Septuagintal hapax legomena and neologisms in 2 Maccabees, 4-7

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ABSTRACT

2 Maccabees, an intertestamental Jewish historiographic work, is a case apart among the books preserved in the Greek translation of the Bible, the Septuagint: it is Biblical in its content, but Greek in its form. This particularity is manifest in its language, which differs markedly from the ‘translationese’ Greek of most other books of the Septuagint. The rich and varied vocabulary the author employs is rather to be compared with that of the best specimens of Hellenistic Greek historiography. The present study examines the vocabulary of 2 Maccabees, 4-7 from two aspects: that of rarity, evidenced in words occurring in this book and nowhere else in the Septuagint (LXX hapax legomena), and that of novelty, attested in new words appearing for the first time in this book (neologisms). A detailed commentary of this vocabulary seeks to trace its links with both the classical language and the contemporary Koine of the Hellenistic inscriptions and papyri, and relate the author’s lexical choices to his stylistic and rhetorical aspirations.

Keywords: 2 Maccabees, hapax legomena, neologisms, Septuagint

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ABBREVIATIONS

*1-4 Macc* 1-4 Maccabees


*LXX* Septuagint


*NT* New Testament


*OT* Old Testament


*TLG* Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library of Greek Literature.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 2 Maccabees and the Septuagint

Second Maccabees (henceforth 2 Macc) belongs to the group of intertestamental Jewish writings known as the Old Testament Deuterocanonical or Apocryphal books. These writings, originally composed in Hebrew, Aramaic or Greek, are not part of the Hebrew canon of inspired Scripture, but have been included, along with other supplementary books, in the Greek translation of the Bible, the Septuagint (abbreviated as LXX), which started in Alexandria in the 3rd century BCE and was brought to completion some three centuries later. Within the LXX, 2 Macc stands among the historical books, sharing the title “Maccabees” with three other, independently-written, books by anonymous authors: 1, 3 and 4 Macc.Thematically, 2 Macc is closely related to 1 Macc, and served as a basis for 4 Macc, whereas 3 Macc, despite similarities with 2 Macc, is a misnomer. Linguistically, 2 Macc is grouped with 3-4 Macc, Sapientia Salomonis and the Additions to Esther, to Jeremias and to Odae, all of them being originally written in Greek. Chronologically, 2 Macc postdates the translation of the Pentateuch, the Prophets and most of the Hagiographa, and predates the translation of 1 Macc and the composition of 3-4 Macc and the other LXX books originally written in Greek. It is not preserved in the earliest LXX manuscripts, the Codices Vaticanus and Sinaïticus dating from the 4th c. CE, but survives in the uncial Codices Alexandrinus (5th c. CE) and Venetus (8th c. CE).

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1 The term “Septuagint” denotes: (a) the translation of the Pentateuch by 72 Jewish elders in Alexandria, in the 3rd c. BCE, according to the legend preserved in the Aristaeae Epistula; this translation is also called “Old Greek” (OG) translation, (b) the subsequent enlarged version of the LXX, which includes the OG, the translation of the rest of the canonical books of the Hebrew Bible, the additions to the Hebrew books, either translated from Hebrew or Aramaic or originally written in Greek, and the Deuterocanonical or Apocryphal books, either translations of a Semitic parent text or original Greek compositions, (c) the modern diplomatic or critical editions of the LXX (see Tov 1988: 161-162, and Jobes & Silva 2000: 30). In our study, the term “Septuagint” (LXX) refers to Rahlfs’ critical edition (Stuttgart, 1935), as encoded by the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG). See infra, 2.7 Methodology.


3 See Dorival et al. 1988: 84-85.

4 See Dorival et al. 1988: 85, 96-97 and 111.

1.2 Author and date of 2 Macc

2 Macc is an abridgement of a now lost five-volume historical work written by a Jew of the Hellenistic Diaspora, Jason of Cyrene, probably a contemporary of the events he describes. The abridgment was made by an anonymous writer commonly designated as the “epitomator”, who speaks in the first plural in the prologue (2:19-32) and the first singular in the epilogue (15:37-39), and whose commentaries are interspersed in various parts of the narrative (4:16-17, 5:17-20, 6:12-17, and possibly 7:42 and 12:43-45). Despite the fact that we do not know how much material belongs to Jason’s original history and how much was introduced by the epitomator or even a subsequent editor or redactor, it is the epitomator who is generally considered to be the “author” of the book that has come down to us. 2 Macc also contains seven letters whose authorship is debated: two letters (1:1-9 and 1:10-2:18) prefixed to the book by the epitomator or the later redactor, in which the Jews of Jerusalem prompt the Jews in Egypt to celebrate the feast of the Dedication of the Temple, a letter supposedly written by the dying Antiochus IV (9:19-27), but most likely manufactured on the basis of an authentic document, and four probably genuine but misplaced letters (11:16-21, 11:22-26, 11:27-33 and 11:34-38) written by chancellor Lysias, Antiochus IV, Antiochus V and the Roman ambassadors Quintus Memmius and Titus Manius respectively.

The date of the composition of Jason’s history and the epitomator’s abridgment is uncertain. The last event narrated in the epitome, the sending of a Jewish embassy to Rome shortly after Judas’ victory over Nicanor (4:11), sets as a terminus post quem for Jason’s work the year 161 BCE. The epitome is generally thought to have been composed between 124 BCE (date of the first of the two letters prefixed to the book) and 63 BCE (date of Pompeius’ capture of Jerusalem, after which the epitomator’s statement in 15:37 that Jerusalem had been under the rule of the Hebrews ever since

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6 Habicht 1979: 175-176.
7 Habicht (1979: 175) posits a reworking of the epitome by a reviser who added the second prefixed letter.
8 Habicht (1979: 169) makes a distinction between the Autor (Jason) and the Verfasser (epitomator). Goldstein (1984: 5-6) maintains that the content of the abridged history, i.e., chapters 3-15, is the work of Jason, and that the epitomator added nothing to it. Moreover, he argues that the epitomator’s attitudes, expressed in the first person in a number of passages, may not have differed from those of Jason. Therefore, he uses the term “the writer” or “our writer” without distinguishing between Jason and the epitomator. Van Henten (1997: 20) considers 2 Macc 2:19-15:39 “a unity and the epitomist its ‘author’”. Schwarz (2008: 25) attributes greater weight to the epitomator’s contribution. He states that “the anonymous craftsman” did not only abridge and make more readable Jason’s work, but also added new material and gave the book its “basic interpretive scaffolding” (p. 25). Therefore, he prefers to term him “author” rather than the mere “epitomator” (p. 37). In our study, the designation “writer” or “author” is going to be used indistinguishably for Jason and the epitomator, unless otherwise noted.
10 For these letters, see Momigliano (1975) and Habicht (1976).
Judas’ victory over Nicanor would have been impossible). The place of composition of 2 Macc is also uncertain. It is very probable that the epitome was written in Jerusalem; however a Diaspora origin cannot be excluded.

1.3 The content of 2 Macc

The narrative in 2 Macc is set in Jerusalem, in the period between 175 and 161 BCE, under the reign of four successive Seleucid kings: Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Antiochus V Eupator and Demetrius I, and is structured around three attacks on the Jerusalem Temple. The first attack is attempted by Heliodorus, Seleucus’ emissary, who is fended off by divine intervention. The second attack is led by Antiochus IV, who defiles the Temple, suppresses the observance of the Torah and attempts to Hellenize Jerusalem. His persecution produces the first Jewish martyrs, the elder Eleazar and a mother with her seven sons, as well as a resistance movement headed by Judas Maccabeus, who, with God’s help, restores and rededicates the Temple. The third attack is attempted by Nicanor, Demetrius’ general, who is defeated by Judas’ army. The narrative breaks off just a year before Judas’ death (160 BCE), either because Jason wrote his history before that event, or because the epitomator did not wish to propagandize for the Hasmonean dynasty à la 1 Macc.

1.4 Language and vocabulary of 2 Macc

Unlike most of the LXX books, which have been translated from Hebrew or Aramaic, 2 Macc (and Jason’s history before it) was originally composed in Greek. Given the author’s ardent embracement of the values of Judaism and his severe condemnation of “Hellenism”, one would have expected 2 Macc to be linguistically and stylistically patterned after the historical books of the Bible, which had been translated into Greek by the early 2nd c. BCE. However, this is not the case. Its vocabulary and style clearly distinguish it from canonical books like Regnorum and even from thematically related deuterocanonical books such as 1 Macc, and associate it not only with original Greek literary compositions included in the LXX like Sapientia Salomonis and 3-4 Macc, but

11 Momigliano (1975: 83-84) dates the epitome in 124 BCE, Habicht (1979: 175-6) between 124 BCE and 70 CE, Doran (1981: 112) “during the early years of Hyrcanus I [134-104 BCE] ”, and van Henten (1997: 51) between 124 and 63 BCE; Goldstein (1984: 83) proposes 86 BCE for the composition of Jason’s history and 78/7-63 BCE for the epitome; Schwarz (2008: 11) places the date of the epitome in its final form as early as 143/142 BCE.

12 Van Henten (1997: 50) asserts that “2 Maccabees is of Judean origin”. Schwarz (2008: 45 ff), on the contrary, postulates an Alexandrian origin for the book, without excluding that its Diaspora writer wrote it in Palestine.


14 With the exception of the two prefixed letters, whose originals were most likely written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and possibly of chapter 7, which, according to Habicht, is based on a Hebrew Vorlage (see Habicht 1979: 170-171).
also with extra-Septuagintal Jewish writings like the *Aristeae Epistula*, and non-Jewish historiographic works such as Polybius’ *Historiae* and Diodorus Siculus’ *Bibliotheca historica*. As Habicht has rightly observed, from the point of view of the history of theology, 2 Macc is purely Jewish, but from the point of view of the history of literature it is predominantly Greek. Modern scholarship has on the one hand noticed the “dearth of echoes of Scripture at the level of style and diction” in this book, and on the other hand detected the “influence of Attic literary models” and found echoes of classical Greek writers, *inter alia*, of Plato, Euripides and Aeschines. It has also emphasized the author’s striving after an elevated style replete with rhetorical figures such as antithesis, chiasmus, hyperbaton, paronomasia, homoioteleuton, etc., and placed 2 Macc within a genre of Hellenistic Greek historical writing called “pathetic” or “tragic” historiography, which favors a dramatized and sensational presentation of persons and events that aims at arousing the reader’s emotions.

As regards the language of 2 Macc, in particular, scholars have pointed out that the author demonstrates a good command of the Hellenistic Koine of his day, and that from the viewpoint of the vocabulary and the grammar 2 Macc occupies a position midway between “the nascent Koine of Polybius and the oriental Koine of the New Testament”. The book’s vocabulary has been proved to be especially rich and varied. Schwarz has estimated that there are about 2,200 different words in 2 Macc, compared to the 1,582 words of 4 Macc, the 1,734 words of *Sapientia Salomonis* or the 1,778 words of *Acta apostolorum*, the book of the New Testament with the highest number of different words. This vocabulary is quite distinctive within, and even beyond, the LXX. As early as 1857, Grimm noted that the author of 2 Macc employs rare words, or words that do not recur in later literature, or uses common words in an uncommon sense. He was followed by Niese, who noted Jason’s poetic expressions and unusual word-formations. More recently, Abel drew attention to 2 Macc singularities unattested in the standard Koine of the 2nd c. BCE, as we know it from Polybius, the inscriptions and the papyri, such as *hapax legomena*, rare

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18 Doran 1981: 27.
19 Doran 1981: 27.
23 Mugler 1931: 420.
24 Schwarz 2008: 71-72.
25 Grimm 1857: 7: “Der Verfasser gebraucht aber auch seltene oder sonst nicht weiter vorkommende Worte und Ausdrucksweisen [...] oder gangbare Worte in ungewöhnlicher Bedeutung”.
26 Niese 1900: 300: “Iason muss einen blühenden Stil gesrieben haben mit poetischen Wendungen und allerlei ungewöhnlichen Wortbildungen”. 
compound verbs, or words employed in a sense deviating from the habitual usage, which have puzzled the ancient and the modern translators and exegetes. Gil remarked that the epitomator’s prologue teems with words which do not occur elsewhere in the LXX, and that the rest of the book is also rich in words common in profane Greek literature but alien to the spiritual world of the Bible such as καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, θεωρός, ἐπινίκια, etc., as well as poetic words and neologisms. Doran in his turn commented that the author of 2 Macc “has employed unusual or infrequent words normally found among the poets”, and that “hapax legomena abound”. Schwarz, having checked about 40% of the Hatch and Redpath Concordance to the Septuagint, found that 116 words in 2 Macc do not occur anywhere else in the whole LXX, while a number of others appear only in 3 Macc. Furthermore, he enumerates a list of 26 words for which LSJ refers only to 2 Macc. In a more ample investigation, Wagner presented statistical data about the LXX hapax legomena, that is, the words that occur only in a specific book of the LXX. According to his estimations, 2 Macc has the highest number of LXX hapax legomena of all the canonical and deuterocanonical books of the LXX (416), followed by 4 Macc (396), Sapientia Salomonis (279) and Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides (273). This aspect of the vocabulary of 2 Macc has only sporadically been touched upon, and is certainly worth further investigation.

1.5 The aim and structure of the study

The aforementioned remarks on the vocabulary of 2 Macc will serve as a point of departure for our study. More specifically, we are going to focus on the words that occur only in 2 Macc and nowhere else in the corpus through which this book has been transmitted to us, that is, the Septuagint, and seek to answer such questions as: To what extent are these words previously attested in the Classical Greek literature or the Hellenistic literary and non-literary documents that have survived from the period prior to 2 Macc? Can they help us trace echoes of or allusions to specific authors and works? Is their occurrence in 2 Macc and their non-attestation in the rest of the LXX accidental or meaningful? And if it is meaningful, how can we account for this non-attestation? If they are previously unattested, do they constitute neologisms

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27 Abel 1949: xxxvi.
29 Doran 1981: 42.
30 Schwarz 2008: 67.
31 Wagner 1999: 4-5.
32 A number of such rare words and hapaxes are treated in the commentaries by Grimm (1857), Abel (1949), Habicht (1979), Goldstein (1984), and Schwarz (2008), and sporadically in the studies by Gil (1958), Doran (1981) and Van Henten (1997), as well as in a few short articles by other scholars. Doran (1981: 24) frequently refers to W. Richnow’s unpublished dissertation entitled Untersuchung zu Sprache und Stil des 2. Makkabäerbuches. Ein Beitrag zur hellenistischen Historiographie. (Göttingen, 1967), which devotes “five pages on syntax, 24 pages on word choice, and 44 pages on rhetorical techniques”. Unfortunately, we have not been able to consult this study.
coined by the author of this book and used exclusively by him, or are they new words that simply happened to appear for the first time in 2 Macc? And what does the usage of both the *hapax legomena* and the neologisms reveal about the linguistic and literary strivings of the author of 2 Macc?

The study is structured as follows: In Chapter 2, we present a survey of previous research concerning the *hapax legomena* and the neologisms, with special emphasis on their treatment in Septuagintal studies; we define how we use these terms in the present study, and describe the method we have employed in carrying out our investigation. In chapter 3, we perform a detailed lexical examination of the LXX *hapax legomena* occurring in 2 Macc, 4-7, that is, in about one fourth of the entire book. In chapter 4, we discuss our findings and summarize our conclusions. An appendix provides tables to accompany the discussion, and the bibliography lists all the works cited in the study.
2.1 The phenomenon of hapax legomena

The technical term *hapax legomenon* (ἅπαξ λεγόμενον or ἅπαξ εἰρημένον),\(^33\) or hapax for short, has been used in a variety of ways in the fields of classical philology, Biblical studies, and, more recently, corpus linguistics. Accordingly, the definitions given so far vary: “a word or form of which only one instance is recorded in a literature or an author”;\(^34\) “a word, form, or combination of words found only once in a given body of literature”;\(^35\) “a word which occurs once only in a given text or corpus. The corpus may be an electronic text archive or it may be the records for an entire language such as Classical Greek”.\(^36\)

From a statistical point of view, the *hapax legomena* constitute the largest group of words in any textual corpus.\(^37\) Their frequency depends on such factors as the language in which the text is written (the great variety of forms in languages with rich inflection correlates with a high rate of *hapax legomena*), the style of the author (some authors employ a more rarefied vocabulary than others), and the length of the text (short texts contain more hapaxes than long ones). It has been demonstrated, however, that, regardless of the language, date, and the type of linguistic material (oral/written, literary/colloquial), the *hapax legomena* represent between one-third and one-fifth of the words of any given text.\(^38\) For example, *Evangelium secundum Marcum* is composed of 47.1% of *hapax legomena* and Paul’s *Epistulae* of 43.1%; Plautus’ vocabulary contains 64.3% of hapaxes and Seneca’s *Ad Helviam* 56.4%; Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* contains 55.3% of *hapax legomena* and Corneille’s *L’Illusion comique* 44.3%. Similar figures have been found for non-literary corpora, e.g., a sample of newspaper English (49.6%), and a corpus of French conversations (33.8%).\(^39\) Consequently, the number of hapaxes can serve as a stylometric tool for measuring the richness and diversity of a text’s vocabulary.

Another important fact about the *hapax legomena* is their correlation with neologisms. Baayen and Renouf (1996) have demonstrated that it is among the lowest frequency words that the greatest number of neologisms appears. The proportion of neologisms among hapaxes is analogous to the size of the corpus investigated: in

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\(^33\) The term was first used by the Alexandrian grammarians to label words occurring only once in the Homeric epics.


\(^37\) Greenspahn 1984: 31.

\(^38\) Greenspahn 1984: 32-3.

\(^39\) Cited in Greenspahn 1984: 34.
small corpora the hapaxes tend to be well-known words in the language, but as the size of the corpus increases, the proportion of neologisms among hapaxes increases as well.\textsuperscript{40} This correlation is useful in measuring the productivity of morphological processes: e.g., the higher the number of hapaxes with a given derivational affix, the higher the number of neologisms coined with this affix and the higher the productivity of the given affix.

2.2 The hapax legomena in Biblical studies

In Biblical scholarship, the term \textit{hapax legomenon} denotes “a word that occurs only once in either the New Testament or the Hebrew Bible. It may also be used to refer to a word that occurs only in the writings of a single author”.\textsuperscript{41} The Hebrew Bible contains some 1,500 \textit{hapax legomena} (their number depends on how they are counted), which constitute less than one third of its total vocabulary.\textsuperscript{42} Their rarity, and consequently the problems of interpretation they may pose, is usually attributed to the fact that the biblical canon, in which they happened to survive, preserves only a portion of the ancient Hebrew language and literature. Casanowicz distinguishes between the absolute or strict hapaxes (about 400), which are “either absolutely new coinages of roots, or cannot be derived in their formation or in their specific meaning from other occurring stems”, and the non-absolute hapaxes (about 1,100), which, “while appearing once only as a form, can easily be connected with other existing words”.\textsuperscript{43} He notes that the high number of \textit{hapax legomena} in certain parts of the Bible can be ascribed to their subject-matter, which involves the usage of a specialized vocabulary (e.g., lists of animals or articles of merchandise), to the special style of certain books (e.g., Job’s richness of ideas is matched by the richness of its vocabulary) and to geographical reasons (parts of the Bible composed in the north of Palestine contain words that were not common in the south). Greenspahn’s statistical analysis\textsuperscript{44} has shown that the highest frequency of absolute \textit{hapax legomena} is found in the poetic books of the Bible (Job, Canticum, Isaias, Proverbia), whereas a low rate of absolute \textit{hapax legomena} is attested in the narrative books (Paralipomenon, Regnorum, Josue, etc.). It has also demonstrated that within the poetic books the differences as regards the distribution of hapaxes are to be ascribed to the style of individual authors (which is why Jeremias’ poetic parts have a much lower proportion of hapaxes than those of Isaias) and to a stylistic differentiation related to characterization. In Job, for instance, the book with the highest rate of absolute hapaxes and the second highest rate of all hapaxes in the entire Bible, the prose sections and the Zophar speeches contain an average amount of hapaxes, whereas Job’s and God’s speeches have a very high concentration of hapaxes. According to

\textsuperscript{40} Baayen and Renouf 1996: 75-6.
\textsuperscript{41} Tate 2006: 156.
\textsuperscript{42} Greenspahn 1984:33.
\textsuperscript{43} Casanowicz 1904: 226.
\textsuperscript{44} Greenspahn 1980 and 1984.
Greenspahn, this disproportion in the occurrence of hapaxes in the various sections of a single book may not constitute a criterion for doubting the authorship, but it is nevertheless “an important indicator of style”.45

In New Testament studies, the term *hapax legomenon* has been used with respect to the entire NT (NT *hapax legomena*), to groups of NT writings (e.g., Pauline or Johannine *hapax legomena*) and to individual NT writings (e.g., the *hapax legomena* in Paul’s Pastoral Epistles). The three Pauline Pastorals, in particular, have attracted a lot of linguistic attention due to the great number of *hapax legomena* which they contain: almost 20% of their vocabulary is not found in the other ten epistles of Paul or elsewhere in the NT, while one third of these Pauline and NT hapaxes is unattested in other 1st c. CE authors, but occurs in the Apostolic Fathers of the 2nd c. CE. This, along with other linguistic and literary evidence, has been proposed as an argument for their inauthenticity.46

