
Ps 63:8		Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)
Ps 80:11		Protection of the king (A)
Ps 91:1		Protection of *šadday* (M)
Ps 102:12		Transitoriness of life (S)
Ps 109:23		Transitoriness of life (S)
Ps 121:5-6		Protection of YHWH (M)

Language of Hosea (EBH 3)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Hos 4:13	The shadow cast by a tree	
Hos 14:8		Protection of YHWH (M)

Late Historical-Narrative Hebrew (LBH 1)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Qoh 6:12		Transitoriness of life (S)
Qoh 7:12[72]		Transitoriness of wisdom (M)
Qoh 7:12		Transitoriness of money (M)
Qoh 8:13		Transitoriness of life (S)
Jonah 4:5-6	The shadow cast by a tree	
1 Chr 29:15		Transitoriness of life (S)

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[72] Following Seow (1997), "wisdom is as a shadow, money is as a shadow"; this interpretation is strongly supported by the data emerging from the present investigation into the figurative use of צֵל in Late Hebrew. In this passage, the unreliability and ephemeral nature of wisdom and money seem to be emphasised (possibily in oppostion to נַחֲלָה 'inheritance', v. 11) rather than their protective power; cf. also Schoors (2013: 527).

Poetic Language (LBH 2)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Ps 144:4		Transitoriness of life (S)
Cant 2:3		Protection of the beloved one (M)
Cant 2:17		Expression of time
Cant 4:6		Expression of time

Late Language of Job (LBH 3)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Job 7:2	Place of refreshment	
Job 8:9		Transitoriness of life (M)
Job 14:2		Transitoriness of life (S)
Job 17:7		Transitoriness of life (S)
Job 40:22	Shadow cast by a tree	

Late Hebrew of Ben Sira (BSH)

	Literal use	Figurative use
Sir 14:27[73]		Protection of wisdom (M)

Appendix 2

Table 2. Renderings of צֵל in the Septuagint according to Thackeray's Classification

Good Koinè Greek

12 x	Literal / Figurative use	σκιά /σκέπη = 3/5
Gen 19:8	Protection provided by hospitality (M)	σκέπη
Num 14:9	Protection of a foreign god (M)	καιρός
Isa 4:6	Protection of YHWH (A)	σκιά

[73] The text of Ben Sira is not part of the Masoretic tradition or of the Hebrew canonical books. Nevertheless, the Hebrew Vorlage of this text is known from the Dead Sea Scrolls; for an edition of all extant Hebrew Ben Sira manuscripts, see Beentjes (1997). In this passage, Manuscript A (f. 6 r.) witnesses וחוסה בצלה מחרב (Beentjes 1997: 43). The subject of the sentence is "the man who meditates on wisdom", mentioned in v. 20 (אנוש בחכמה יהגה), and the feminine suffix in the phrase בצלה refers to המכח.

Isa 16:3	Protection of the king (M)	σκέπη
Isa 25:4-5ˣ²	Protection of YHWH (M)	σκέπη, *minus*
Isa 30:2-3ˣ²	Protection of Pharaoh (M)	σκέπη, *minus*
Isa 32:2	Protection of the king (S)	≠
Isa 38:8	Shadow cast by a sundial	σκιά
Isa 49:2	Protection of YHWH, through his hand (M)	σκέπη
Isa 51:16	Protection of YHWH, through his hand (M)	σκιά (S σκέπη)

Indifferent Greek

20 xˣ⁷⁴	Literal / Figurative use	σκιά /σκέπη = 11/9
Jer 6:4	Expression of time	σκιά
Ezek 17:23	Protection of the *məšîaḥ* YHWH (A)	σκιά
Ezek 31:6.12.17ˣ³	Protection of Pharaoh (M)	σκιά, σκέπη, σκέπη
Hos 4:13	The shadow cast by a tree	σκέπη
Hos 14:8	Protection of YHWH (M)	σκέπη
Jonah 4:5-6ˣ²	The shadow cast by a tree	σκιά, σκιά
1 Chr 29:15	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκιά
Ps 16[17]:8	Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)	σκέπη
Ps 35[36]:8	Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)	σκέπη
Ps 56[57]:2	Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)	σκιά (R σκέπη)ˣ⁷⁵
Ps 62[63]:8	Protection of YHWH, through his wings (M)	σκέπη
Ps 79[80]:11	Protection of the king (A)	σκιά
Ps 90[91]:1	Protection of *Šadday* (M)	σκέπη
Ps 101[102]:12	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκιά
Ps 108[109]:23	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκιά
Ps 120[121]:5	Protection of YHWH (M)	σκέπη
Ps 143[144]:4	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκιά

[74] To this number must be added one occurrence in Sir 14:26 θήσει τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ αὐτῆς (i.e. σοφία v. 20), metaphorically denoting the protection of wisdom (M).

[75] R = Codex Veronensis 6th cent.

Literal or Unintelligent Greek

15 x	Literal / Figurative use	σκιά /σκέπη = 13/0
Judg 9:15	Protection of the king (A)	B σκιά (A σκέπη)
Judg 9:36	Shadow cast by mountains	B σκία (A σκία)
4 Kgdms 20:9-11[x4]	Shadow cast by a sundial	σκιά, σκιά, σκιά, *minus*
Jer 48:45	Protection of a city (M)	*minus*
Lam 4:20	Protection of the *məšîaḥ* YHWH (M)	σκία
Cant 2:3	Protection of the beloved one (M)	σκία
Cant 2:17	Expression of time	σκία
Cant 4:6	Expression of time	σκία
Eccl 6:12	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκία
Eccl 7:12	Transitoriness of wisdom (M)	σκία
Eccl 7:12	Transitoriness of money (M)	σκία
Eccl 8:13	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκία

Paraphrases and Free Renderings

5 x	Literal / Figurative use	σκιά /σκέπη = 3/0
Job 7:2	Literal: Place of refreshment	σκιά
Job 8:9	Transitoriness of life (M)	σκιά
Job 14:2	Transitoriness of life (S)	σκιά
Job 17:7	Transitoriness of life (S)	≠
Job 40:22	Shadow cast by a tree	σκιάζομαι

Abbreviations: (A) = allegory; (M) = metaphor; (S) = simile.

Abbreviations

BHS = Elliger, Kurt, and Wilhelm Rudolph, *et al.* (eds). 1997[5]. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.* Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

HALOT = Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner (eds). 1994-2000. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament: The New Koehler-Baumgartner in English.* Subsequently revised by Walter Baumgartner and Johann J. Stam. Trans, by M. E. J. Richardson. 5 vols. Leiden: Brill.

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KTU = Dietrich, Manfried, Oswald Loretz, and Joaqín Sanmartín (eds). 2013[3]. *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places.* Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

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TDOT = Botterweck, Gerhard Johannes, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry (eds). 1977-2004. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Translated by David E. Green. 14 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

TNK = *Tanakh. The Holy Scriptures.* 1985. The New Jewish Publication Society of America.

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