In Septuagintal studies, the Hebrew and the Greek *hapax legomena* have been studied with regard to the translation technique of the LXX translators of the Hebrew Bible. In “Hebrew Hapax Legomena and Septuagint Lexicography”, Muraoka has examined how 24 Hebrew *hapax legomena* in the Minor Prophets have been treated by the Greek translator, concluding that the latter was occasionally reduced to guesswork, aided by contextual clues, and that the meaning of the Greek words (which, in their turn, may be hapaxes in the LXX) can be elucidated without recourse to the underlying Hebrew text. In “The Translator(s) of the Septuagint of Proverbs”, J. Cook provides a listing of the 155 *hapax legomena* and the 74 neologisms in the Septuagint of Proverbia as evidence of the translator’s high proficiency in Greek, which offers him a variety of lexical choices in his rendering of the parent text. Cook states that the high abundance of *hapax legomena* in Proverbia, as well as in other translated books of the LXX, correlates with a rather free rendering of the Vorlage. In “Rendering Love. Hapax Legomena and the Characterisation of the Translation Technique of Song of Songs”, Ausloos and Lemmelijn examine how the Hebrew absolute *hapax legomena* occurring in 15 verses of Canticum have been rendered into Greek. They demonstrate that in translating these hapaxes the LXX translator remained faithful to the meaning of the Vorlage, but that his Greek rendering is not slavishly literal, as has been generally thought. The most extensive contribution to the investigation of the LXX *hapax legomena* is Wagner’s study Die Septuaginta-Hapaxlegomena im Buch Jesus Sirach. Wagner examines in detail the 273 *hapax legomena* occurring in the Septuagint of Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides, the book with the highest rate of *hapax legomena* among the translated books of the LXX. He uses the term *hapax legomenon* with respect to both a particular book or author/translator (in this case, Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides, viz., the Greek translation of Sirach by Ben Sira’s grandson) and a defined corpus of texts (the LXX, viz., the books contained in the

45 Greenspahn 1984: 42.
Codex Alexandrinus, except the Psalmi Salomonis). He defines a LXX hapax legomenon \((\text{LXX} \text{Hplg})\) as a word that occurs in only one book of the LXX, regardless of the number of occurrences of this word in the specific book:

Entscheidend für die Erhebung eines \(\text{LXX} \text{Hplg}\) ist nicht die Einmaligkeit eines Wortes innerhalb der Septuaginta (einziger Beleg), sondern ausschließlich die Zugehörigkeit zu einem LXX-Buch. Von daher kann ein \(\text{LXX} \text{Hplg}\) durchaus öfter (in einer Schrift) vorkommen. Bei dieser Definition liegt somit das Interesse gegenüber einem \(\text{LXX} \text{Hplg}\) zum einen in ihm selbst, zum anderen soll diese Kategorie aber auch der literarischen, übersetzungstechnischen oder hermeneutischen Einordnung eines Übersetzers bzw. Autors gegenüber der restlichen LXX dienen. \(\text{LXX} \text{Hplg}\) ist somit eine Größe, die den textkorpusbezogenen (LXX) Aspekt mit dem autorbezogenen (Einzeltextr bzw. Übersetzer/Autor) kombiniert.\(^{47}\)

This catachrestic designation of a word occurring more than once in a specified corpus as a hapax poses a terminological problem, which has been dealt with by most scholars who have investigated the phenomenon of hapax legomena. In “Hapax legomena in Plato”, for instance, A. Fossum explains that, although his intention was to treat only the words occurring once in the 26 dialogues he examined, he was forced to deviate from his methodological principle owing to practical difficulties: “Occasionally a word occurred two or more times within a small space and nowhere else in the 26 dialogues. If the distance was not great and there was a close connection, I thought I might look upon the word as a hapax legomenon.”\(^{48}\) He set as a limit for the recurrence of a “hapax” the space of three pages; however he admits that “in a handful of cases” he was obliged to change the limit to seven pages.\(^{49}\) In Four Indices of Homeric Hapax Legomena, M. Kumpf preferred, on the contrary, to adhere to the strict definition of “hapax” and treat as hapax legomena words that occur only once in the Homeric text.\(^{50}\) In the field of Biblical studies, there has been a variety of methodological choices. In Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew, Greenspahn excludes from his list of absolute hapax legomena those “hapaxes” that recur in identical or similar passages or in close proximity to one another, stating that “to treat such words as occurring only once is to modify the definition of hapax legomena so as to contradict itself and to include cases where repetition not only exists but is intentional”.\(^ {51}\) Wagner, as already mentioned, operates with a broad definition, accepting the multiple occurrence of a word in a LXX book as long as it occurs only once in the LXX corpus, whereas Cook opts for a narrow definition, which obliges him, however, to exclude from his list of hapaxes a word such as ἐνευφραίνοµαι [Proverbia, 8:31], which is used twice in a single verse and nowhere else in the LXX.

\(^{47}\) Wagner 1999: 86.

\(^{48}\) Fossum 1931: 206.

\(^{49}\) Fossum 1931: 207.

\(^{50}\) Kumpf 1984: 6-12.

\(^{51}\) Greenspahn 1984: 27.
As he concedes, “the rule of thumb of one occurrence in the Septuagint as a whole can only act as a general guideline”.\footnote{Cook 2002: § 18.}

2.3 Definition of the term “LXX hapax legomenon”

Since our intention in this study is not to provide a statistical index of the \textit{hapax legomena} in 2 Macc, but to examine philologically a portion of the vocabulary of the book that is not attested elsewhere in the LXX, we have regarded a definition of the term “LXX \textit{hapax legomenon}” \textit{sensu} Wagner as the most appropriate to adopt. This means that we use the term \textit{hapax} in a strict sense with respect to the LXX (only one occurrence) but in a broad sense with respect to 2 Macc (single or multiple occurrences). This flexible definition is particularly helpful in the examination of the neologisms, since the adoption of a strict definition of the term would not have enabled us to consider certain new coinages that occur more than once in our book (and their very recurrence is significative from a stylistic point of view) and not elsewhere in the LXX. However, for accuracy’s sake, in Chapter 4 as well as in the tables presented in the Appendix we clearly distinguish between single and multiple occurrences.

A few more definitions are necessary: those words that occur only once not only in 2 Macc or in the LXX but in the entire corpus of the extant Greek literature contained in the \textit{Thesaurus Linguae Graecae} [TLG] (lexicographical works excluded) are designated as absolute \textit{hapax legomena} or \textit{hapax legomena totius graecitatis}; words that are attested twice in the TLG corpus are designated as \textit{dis legomena},\footnote{We consider a word a \textit{dis legomenon} even if it occurs twice in 2 Macc and nowhere else in the extant Greek literature. See notes 273 and 294.} and words that occur three times as \textit{tris legomena}.

2.4 Neologisms

The scholars who have so far dealt with the neologisms of the Septuagint have focused on the translated books, and have examined the occurrence or the creation of neologisms with regard to the rendering of the \textit{Vorlage}. To our knowledge, no study has been devoted to the neologisms occurring in the Greek books of the LXX, and in 2 Macc in particular. Even D. R. Schwarz, the latest translator and commentator of 2 Macc, in his discussion of the language and style of the book touches only briefly on the phenomenon (without using the term “neologism”). He mentions that the author of 2 Macc “uses rare words, and it may be that he also invented some”.\footnote{Schwarz 2008: 67.} He lists 26 words for which the only reference in LSJ is to 2 Macc, and states vaguely that “perhaps there are more”.\footnote{Comparing Schwarz’s list to the one we have drawn up for the present study, we can say that there are indeed many more.} It is therefore necessary to make a brief survey of the
research related to the neologisms of the LXX, before we define how we use the term in our study.

In his *Lexical study of the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch*, J. A. L. Lee deals extensively with lexical innovation, which is a characteristic feature of the Koine reflected in the Greek version of the Pentateuch. He distinguishes three types of vocabulary innovation: the use of old words in a new sense (semantic neologisms), the formation of new words out of existing stems through affixation, and the creation of new words, mainly loan-words from outside Greek or from dialects other than Attic. Lee’s examination of a selection of words occurring in the Septuagint of the Pentateuch serves to demonstrate that both the semantic neologisms and the new formations attested in it are in accordance with the developments in the lexicon of the Koine that had taken place by the time of the translators of the Torah.56

In the two most recent lexicons of the Septuagint, T. Muraoka’s *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint (Twelve Prophets)* [GELS] (1993), and Lust, Eynikel and Hauspie’s *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* [LEH] (1992-96, 2003), an effort has been made to mark and define the neologisms. In his “Introduction” to GELS, Muraoka explains that he uses an asterisk to signify that a word is unattested prior to the LXX (setting as a *terminus ante quem* the 3rd c. BCE). For the characterization of a word as a neologism he depends chiefly on LSJ, which, as he admits, makes his decisions debatable. Muraoka makes clear that the asterisk indicates only that a word is not attested outside of the specified corpus (the Twelve Prophets) prior to the 3rd c. BCE, and not that it was coined by any of the LXX translators.57

In his “Introduction” to LEH, J. Lust gives the following definition of a LXX neologism:

> When a word appears to be proper to the LXX and the literature depending on it, it is characterized as a neologism. If it occurs in the LXX as well as in the contemporary papyri and literature (beginning with Polybius, 2nd c. BCE), it is also labelled as a neologism but a question mark is added. The label “neol.” suggests then that the word in question was probably not used before the time of the composition of the LXX.58

Lust adds a caveat about the uncertainty that prevails with respect to the dating of both the LXX books and their contemporaneous literature and papyri, which makes the labelling of any LXX word as a “neol.” or “neol.?” only tentative and doubtful.59

We may quote three more definitions that will help us formulate our own. E. Tov, in a study entitled “Compound words in the Septuagint representing two or...
more Hebrew words,” uses the term “neologism of the LXX” only with reference to novel Greek formations rendering Hebrew words:

A neologism of the LXX is a Greek word which, to the best of our knowledge, was coined either by the translators of the LXX or by a previous generation, in order to express biblical words which, in their view, could not be expressed adequately by the existing Greek vocabulary. Neologisms are either compounds which use elements existing in the Greek language or are derivatives of known roots.60

In her study “Neologisms in the Septuagint of Ezekiel”, K. Hauspie gives a narrow, book-specific definition:

A neologism is a new word, found for the first time. To determine whether a word is a neologism in Ezekiel we take as terminus ante quem the second century BC. A word that is not found before the second century BC, either in the Septuagint or non-biblical texts, is a neologism of the second century BC. When its first occurrence is attested in the Septuagint book of Ezekiel and nowhere else in a contemporary text, we assume that the neologism has been created by the translator of Ezekiel. If the neologism is attested elsewhere in the second century BC, it is unclear who was the first to use it: the translator of Ezekiel or the author of the contemporary text.61

Hauspie points out that a word not attested prior to the time of the translator of Ezekiel is not necessarily a neologism, since it could have existed in the spoken language or in written documents that have not survived, and cautions against what Harl has called “the pseudo-neologisms of the LXX”,62 i.e., words that had been thought to be LXX neologisms until the publication of a papyrus proved that they were not new at all.63 Therefore, the label “neologism” with reference to a book of the Septuagint should be used tentatively and provisionally.

Along the same lines as Lust and Hauspie, J. Cook, in his study entitled “The Translator(s) of the Septuagint of Proverbs”, defines LXX neologisms as “newly formed Greek words that appear for the first time in the Septuagint and often appear as well in the literature based upon it”.64

2.5 Definition of a neologism of 2 Macc

Based on the definitions quoted above, and especially those by Lust and Hauspie, we define a neologism of 2 Macc as a word that occurs for the first time in this book and is otherwise unattested in the extant Greek literature, the inscriptions and the papyri prior to 124 BCE, which is a more or less generally accepted terminus post quem for the composition of the epitome of Jason’s work by the person known as the epitomator.65

60 Tov 1999: 139
64 2002: § 23.
65 See supra, 1.2.
Such a word may be either a morpho-semantic coinage\(^\text{66}\) of the author of 2 Macc, i.e., a word coined by him according to patterns of word-formation well-established in Koine (prefixation, suffixation, compounding), or a word that existed in the oral or the written language of the 2\(^{nd}\) c. BCE, but did not happen to survive in any other literary or non-literary text predating 2 Macc that has come down to us. In short, the term neologism is used to cover both the new formations and the first attestations (proton legomena). The meagre remains of the vocabulary of the period under consideration and the uncertain dating of both the literary and the non-literary documents that have survived from this period make any clear distinction between them almost impossible. As pointed out by all the aforementioned scholars who have dealt with the LXX neologisms, it is possible that the future publication of a papyrical document will oblige us to revise our assumptions concerning the status of a word as a neologism. In our study, the search for the neologisms of 2 Macc is confined to the corpus of the LXX hapax legomena found in chapters 4-7. It is possible, however, that a word that appears for the first time in our book is not a LXX hapax, because it recurs in a LXX book written after 2 Macc. Consequently, our listing of the neologisms occurring in 2 Macc, 4-7 may not be exhaustive.

We have to point out that for the designation of a word as a neologism we have not relied only on LEH or LSJ, but we have done our own vocabulary research through electronic databases of literary and non-literary texts (see infra, 2.7 Methodology).

2.6 Semantic neologisms

Apart from the morpho-semantic neologisms, in our study we also attempt to track those LXX hapaxes which constitute semantic neologisms, i.e., old words appearing in 2 Macc in a new sense. The most extensive discussion of this phenomenon is found in Lee,\(^\text{67}\) who examines a number of words in the Septuagint of the Pentateuch illustrating a semantic development from earlier senses, which is also attested in the papyri of the 3\(^{rd}\) c. BCE. Lee states that the adoption of these semantic neologisms by the translators of the Pentateuch is evidence that the language of the LXX reflects the natural development of Greek within the period of Koine. The only other treatment of the semantic neologisms in the LXX that we have been able to trace is found in Harl’s discussion of the vocabulary of Greek Deuteronomium.\(^\text{68}\) Along with the neologisms occurring in this book, Harl lists “quelques exemples de mots connus...

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\(^{66}\) In our study, we shall be using the terms “morpho-semantic” and “semantic” neologism sensu Tournier (Introduction descriptive à la lexicogénétique de l’anglais contemporain, Paris-Genève, Champion-Slatkine, 1985, p. 47 ff). Tournier distinguishes between morpho-semantic neologisms (neologismes morpho-sémantiques), when both the signifier (signifiant) and the signified (signifié) are new, semantic neologisms (neologismes sémantiques), when only the signified is new, and morphological neologisms (neologismes morphologiques), when only the signifier is new.

\(^{67}\) Chapter IV: “New semantic developments in old words”, pp. 53-84.

employés dans des sens nouveaux (néologismes sémantiques et nouveaux emplois métaphoriques)”.

Hauspie, in her aforementioned study of the neologisms in Ezekiel, makes clear that “from [her] perspective a neologism is never understood as a new semantic development prompted by its Vorlage in an existing word”.

In our study, we define a semantic neologism in 2 Macc as an existing word that appears in our book in a novel sense previously unattested in the literary and non-literary texts dating from before 124 BCE. Since none of the studies quoted above provide a typology of semantic neologisms, we have turned to Campbell (2004), who summarizes the most common classifications of semantic change used in historical linguistics: (a) widening or broadening of the meaning of a word, (b) narrowing or restriction of the meaning, (c) metaphor, understood as “a leap across semantic domains”, (d) metonymy, that is, “change within the same domain”, and its subclass, synecdoche, involving a part-to-whole relationship, (e) degeneration or pejoration, (f) elevation or amelioration, (g) taboo replacement, which includes euphemism, (h) hyperbole (exaggeration), and (i) litotes (understatement).

In the detailed examination of the LXX hapaxes in Chapter 3 we try to follow the semantic development of each word from its first attestation to its occurrence in 2 Macc, in order to detect whether a new sense is attested in our book, determine whether this change is language-related or author-related, and whether it is possible to slot it into the aforementioned classification of semantic change.

2.7 Methodology

To investigate the extra-Septuagintal vocabulary of 2 Macc, we had recourse to the electronic database of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae [TLG] (on-line version). The digitalized text of 2 Macc included in TLG (Machabaeorum ii, digital reference: 0527.024) is that of A. Rahlfs’ edition of the Septuagint (Septuaginta, vol. 1-2, 9th edn. Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1935, [repr. 1971]). Due to limitations of time, we investigated only four of the fifteen chapters of the book. The choice of chapters 4-7 was motivated by their subject-matter, the “Hellenization crisis” (ch. 4-6) and the martyrology (ch. 6-7). To identify the LXX hapax legomena in 2 Macc 4-7, we made a

70 Hauspie 2001: 18.
71 Campbell 2004: 252-272.
73 http://www.tlg.uci.edu/.
74 The Rahlfs edition has been superseded by the Göttingen critical edition (Maccabaeorum liber II, copius usus quas reliquit Werner Kappler edidit Robert Hanhart. Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis editum. IX/2. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959). A collation between the Rahlfs and the Göttingen editions shows 7 differences as regards the LXX hapax legomena in 2 Macc 4-7. These differences concern the words ἀνηβος, ἐξοπλησία, ἐπιπληρόω, ἐπιχωρέω, ἐφηβεῖον, προσενέχομαι and πρωτοκλίσια, and are indicated in footnotes in the respective entries in Chapter 3.
list of all the words (excluding proper names)\textsuperscript{75} contained in chapters 4-7, which have a separate lexical entry in LEH.\textsuperscript{76} We then checked the number of occurrences of each word in TLG’s \textit{Septuaginta} corpus, and sorted out the words that occur only in 2 \textit{Macc}. These words are listed in Chapter 3, in alphabetical order, the nouns under the nominative singular, the adjectives under the nominative masculine singular, and the verbs under their active voice endings, even if they occur in 2 \textit{Macc} only in their passive or medial forms. For each word we provide the definition given in LEH,\textsuperscript{77} a quotation of the verse(s) in which it occurs in 2 \textit{Macc} and a brief lexicological commentary. The aim of this commentary is to offer the information that is necessary for us to determine whether a particular word is classical or post-classical, rare or common, a morpho-semantic or a semantic neologism, and whether its non-occurrence in the other books of the LXX is accidental or meaningful. For this purpose, the attestations of each word in pre-Common Era literary and non-literary texts (inscriptions and papyri) are investigated and illustrated by quotations. The vocabulary research was done with the aid of TLG, for the literary texts, the Searchable Greek Inscriptions (SGI),\textsuperscript{78} for the epigraphic texts, and the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDBDP),\textsuperscript{79} for the papyrical texts. For the sake of convenience and consistency, all the names of ancient authors and the titles of their works, as well as the books of the LXX, are cited as they appear in TLG, viz., Latinized and without abbreviations. Collections of epigraphic texts and editions of papyri are cited by the abbreviations used in SGI and DDBDP respectively. The dates given for the inscriptions and the papyri are those assigned to them by SGI and DDBDP respectively. The English translation of the LXX to which we refer is the electronic edition of \textit{A New English Translation of the Septuagint} (NETS).\textsuperscript{80} The bibliography contains only the works cited in our study.

\textsuperscript{75} Greenspan (1984: 20-21), quoting J. S. Mill’s remark that proper names are not connotative but only denotative, states that “since names do not function within the language according to their meanings, they need not be included nor are they generally considered in studies of this kind.” In his list of the LXX \textit{hapax legomena} in \textit{Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides}, Wagner (1999: 87) does not include proper names, particles, interjections, conjunctions, comparatives, superlatives and verbal adjectives in \textit{–τεέος}, while he subsumes verbal adjectives in \textit{–τος} under adjectives.

\textsuperscript{76} In LEH, adverbs are not subsumed under adjectives, while there is no uniform way of listing the verbal adjectives in \textit{–τεέός}: some are subsumed under the verb from which they derive (e.g., \textit{ἐκδεκτέέον}, \textit{ἐλευστέέον}, \textit{ἡγητέέον}, etc.), whereas others are treated separately (e.g., \textit{ἀναληµπτέέος}, \textit{νοµμιστέέος}, etc.). Following LEH, we have treated adverbs as separate lexical items; we have done the same for the unique verbal adjective in \textit{–τεέός} occurring in our list of LXX \textit{hapaxes}, \textit{ἐλευστέέον}.

\textsuperscript{77} All the definitions of words attested in the LXX are from LEH. All other definitions are from LSJ, unless otherwise specified.

\textsuperscript{78} Searchable Greek Inscriptions. A Scholarly Tool in Progress, from The Packard Humanities Institute. At: http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/.

\textsuperscript{79} At: http://papyri.info/.

\textsuperscript{80} Available at: http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/.
1. αἰφνιδίως “suddenly”

5:5 αἰφνιδίως ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν συνετελέσατο ἐπίθεσιν; 14:22 μήποτε ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων αἰφνιδίως κακουργία γένηται

αἰφνιδίως is attested only 15 times in the literature prior to 2 Macc, almost exclusively in the works of historians. It expresses the notion of suddenness and unexpectedness, usually related to death or a military action (cf. Thucydides, Historiae, 2.53.1: τῶν τε εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνῃσκόντων; Polybius, Historiae, 4.6.11: ποιησάµμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁρµμὴν ἐντεῦθεν αἰφνιδίως κακουργία, ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν τῶν Μεσσηνίων χώραν). In the LXX, there also occur the classical ἐξαίφνης (10x), ἐξαπίνης (3x) and ἄφνω (10x, inter alia in 2 Macc, 3:27: ἄφνω δὲ πεσόόντα πρὸς τὴν γῆν), and the later ἐξάπινα (15x). αἰφνιδίως is also attested in Hellenistic inscriptions and papyri (cf. IosPE F, 352.7 [107 BCE]: Παλάκου δὲ τοῦ Σκυθᾶν βασιλείος αἰφνιδίως ἐπιβαλόόντος µµετὰ ὀχλου πολλοῦ; SEG 41.1040.5 [2nd-1st c. BCE]: οἱ βίαιοι δαίµονες ἐξ ᾠων ἠµπασεν αἰφνιδίως; P.Diosk. 1.13 [154 BCE]: ἀνατρέψας τοῦτο ἐπεισεπήδησεν αἰφνιδίως).

2. ἀκαριαῖος “brief”

6:25 διὰ τὸ µικρὸν καὶ ἀκαριαίον ζήν

The adjective occurs in Aristoteles (6x), Aristoxenus (Elementa harmonica, p. 68.12) and Theophrastus (Metaphysica, 11a.18). The collocation of ἀκαριαῖος and µικρός is attested in Aristoteles (cf. Meteorologica, 352a26: γελοῖον γὰρ διὰ µικρὰς καὶ ἀκαριαίας µεταβολὰς κινεῖ τὸ πᾶν). The usage of the adjective with respect to the brevity of life is also first attested in Aristoteles (De respiratione, 479a19: ὡσπερ γὰρ ἀκαριαίας καὶ µικρὰς ἐν αὐτῷ φλογὸς ἐνούσης διὰ µικρὰν κίνησιν ἀποσβέέννυται).

3. ἀκατάάγνωστος “not to be condemned, innocent”

4:47 τοῖς δὲ ταλαιπώροις, οἵτινες, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ Σκυθῶν ἐλεγον, ἀπελύθησαν ἀκατάάγνωστοι, τούτοις θάνατον ἐπέκρινεν

The neologism ἀκατάάγνωστος is derived from καταγιγνώσκω, LSJ I “to lay as a charge against a person”, LSJ III “to give judgment or sentence against someone”. Prefixed by the ἀ-privative, the verbal adjective designates one against whom no unfavourable judgement or accusation can be made, or, in a legal sense, one who is not to be found guilty and condemned. In 2 Macc, it is used as a juridical term as may be inferred from the context: the verbs λέει, LSJ III.11 “to plead one’s cause in a court of law”, ἀπολύω, LSJ 2b “to acquit of a charge”, and ἐπικρίνω, LSJ I “to adjudge, to inflict”,...
are all drawn from legal language. This neologism was taken up later by Paul (Epistula Pauli ad Titum, 2:8: λόγον ύψηλ ἀκατάγνωστον). In its earliest instance in the inscriptions it is employed in the sense of “irreproachable” (IG X 2.1.623 [48 CE]: Ἔσωάδι τῇ συνβίιω ἡσάση ἀμέμπτως (… Ἔσωάδι τὴν ἀκατάγνωστον), while in its sole instance in the papyri, in the Byzantine period, it is also used in a moral sense (P.Koeln. 2.102.9 [418 CE]: τά ἐπιτασσομένα μοι ύπο σοῦ ἀμέμπτως ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἀκαταγνώστον προαιρέσεως).

4. ἀκρόπολις “citadel, castle”

4:12 ὑπ’ αὐτῆς τῇ ἀκρόπολις γυμνάσιον καθίδρυσεν; 4:28 Σωστράτου τοῦ τῆς ἁγίασμας ἐπάρχον; 5:5 ὁ Μενέλαος εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐφυγάδευσεν

The ἀκρόπολις mentioned in the verses quoted above was a fort which probably stood at the north end of the eastern hill of Jerusalem. In 2 Macc 15:31 and 15:35, as well as in other books of the LXX, it is also referred to as ἀκρά.

5. ἀλλοφυλισμός “adoption of foreign customs or religions”

4:13 ἢ δ’ ὑπάτων ἄκρα τῆς Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ πρόσβασις ἀλλοφυλισμοῦ; 6:24 ὑπολαβόντες Ελεαζαρὸν τὸν ἐνενηκονταετῆ μεταβεβηκέναι εἰς ἀλλοφυλισμὸν

Among the novel terms introduced by the author of 2 Macc, Ἰουδαϊσμός, “Judaism”, coined in analogy to Ἑλληνισμός, was probably the most influential. The neologism ἀλλοφυλισμός, on the contrary, although coined in analogy to the aforementioned terms, was not adopted by later authors. The adjective or substantivized adjective ἀλλόφυλος, “of another tribe, foreign”, is attested from Aeschylus onwards. In the LXX, it occurs 317 times and usually designates the Philistines. In 2 Macc, it is used of the Gentiles who built pagan altars in Jerusalem and profaned the Temple (10:2: τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν βοιμοὺς ύπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφυλῶν δεδημουργημένους; 10:5: ὁ νεὼς ύπὸ ἀλλοφυλῶν ἐβεβηλωθη). Hence, the term ἀλλοφυλισμός bears a mainly religious connotation (“adherence to heathen practices”), whereas the more specific term Ἑλληνισμός (see comment s.v.), with which it is conjoined in 4:13, bears a mainly cultural connotation.

84 The verb ἀλλοφυλίζω, from which ἀλλοφυλισμός is derived, is untested in literature. The neologism ἀλλοφυλέω, “to adopt foreign customs or religions”, occurs in 4 Macc, 18:5.
85 The word is a dis legomenon, since its sole other occurrence in literature is found in a verbatim quotation of 2 Macc, 6:24 in Origenes’ Exhortatio ad martyrium, 22.13.
The neologism ἀναβίωσις is derived from ἀναβιόω, 131"come to life again", which occurs from the 5th c. BCE (cf. Aristophanes, Ranae, 177: ἀναβιόην ὑν πάλιν; Plato, Republica, 614b: ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ κείμενος ἄνεβω, ἀναβιόου δ' ἐλεγεν ᾧ ἐκεῖ ἱδοί; Aristoteles, Historia animalium, 587a24: καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ παιδίον, ὅστερ ἐξαίμον γενόμενον πρότερον, πάλιν ἄνεβιώσεν). The simplex βίωσις, "way of life", (Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides, Prol., 14: διὰ τῆς ἐννόμον βιώσεως), as well as the compounds ἐμβιώσις, "maintenance of life", (op. cit., 38:14: ἵνα εὐδοκώμη αὐτός ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ Ἰασον χάριν ἐμβιώσεως, or "way of living" (3 Macc, 3:23: μετὰ τῆς δυσκλεστάτης ἐμβιώσεως), and μακροβίωσις, "longevity", (Baruch, 13:14: ποῦ ἔστιν μακροβίωσις καὶ ζωή) are all LXX neologisms. In the LXX, we also find συμβίωσις, "shared life" (cf. Sapientia Salomonis, 8:3: εὐγένειών δοξάζει συμβιώσιν θεοῦ ἔχουσα, already attested in Polybius (Historiae, 5.81.2, passim). In 2 Macc there also occurs the semantically related substantive ἀνάστασις (7:14 σοι μὲν γὰρ ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωὴν ὑφε ἔσται; 12:43 ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως διαλογιζόμενον).

In 7:9, the second of the seven brothers tortured by Antiochus expresses his belief in the resurrection and in an everlasting physical life after death.97 The text in this verse is rather problematic. Goldstein argues that the redundancy in the phrase εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς ἡμᾶς ἀναστήσει is due to the author's allusion to Daniel, 12:2: καὶ πάλλοι τῶν καθευδόντων ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῆς γῆς ἀναστήσονται, οἱ μὲν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ εἰς ονειδισμόν, οἱ δὲ εἰς διασπορὰν καὶ αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον.88 The author of 2 Macc probably used the specificatory term ἀναβίωσις in order to distinguish between the "everlasting life", which awaits the righteous, such as the seven brothers and their mother who suffer martyrdom, and the "everlasting dispersion and contempt", which will be the lot of the wicked such as Antiochus (cf. the fourth brother's address to the king in 7:14: σοι μὲν γὰρ ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωὴν ὑφ έσται). Katz, following Schleusner, and followed by Habicht, has proposed εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς, since "the life is eternal, the resurrection is not",89 a reading supported by 7:36: πόνον ἄνειάν ζωῆς. Doran suggests that this is a case of hypallage,90 and Van Henten argues that αἰώνιον should be interpreted as "an indication of the everlasting result of the renewal of life".91 We may also assume that this is a form of brachylogy produced by the blending of two prepositional phrases (εἰς ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς καὶ εἰς αἰώνιον ζωῆς, both dominated by ἀναστήσει) into one (εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς).

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86 Hesychius, Lexicon, 4199: ἀναβίωσις· ἀνανέωσις ζωῆς.
87 Cf. the other references to the resurrection of the flesh: 7:11; 14; 23; 29; 36; 14:46. See also: Elledge 2006: 15-19, and Van Henten 1997: 174.
90 Doran 1981: 22.
7. ἀναγνεία “abominable wickedness”
4:13 διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀρχιερέως Ἴσωνος ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀναγνείαν

ἀναγνεία is a neologism and a hapax legomenonlotius graecitatis. It derives from the adjective ἀναγνος, "unclean, unholy, defiled”, first attested in Aeschylus (Agamemnon, 220: φρενὸς πνεῶν δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν ἀναγνον ἁγιασμον; cf. also: Sophocles, Oedipus Coloneus, 945: ἀναγνος καὶ πατρικτόνου κάναγνον; id., Oedipus Tyrannus, 1383: τῶν ἁγιασμών τῶν ἐκ τῶν θεῶν εἰσίν ταῦτα μαίνει τὴν ἁγνείαν). The simplex ἁγνεία, first attested in Sophocles (Oedipus Tyrannus, 864: εὐσεβῶν ἁγνείαν λόγων ἐργῶν τε πάντων), occurs 4 times in the LXX: it is used of the purity of the Nazirite (Númeri, 6:21: κατὰ νόμον ἁγνεὶας) and of the purity of a holy place (1 Macc, 14:36: ἐμιασμὸν κύκλω τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐποίουν πληγήν μεγάλην ἐν τῇ ἁγνείᾳ).

8. ἀναδέξομαι “to accept”, “to undertake”
6:19 ὁ δὲ τῶν μετ’ ἐυκλείας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν μετὰ μῖσος βιον ἀναδεξάμενος;
8:36 ὁ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἀναδεξάμενος φόρον

This compound, which first appears in Homer, is well-attested in the Hellenistic period. The two senses exemplified in 2 Macc can be found in the literature, the inscriptions and the papyri of the 2nd/1st c. BCE: (a) ἀναδέξασθαι τὸν ἁγιασμὸν κατὰ δῆμον καὶ κατὰ κόσμον κατὰ νόμον κατὰ θάλασσαν; IC III IV 9.30 [112/1 BCE]: πάσαν ἀναδεξάμενοι κακοπαθίαν, (b) ἀναδέξασθαι τὸν ἁγιασμὸν κατὰ δῆμον κατὰ κόσμον κατὰ νόμον κατὰ θάλασσαν; IC III IV 9.30 [112/1 BCE]: πάσαν ἀναδεξάμενοι κακοπαθίαν, (b)

9. ἀναχάσκω “to open the mouth”
6:18 ἀναχασάνων ἡγαγάζετο φαγεῖν ὅπως κρεάς

The verb occurs in the fragments of the comic poet Pherecrates (Fragmenta (Kock), 196: ἀναχασάκω) and in Aristophanes (Aves, 502: ὑπέκαθι τῶν ἀναχάσκων) and in Euphron (Kock), 68: ἀναχασον ἐκ ἐκαστοῦ ἐμφερέστατα ὑπερμέναις κόκκασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθράκων). It is also used of the mouth of the womb in medical literature (Hippocrates, De natura muliebri, 45: ἡ ἀναδέξασθαι τὸ στόμα τῶν μητρῶν). The participle of the 2nd aorist,
formed from the present *ἀναχαίνω*, occurs only in Aristophanes’ *Equites*, 641. In the LXX, the simplex χάσκω is attested 4 times; another compound, ἐγχάσκω, “to gape”, also originating in comic poetry, occurs in *Esdras i*, 4:19.

10. ἀνήβος “young, not yet grown up”

5:13 ἐγίνετο δὲ νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀναίρεσις, ἀνήβον τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἀφανισμός

The adjective is attested from Solon onwards (hence it is wrongly marked as a “neol.” by LEH). It designates boys or girls (cf. Lysias, *In Alcibiadem I*, 25.4: ἀνήβος ἐταίραν ἔχων; Plato, *Leges*, 833c: κόρας μὲν ἀνήβοις) who have not reached ἱβήν, viz., the onset of puberty, usually set at 14. A gloss in Hesychius specifies that ἀνήβος is the twelve-year-old (*Lexicon*, 5033: ἀνήβος· ὁ μήπω <ἐπί>φθάσας τὴν ὀφειλομένην ἡλικίαν, τούτεστιν δωδεκαέτης). In the inscriptions, the adjective appears in records of grants of citizenship (cf. *Miletos* 150.2 [c. 200 BCE]: [ὑίο]ς Ἐὐκλείδης ἀνήβος; 6: Αἰσχρίίων Θεοδώρου νόθος ἀνήβος), and in athletic prize lists (cf. *BCEH* 99 (1975) 97.45 [3rd c. BCE]: [πέν]ταθ[λον παιδας ἀνήβους]). ἐφήβος, occurring in 2 *Macc*, 4:12 (see comment s.v), is also a LXX hapax.

11. ἀντιμαρτυρέω “to witness against”

7:6 καθάπερ διὰ τῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντιμαρτυρούσης ὥθης διεσάφησεν Μωσῆς

Verse 7:6 contains an explicit quotation of *Deuteronomium*, 31:21: καὶ ἀντικαταστήσεται ἢ ὥθη ἀυτή κατὰ πρόσωπον μαρτυροῦσα. In the LXX, μαρτυρέω is compounded with six prepositional prefixes: ἀντι-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, and κατά-. ἀπομαρτυρέω, ἀντιμαρτυρέω and ἐκμαρτυρέω occur only in 2 *Macc*. ἀντιμαρτυρέω is first attested in Aristophanes as a juridical term meaning 159 “to appear as witness against” (*Fragmenta* (Kock), 437.1: ἢ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρ’ ἀδικον σὺ διόκης, ἀντιμαρτυροῦσι δώδεκα τοῖς ἐπείσοις ἐπιτίμιοι). Among its sparse occurrences in literature we may note those in Epicurus, who transfers this legal term into the sphere of epistemology: the truth of a judgement about an external object is confirmed, ἐπιμαρτυρεῖται, or disproved, ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται, by the impressions of our senses (cf. *Epistula ad Herodotum*, 51.10: ἐὰν μὲν μὴ ἐπιμαρτυρηθῇ ἢ ἀντιμαρτυρηθῇ, τὸ ψεῦδος γίνεται ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμαρτυρηθῇ ή μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρηθῇ, τὸ ἀληθές; ib., 55.9: ἢν μὴ τὰ φαινόμενα ἀντιμαρτυρή; also in the fragments of the Epicurean philosopher Polystratus, *Peri ἄλογου καταφρονήσεως*, col3b, 4: αὐτῇ


86 The Göttingen edition omits this word. It is probably a marginal gloss which slipped into the text (Abel 1949: 353, note 12), or a dittography of the preceding ἀναίρεσις (Goldstein 1984: 258).


γὰρ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ συμφωνοῦσα καὶ σύθαμμι ἀντιμαστηροῦσα. However, the collocation of ἀντιμαστηροῦσα with κατὰ πρόσωπον, in our verse, indicates that the term is used in the same judicial sense99 as the legal term ἀντικαθίστημι, ἀπενθῆθος confront (as in a court of justice)”, in the aforementioned verse from Deuteronomium.

12. ἀπένθητος “unlamented”
5:10 καὶ ὁ πλήθος ἀτάφων ἐκρίψας ἀπένθητος ἐγενήθη
πενθέω and πένθος, used from the time of Homer, denote sorrow of the heart, grief, especially for the dead, usually expressed by δάκρυα, γόοι and θρήνοι. In the LXX, the verb and the substantive denote sorrow, mourning, either individual or collective, accompanied, in the case of mourning for the dead, by κλαυθμός, κοπετόν and θρήνον (cf. 1 Mac 9:20 καὶ ἐκλάυσαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκόψαντο αὐτὸν πάς Ἰσραηλ κοπετόν μέγαν καὶ ἐπένθουν ἡμέρας πολλάς), as well as by mourning rites (cf. Genesis, 37:34: διέφρησεν δὲ Ιακωβ τὰ ἴματα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπέθεσον σάκκον ἐπὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπενθέσεται τὸν ὠν αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας πολλὰς Regnorum ii, 14:2: πένθησον δὴ καὶ ἔνδυσαι ἴματα πενθικά καὶ μὴ ἀλείψῃ ἐλαιον καὶ ἐσθ ὡς γυνὴ πενθοῦσα ἐπὶ τεθνήκοτο τούτῳ ἡμέρας πολλάς).100 There are only 2 instances of the verbal adjective ἀπένθητος in the literature prior to 2 Macc, both in Aeschylus, in the sense of 153 “free from grief”101 (Agamemnon, 895: ἀπενθήθωι φρένι; 102 Eumenides, 912: τὸ τῶν δυκαίων τόνδ’ ἀπενθήτων γένος). There is also one occurrence in a 2nd c. BCE sepulchral inscription from Karpathos (IG XII, 1.980.8: [ ἀ]πένθη[θ]ος πάν ἐπὶ τέ[ῳμα βίου]. The sense of “unlamented” is attested for the first time in 2 Macc.

13. ἀπευθανατίζο ς “to die well or happily”
6:28 προθύµως καὶ γενναίως ὑπὲρ τῶν σεμνῶν καὶ ἀγίων νόμων ἀπευθανατίζειν
This hapax legomenon totius graecitatis seems to be coined on the model of ἀποθνῄσκω103 and εὐθανατέων. In 2 Macc, ἀποθνῄσκω occurs 6 times. The rare verb εὐθανατέω, “to die a noble death”, is found in Chrysippus (Fragmenta moralia, 601: εὐθανατεῖν δὲ τὸ μετὰ ποιοῦ θανάτου κατ’ ἄρετήν τελευτάν), and in Polybius (Historiae, 5.38.8: εὐθανατίζει σπουδάζων).104 Noteworthy is the non-accordance of

99 Cf. the use of κατὰ πρόσωπον in the inscriptions: Gobnai, 2.91.24 [mid 2nd c. BCE]: συναχθεῖσις προσκλήτου τῶν πολλῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον κατέχομεν τοὺς ἐπιβαλλόμενοι μοχθηράν καὶ παράνομον πράξειν, and in Acta apostolorum, 25:16: πρὶν ὡς ὁ κατηγορούμενος κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔχοι τοὺς κατηγορούς.
100 See TDNT, s.v. πενθός, πενθεία.
101 Cf. the synonymous adjective ἀπενθής in Prometheus vinctus, 956: καὶ δοκεῖτε δὴ ναιεῖν ἀπενθήτης πέγαμα.’
102 Scholia in Aeschylum, 895b: ἀπενθήτωι ἀπενθήτωι τοῦ πένθους.
104 Cf. the synonymous phrase γενναίως τελευτάν (7:5).
the transitive suffix –ίζω with the intransitive character of the verb. Lee cites an analogous example, the verb φλογίζω (“set on fire”), used as an intransitive (“to burn”) in Exodus, 9:24, and notes, following Blass and Debrunner,⁵⁰⁵ that this reflects “a fairly widespread tendency in Greek for verbs originally used only transitively in the active to appropriate an intransitive function from the middle-passive voice”.⁵⁰⁶

14. ἀποκόσμεμαι “to remove from the world, to kill”
4:38 ἐκεῖ τὸν μιαφόνον ἀπεκόσμησεν

The first occurrence in literature of this very rare verb is found in Homer: at the end of Alcinous’ banquet the maids “clear away” the dishes (Odyssea, 7.232: ἀμφίπολοι δ' ἀπεκόσμεον ἐντεα δαιτός). The second occurrence is found in 2 Macc, where it is only by context that we can infer its meaning: it is used with respect to the fate of Andronicus, the king’s deputy, who was punished for the murder of the high priest Onias. We are told that the king stripped him of his purple robe, led him around the city, and then ἀπεκόσμησεν the murderer at the very place where the latter had killed Onias. The verb cannot have the meaning “stripped him of his insignia” (ornamentis destituit, as it is rendered in one of the Latin translations),¹⁰⁷ since the king had already stripped Andronicus of his purple. It is most probably used euphemistically in the sense “removed him from the world” (vita privari in the Vulgate) in the same way that παρακλείεω and χειρόσμαι are used to denote killing in 2 Macc (4:34: ὁν καὶ παραχήμα παρέκλησεν οὐκ αἰδεσθεὶς τὸ δίκαιον; 4:42: αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ιερούλιον παρὰ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον εἰχειρώσαντο). Abel points out the subtlety of Jason’s word-play involving the two meanings of κόσμος, “ornament” and “world”¹⁰₈ (cf. 2 Macc, 5:3 χρυσέων κόσμων, and ib., 7:23 ὁ τοῦ κόσμου κτίστης).

15. ἀποφρίζομαι “to be angry”
5:17 ἀπώργισται βραχέως ὁ δεσπότης

This compound occurs only twice in the extant Greek literature: in Menander’s Samia (683: ἀλλ’ ἀποφρίσθηεις ἡν ἀπιέναι) and in 2 Macc. The phrase ἀπώργισται βραχέως ὁ δεσπότης founds an echo in 7:33, where ὄργιονος εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρεαν διοργίζεσθαι; ib., 4:13: διοργισθεὶς). The word is wrongly labelled as a neologism by LEH.

¹⁰⁵ Blass and Debrunner 1961: § 309.2.
¹⁰⁷ Abel 1949: 343.
¹⁰⁸ Abel 1949: 343.
¹⁰⁹ ἐποργίζομαι occurs only three times in the extant Greek literature, twice in the LXX (2 Macc, 7:33; Daniel (OG), 11:40) and in Procopius.
16. ἀστυγείτων “neighbouring”
6:8 ψφίσμα δὲ ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τᾶς ἀστυγείτονας Εὐληνίδας πόλεις

The adjective first occurs in Aeschylus (Agamemnon, 309), and is afterwards found mainly in historians: in Herodotus (6x), Thucydides (6x), Polybius (10x), Diodorus Siculus (9x). In most instances it is used as a substantive (152 “neighbour to the city, borderer”). In conjunction with πόλις it is encountered in Herodotus (Historiae, 6.99.6), Euripides (Hippolytus, 1161), Aeschines (In Ctesiphontem, 133), Dinarchus (In Demosthenem, 24 and 38), and 5 times in Diodorus Siculus (cf. Bibliotheca historica, 14.40.3: δεινὸν εἰναι περιμεῖν ἀστυγείτονας Εὐληνίδας πόλεις ἀρδην ἀνηρηµμένας). It is also found in Hellenistic inscriptions (cf. IG VII 4130, A.1.2 [after 146 BCE]: πρὸς τὰς ἀστυγείτονας τῶν ἐν Βοιωτίαι πόλεων; Tabai 17.12 [c. 43 BCE]: ὑπὸ δῆµον ἀστυγείτονων).

17. ἀτάφως “unburied”
5:10 ὁ πλῆθος ἀτάφων ἐκρίψας

The adjective is attested from Herodotus onwards (cf. Herodotus, Historiae, 9.27.15: ἀτάφους κειµένους; Sophocles, Antigone, 29: ἐὰν δ’ ἄκλαυτον, ἀτάφον; Plato, Leges, 909c: ἐκβάλλειν ἀτάφον; Lysias, In Eratosthenem, 21.3: ἀτάφους ἐποίησαν; also in the papyri: SEG 17.120.7 [3rd c. BCE]: ὅπε ἐὰν ἀταφος ἀπὸ µητρὸς ἔµης καὶ πατρὸς ἅµης; UPZ 1.18.15 [162 BCE]: καὶ εἰς τὴν νεκρ<δ>αν καθιστῶσιν αὐτὸν, ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἀταφός ἔστιν; UPZ 2.187.20 [127/6 BCE]: ὑπὸ λύκων λυµµανθή[ναι] ἀταφά σώµατα κ[α]βροµθέντα).

18. αὔξησις “augmentation, amplification, increase”
5:16 καὶ τὰ ὑπ’ ἀλλών βασιλέων ἀνατεθέντα πρὸς αὔξησιν καὶ δόξαν τοῦ τόπου

αὔξησις is attested in the physiological sense of “growth” (cf. Hippocrates, De diaeta, i-iv, 25.7: τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ σώµατος; Aristoteles, De anima, 412a14: ζωὴν δὲ λέγοµεν τὴν δι’ αὐτοῦ τροφὴν τε καὶ αὔξησιν καὶ φθίσιν; id., De generatione animalium, 740b9: ή αὔξησις τῶν κυμάτων; ib., 720a2: ή τοῦ φῶν αὔξησις; Theophrastus, Historia plantarum, 6.7.5: ή αὔξησις ή τῶν βλαστῶν), as a rhetorical term in the sense of “amplification” (cf. Aristoteles, Rhetorica, 1368a27: ὅλως δὲ τῶν κοινῶν εἰδῶν ἀπασι τοῖς λόγοις ἤ µὲν αὔξησις ἐπιτηδειοτάτη τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς; Polybius, Historiae, 12.15.10: τὰ µὲν ἐλαττώµατα δυσµενικοὶ καὶ µετ’ αὔξήσεως ἢµιν ἐξήγγελκε), and in the general sense of “increase, augmentation” (Thucydides, Historiae, 1.69.4: τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν; Xenophon, De vectigalibus, 3.6: αὔξήσεις τῶν προσόδων; Polybius, Historiae, 3.4.2: ή τ’ αὔξησις καὶ προκοπή τῆς Ῥωµαίων δυναστείας; ib., 6.9.12: τῆς συστάςεως καὶ τῆς αὔξήσεως καὶ τῆς ακµῆς [τῆς Ῥωµαίων πολιτείας]. In 2 Macc, 5:16, αὔξησις and δόξα refer to the aggrandizement of the temple of Jerusalem through the offerings made by the kings. (Cf. Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica, 15.13.5: θεῶν τε ναοὺς κατεσκεύασε καὶ τάλλα τὰ συντεῖνοντα πρὸς
In the literature, the inscriptions and the papyri of the Hellenistic period the birthday is denoted by ἡ γενεθλία/γενεθλίους ημέρα and τὰ γενεθλία (cf. Callimachus, lambi, fr. 202: τὴν γενεθλίαν ἐβδόμην Ἡρώ[θου] θ[υγατρός ημέρην; PSI 4.347.5 [255 BCE]: ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως γενεθλίοις; P.Cair.Zen. 3.59419.3 [mid-3rd c. BCE]: ἐστίν Δημητρίου του] ἐμοῦ μικροῦ τὰ γενεθλία τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Φαμενώθ; OGIS 90, B, 12 [196 BCE]: ἐν ἡ τὰ γενεθλία τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγέτας; IGLSyr 1, 1.132 [c. 31 BCE]: ἐν δὲ γενεθλίοις ἡμέραις, ὡς ἐμμένους ἐνιαυσίους τοὺς ἵππους τοῖς πάν ἐτος ἀεὶ διατέεταχα; Priene 6.40 [c. 9 BCE]: ἦρξεν δὲ τῶι κόσμωι τῶι δ' αὐτοῦ εὐανγελίαν ἡ γενεθλίος ημέρα τοῦ θεοῦ [viz., the Emperor Augustus]. The Jews did not celebrate their birthdays and they probably had a negative attitude towards this custom practiced by their enemies, the Egyptians, and by the pagan Greeks and the Romans.¹¹¹ The only reference in the Bible to this practice is in Genesis, 40:20, where the Pharaoh celebrates his birthday by offering a feast to all his servants: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῇ ημέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ημέρᾳ γενέσεως τὴν Φαραώ, καὶ ἐποίει πότον πάσι τοῖς παισιν αὐτοῦ.

20. δαδουχία “torch-bearing, torch light”

4:22 μετὰ δαδουχίας καὶ βοῶν εἰσεδέχθη

The group of compounds formed from δᾶς, “fire-brand, pine-torch”, and ἔχω includes: (a) the substantive δαδούχος, L⁰ “a torch-bearer” or “the holder of a hereditary office at the mysteries of the Eleusinian Demeter”, attested in Xenophon (Hellenica, 6.3.3), Aristoteles (Rhetorica, 1405a20) and inscriptions (cf. IG XII 1.141.4 [early 2nd c. BCE]: ἔρμης τε καὶ δαδούχος ἐκάττη; SEG 21: 469.36 [129/8 BCE]: καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἑνὶ νεάς ἄρχοντες καὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντης καὶ ὁ δαδούχος [viz. αὐτὸς τοῦ ἱερεῦς]), (b) the verb δαδουχέω, attested in Euripides in the sense L⁰ ¹¹¹ “to carry a torch” (Troïades, 343: Ἡφαιστε, δαδουχείς μὲν ἐν γάμως βροτών) and in the inscriptions in the sense L⁰ ¹¹² “to hold the office of δαδούχος” (cf. IG IP 3693.3 [3rd c. BCE]: Κλ Φιλίππου τοῦ δαδουχήσαντος, and (c) δαδουχία, unrecorded in literary language prior to 2 Macc, but attested in inscriptions in the sense of L⁰ ¹¹³ “torch-bearing” (Priene 51.167 [c. 120 BCE]: εἰς τὴν ιδίαν [οικίαν τὴν νύμφην] εἰσήγητο σὺν δαδουχίας τοῦ γάμου [ἐποίησατο] or “the hereditary office of δαδούχος” (SEG 30: 93.51 [20/19 BCE]: κατασχεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ ἱεροσύνην μεταπαγέλαβε διασημότατα τὴν δαδουχίαν; ib., 65: ἐκ τῆς

¹¹⁰ For a discussion over the monthly celebration of the king’s birthday, see Abel 1949: 362, note 7. See also Schmidt’s article γενεθλίους ημέρα in Paulys Real-Encyclopädie, VII band, p. 1139.
περὶ τὴν οἵκιναι γεγονυίας ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεὰς αὐτῶι δαίδουχίας). In 2 Macc, a torch-bearing procession is part of the reception organized in Jerusalem by the Hellenizer high-priest Jason in honour of Antiochus IV. As Doran rightly points out, the word δαίδουχία, “usually reserved for the Eleusinian mysteries, appears to indicate further Hellenization on Jason’s part”.112 The word is marked as a neologism by LEH, although a question mark should be added.

21. δεινάαζω “to be in straits, to take offense, to be indignant”

4:35 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνων ἐδείίναζον καὶ ἐδυσφόρουν ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἁμαρτήματι φόνῳ;
13:25 ἐδυσφόρουν περὶ τῶν συνήθεων οἱ Πτολεμαῖοι, ἐδείίναζον γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὅν ἡθέλησαν ἀθεωσεῖν τὰς διαστάσεις.

This neologism is unattested outside of 2 Macc. Hesychius offers the gloss: ἐδείίναζον· δεινῶς ἐφέρον,113 and LSJ gives the inadequate definition “to be in straits”. The verb is probably coined on the model of σχετλιάζω, ἐσχετλίζειν “complain of hardship, utter indignant complaints” (cf. Plato, Gorgias, 519b: ἀγανακτούντων καὶ σχετλιάζόντων ὡς δεινὰ πάσχοντας; Aeschines, De falsa legatione, 57: δεινῶς ἐσχετλίζεις; Polybius, Historiae, 3.82.3: ἐσχετλίζει, δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τὸ γινόμενον; 5.26.6: ἐσχετλίζει καὶ δυσχερῶς ἐφέρε τὸ γινόμενον).114 The adjective from which it is derived, δεινός, in the sense of “terrible”, occurs 16 times in the LXX, and the adverb δεινῶς 4 times. The etymology of the verb, its context in 2 Macc (in its two instances it is conjoined with δυσφορέω, ἐσχετλίζειν “to be impatient, angry, vexed”) and the glosses of the ancient lexicographers permit us to interpret it as “to be indignant”, or better yet, “to complain indignantly”.115

22. δεξιάαζω “to greet with the right hand, to welcome”

4:34 δεξιασθεὶς μεθ’ ὀρκων δους δεξιάν

δεξιάζομαι is a dis legomenon.116 It is derived from δεξιά, “right hand”, the substantivized feminine of the adjective δεξιός. From the time of Homer and up to the Hellenistic period, the right hand-clasping was a sign of confidence and friendship, equivalent to a pledge117 (cf. Ilías, 2.341: σπονδαί τ’ ἄκρητοι καὶ δεξιαί, ἢς

112 Doran 1981: 52.
113 Lexicon, 430. Same definition by Photius (Lexicon, 121) and Suda (Lexicon, 216). Pseudo-Zonaras adds the notion of “revile, rebuke” (Lexicon, s.v. ἐδείίναζον· δεινῶς ἐφέρον, ἢ ἐκκακολογοῦν, and s.v. δεινάζειν· λοιδορεῖν).
114 Cf. also the LXX neologism στυγνάαζω· “to be horrified by/appalled at sb or sth” (Ezechiel, 28:19).
115 Cf. the compound δεινολογέεομαι, ἐσχετλίζειν “to complain loudly” (Herodotus, Historiae, 1.44.2, and Plutarchus, Sertorius, 6.6.2: ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν σῦν αὐτῷ καὶ δεινολογομένων). Cf. also Grimm 1857: 94: “Schreckliches erdulden, über Schreckliches klagen”.
116 Its only other occurrence is found in a 4th CE papyrus in the sense “to approve” (Chr.Mitt.300.5: τὸν γάμον ἐδεξιόστος).
117 See Chantraine, s.v. δεξιός, p. 263, and Goldstein 1984: 240.
In classical Athens, a δήμιος (δοῦλος) was a slave who under the command of the Board of Eleven carried out capital punishment. He was euphemistically called κοινὸς or δημόσιος, “the public man”. Eustathius informs us that the word had originally a positive meaning (λέξις χρηστή ἐπὶ ἀγαθῶ παρὰ τοῖς παιλαοῖς), viz., “public, belonging to the people”. However, from Homer onwards it took on a different meaning, that of the punisher (εἰς ἐτερον κοινωνιάν μετῆποσε, κολαστὴς γὰρ ὁ δήμιος παρὰ τοῖς μεθ’ Ὀμηρον). The executioner’s office was deemed “unseemly, shameful”, (παρωνομάζεσθαι δοκεῖ, ὡς οἶδον ζήµίως τις ἄνω), since he did not render useful services to the public (οὐ μὴν δήμιον ὕψελοντες). In its two instances in 2 Mac, the word is used figuratively: in 5:8 it refers to Jason, the ex-high priest who slaughtered many of his compatriots in his effort to acquire royal powers; in 7:29, where the mother of the seven brothers

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118 The compound ἔκδεξιάζομαι, “to salute”, occurs as a hapax in a late 2nd c. BCE letter (P.Tebt. 1.43.11[118 BCE]: ἔκδεξιάζομαι αὐτὸν).


120 Goldstein 1984: 240. Already noted by Grimm (1857: 93): “… die Neigung unseres Schriftstellers, Worte desselben Stamme in einem Satze zu verbinden”, and Abel (1949: 342): “L’ auteur aime à rapprocher deux mots de même racine”. Gil (1958: 24-25) also remarks that the epitomator created the “unnecessary” δεξιάζομαι so as not to miss a chance to employ the etymological figure.

121 Cf. Hesychius, Lexicon, 843: δήμιος· ὁ τοὺς καταγνώσθητας ἀναίων, ἢ ὑπηρέτης τῶν βασιλέων.

122 Photius, Bibliotheca, 535a.6: Ὑπὸ τὸ μὴ λέγειν δύσφημα πάσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς μὲν φροντίς ἢν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Διό καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον οίκημα έκάλουν, καὶ τὸν δήμιον κοινὸν.

123 Eustathius, Commentarii ad Homerii Iliadem, vol. 4, p. 48.


125 Eustathius, Commentarii ad Homerii Iliadem, vol. 4, p. 48.

who are tortured and executed urges her last son not to be afraid of “this executioner”, it is evident that reference is made to king Antiochus and not to the actual torturers and executioners.\(^{127}\) The equation of a tyrant with a public executioner was taken up by Philo (De providentia, 2.39.7: δημίους κοινούς ἐφίστησι τοὺς τυφάννους ταῖς πόλεσιν).

24. διαζάω “to live through”
5:27 θηρίων τρόπον ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν διέξει

The definition for διαζάω in LEH is “to live through”. Although the verb is attested in this sense (cf. Xenophon, Memorabilia, 3.12.4: τὸν τε λοιπὸν βίον ἢδιον καὶ κάλλιον διαζώσι; Plato, Leges, 739d: οὐτό διαζώστες εὐφραινόμενοι κατοικοῦσι), it is the meaning “live by doing so and so, to support life by…” that applies more fittingly to 2 Macc, 5:27 (cf. Herodotus, Historiae, 3.25.21: οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἕως ἅμεν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγόντες διέζωσι; Plato, Leges, 739d: οὕτω διαζῶντες εὐφραινόμενοι κατοικοῦσι). In this sense it is also attested in the papyri: UPZ 1.2.3 [163 BCE]: διαζῶστος δὲ καὶ ἀφ᾽ ἣν ἐπαίτω ἐν τοῖς ἱερῶι; BGU 6.1256.16 [c. 147 BCE]: ἀλλὰ διαζῶντος ἐξ ὀλίγων ἃ καὶ ἄμολι αὐταρκεῖται ἐµμοί τε καὶ τῇ γυναίκι καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις; P.Meyer. 1.16 [144 BCE]: μὴ ὑπεριδεῖν ἡµῖν ἀπ᾽ ὀλίγων [διαζῶστας κ]αὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις<]>ς εξησθενηκότας.

25. διαρρυθµίζω “to arrange in order”
7:22 καὶ τὴν ἑκάστου στοιχείωσιν οὐκ ἐγὼ διερρύθµισα

The simplex ὑθµίζω is first attested in Aeschylus in the sense LSJ II.2 “bring to order” (Prometheus vinctus, 241: ἀλλὰ νηλεῶς ὧδ᾽ ἐρρύθµισµαι). It is also attested in the sense “to educate, to train”, (cf. Plato, Phaedrus, 253b: τὰ παιδικὰ πείθοντες καὶ ὑθµίζοντες εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπιτηδεύμα καὶ ἱδέαν ἄγουσιν; Theophrastus, De causis plantarum, 3.7.9: οἱ οὕτω ὑθµίζοντες [viz., τὸ δένδρον ὡστε πρὸς μεσηµβριαν βλέπειν], but the general meaning is “LSJ II to order, to arrange, to compose”. In the LXX, ὑθµίζω appears only once in the sense “LEH to arrange, to fit, to put in order” (Isaías, 44:13: τέκτων ξύλων ἐστησεν αὐτὸ ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ἐν κόλλῃ ἐρφύθµισεν αὐτῷ).

The compound διαρρυθµίζοντες appears only once in the sense “LEH to arrange, to adjust” (IG I 3475.70 [409/8 BCE]: καθ᾽ ἐμέραν κανόνα διαρρυθµίζοντες [θµίσαντι]). Its first occurrence in literature is found three centuries later, in 2 Macc. It is possible that the author of 2 Macc coined this compound independently of its previous occurrence(s). In any case, it should not be labelled as “neol.” in LEH, since it is attested prior to Polybius.

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\(^{127}\) In his reply to his mother, the son uses the 2nd sing., when he refers to the king and the 2nd plural, when he refers to his executioners.

\(^{128}\) The best manuscripts omit the reduplication of the ρ. See Abel 1949: 376.
In 7:22, διαρρυθµίίζω is used in conjunction with another rare term, στοιχείωσις (see comment s.v.); it refers to the arrangement or the “proportioning” of the elements which compose the human body (the prefix δια- expresses “completeness or perfection, or the completion of an act”). It is in Aristotle that we find the verb ῥυθµίίζω used of the formation of composite things (cf. Physica, 245b9: τὸ μὲν γὰρ σχηµατιζόµενον καὶ ὑθµιζόµενον ὅταν ἐπιτελεσθῇ, οὐ λέγοµεν ἕκειν εξ οὐ ἔστιν, οἷον τὸν ἀνδριάντα χαλκὸν ἢ τῆν πυραµίδα κηρὸν ἢ τὴν κλίνην ξύλον, ἀλλὰ παρωνυµίαν τὸ μὲν χαλκὸν, τὸ δὲ κήρινον, τὸ δὲ ξύλινον; De caelo, 306b15 ff.: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀειδὲς καὶ ἄµμορφον δεῖ τὸ ὑποκείµενον εἶναι (µμάαλιστα γὰρ ἂν οὕτω δύναιτο ῥυθµίζεσθαι, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Τιµμαίοι γέγραθαι, οὕτω καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα δεῖ νοµίζειν ὡσπερ ὕλην εἶναι τοῖς συνθέτοις).

26. διεµπίπληµµι “to fill up, to fill completely”
4:40 ταῖς ὀργαῖς διεµπιπλαµέεµνων

The simplex πίπληµµι occurs 117 times in the LXX and the compound ἐµµπίπληµµι/ἐµµπιπλάαω 146 times. The double compound διεµµπίπληµµι is a hapax legomenon totius graecitatis. Hesychius glosses it as synonym of ἐµµφορέεοµµαι, “to be filled, full of”.

27. δικαιολογία “plea in justification, speech in defence of sb”

4:44 καταντήήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέεως εἰς Τύρον ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν δικαιολογίαν ἐποίηήσαντο οἱ πεµµφθέέντες τρεῖς ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας

This juridical term is attested in Demades (Fragmenta, 87.7), in Polybius (17x), in [Ps.-] Aristoteles’ Rhetorica ad Alexandrum (5x), as well as in the inscriptions and the papyri (cf. Anaximenes, Ars rhetorica vulgo Rhetorica ad Alexandrum, 36.28: τά ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιδίκων μέλλοντα λέγεσθαι καὶ πρὸς πίστιν καὶ δικαιολογίαν καὶ συγγνώµην ἐκ τῶν προειρηµµέενων προκαταληψόοµµεθα; Polybius, Historiae, 30.4.12: συνεστήήσατο γὰρ τὴν δικαιολογίαν οὐ µόνον ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος δικαίων, ἐτὶ δὲ μάλλον ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορίας; Keramos 5.19 [167/133 BCE]: ἀποσταλεὶς πρεσβεύτης ἐποίησατο τὴν δικαιολογίαν μετὰ [τῶν συνπρεσ][βευτῶν]; FD III 1.362.14 [2nd c. BCE]: οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ παραχάµµα κληροσάόµσαν τὰς πόλεις ἐκατέρας ποτέρα προτέρα τὴν ἐφήγησις καὶ τὴν δικαιο[λογίαν ποιήσατε; SB 22.15213.22 [179/8 BCE]: ἄξιον οὖν σε καταχωρίσαι μου τὸ ὑπόµνημα παρὰ σοι ὅπως ὑπάρχη μοι μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐὰν με συκοφαν[τῷσιν, πρὸς δικαιολογίαν].

130 Lexicon, 1588: διεµπίπληµµον· ἐνεπεφόρην.
The meaning of the word δίσκος in this verse is ambiguous. The discus was originally a round stone slab and later a metal plate that was thrown for distance in athletic training or competitions. The discus throw was one of the exercises in the Greek gymasia and was included in the pentathlon. The phrase ἡ τοῦ δίσκου πρόοσκλησις might thus be held to mean “summons to the discus throw”, or, more generally, “summons to start the athletic exercises”, the discus throw being the first activity of the pentathlon. And indeed, in the entry under δίσκος, LSJ, up to its 8th edition, gave the definition: “summons in quoit-throwing”.

G. B. Caird, commenting on this phrase, states that:

First of all, it is obvious that Caird has misunderstood Abel, who does not mention any “formal throwing of the discus” (not to say anything about the totally anachronistic “kick-off” by dignitaries or football stars). The text does not refer to “athletic meetings” necessitating a “ceremonial opening” but to the ordinary athletic training taking place at the gymnasium of Jerusalem as at any given Hellenistic gymnasium. As regards the discus denoting a gong, it is true that in later authors the word is attested with this meaning. Plutarchus refers to the sound of gongs used in divination (Pericles, 6.5.4: ψόφους τε δίσκων καὶ φώτα πυρσῶν καὶ γνωμόνων ἀποσκιασμοὺς) and Sextus Empiricus mentions a gong used by the Chaldean astrologers to signal the birth of a child so as to obtain accurately its horoscope (Adversus mathematicos, 5.68: ὁ παρεδρεύων τῇ ὀδυνούσῃ τὴν ἀπότελεις δίσκῳ σημαίνει τῷ ἐπί τῆς ἀκρωφείας ἀστεροσκοποῦντι Χαλδαίῳ). Even more relevant is the testimony of Cicero, who studied in Athens in 79 BCE. In De Oratore, II, 5.21, Crassus states that those who attend the lectures of the philosophers at the gymnasium “would rather listen to the discus (discum audire) than to the Master, and the moment its clink is heard, then all desert the lecturer in the middle of an oration upon the most sublime and weighty topics, in order to anoint themselves for athletic

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131 See Der Neue Pauly, s.v. Diskuswurf.
132 Caird 1969: 30. As early as 1932, A. Wilhelm had set the matter straight with regard to the meaning of δίσκος in 4:14 by referring to Plutarchus and Cicero, as well as to archaeological evidence for the use of discus-gongs and other Schlaginstrumente in Antiquity (see Wilhelm 1932: 46-47).

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exercises". Based on this sole testimony we may assume that the δίσκος referred to in 2 Macc had a similar function; however, we must take into consideration Abel’s remark that we do not know how widespread was the usage of this instrument in the Greek world.

29. δισμύριοι “twenty thousand”

5:24 δισμύριοις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δισμύριοις; 8:9 οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δισμύριοις; 8:30 ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισμύριοις αὐτῶν ἁνείλον; 10:17 ἁνείλον δὲ οὐχ ἤττον τῶν δισμύριοις; 10:23 πλεῖον τῶν δισμύριοις;

10:31 κατεσφάγησαν δὲ δισμύριοι πρὸς τοὺς πεντακασίους.

According to Smyth, μύριοι, “ten thousand”, is the greatest number in Greek expressed by a single word. Of course, even greater numbers can be expressed by compound numerals such as: δισμύριοι, τρισμύριοι, τετρακισμύριοι, and up to δεκακισμύριοι. δισμύριος is attested in Herodotus, Xenophon, Plato, Demosthenes and Polybius, as well as in the inscriptions (cf. SEG 28.60.53 [270/69 BCE]: πυρὸν δὲ δισμύριος μεδίμνους) and the papyri (cf. SB 20.14375.9 [12 BCE]: ξύλων παπυρικῶν ἀγκάλας μὲν δισμύριας). In the LXX, aside from μύριοι and δισμύριοι, we come across ταλάάντων τραχυμυρίων (Esther, 1:7), τετρακισμύριοι εὔζωνοι (Josue, Cod. Vat. & Cod. Alex., 4:13), ἕπταάκις δὲ μυρίας δραχμῶν (2 Macc, 10:20). Very frequent is also the use of μυριάς, “number of 10,000, myriad” (cf. 2 Macc, 12:28: εἰς μυριάς δύο πεντακασίους).

30. δυσημερία “misfortune”

5:6 οὐ συννοῦν τὴν εἰς τοὺς συνγενεῖς εὐημερίαν δυσημερίαν εἶναι τὴν μεγίστην

The author of 2 Macc favours compounds prefixed with δυσ-, and δυσημερία is one of the 15 such compounds occurring in the book. There are only 4 instances of this word in the literature prior to 2 Macc: we encounter the Doric form δυσαμμερία in a fragment of Aeschylus (Fragmenta (Radt), 236: Σφίγγα δυσαμμερίων πρύτανιν κύνα) quoted by Aristophanes (Ranae, 1287), and in a fragment of Sophocles (Fragmenta (Radt), 591: βόσκει δὲ τοὺς μὲν μοίρα δυσημερίας, τοὺς δ’ ὀλβος ἕμων). The Attic form δυσημερία occurs in a fragment of the 4th c. BCE rhetor Demades (Fragmenta, 60: ὁ αὐτὸς δυσημερίων ἐπὶ τίνος δημηγορίας ἐφη ύσπερ ἀγωνιστοῦ γίνεσθαι

137 Cf. the NT hapax legomenon δυσημερίας (Apocalypse Ioannis, 9:16: καὶ ὁ ἄρθρος τῶν στρατευμάτων τοῦ ἱπποῦ δυσημερίας μυριάνων).
The equally rare verb δυσηµμερέω, “to have an unlucky day, to be unlucky”, occurs in the fragments of Pherocrates (Fragmenta (Kock), 98: δυσηµμερεῖν) and Demades (op. cit.), and in Dionysius Halicarnassensis (Antiquitates Romanæ, 1.57.2: δυσηµμερούντι κατὰ τὰς μάχας). Although δυσηµμερία and εὐηµµερία are not exactly opposite in this verse (the first term is employed in the general sense of “misfortune”, “συµµφορὰ”, while the second term in the sense of “military success”), δυσηµµερία has been chosen for the rhetorical effect of antithesis and paronomasia it produces.

31. δυσπέέτηµµα “misfortune”
5:20 ὁ τόπος συµµµετασχὼν τῶν τοῦ ἐθνοῦς δυσπετηµµάτων

The neologism δυσπέέτηµµα presumes an unquotable in classical and Hellenistic literature verb δυσπετέέω (> πίπτω). It is possible that the author coined the substantive on the basis of a rare occurrence of this verb, which has not come down to us. An analogous formation is that of the double compound ἀποδυσπετηµµάτα (only in Scholia in Lucianum, 25.3: τῶν ἀποδυσπετηµµάτων), which derives from ἀποδυσπετέέω, “desist through impatience”, found in Aristoteles (Topica, 163b19: ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἀποδυσπετοῦσιν οἱ ἀποκρινόόµμενοι πολλάκις), in Polybius (Historiae, 33.17.2: δυσθετούµµενοι τοῖς συµβαίίνουσιν ἀποδυσπετεῖν ἀναγκάάζονται), and in later authors. This word group also includes the adjective δυσπετήής “falling out ill, most difficult”, which occurs in Sophocles (Ajax, 1046: µμαθεῖν γὰρ ἐγγὺς οὐ δυσπετήής) and in Hippocrates (De morbis, i-iii: 1.17: δυσπετεῖς γνώναι), and the adverb δυσπετῶς, attested in Aeschylus (Prometheus vincus, 752: ἣ δυσπετῶς ἀν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἁθλοὺς φέρους), in Herodotus (Historiae, 3.107: ταύτα πάντα πλὴν τῆς συµύρνης δυσπετεῖς κτῶνται οἱ Ἀράβιοι), and in Hippocrates (Prognosticon, 15: δυσπετέως φέρειν τὴν νοῦσον). δυσπέέτηµµα is a dis legomenon; its sole other occurrence is found in Macarius [4th-5th c. CE], Apocríticus seu Monovgeînîs, Book 3, p. 113.17: τὴν σύγχυσιν τοῦ πολλοῦ δυσπετηµµάτος. It is wrongly marked as “neol.?” by LEH.

32. δυσσεβέέω “to be ungodly or impious, to act wickedly”
6:13 µὴ πολῖν χρόον ἐᾶσθαι τοὺς δυσσεβοῦντας, ἀλλ’ εὐθέεως περιπίπτειν ἐπιτίμως

The word group which includes δυσσεβέω, δυσσεβής, δυσσέεβεια and δυσσέέβηµµα, all attested in 2 Macc, is mainly found in tragic poetry. δυσσεβέω is attested only in

139 Cf. the antithesis in 14:14: τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀτυχίας καὶ συµµφορὰς ἰδίας εὐηµµερίας δοκούντες ἔσεσθαι.
140 Cf. Hesychius Lexicon, 2649: δυσπετηµµάτων· ἀποτυχηµµάτων
142 Chantraine, s.v. πίπτω.
the present participle and infinitive in Aeschylus (Eumenides, 910: τῶν δυσσεβοῦντων δ’ ἐκφορωτέρα πέλοις), Sophocles (Trachiniae, 1245; Fragmenta, 85), Euripides (Medea, 755: ἀ τοῖς δυσσεβοῦσι γίγνεται βοστών), and Hippocrates (De morbo sacro, 1.73). The synonymous verb ἀσεβέω is also recorded in 2 Macc (1:17; 4:17; 4:38).

33. δυσφορέω “to be angry, to be grieved”

4:35 ἐδείναζον καὶ ἐδυσφόρουν ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀδίκῳ φόνων;
13:25 ἐδυσφόρουν περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν οἱ Πτολεμαεῖς.

This verb is sparingly attested from Aeschylus onwards (Aeschylus, Supplices, 1234: τοῖς παρεστῶσιν κακοῖς μηδέν τι λίαν δυσφορεῖν παρήίνει; Euripides, Andromacha, 1234: ἐν ἐδυσφορὴ παρήίνει; Aristoteles, De virtutibus et vitiiis, 1251b21: ὀδύρεσθαι δ’ ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ δυσφορεῖν; Teles, Περὶ ἀπαθείας, 57: μὴ δυσφοροῦντα μηδὲ δυσκολαίνοντα). For variation’s sake, in 14:28 the author uses the circumlocution δυσφόρως ἐφερέν.

34. δυσχερής “grievous, annoying”

6:3 χαλεπὴ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις ἐν δυσχερῆς ἡ ἐπίτασις τῆς κκίας; 9:7 δυσχερὴ πτώματι; 9:24 ἡ καὶ προσαγγελθῇ τι δυσχερής; 14:45 δυσχερῶν τῶν τραυµάτων ὄντων.


35. εἰστρέχω “to run in”

5:26 εἰς τὴν πόλιν σὺν τοῖς ὀπλαις εἰσδραµῶν

This compound occurs in historians such as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, but also in comic poets such as Aristophanes and Menander (cf. Aristophanes, Equites, 281: εἰσδραµῶν εἰς τὸ προτανείον; Polybius, Historiae, 1.44.6: εἰσδραµῶν καὶ καθορµμισθεὶς εἰς τὸν λιµένα).

36. ἐκθυμὸς “ardent, angry”

7:3 ἐκθυμὸς δὲ γενόµενος ὁ βασιλεύς; 7:39 ἐκθυμὸς δὲ γενόµενος ὁ βασιλεύς; 14:27 ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς ἐκθυμὸς γενόµενος

The author of 2 Macc employs a wide range of figurative periphrases to convey the notion of anger and rage: πυρωθεὶς τοῖς θυμοῖς (4:38); ταῖς ὀργαῖς
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diemplaméneus (4:40); ἐπαρθεὶς δὲ τῷ θυμῷ (9:4); πῦρ πνέων τοῖς θυμοῖς (9:7); πυρωθέντες τοῖς θυμοῖς (10:35); θηριώδει θυμῷ (10:35); πεπυρωμένος τοῖς θυμοῖς (14:45). To these he adds the adjective ἐκθύμως, probably a neologism, thrice reiterated in the formulaic phrase ἐκθύμως γενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς. This adjective appears in later authors in a different, positive sense: “ardent” (Flavius Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae, 19.25: ἐκέλευον δὴ καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐκθύμῳ τῇ ἱκετείᾳ), and “eager” (Plutarchus, Aemilius Paullus, 12.2: ἐκθύμωσις ὑπηρεσίαις). The etymologically cognate adverb ἐκθύμως, ὁδιστρατωτώς, υπηρεσίαις (Hesychius, Lexicon, 1406: ἐκθύμως: προθύμως, κατὰ ψυχήν.

37. ἐκλάµψις “shining forth, brightness”

The simplex nomen actionis λάµψις, “shining”, appears late. It occurs in the LXX (Baruch 4:2: διόδευσον πρὸς τὴν λάµψιν κατέναντι τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς), and later in Philo (De decalogi, 44: ἄστρατων λάµψεσιν; Legum allegioriarum libri i-iii, 2.30: αἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων λάµψεις). Compounded with various prefixes, it is attested earlier, especially in medical vocabulary: διάλαµψις, “shining through” (Aristoteles, Meteorologica, 370a), ἐκλάµψις, “sudden development at puberty” (Hippocrates, De morbis popularibus, 6.1.4), παράλαµψις, “shining spot on the cornea” (Hippocrates, Prorrheticon, 2.20), πρόλαµψις, “shining on” (Epicurus, Epistula ad Pythoclem, 109), ὑπόλαµψις, “shiny appearance” (Hippocrates, De morbis popularibus, 6.1.4). The verb ἐκλάµπω, “to shine or beam forth”, from which ἐκλάµψις derives, is used from Aeschylus onwards of the sun and of flashes of lightning (Aeschylus, Prometheus vinctus, 1083: ἐλικες δ’ ἐκλάμπουσι στεροτής ξάτυροι, Aristophanes, Aves, 1712: ἡλίου τηλαυγὲς ἀκτίνων σελάς τοιοῦτον ἐξέλαµψεν), of fire (Herodotus, Historiae, 6.82.10: ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθῶν φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαι), of gleaming weapons (Xenophon, Cyropædia, 7.1.3: τὰ δὲ Κύρου ὀπλα ὡς πέπερ κάτοπτρον ἐξέλαµπτεν), etc. Similarly, in the LXX: Ezekiel, 43:2: καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐξέλαµπτεν ὡς φέγγος ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης; Ecclesiastics sive Siracides, 26:17: λύχνος ἐκλάμπων; ib., 50.7: ὡς ἡλιος ἐκλάμπων).

38. ἐκπλήηρωσις “filling up the measure”
6:14 οὐ γὰρ καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔθων ἀναμένει ἡσυχία, ὡς ἀποστάσεις μέχρι τοῦ καταντήσαντος αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐκπλήηρωσιν ἀμαρτίων κολάσαι

The meaning of the verse is that God waits until the measure of the sins of the Gentiles is filled completely before he punishes them. ἐκπλήηρωσις appears for the first time in the 3rd c. BCE, in the Pythagorean writings of Aresas (Fragmentum, p. 49.17: τῶν ποτάς τῶν ὑλῶν συστάματος ἐκπλήηρωσιν καὶ σύνταξιν καὶ συναρμογάν τευχόντων) and Hippodamus (Fragmenta, p. 98.14: τῶν ἐκπλαρώσει καὶ σύνταξιν καὶ συναρμογάν τευχόντων)

In the 1st c. BCE, it occurs in Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in the sense of “satisfaction” (Antiquitates Romanae, 6.86.3: εἰς τὴν ἐκπλήηρωσιν τῶν σεαυτῆς ἐπιθυμιῶν), and in Apollonius, in the sense of “filling up” (In Hippocratis de articulis commentarius, 5: πρὸς ἐκπλήηρωσιν τοῦ ἐν τῇ μασχάλῃ κοίλῳ). In the papyri, it occurs in the sense of “paying off” (cf. P.Koeln. 8.346.54 [3rd c. BCE]: εἰς ἐκπλήηρωσιν (δραχµῶν) ἤξον; BGU 8.1825.23 [c. 60 BCE]: πρὸς τὴν ἐκπλήηρωσιν [τῆς τοῦ [εἴδους] κεφα[λ]αίων).

39. ἐκπυρόόω “to heat, to warm exceedingly”
7:3 ὁ βασιλεὺς προσέταξεν τήγανα καὶ λέβητας ἐκπυροῦν; 7:4 τῶν δὲ παραχρῆµα ἐκπυρωθέντων

In 2 Macc we encounter the simplex πυρόόω in the sense: (a) “ΛΕΗ, to strike fire out of flints” (10:3: καὶ πυρώσαντες λίθους καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τούτων λαβόντες), and (b) figuratively, “ΛΕΗ, to be inflamed, aflame” (4:38: πυρωθεὶς τοῖς θυµοῖς; 10:35: πυρωθέέντες τοῖς θυµοῖς). There also occur two compounds, the LXX hapax legomena προσπυρόόω, “ΛΕΗ, to inflame, to incense still more” (14:11: οἱ λοιποὶ φίλοι δυσµενῶς ἔχοντες τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν προσεπύρωσαν τὸν Δηµήτριον), and ἐκπυρόόω. προσπυρόόω is a neologism, whereas ἐκπυρόόω is attested from Heraclitus onwards. In its occurrences in literature, ἐκπυρόόω is used in the sense “to set fire, to burn” (cf. Euripides, Troiades, 301: αὐτῶν τ’ ἐκπυροῦσι σῶματα θανεῖν θέλουσα; id., Iphigenia Aulidensis, 1070: ὃς ἦξει [...] Πριάµῳ κλειναν γαῖαν ἐκπυρώσων), “to ignite, to inflame” (Aristoteles, De caelo, 289a21: πέφυκε γὰρ ἡ κίνησις ἐκπυροῦν καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους καὶ σιδήρου). In 2 Macc, 7:3-4, it is used of pans and cauldrons heated so as to serve as instruments of torture. The closest parallel text we may quote is Polybius’ Historiae, 12.25.1-3, where we hear of an execution machine, prefiguring, as it were, Antiochus’ τήγανα and λέβητες: a brazen bull made by Phalaris, the tyrant of Akragas, in which he used to shut up people and then light fire beneath, so as to have them burned (ὡσ’ ἐκπυρουμένου τοῦ χαλκοῦ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων πανταχόθεν παροπτώμενον καὶ περιφλεγόμενον διαφθείρεσθαι).

See Abel 1949: 365.
40. ἐλευστέον “one must come”
6:17 δι’ ὀλίγων δ’ ἐλευστέον ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν

ἐλευστέον derives from ἐλεύσομαι, the epic, ionic and poetic future of εἰμι. It is one of the rare examples of a verbal adjective formed from the stem of the future (cf. μενετός=fut. μενω) instead of the aorist passive. εἰμι ordinarily forms a verbal adjective from the stem of the present: ιέτεον, attested in Thucydidês (Historiae, 8.2.1: ἀλλ’ ἐθελοντὶ ιέτεον ἐπὶ τοὺς Αθηναίους), Xenophon, and favoured by Plato (17x), is very rare in Hellenistic literature. Mayser notes that verbal adjectives in –τέεος were never part of the living vernacular language. They were proper to the literary Kunstsprache and to official documents. Consequently, they are not very frequent in the Ptolemaic papyri.

In Polybius, they are rather abundantly attested (we counted 73). In the LXX, they are found only in the literary books: 4 of them occur in Epistula Jeremiae (νομιστέεον, κλητέεον, γνωστέεον, ἔκδεκτέεον), 1 in Proverbia (ἡγητέεον), and 5 in 2 Macc (φροντιστέεον, ἔξεταστέεον, and συγχωρητέεον in the epitomator’s prologue, 2:19-32, ἐλευστέεον in 6:17, and ἀναληµµπτέεον in 3:13). ἐλευστέεον reappears in Didymus Caecus [4th c. CE], and in Basilica [9th-13th c. CE].

41. Ἑλληνισµός “imitation of the Greeks, Hellenism”
4:13 ἐν δ’ οὔτως ἀκμή τις Ἑλληνισµοῦ

Ἑλληνισµός derives from Ἑλληνιζω. Verbs consisting of a noun stem designating a region or an άθνος and the suffix -ιζω may have a political meaning (e.g., μηδείζω, LSJ “to side with the Medes”), a cultural meaning (e.g., συβαριζω, LSJ “to live like a Sybarite or voluptuary”) or a linguistic meaning (e.g., βαρβαρίζω, LSJ “to speak like a barbarian”, “to speak broken Greek”). They may also have both a cultural or linguistic and a political meaning (e.g., λακωνίζω, LSJ “to imitate Lacedaemonian manners”, “to speak laconically”, or LSJ II “to act in the Lacedaemonian interest”), or both a cultural and a linguistic meaning (e.g., σκυθίζω, LSJ I “to behave like a Scythian”, i.e., I “to drink immoderately” and 2 “to shave the head”, or 3 “to talk Scythian”. Ἑλληνιζω has a purely linguistic meaning: LSJ “to speak Greek”, or “to speak or write pure or correct Greek”. It is first used by Thucydides of the Amphilochnians who became Hellenes and adopted the Hellenic language owing to their union with the Ambraciots (Historiae, 2.68.5: ἡλληνισθησαν τὴν τῶν γλώσσαν). Xenophon tells us of a cup-bearer who knew Greek (Anabasis, 7.3.25: ἑλληνιζειν γὰρ ἡπίστατο), Aeschines mentions a Greek-speaking half-Scythian (In Ctesiphontem, 172.11: ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκύθης βαρβαρος ἑλληνιζων τῇ φωνῇ), and in Plato’s Menon Socrates asks whether the servant whom he is going to use for his demonstration is a Greek and speaks Greek (82b: Ἑλλην μὲν ἐστι καὶ ἑλληνιζει).
Aristoteles uses the verb in the more technical sense “to use a pure Greek style” (Rhetorica, 1407a20: ἐστι δ’ ἀρχή τῆς λέξεως τό ἑλληνιζειν), and Posidippus distinguishes ἑλληνιζειν, “to speak Hellenistic Greek”, from ἀττικίζειν, “to speak Attic Greek” (Fragmenta (Kock), 28.3: σὺ μὲν ἀττικίζεις, ἢνικ’ ἂν φωνήν λέγῃς αὐτοῦ τινές, οἱ δ’ Ἐλληνες ἑλληνιζομεν). In its only instance in the papyri it is used by a non-Greek who complains that his boss does not pay him regularly and treats him with scorn because he is a barbarian and does not speak Greek (P.Col. 4.66.19 [256/5 BCE]: κατεγνώκασιν μου ὃτι εἰμι βάρβαρος; ib., 21: οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ἑλληνιζειν). The derivative noun Ἐλληνισμός probably appears around the 2nd c. BCE. For the Stoic philosopher Diogenes Babyloniou, ἑλληνισμός, the use of a grammatically faultless and free from vulgarity Greek, is one of the five excellences of speech (Testimonia et fragmenta, 24: ἀφεται δὲ λόγου εἰσὶ πέντε. ἑλληνισμός, σαφήνεια, συντομία, πρέπον, κατακεκυμένη. ἑλληνισμός μὲν οὖν ἐστι φράσις ἀδιάδικτωσ εν τῇ τεχνικῇ καὶ μὴ εἰκαίων συνηθείᾳ). In 2 Macc, however, the term is not used in a linguistic but in a cultural sense (“hellenization”). It denotes the adoption of Greek ways (athletic training at a gymnasium, ephebic institution, etc.) by the Jews of Jerusalem under Antiochus IV Epiphanes at the suggestion of the high priest Jason. In the eyes of a Jew, Ἐλληνισμός was dangerous because it introduced customs contrary to the Law (4:11: παρανόμους ἔθισμοὺς ἐκαίνιζεν). Consequently, the term bears a negative valence. The author of 2 Macc goes so far as to boldly reverse the established cultural and linguistic stereotypes, according to which the non-Greek speaking were barbarians and the Greek ways superior to all others: for him barbarians are the Greek-speaking Gentiles (2:21: τὰ βάρβαρα πλήθη διώκειν; 10:4: μὴ βλασφήμους καὶ βαρβάρους ἔθνεσι παραδίδοσθαι) and Ἐλληνισμός a discreditable trend which leads to the desertion of Ἰουδαίσμος.

42. ἔμπνους “with breath in one, alive”
7:5 ἐκέλευσεν τῇ πυρᾷ προσάγειν ἐμπνοόν καὶ τηγανίζειν; 14:45 ἐτὶ δὲ ἐμπνοόν υπάρξων

The compound adjective ἔμπνοος, derived from πνοή, “blowing of the wind, of fire, breathing, etc.”, is attested from the 5th c. BCE, usually referring to someone breathing his last (cf. Herodotus, Historiae, 7.181.6: ὃς δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ’ ἦν ἔμπνοος; Thucydides, Historiae, 1.134.3: ἐξάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν τῇ πόλιν ἐπανέστησαν; Euripides, Phoenissae, 1442: ὃ δ’ ἦν ἐν ἔμπνοος; id., Fragmenta (Nauck), 936: ἀλλ’ ἐν ἔμπνοον Ἀδησθήσατι ὡς ἐδέξατο; Antiphon, Tetralogia, 1.9.4: ἔμπνοος γὰρ ἐτί ἀρθείς; Plato, Leges, 944a: κομισθεῖς ἐτί σκηνήν ἄνευ τῶν ὀπλῶν Πάτροκλος ἔμπνοον ἐγένεθ’; Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica, 21.16.5: καὶ κατέκαυσεν ὄντα μὲν ἐμπνοόν ἐτί. In 2 Macc, we

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149 Cf. the periphrastic expressions: 4:10 πρὸς τὸν Ἐλληνικὸν χαρακτῆρα τοὺς ὀμοφύλους μετέστησε; 6:9 μεταβαίνειν ἐτί τα Ἐλληνικά; 11:24 τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπί τα Ἐλληνικά μεταβέθει.


151 See LSJ, s.v. πνοή.
may quote the circumlocations τῷ παντελῶς ἐν ἐσχάτῃ πνοῇ κειμένῳ (3:31) and ἐν ἐσχάτῃ δὲ πνοῇ γενόμενος (7:9) as parallels to ἔτι ἐμπνους ὑπάρχον (14:45).

43. ἐνδείκτης “informer, complainant”

4:1 ὁ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐνδείκτης γεγονός

ἐνδείκτης is derived from ἐνδείκνυμι, ἐνδείκτης “to inform against” (cf. Andocides, De redito suo, 14.3: ἄνδρες βουλευταί, ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τούτον ἐνδείκνυμι ύμιν σιτόν τε εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσαγαγόντα; Plato, Leges, 856c: πᾶς δὲ ἁνήρ [...] ἐνδείκνυτω ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰς κρίσιν ἄγον τὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντα βιαίου πολιτείας μεταστάσεως; Demosthenes, Philippica 3, 60.3: ἐνδείεξεν ὡς προδότην τὸν Φιλιστίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ). The nomen actionis ἐνδείκτης, ἐνδείκτης “laying of information against one who discharged public functions for which he was legally disqualified”, is attested in classical literature (Andocides, De mysteriis, 10: ποίησομαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς αἰτίας ὅθεν περ ἡ ἐνδείεξεις ἐγένετο), but the nomen agentis ἐνδείκτης is unrecorded. The agent is usually denoted by the participle of ἐνδείκνυμι (cf. Demosthenes, In Aristocratem, 51: φόνου δὲ δίκας μὴ εἶναι μηδαμὸν κατὰ τῶν τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐνδείκνυτον; IG II 1128.28 [4th c. BCE]: τώι δὲ φην[αντὶ ἡ ἐνδείεξαντὶ εἶναι τά ἡμέραται). The first instance of ἐνδείκτης in literary language occurs in 2 Macc; however, it is not a neologism of our book, since it is attested in a private letter from the 2nd c. BCE (UPZ 1.69.4 [152 BCE]: πεφρόντικα ύπερ σοῦ χρήσιμα τῶν σῶν πραγμάτων, ἀ σ’ οὐ δεύνημαι διασαφήσας διὰ τοῦ ἐπιστολίου διὰ τὸν ἐφελκόμενον σοι ἐνδείκτην; ib., 7: εὐλαβοῦμαι τὸν ἐνδείκτην). For the collocation of ἐνδείκτης with πατρίς, cf. 2 Macc, 5:8: πατρίδος καὶ πολιτῶν δήμος; ib., 5:15: τὸν καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος προδότην γεγονότα.

44. ἐνενήκοντατῆς “ninety years old”

6:24 Ελεαζαρον τὸν ἐνενήκοντατην

ἐνενήκοντατῆς first appears in 2 Macc. In later literature, it is attested along with the paroxytone ἐνενήκοντατῆς (cf. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Antiquitates Romanae, 6.21.3) and ἐνενήκοντατῆς (cf. Lucianus, Dialogi mortuorum, 22.7.14). Compounds with ἐτος as their second element are very common in the LXX: cf. εἰκοσατέους (Exodus, 30:14), τριακονταετοὺς (Paralipomenon i, 23:3), πεντηκονταετοὺς (Numeri, 4:23), ἕκακονταετοὺς (Leviticus, 27:3), ἐκατονταετεῖ (Genesis, 17:7).

152 Cf. Aelius Herodianus, De prosodia catholica, 3, 1, 81: τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἐτος παρ’ ἡμῖν μὲν ὀδύνονται, διετής, τριετής, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Αθηναίων βαρύνονται οἱ γὰρ Αθηναίοι διετής, τριέτης, ἐξαέτης λέγουσι βαρυτόνως ὁμοίως τῷ ἐννέησι, οἰκέτης καὶ ἱκέτης, εἰ καὶ ταύτα εἰς οὐ διέθηγον ἔχουσι τὴν γενικὴν τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἐτος εἰς οὐς αὐτὴν ἐχόντας. See also Chantraine, s.v. ἐτος.
45. ἑντεύξεις “petition (to the king)”
4:8 ἐπαγγειλάμενος τῷ βασίλεῳ δὲ ἑντεύξεως ἀργυρίων τάλαντα ἐξήκοντα

In literary texts, ἑντεύξεις has the meaning LSJ 11 “meeting with” (Plato, Politicus, 298d: πρὸς τᾶς τοὺς λησταίς ἑντεύξεις) or LSJ 12 “converse, intercourse” (cf. Isocrates, Ad Demonicum, 20.7: τὰς ἑντεύξεις μὴ πουκάμιστα τοῖς αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ μακρὰς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν). It occurs 54 times in Polybius in the sense of “interview” (cf. Historiae, 18.50.4: αἱ µὲν ὀυν κατ’ ιδίαν ἑντεύξεις τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων), “audience” or “conference” (ib., 21.14.1: κληθεὶς πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον εἰς ἑντεύξειν; ib., 3.15.4: καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβειαν καὶ δοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς ἑντεύξειν διήκουε περὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων; ib., 5.67.11: κατὰ τὰς διαπρεσβείας καὶ τὰς ἑντεύξεις). In the Hellenistic inscriptions and the papyri, ἑντεύξεις is used “as a kind of ‘vox sollemnis’ for a petition of any kind”. More specifically, it denotes a written petition addressed to the king requesting his intervention to remedy an injustice (cf. OGIS 138.14 [124-116 BCE]: [τῆς δ[εδο]μένης ἡμῖν ἑντεύξεις παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων τῆς ἐν τῷ Αβάτῳ καὶ ἐν [Φιλαίας Ἰούδας ὕποτετάχαμεν σοί τῷ ἀντίγραφον]; Fayoum 2:117.3 [57 BCE]: τῆς δεδομένης τῇ θείᾳ βασιλισσῆι ἑντεύξεως παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων; P.Enteux. 41.7 [221 BCE]: περὶ ὧν ἐπικαλώ αὐτῶι διὰ τῆς ἑντεύξεως ἵνα, διὰ σέ, βασιλέως, τοῦ δικαίου τύχος; UPZ, 1.51.17 [161 BCE]: τὸν τε βασιλέα πλευνάκις δι’ ἑντεύξεως παρήνωρλήκαμεν; P.Tor.Choach. 8.48 [126 BCE]: περὶ µὲν γάρ τῆς ὑβέρος καὶ πληγῶν καὶ ὧν συντελεσθέντο εἰ[ι]όν εἰς µετὰ ταύτα λήψομαι παρ’ αὐτῶν δι’ ἄλλης ἑντεύξεως τὸ δίκαιον). In 2 Macc 4:8, the papyrical formula δι’ ἑντεύξεως leads us to assume that Jason sent a written petition to the king and did not submit his request at a private meeting as many translators and commentators have supposed.

46. ἕξομοιόω “P: to become like, to be like”
4:16 καὶ ὃν ἐξῆλθον τὰς ἀγωγὰς καὶ καθ’ ἀπάν ἦθελον ἕξομοιόυσθαι

The simplex ὁμοιούω/ὁμοιόμαι, LSJ “to make like”, “to become like”, occurs 40 times in the LXX (cf. Genesis, 34:15: ἐν τούτῳ ὀμοιωθησόμεθα ύμῖν καὶ κατοικήσομεν ἐν ύμῖν, ἐὰν γένησθε ὡς ἡμεῖς καὶ ὑμεῖς; 1 Macc, 3:4: καὶ ὠμοιώθη λέοντι ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ). The compound ἕξομοιόω is attested from Herodotus onwards (cf. Euripides, Andromacha, 354: ἄνδρας γυναικών ἕξομοιούσθαι φῶς; id., Fragmenta (Nauck), 794: καξομοιούσθαι θεοῖς; Plato, Gorgias, 512e: ἕξομοιόν αὐτὸν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ταύτῃ ἐν ἧ ἦν οὐκή; Polybius, Historiae, 4.4.6: ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἕξομοιότο κατά τε τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τάλλα μέρος τοῦ σώματος τῷ προειρημένῳ).

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153 Moulton-Milligan, s.v. ἑντεύξεις.
47. ἐξοπλησία “getting under arms”

5:25 τοῖς ψυ’ έαυτόν ἐξοπλησίαιαν,\(^{155}\) παρήγγειλεν

This rare military term is known from Xenophon (Anabasis, 1.7.10: εν τῇ ἐξοπλησία ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἐλλήνων ἀσπίσις μυρία καὶ τετρακοσίαι), Aeneas (Polioretica, 10.13: ἐξοπλησίας τε πυκνὰς ποιεῖσθαι), Aristoteles (Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, 1.4: ἐξοπλασίαν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ ποιησάμενος), Manetho, in the sense of “manoeuvres” (Fragmenta, 42: ταῖς ἐξοπλησίαις πρὸς φόβον τῶν ἐξωθεν ἐπιµµελῶς γυµνάζων), and Polybius (4x, cf. 11.9.4: τὸν ἐς ἐξοπλασίαν ή στρατείαν ἐκπορευόόµον). It is also found in inscriptions from the 3rd c. BCE (cf. IG XII 6.647.39 [early 3rd c. BCE]: τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλασίαι ἐξετάάζειν; Erythrae 21.10 [c. 277/5 BCE]: τῆς τε φυλακῆς καὶ τῶν ἐξοπλασίων ἐπεµμελήθησαν). The verb ἐξοπλίζοµµαι, LSJ “to get under arms, stand in armed array”, from which ἐξοπλησία is derived, is also attested in 2 Macc (5:2: σπειρηδὸν ἐξωπλισµμέένους).

48. ἐπίκτητος “acquired”

6:23 τῆς ἐπικτήήτου καὶ ἐπιφανοῦς πολιᾶς

The verbal adjective ἐπίκτητος means LSJ “gained besides or in addition”. It is first met with in Herodotus, where it is used to denote land gained from the Nile river (Historiae, 2.5.5: ἐπίκτητος τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταµοῦ), or a foreign wife (ib., 3.3.8: τὴν δὲ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἐπίκτητον ἐν τιµμῇ τίίθεται). In the 4th-3rd c. BCE, it takes on the meaning of “acquired” as opposed to “innate” (cf. Aristoteles, Topica, 116b11: τὸ μὲν γὰρ φύσει, τὸ δ’ ἐπίκτητον). To better understand the use of ἐπίκτητος and ἐπιφανής in this passage, we have to look closer at πολιάσ, “grey hairs”. In the LXX, the greyness of hair indicates old age and wisdom (cf. Proverbia, 20:29: κόόσµμος νεανίίαις σοφίία, δόξα δὲ πρεσβυτέέρων πολιά; Sapientia Salomonis, 4:9: πολιά δὲ ἐστιν φρόόνησις ἀνθρώόπως), and inspires reverence (cf. 4 Macc, 5:7: αἰδούµαι γὰρ σου τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν πολιάν). Hence, it is not so much the grey hair that is acquired with age as the wisdom and the dignity that go with it.\(^{156}\)

49. ἐπιπλήξις “blame, rebuke”

7:33 εἰ δὲ χάριν ἐπιπλήξεως καὶ παιδείας ο λῶν κύριος ἴμων βραχέως ἐπωργίσται

Although the verb ἐπιπλήξττο, LSJ II “to punish, chastise, esp. with words, rebuke”, is well-attested in the literature from Homer onwards, the derivative nomen actionis ἐπιπλήξις appears only in the 4th c. BCE. Up to the 2nd c. BCE, it is very scantily attested in literary texts, in the sense of LSJ “blame, rebuke” (cf. Aeschines, In

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\(^{156}\) Cf. Abel 1949: 367. “Opposé à ἔµμφυτος, naturel, ἐπίκτητος indique des cheveux blanchis dans le labeur et l’étude et non simplement par le fait des années. La tête chenue à la suite d’une sage existence est considérée comme un ornement 15:13; 3 Macc, 4:5; 4 Macc, 5:6”.

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conform to the idea of God as a "mild censurer". Finally, the law καὶ We may note the collocation of παιδεύων τῶν ἁµµαρτιῶν ἀναµμέει ἐπιτίίµµοι εἶναι λογίζεσθαι Παρακάλω brother's harangue (the underlining is ours): epitomator expresses his view on theodicy, which is reiterated in the seventh be taken in the strong sense. This interpretation is supported by ("punishment") to section 1 ("blame, rebuke"). This comment has probably led LSJ to transfer the reference to 2 Macc, 7:13, in the entry under ἐπιπλήξεις, from section 2 ("punishment") to section 1 ("blame, rebuke").

We would argue, on the contrary, that ἐπιπλήξεις, in this verse, can equally well be taken in the strong sense. This interpretation is supported by 6:12-16, where the epitomator expresses his view on theodicy, which is reiterated in the seventh brother's harangue (the underlining is ours):

Παρακαλῶ οὖν τοὺς ἐντυχάνοντας τήδε τῇ βίβλῳ μὴ συστέλλεσθαι διὰ τὰς συµφοράς, λογίζεσθαι δὲ τὰς τιµωρίας μὴ πρὸς ὀλέθρον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παιδείαν τοῦ γένους ἡµῶν εἶναι καὶ γὰρ τὸ µὴ πολὺν χρόνον ἐσάβαι τοὺς ὁµοσεβούντας, ἀλλὰ εὐθέως περιπτέταιν ἐπιτίµµος, µεγάλης ἐνεργείας σηµεῖων ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνων αναµένει µακροθυµίαν ὁ δεσµώτης µέχρι τοῦ καταντήσαντας αὐτούς πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἁµµαρτιῶν κολάσσαι, οὕτως καὶ ἐφ’ ἡµῶν ἐκρίνεσθαι εἶναι, ἵνα µὴ πρὸς τέλος αἵρεσιν ἡµῶν τῶν ἁµµαρτιῶν ἱστερον ἡµᾶς ἑκδίκα, διὸ περὶ οὐδέποτε µὲν τὸν ἔλεον ἀφ’ ἡµῶν ἁφισθην, παιδευον ὥστε µετὰ συµφοράς οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ λαόν.

We may note the collocation of τιµωρία and παιδεία, corresponding to ἐπιπλήξεως καὶ παιδείας, in 7:33, and the use of the terms κολάζω and ἑκδίκαω, which do not conform to the idea of God as a “mild censurer”. Finally, the law-terms κρίσις (7:35)

158 See LSJ, s.v. ἐπιπλήξεις, p. 651, and the Supplement, p. 128.
and πρῶτιμον (7:36, echoing ἐπίτιμον in 6:13), occurring in the following verses, support the interpretation of ἐπιπλήξις as a legal term.159

50. ἐπιπλήξις “to fill up”  
6:4 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἰερὸν ἁσαίας καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπεπληροῦτο160

In its rare instances in the extant literature before 2 Macc, the compound ἐπιπλήξις is used in a literal sense with reference to ships (Thucydides, Historiae, 7.14.2: ἐπιπληροφορεῖ έξοικας; Aesopus, Fabulae, 251: ἦ αἰθιοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ ἐπεπληροῦτο), and banquets (Ephippus, Fragmenta, 4: συμπόσιον ἐπιπληροῦσιν), or in medical vocabulary (Diocles, Fragmenta, 31: τὸ τὰς ἀρτηρίας ἐπιπληροῦσθαι). The simplex πλήξις occurs 5 times in 2 Macc, mostly in a figurative sense (3:30 χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἐπεπλήρωτο; 6:5 τὸ δὲ θυσιαστήριον τοῖς ἀποδιεσταλµμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν νόµον ἀθεµµίτοις ἐπεπλήρωτο; 9:7 τῆς ὑπερηφανίας ἐπεπλήρωτο; 10:30 ταραχῆς πεπληρωµμένοι; 13:16 τὴν παρεµμβολὴν δέους καὶ ταραχῆς ἐπλήρωσαν). Within the space of two verses (6:4 and 6:5), both the compound and the simplex occur, an indication of the author’s striving for verbal variation.

51. ἐπιφύύω “to adhere to, to cling to”  
4:50 ἐμμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἄρχῃ ἐπιφυόοµεν τῇ κακίᾳ

This verb is drawn from physiological vocabulary. It is used of an olive-tree which grows upon a tomb (Herodotus, Historiae, 4.34.8: τὸ δὲ σηµὰ ἐστὶ ἐσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεµίσιον [...] ἐπιφύσυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαίη, of a growth on a fowl’s forehead (Aristoteles, Historia animalium, 577a8: [τὸ ἰπποµανέές ὃ ἐπιφύεται ἐπὶ τοῦ µετώώπου τῶν πώώλων]) or of a fruit which grows on a stalk (Theophrastus, Historia plantarum, 4.8.9: τούτου δὲ [viz., τοῦ λωτοῦ] ἡ µὲν τοῦ καυλοῦ φύσις ὁµμοία τῇ τοῦ κυάµμου [...] ἐπιφύεται ὁµμοίως ὁ καρπὸς τῷ τοῦ κυάµμου). It is also used figuratively of the vices which grow in all the many fair things in life and defile them (Plato, Leges, 937d: πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων καὶ καλῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ, τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν οἶον κῆρες ἐπιφυόκασιν, αἱ καταµαίνουσιν τε καὶ καταρρυπαίνουσιν αὐτά, of dishonour which follows close when pride and insolence take the lead (Aristae Eipplestula, 269a4: ὅταν ὑπερηφανία καθηγῆται καὶ θράσος ἀλητων, ἀτμασμός ἐπιφύεται καὶ δόξης ἀναιρεσις) or of the lividities and the ulcers which grow in the soul turning man into the cruelest of beasts (Polybius, Historiae, 1.81.7: ταῖς τε ψυχαίς παραπλησίως τοιαύται πολλάκις ἐπιφύνται μελανίαι καὶ σηπεδόνες ὅστε μηδὲν ἀσεβέστερον ἀνθρώπων μηδ’ ὁµότερον ἀποτελείσθαι τῶν ζώων). It is in a similar metaphorical sense that ἐπιφύω is employed in 2 Macc:

159 Cf. the terms τιµμωρία (6:12; 6:26), κόλασις (4:38), and ζηµη (4:48). Even παιδεία is used in the sense of “chastisement” in the LXX (cf. Proverbia, 22:15: ἀνοια ἐξῆπται καρδίας νέου, ὅβδος δὲ καὶ παιδεία μακρὰν αὐτῷ).  
κακία is presented as some sort of cancer growing on Menelaus’ soul. For the idiosyncratic construction of the participle ἐπιφυόμενος, cf. 9:11: ἐπιτεινόμενος ταῖς ἀληθοσίν.

52. ἐπιχωρέω “to permit”
4:9 ἐὰν ἐπιχωρήσῃ ἕως τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ γυμνάσων; 12:12 ἐπιχωρήσαν εἰρήνην ἀξεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς

ἐπιχωρέω is a rather rare verb, attested in various senses in classical literature: “to give way” (Sophocles, Antigone, 219: τὸ μὴ ἐπιχωρεῖν τοὺς ἀπίστουσιν τάδε), “to come towards” (Thucydides, Historiae, 4.107.1: τοὺς ἐθελήσαντας ἐπιχωρήσατο ἀνωθεν), “to move forward, to attack” (Xenophon, Anabasis, 1.2.17: ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐπιχωρήσατο ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα). It is in the Hellenistic inscriptions, especially those recording concessions granted by the king or the boule and the demos of a city, that it occurs in the sense “to permit, to concede” attested in 2 Macc (cf. Smyrna 10.100 [245/3 BCE]: τοὺς τε κ[λ]ήσους αὐτῶν τοὺς δύο, ὅν τε ὁ θεός καὶ σωτὴρ Ἀντίοχος ἐπιχωρήσαντο αὐτοῖς; FD III 2, 134, c.1.6 [205-202 BCE]: πλαρεκάλεσαν τὰ[ν πόλιν ὅπως ἀ τε] [πόλις καὶ ἀ χώρα αὐτῶν] ἐπιχωρήσῃ ἤ[ι[α] εἴμεν καὶ ἀσυλος] [τοῦ Διονύσου; OGIS 740.31 [95 BCE]: διὸ δὴ ἀξιώμεν <σε>, τὸν εὐχάριστον καὶ θεότατον βασιλέα, (...), ἐπιχωρήσαντα ἡμ[ίν] διὰ προστάγματος εἶναι τὸ μηνύμενον ἱερὸν ἀσυλον; SEG 22.110.36 [79/8 BCE]: παρακαλοῦσι τὴν βου[λὴν ἐπιχωρήσῃ] αὐτοῖς ποιήσαθαι γρατής εἰκόνας [ἐν ὀπλω ἀνάθησιν ἐν τ[ω]ι ἐν Έλευσίνι ἱερῷ).

53. εὐεργέτημα “service done, benefit, kindness”
5:20 διόπερ καὶ αὐτός ὁ τόπος συμμεταχῶν τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους δυσπτημάτων γενομένων ὅσαν ἐπιχωρητήματων ἐκοινώνησεν

In classical and Hellenistic literature there occur two terms denoting “a good deed, a benefit”: the nomen actionis εὐεργεσία and the nomen rei actae εὐεργέτημα. εὐεργεσία is widely attested from Homer onwards, whereas εὐεργέτημα is much less frequently attested from the 4th c. onwards. In the LXX, there occur 6 instances of εὐεργεσία (2 of them in 2 Macc) and 1 of εὐεργέτημα. εὐεργεσία refers to a benefit bestowed by God (cf. 2 Macc 6:13: καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ἔασθαι τοὺς δυσσεβοῦντας, ἀλλ’ εὐθέως περισσεῖτε ἐπιτίμοις, μεγάλης εὐεργεσίας σημειών ἐστιν) or by a king (2 Macc 9:26: [from a letter of Antiochus IV] παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἄξιο νεμημένους τῶν εὐεργεσίων κοινῆ καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐκαστὸν συντηρεῖν τὴν οὖσαν εὐνοιαν εἰς ἔμι). In 2 Macc 5:20, εὐεργέτημα refers to the restoration and renewal of the temple of Jerusalem (αὐτὸς ὁ τόπος) after its profanation by Antiochus IV: the holy place, after sharing in the misfortunes that befell the nation due to its sins (συμμεταχῶν τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους δυσπτημάτων), participated in its benefits (εὐεργετημάτων ἐκοινώνησεν), when the Lord became reconciled. Both

161 The Göttingen edition reads ἔαν ἐπιχωρήσῃ.
εὐφεργεσία and εὐφεργήτημα, as employed in 2 Macc, have epigraphic parallels: cf. Iasos 93.27 [Letter of Queen Laodike III, 195/190 BCE]: τῶν ἀπαντο-μένων εὐφεργεσίων μεμνημένος; SEG 34.558.25 [150-130 BCE]: τῶν γεγονημένων εὐφεργητήματος εἰς τὸ ἔθνος ὑπὸ Κοίντου καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτο[ο]. We may note the antithesis and the paronomasia in δυσπετήματος-εὐφεργητήματος, reminiscent of εὐημερίαν-δυσημερίαν in 5:6; for a similar rhetorical effect, cf. Aristoteles, Rhetorica, 1381b3: καὶ τοὺς μὴ οὐνειδιστὰς μὴτε τῶν ἀμαρτήματόν μητε τῶν εὐφεργητήματων; Polybius, Historiae, 30.4.13: τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐφεργητήματα καὶ συνεργήματα παραβάλλων καὶ συγκρίνων).

54. εὐμένεια "goodwill, favour"

6:29 τῶν δὲ ἁγόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν μικρὰ πρότερον εὐμένειαν εἰς δυσμένειαν καὶ μεταβαλλόντων

There are hardly 20 instances of εὐμένεια in the extant literature prior to 2 Macc. It signifies the favour that the gods or God bestow upon humans (cf. Thucydides, Historiae, 5.105.1: τῆς μὲν τοῦν πρὸς τὸ θείον εὐμένειας οὐδ’ ἡμεὶς οἴομεθα λειψάθαι; Aristaeus Epistula, 254: διότι θέος τὸν πάντα κόσμον διοικεὶ μετ’ εὐμένειας) or, more rarely, the goodwill of one person towards another (cf. Sophocles, Oedipus Coloneus, 631: τίς δήτ’ ἐν ἄνδρος εὐμένειαν ἐκβάλοι τοιοῦδ’. In the Hellenistic inscriptions, εὐμένεια refers to the favor of the gods (cf. Miletos 39.18 [180/161 BCE]: ὁπως ἔκαστα συντελεσθή μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμένειας συμφερόντως ἀμφότεροις ταῖς πόλεσιν; Priene 66.21 [129/100 BCE]: ἐσχῆκας διὰ παντός τοῦ βίου τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐμένειαν καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἐσχῆκας. In its rare instances in the papyri it is used of the gods (P.Koeln. 4.186.19 [2nd c. BCE]: εὐχόμενοι μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμένειας) or of a στρατηγὸς (P.Harr. 2.179.7 [1st c. CE]: χάριν ἐχω τῇ εὐγένειαι σου φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τῇ ύπέρ μου σῇ εὐμένεια). In 2 Macc, 6:29, εὐμένεια refers to the good will that the people who were in charge of the pagan sacrifice had towards Eleazar due to their long acquaintance with him. This good will changes into ill will, δυσμένεια, when the old man refuses to partake of the sacrificial meat. For the conjunction of εὐμένεια and δυσμένεια, reminiscent of the antithesis between εὐημερία and δυσημερία in 5:6, cf. Plato, Symposium, 197d: φιλόδωρος εὐμένειας, ἀδώρος δυσμένειας; Aesopus, Fabulae, 269.1: οὕτως οὐ χρή τὸν δεσπότην πρὸς δυσμένειαν παρακινεῖν ἄλλα πρὸς εὐμένειαν. A term semantically related to εὐμένεια is εύνοια, occurring 18 times in the LXX, 7 of which in 2 Macc. According to Chrysippus, εὐμένεια is persistent εὐνοια (Fragmenta moralia, 432: εὐνοια μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ βουλήσεις ἄγαθων <έτερος> αὐτοῦ ἐνεκεν ἐκείνου. Εὐμένεια δὲ εὐνοια ἐπίμονος). In 2 Macc, εὐνοια covers a

162 In the LXX, δυσμένεια is found only in 2 Macc, 6:29; 12:3; 14:39, and 3 Macc, 3:19; 7:14.
wider semantic range than εὐμέένεια: it refers not only to interpersonal relations (cf. 14:26: ο δὲ Ἀλκίμος συνιών τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους [i.e., between Judah and Nicanor] εὐνοιαν), but also to the good will of the citizens towards the king or the state (cf. 9:26 [from a letter of Antiochus IV]: παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς [...] ἐκατον συντηρεῖν τὴν οὖσαν εὐνοιαν εἰς ἔμε καὶ τὸν ιόν; 11:19: ἐὰν μὲν οὖν συντηρήσητε τὴν εἰς τὰ πράγματα εὐνοιαν).

55. εὐτακτέέω “to be orderly”

This verb is very poorly attested in literature: it occurs once in Thucydides in the sense [LSJ “to be orderly” (Historiae, 8.1.4: ἑτοῖµμοι ἦσαν εὐτακτεῖν) and 4 times in Xenophon in the military sense [LSJ “to obey discipline” (cf. Memorabilia, 3.5.21: ἐν γε τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς, ἑνθα µµάλιστα δεῖ σωφρονεῖν τε καὶ εὐτακτεῖν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν). It is in the inscriptions and the papyri that εὐτακτέέω is employed in the sense attested in 2 Macc, that is, [LSJ “to pay regularly” (cf. Syll.3 672.10 [160/59 BCE]: καὶ οἱ µµισθοὶ τοῖς παιδευταῖς εὐτακτέεων; SB 8.9841.20 [247 BCE]: εὐτακτεῖω δὲ Χαιεµµήνης τὸν φόορον καθ᾽ ἑκατὸν µηνα. ἐὰν δὲ µὴ εὐτακτῇ, ἀποτεισάατω οὗ ἂν µηνός µη εὐτακτήσῃ τὸν φόορον ζηµίλιον; UPZ 1.45.20 [162/1 BCE]: οἷς καθήκει ἀποδὸν τὰ προγεγραµµµέα καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτα[κ]τείν). The substantive εὐταξία, [LSJ “orderly behaviour”, also occurs in 2 Macc (4:37: διὰ τὴν τοῦ µετηλλαχότος σωφροσύνην καὶ πολῇ εὐταξίαν).

56. ἐφηβεῖον “a place for the training of youth”

4:9 ἐὰν ἐπιχωρηθῇ διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ γυµνάσιον καὶ ἐφηβεῖον αὐτῷ συστήήσασθαι

57. ἐφηβὸς “ephebe, adolescent, young man”

4:12 τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἐφήβων ὑποτάἀσσων

If one accepts Grotius’ correction ἐφηβεῖον (instead of the manuscripts’ ἐφηβίαν), adopted by Rahlfis, then the word is a dis legomenon in Greek literature. Its other occurrence is found in Strabo, Geographica, 5.4.7: πλείστα δ’ ἱχνη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἁγωνῆς ἐνταύθα σωζέται, γυµνασία τε καὶ ἐφηβεία καὶ φρατρία καὶ ὀνόµατα Ἑλληνικὰ. There is also the equivalent Latin term ephebeum, used by Vitruvius in his description of a Greek palaestra (“exhedra amplissima cum sedibus”, “a large apsidal recess with seats”). It designates the ephebes’ common-room and lecture hall within the gymnasium and corresponds to the ἐξέδρα τῶν ἐφήβων mentioned in an early 2nd c. CE inscription from Ephesos (Ephesos 212.169 [104 CE]). In the Göttingen

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164 The definition of LEH needs to be updated.
165 The Göttingen edition reads ἐφηβίαν.
167 Marrou 1948: 198 and 280.
edition of 2 Macc, Hanhart opted for ἐφηβίαν, 168 This term is unattested in the literary language or the papyri prior to the 2nd c. CE, but is found in a late 3rd c. BCE inscription from Athens (SEG 26.98.21: [τὴν περὶ τῆς ἐφηβείας ἀπόδειξιν]. In classical Athens, ἐφηβεία designated a compulsory two-year period of military training for eighteen year-olds, whereas in the Hellenistic period it denoted a one-year physical-intellectual training at the gymnasium reserved for the sons of the wealthy.169 As Townsend explains,

by Hellenistic times the ephebeia had become an exclusive municipal male finishing school housed in the gymnasium where future aristocrats (epheboi) leisurely pursued their studies with an emphasis on physical education. Apart from athletics, learning was not rigorous. Even though various grammarians, rhetoricians, and philosophers offered courses on a variety of subjects and even though the students usually had a library available, the time for study was relatively short. (...) The importance of the ephebeia lay, however, not in its curriculum, but in its social significance. Study in the ephebeia certified that one was truly civilized (i.e, Hellenized) and was essential for full social and political acceptance.170

The age of entrance to the ἐφηβεία in the Hellenistic-Roman period was not uniform, but varied by region. Ephebes were teenagers younger than the 18 year-olds of the classical period. In Egypt and some cities of Asia Minor the regular age of registration seems to have been 14.171

Kennell, building on the use of κράτιστος and ύποτάσσω in a military sense in a number of Hellenistic literary and epigraphic texts, has recently suggested that the phrase τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἐφήβων ύποτάσσον does not refer to the noblest but to the strongest of the city’s young men enrolled in the ephebeia, selected by Jason to form either “a squad of personal bodyguards or bully boys” or “the elite troops of Jerusalem’s civic militia”.172

58. ἐχοµένως “thereupon, immediately afterwards”

7:15 ἐχοµένως δὲ τὸν πέµπτον προσάγοντες ἥκισσόντο

In the LXX, there occur two adverbs derived from ἐχοµένος, the present participle of ἐχοµαί, 173 C.3a “to come next to”, “to be close”: ἐχόµενα and ἐχοµένως. ἐχόµενα is used of place (“near, next to”; cf. Esdras ii, 12:6: καὶ ἡ παλαικὴ ἡ καθηµέένη ἐχόµενα αὐτοῦ; Regnorum iii, 1:9: δὲ ἦν ἐχόµενα τῆς πηγῆς Ρωγήλ), and ἐχοµένως, in 2 Macc, is used of time. ἐχοµένως is very scantily attested in the 2nd-1st c. BCE literature (cf. Biton, Κατασκευαὶ πολεµικῶν ὀργάανων καὶ καταπαλτικῶν, 5:1:

168 Hahnart 1959: 60. This reading is also supported by the Latin versions: ephebiam, P et ephebos sibi colligere. See Abel 1949: 332. Katz (1960: 21) states that “the traditional ἐφηβίαν should be read – εῖαν=ephebic training so that the conjecture –εῖον is no longer advised”.

169 Kleijwegt 1991: 91; OCD, s.v. epheboi.


171 Kleijwegt, op. cit. 91-2.

ἐχοµμένως δὲ τῶν προγεγραµµένων ὑπογράµµοµέν <σοι> σαµβύκης κατασκευήν). In the papyri, ἐχόοµµεν is used of time (cf. PSI 5.514.8 [252/1 BCE]: εὐθέεως δὲ τοῦτων ἐχόµµεν κατάµεµψον τά ἐπισταλέντα εἰς τά γενέθλια τοῦ βασιλέως), and of place (cf. P.Sarap. 54.22 [118 CE]: ἐχόµµεν Θόνεως), whereas ἐχοµμένως is attested with the genitive of person for “with” (cf. P.Oxy. 7.1061.28 [22 BCE]): καµµογραµµατέως Θώνθεως παρόόντος ἐχοµν(ως) Θέωνος(ς) Ἰσχυρίων sonra|káta|σκευήν(.).

59. θάττον “sooner”, “more quickly”
4:31 θάττον οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἢκεν καταστεῖλαι τὰ πράγµατα; 5:21 θάττον εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόόχειαν ἐχωρίσθη; 14:11 τοιούτων δὲ ῥηθέέντων ὑπὸ τούτου θάττον οἱ λοιποὶ φίίλοι (...)

In the LXX, the comparative of the adverb ταχέεως or ταχύ praised Hellenistic τάαχιον (cf. 1 Macc, 2:40: νῦν τάαχιον ὀλεθρεύσουσιν ἡµµᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; Sapientia Salomonis, 13:9: τὸν τούτων δεσπόότην πῶς τάαχιον οὐχ έὗρον). It is only in 2 Macc that we find the classical Attic θάττον, used with positive or elative sense.173

60. θέμις [ἐστί] “it is lawful”
6:20 ὃν οὐ θέμις γεύσασθαι; 12:14 βλασφηµµοῦντες καὶ λαλοῦντες ἃ µη θέµις

The impersonal construction θέµις (with omission of ἐστί) is attested in poetry (cf. Sappho, Fragmenta, 150: οὐ γὰρ θέµις ἐν µοµσόµλων τοικία θηθὴν έµµεν; Euripides, Ion, 1256: ἰκείν οὐ θέµις φονεύειν) as well as in prose (cf. Plato, Republica, 417a: ἀπτεθαὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου οὐ θέµις; Aristoteles, Fragmenta varia, 1.16.102: λωβοὺς δὲ οὐ θέµις βωµοῦ προσψαύσασθαι). It is also found in religious and cu|ltic inscriptions: IGASMG, III 15.1 [c. 450 BCE]: οὐ θέµις ἐντούθα κείσθαι ἐφ τὸν βεβαχχευµένον; IG XII, Suppl. 394.2 [2nd c. BCE]: Πειθοὶ αἶγα οὐδὲ χοῖρον οὐ θέµις; I. Napoli, II, 126ter, 6 [mid 1st c. BCE]: οὐ θέµις ἀλον θε<ι>ναι. [ἰερ]ὰ [κ]ατάθη.

61. θεοκτιστος “established by God”
6:23 τῆς ἀγίας καὶ θεοκτιστον νοµοθεσίας

This verbal adjective appears for the first time in extant literature in Aristoteles’ Poetica (1457b29: στείρων θεοκτίσταν φλόγα) as an unidentified quotation from tragedy or lyrical poetry.174 It is also attested in the Aristeae Epistula (201: θεοκτιστον ἐςτιν ἀνθρωπος), in Limenius (Paean Delphicus ii et prosodium in Apollinem, 36: θεοκτιστον Παλλάδος ἀστυ), as well as in the inscriptions (cf. FD III 2.138.34 [128/7 BCE]: σώζε θεοκτισιον Παλλάδος [ása]; OGIS 168, I, 1.4 [115 BCE]: εἰς τὴν

The older type θεόκτιστος is attested in Solon (Fragmenta, 36.8: πατορ’ ἐς θεόκτιστον). The first element of the compound, θεός, forms 4 LXX compounds: θεοσέβεια, θεοσεβής, and the two 2 Macc LXX ἡρακλησημνοθεσία, θεομαχέω (7.19) and θεόκτιστος. The second element, the verbal adjective κτιστός, aside from one occurrence in the Homeric hymns (In Apollinem, 299: κτιστοῖς λάέσσιν), is found only in ecclesiastical writers. In the LXX, it forms one more compound, νεόκτιστος, “newly created” (Sapientia Salomonis, 11:18: νεόκτιστος θυμοῦ πλήρεις θήρας). The verb from which it is derived, κτίζω, is used in classical literature for the building of cities, the foundation, establishment or institution of groves, temples, theatres, festivals, games, etc. In the Hellenistic period, it refers to the founding of a city by the will or command of a ruler, who receives divine honors within it. In the LXX, κτίζω, as a theological term denoting God’s creative activity, does not occur so much in the Pentateuch, in which ποιέω is preferred, as in the books that were translated later, and especially in the Apocrypha. In 2 Macc, we encounter only the derivative κτίστης as a designation of God (1:24: οἱ πάντων κτίστης; 7:23: ὁ τοῦ κόσμου κτίστης; 13:14: τῷ κτίστῃ τοῦ κόσμου). νομοθεσία (in the LXX, the term occurs only in 2 and 4 Macc), the law, the Torah, is thus not only θεία, “divine” (cf. 4:17: θείος νόμος; 4 Macc, 17:16: τοῖς τῆς θείας νομοθεσίας ἀλητάς), but more specifically θεόκτιστος, that is, intentionally created and delivered by God to Moses as an expression of His commanding will.

62. θεομαχέω “to fight against God”

7:19 σὺ δὲ μὴ νομίσῃς ἄθως ἐπεθαύρθαι θεομαχεῖν ἐπιχειρήσας

This very rare verb is attested in only five authors prior to 2 Macc: in Euripides (Bacchae, 45: οὐ θεομαχεῖ τὰ κατ’ ἐμὲ καὶ σπονδῶν ἀπὸ ὥθει μ’ ἐν εὐχαίς τ’ οὐδαμοῦ μνείαν ἔχει; ib., 325: κοῦ θεομαχήσω σῶν λόγων πεισθεῖς ὑπό; ib., 1255: ἀλλὰ θεομαχεῖν μόνον οίδ’ ἐκεῖνος; Iphigenia Aulidensis, 1408: τὸ θεομαχεῖν γὰρ ἀπολιπτοῦσ’,), in Xenophon (Oeconomicus, 16.3.4 [referring to the farmer who has to know what the soil is capable of bearing in order to sow or plant]: οὐκέτι συμφέρει θεομαχεῖν), in Hippocrates (Epistulae, 14.22: οὐ θεομαχεῖς δὲ, εἰ δύο ἐόντων ἐν κόσμῳ, χαρᾶς καὶ λύπης, οὐ θάτερον αὐτῶν ἐκβέβληκας), in Menander (Fragmenta (Kock), 187.1: μὴ θεομάχει, μηδὲ προσάγου τῷ πράγματι χειμώνας ἐτέρους, τοὺς δ’ ἀναγκαίους φέρε), and in Manetho (Fragmenta, 54.97: ἀλλὰ μὲλλειν θεομαχεῖν νομίσας). Of all these occurrences, the closest to our verse are the ones in Euripides’ Bacchae. In lines 55-61, Dionysus speaks threateningly of Pentheus, who has declared a ban on his worship, excluding him from libations and not mentioning him in the prayers. Likewise, in 2 Macc, 7:19, the sixth of the seven brothers

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175 Cf. TDNT, pp. 1025-1026.
176 Cf. also Euripides, Fragmenta (Nauck), 716.1: σὺ δ’ εἰκ’ ἀνάγκη καὶ θεοίσι μὴ μάχου; ib., 491.5: σὺ χῇ μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ἀλ’ ἐάν.
177 See the remarks on θεομαχός and θεομαχέω in Nestle 1900: 48-50.
submitted to torture by Antiochus IV threatens the king with divine punishment for banning the observance of the Sabbath and of Jewish festivals and rituals. It is noteworthy that Antiochus had imposed the cult of Dionysus in Jerusalem and had forced the Jews to celebrate the festival of the God by wearing wreaths of ivy and participating in processions in his honour (cf. 6:7).

In his article entitled “On the conception of θεοµαχεῖν in relation with Greek tragedy”, Kamerbeek states that, in the context of 2 Macc, 7:19, the sense of θεοµαχεῖν “hardly differs from ἄθεος εἶναι, exactly as θεοµαχεῖς=ἄθεος is found in the schol. ad Ar. Nub. 830 (Rutherford): Σωκράτης ὁ Μήλιος: ἐπεὶ δὲ Διαγόρας Μήλιος ὃν διεβάλλετο ώς θεοµάχος καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη δὲ ὡς ἄθεον διαβάλλει, διὰ τοῦτο Μήλιον αὐτὸν εἶπε”. This is a blatant misunderstanding and the scholion quoted is irrelevant. Antiochus is not accused of being an ἄθεος, but of fighting against the god of the Jews, i.e., a god other than the one whose worship he was trying to impose.

63. θεωρός “envoy”

4:19 ἀπέστειλεν Ἰάσων ὁ µµιαρὸς θεωροὺς

The θεωροί were delegates sent by Greek city-states to consult oracles, to participate in festivals and observe athletic games. In 2 Macc 4:19, θεωροί are sent by Jason, the high priest of Jerusalem, to the quinquennial games at Tyre, carrying the sum of 300 silver drachmas for a sacrifice to Hercules. Such emissaries are mentioned in many Hellenistic inscriptions (cf. FD III 3.215.9 [248/6 BCE]: γίνεσαι δὲ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν ἀποδείξιν τῶν θεωρῶν καὶ ἐκάστην πενταετηρίδα, ὅταν καὶ [εἰς Όλυμπία] ἀποδεικνύονται· δίδοσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀποδεικνυμένοις εἰς μὲν τὴν θεοσίαν [τετρακοσίας?] δραχμάς, εἰς δὲ ἐφόδια ὅ τι ἄν τῶ[ι] δήμου[,] δόξης; Magnesia 13.64 [193 BCE]: [— ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωροὺς] εἰς Μαγνησίαν τοὺς θύσοντας τῇ Ἀρτέµιδι Λευκόφροσνην [...] διδοσθαι δὲ α[ὐτοῖς καὶ ἐφόδιον ἐκ τοῦ δηµοσίου] ὅσον ἄν ὁ δήµος ψηφίζηται ικανόν εἰναι καὶ πρέπον].

64. θηρίων “P: to become like a wild beast, to become brutal”

5:11 τεθηριωμένος τῇ ψυχῇ

The verb derives from θηρίον, a diminutive of θήρ, meaning “wild animal” or generally “animal”. The figurative use of the substantive (“wicked person, beast”) is attested early on (cf. Aristophanes, Equites, 273: ὁ πόλεως καὶ δηµῆτρος θηρίων γαστρίζωμαι; id., Plutus, 439: ὦ δειλότατον σύ θηρίον). In the LXX, the word designates “the not domesticated, in the open-country living, in most cases big and dangerous animal”. It is used literally, except in Daniel, 7, where the four θηρία stand allegorically for the four pagan kingdoms that oppress Israel. In 2 Macc, there

178 Kamerbeek 1948: 279.
179 Der Neue Pauly, s.v. theoria.
180 NIDNTT, s.v. θηρίων.

The verb θηριόωμαι first appears in the 4th century BCE in the sense: (a) "become brutal" (cf. Plato, Leges, 935a: ὅποιο νῦ παιδείας ἡμερωθῇ ποτὲ, πάλιν ἐξαγορῶν τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ τοιοῦτον, θηριωμένος ἐν δυσκολια ζών γέγεναι; Crantor, Fragmenta (Kroll), 8.17: τεθηριώσθαι γὰρ εἰκός, ἐκεῖ μὲν σῶμα τοιοῦτον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ψυχῆν; Critodemus, Fragmenta (Kroll), vol. 5, 2, p. 112.37: γίνονται γὰρ πλαστογράφοι ἄρσαγες θυρεπανοῦνται κυβερνών, θηριομένην τὴν τίνα διάνοιαν ἐχοντες). The idea of the “bestialization” of the soul is of Platonic or Aristotelian origin (cf. Aristotle, Magna moralia, 2.4.3-2.5.3: Ἐστι δὲ τρία τὰ ἀνθρώπα γινόμενα, καθ’ ἀρτοὺς λευκομεθα, κακία ἀγρία ἡμικλίτης (…) Ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ θηριώτης ὑπερβάλλουσα τὰς κακίας. οὐκ γὰρ τῶν τινῶν ἑπιλογίων ἤδημεν φαύλον, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίαν νόμος εἴναι ἄλλα θηριών, ὡς ὑπερβάλλεται. (…) However, the phrase τεθηριωμένος τῇ ψυχῇ may have its origin in Polybius, who uses the compound ἄποθηριομένος in a similar way (cf. Historiae, 30.11.5: γεγευμένου τοῦ φόνου τοῦ κατ’ ἀλλήλων ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀρσιονιανόν σφαγαίς ἔτοιμοι πρὸς τὸν ἔσω, ἀποθηριωμένοι τὰς ψυχὰς; cf. also Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historia, 17.9.6: υἱόν μὲν οὖν ἀποθηριωθεῖτιν τὴν ψυχήν μηχανας τε πολυπολιτικάς συνεστισατ). The word should not be marked as “neol.” by LEH, since it is attested prior to Polybius.

65. θωρακισμός “arming with breastplates”  
5:3 παντοίους θωρακίσμους

The neologism θωρακισμός derives from θωρακίζω,153 “to arm with a breastplate”, attested mainly in Thucydides and Xenophon. In the LXX, it is found only in 1 Macc (cf. 4:7; 6:35; 6:43: ἐν τῶν θηρίων τεθωρακισμένων θωρακίζων βασιλικοῖς). Of the 18 substantives in –ιομός occurring in 2 Macc, 5 are LXX hapax legomena: ἀλλοφυλισμός, ἀλλοφυλισμός, ἀλλοφυλισμός, θωρακισμός, σπλαγχνισμός, ἀλλοφυλισμός, θωρακισμός and σπλαγχνισμός are neologisms, along with Ιουδαισμός, which also occurs in 4 Macc. θωρακισμός may have been coined on the model of the Polybian neologism καθοπλισμός (Historiae, 2.68.5, passim).181

66. ιεροσύλημα “sacrilegious plunder”  
4:39 γεγευμένων δὲ πολλῶν ιεροσυληµάτων

67. ιεροσύλημος “temple robber”  
4:42 τὸν ιερόσυλον παρὰ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον ἐχειρώσαντο

Temple-robbery was one of the gravest offences in antiquity. The ἱερόσυλοι were grouped with the sycophants (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 30: ἱερόσυλοι, ὑπόχρεες καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ πονηροὶ), the thieves, the deserters and all sorts of murderers (Demosthenes, *In Timocratem*, 119: τοὺς κλέπτας, τοὺς ἱεροσυλόους, τοὺς πατραλοίς, τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους, τοὺς ἀστρατεύτους, τοὺς λιποῦσι τὰς τάξεις), but also with the traitors and those who sought to subvert the polity (Plato, *Leges*, 857a: προδότη καὶ ἱεροσύλῳ καὶ τῷ τῶν τῆς πόλεως νόμως βιὰ ἀπολλύντι). Upon conviction, they were put to death and denied burial in their native land. In 4:42, ἱερόσυλος is applied to Lysimachus, who stole gold vessels from the temple of Jerusalem and was put to death by the outraged crowd. The substantives ἱερόσυλος and ἱεροσυλία (2 Macc, 13:6: τὸν ἱεροσυλίας ἔνοχον), and the verb ἱεροσυλέω (2 Macc, 9:2: ἐπεχεῖερα ἱεροσυλεῖν), all LXX hapaxes, are well-attested in classical and Hellenistic literary and non-literate texts. ἱεροσυλήµμα, on the contrary, is a neologism and a hapax legomenon totius graecitatis. It is coined along the line of the popular in Koine neuters in –µµα, denoting the result of an action (cf. another 2 Macc neologism, δυσπέετηµµα).

68. ἱλη “troop” (mil. term for cavalry)
5:3 ἱλας ἱππῶν διατεταγµένας

ἱλη was a cavalry unit below the ἱππαρχία and above the οὐλαµμός. Based on Polybius’ critique of Callisthenes’ account of the battle of Issus (*Historiae*, 12.12.2-3), we may deduce that in the Hellenistic period an ἱλη consisted of 128 men.

69. κάµαξ “pike”
5:3 ἀσπίδων κινήσει καὶ καµὰκων πλήθη και βελῶν βολὰς

κάµαξ, originally ἱσχυράς λαβάν πλήθη και βελῶν βολὰς vine-prop”, was the long, thin spear used by the cavalry against the infantry from the 5th c. BCE. As a military term it appears only in tragic and comic poetry (cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 66: διακναοµµενής τ’ ἐν προτελείοις κάµακος; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1403: ἐξ ἰδου δ’ Αρής ἦν, κάµακος ἀµφοιν χειρί ἀπεστεφηµένουν; Aristophanes, *Fragmenta* (Kock), 404: λόγχαι δ’ ἐκαυλίζοντο καὶ ἕςτῃ κάµαξ). It is also found in funerary inscriptions from the Hellenistic period (cf. *Thess. Mnemeia* 128.10.4 [after 217 BCE]: δέµας ἐκ καµάκων πεπαλαγµένον; Bernand, *Inscr. Métr.* 4.4 [2nd.-1st. c. BCE]: θασοῦν αἰχµητήν σηµµοφόρῳ κάµακα).

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70. καταδρομή “charge, attack (by an army)”
5:3 καὶ προσβολαῖς γινοµένας καὶ καταδροµὰς ἐκατέρων

Another military term occurring in Thucydides (cf. Historiae, 8.41.2: καὶ τὴν χώραν καταδροµὰς λείαν ἐποιεῖτο), Xenophon (cf. Hellenica, 5.4.42: καταδροµὰς δὲ ποιούµενος ἐκακούργηε τὴν χώραν), and Polybius (cf. 5.99.5: πολλᾶκς γὰρ ἐποιούντο τὰς καταδροµὰς ἐως ἐπὶ τὸ καλούµενον Ἀµµυρίκιον πεδίον). It is also attested in a non-military context in a late 2nd c. BCE papyrus: P.Dion. 11.19 [108 BCE]: συνορῶν µε περὶ τὴν κατασπορὰν ἧς γεωργῶ γῆς κατασχολούµµεν, καταδροµὰς µου ποιούµενος οὐκ ἐὰν <µε> πρὸς τὴ γεωργία γίνεσθαι.

71. κατατολµμάω “to dare, to presume, to have the boldness to”
3:24 πάντας τοὺς κατατολµήσαντας συνελθεῖν;
5:15 κατετόλµμησεν εἰς τὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς ἁγιώτατον ἱερὸν εἰσελθεῖν
κατατολµμάω occurs 8 times in Polybius in the sense: (a) to dare (Historiae, 2.13.5: ἐπιτάαττειν ἢ πολεµµεῖν οὐ κατετόλµων τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις), and (b) to take bold action against the enemy (op. cit., 4.79.7: κατατολµᾶν τῶν Φιαλέέων). The word also appears in vernacular documents such as the “Petition from the Serapeum twins” (UPZ 1.42.20 [162 BCE]: τῶι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς χειρισµοῖς ἐν τῷ Σαραπιείίωι καὶ Ἀσκληπιείίωι τεταγµμέένων κατατετολµηκόότων). In 2 Macc, both the simplex (4:2 ἐτόόλµα λέέγειν) and the compound occur. In the latter, the prefix κατὰ strengthens the notion of boldness.

72. κηδεία “care for the dead, funeral”
4:49 τὰ πρὸς τὴν κηδείαν αὐτῶν µεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐχορήήγησαν;
5:10 κηδείας οὐδὲ ἡστισοῦν οὔτε πατρῴου τάάφου µετέέσχεν
κηδεία has the meanings: (a) “connexion by marriage, alliance” (cf. Xenophon, Memorabilia, 2.6.36: ἐφι γὰρ τὰς ἄγαθας προµισέριδας (...) δεινὰ εἶναι συνάγειν ἀνθρώπους εἰς κηδείαν; Aristoteles, Politica, 1280b36: διὸ κηδεῖαίί τ’ ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς πόλεις καὶ φατρίαι καὶ διαγωγαί τοῦ συζῆν) and, from the Hellenistic period, κηδεύω, from which κηδεία is derived, is already attested in the 5th c. BCE in the sense “attend to a corpse, bury” (cf. Sophocles, Electra, 1141: ἀλλ’ ἐν ἔννησι χεροὺ κηδεύεις τάλας).

The verb κηδεύω, from which κηδεία is derived, is already attested in the 5th c. BCE in the sense “attend to a corpse, bury” (cf. Sophocles, Electra, 1141: ἀλλ’ ἐν ἔννησι χεροὶ κηδευθεῖς τάλας).
73. κηδεμόν as “one who cares for, guardian of”

κηδεμόν is attested as early as Homer designating the persons attending to the dead (Ilias, 23.163), and subsequently used in the general sense of “protector, guardian” (cf. Plato, Republica, 412c: κηδεμόνας τῆς πόλεως; Dinarchus, In Demosthenem, 31: φιλότος ἄνηρ καὶ κηδεμόν τῆς πόλεως). The designation τοῦ κηδεμόνα τῶν ομοεθνῶν employed in 2 Macc is reminiscent of analogous honorary designations found in the inscriptions (cf. MDAI(A) 32.1907.257.8.39 [75-50 BCE]: γέγονεν τῆς πόλεως ἀγάθος κηδεμῶν; Heberdey-Wilhelm, Reisen in Kilik.=DAW 44,6 (1896) 28.63.5: τὸν εὐεργέτη[ν] καὶ κηδεμόνα τοῦ δήμου; IG V 1 1171.4 [late 1st-early 2nd c. CE]: τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ κηδεμόνα τοῦ ἔθνους).

74. κισσός “ivy”

Along with the vine, ivy was a plant related to the cult of Dionysus. In the processions in the honour of the God his worshippers carried ivy-wreaths and thyrsi, i.e., wands twined with ivy and vine leaves. Plutarchus and his contemporary Tacitus were probably not the first to identify Dionysus with the god of the Jews and associate the Bacchic feasts with the Jewish festival of Tabernacles (σκηναπηγία). The latter, as we are told in Quaestiones Convivales, 671D-E, was celebrated at the height of vintage (ἀκμαίον τρυγητῷ) and the Jews set out tables of fruit under tents and huts plaited of vines and ivy (ὑπὸ σκηναὶς καὶ καλλίσσιν ἐκ κλημάτων μαλακτὰ καὶ κισσοῦ διαπεπλεγμένα), while in a thyrsus procession (θυρσοφορία), which took place a few days later, the worshippers entered the temple carrying a thyrsus (θύρσους ἐχοντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰςώσιν). Feldman suggests that, when Antiochus IV Epiphanes compelled the Jews of Jerusalem to walk in the processions in honour of Dionysus wearing wreaths of ivy (2 Macc, 6:7), he probably thought that

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189 Plutarchus, Quaestiones Convivales (Προβλήμα τοῦ παρ᾿ Ἰουδαίως θεοῦ, 671C-672C); Tacitus, The Histories, 5.5.5 (transl. by C. H. Moore, London, Heinemann, 1979): “but since their priests [i.e., the Jews] used to chant to the accompaniment of pipes and cymbals and to wear garlands of ivy, and because a golden vine was found in their temple, some have thought that they were devotees of Father Liber [i.e., Dionysus], the conqueror of the East, in spite of the incongruity of their customs”.

they would not be so reluctant to accept a cult similar to their own. 191 If we are to give credit to 3 Macc, 2:28-29, Ptolemy IV Philopator, an ardent promoter of the cult of Dionysus, had tried, about half a century before Antiochus’ time, to impose on the Jews of Alexandria the worship of the god by decreeing that those who would initiate into the Dionysian mysteries would enjoy equal civic rights with the Alexandrians, whereas those who would not initiate would be registered in the poll-tax and would have an ivy leaf, Dionysus’ emblem, branded by fire on their bodies (τούς τε ἀπογραφομένους χαράσσεσθαι καὶ διὰ πυρὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμα παρασήμω Διονύσου κισσοφύλλῳ). In any case, the Jews of both Alexandria and Jerusalem probably saw the ivy as a symbol of anti-Jewish persecution.

75. κρηµμνίζω “to hurl down”

6:10 δηµοσία περιαγαγόντες αὐτὰς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκρήµμνισαν

The verb derives from κρηµµνός, “overhanging cliff, precipice”, which is a LXX hapax legomenon (Paralipomenon ii sive Chronicon ii, 25:12). Apart from its occurrence in 2 Macc, κρηµμνίζω is found only twice in the literature of the 3rd-1st c. BCE: in Aristophanes Grammaticus (Aristophanis historiae animalium epitome, 2.581.6: κρηµµνίσαι εαυτόν) and in Diodorus Siculus (cf. Bibliotheca historica, 9.19.1: κατὰ πετρῶν ἐκρήµμνισεν). The compound κατακρηµµίζω is attested in classical writers (5x in Xenophon). In the LXX, it is found in Paralipomenon ii sive Chronicon ii, 25:12, in 4 Macc, 4:25, and twice in 2 Macc (14:43: ἀναδραµμὼν γενναίως ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος κατεκρήµνισεν εαυτὸν, and, in the sense “to destroy”, in 12:15: τὸν ἄτερ κριῶν καὶ µμηχανῶν ὀργανικῶν κατακρηµµίσαντα τὴν Ἰεριχω).

76. λεληθότως “secretly”

6:11 συνδραµόντες εἰς τὰ σπήλαια λεληθότως ἀγεῖν τὴν ἑβδοµάδα; 8:1 παρεισπορευόµενοι λεληθότως εἰς τὰς κώµας

This Hellenistic adverb, derived from the perfect participle of λανθάνω, occurs once in the [Ps.-] Platonic Axiochus (Spuria, 365c), 5 times in Diodorus Siculus, and 6 times in Dionysius Halicarnassensis in the sense of “imperceptibly”. In 2 Macc, it is employed in the sense of “secretly” as a synonym of λαθραίως (cf. 2 Macc, 1:19: λαθραίως κατέκρυψαν). In the LXX, we also find the Attic λάθρᾳ (9x), as well as the adverbs κρυφῇ (12x), κρυφαίως (2x) and κρυπτῶς (3x). If we accept the dating of Axiochus in the 1st c. BCE, 192 then all the attestations of λεληθότως probably postdate 2 Macc, which makes it a neologism of our book.

191 Feldman, op. cit., note 47; 545.
192 Souilhé 1930: 135.
77. μιαφόνος “someone polluted by murder, murderer”
4:38 τὸν μιαφόνον ἀπεκοσμήσεν; 12:6 ἐπὶ τοὺς μιαφόνους τῶν ἀδελφῶν

The compound μιαφόνος is used either as an adjective, in the sense of “stained by the blood of a murder” or “bloodthirsty”, or as a substantivized noun, designating a murderer. It is first attested in the Iliad as an epithet of Ares (5.31; 5.455; 5.844; 21.402). It is frequent in the tragedians (Aeschylus, Eumenides, 492: μιαφόνων γάμων; Sophocles, Electra, 492: μιαφόνων γάμων; Euripides, Phoenissae, 1760: Σφιγγὸς τῆς μιαφόνου; id., Medea, 1346: τέκνων μιαφόνε), and is sparely attested in Herodotus, Xenophon and Aristoteles. In 2 Macc, it is used of Andronicus, king Antiochus’ substitute, who violated the asylum at Daphne and murdered the pious Onias, and also of the people of Joppa, who deceived 200 Jews into embarking upon boats, which they sank. The root of the first element of the compound is also found in μιαρός (5 times in 2 Macc) and ἀμιίαντος (twice in 2 Macc), while the second element forms another 2 Macc compound, ἀνδροφόνος, “murderer” (9:28), which is also a LXX hapax legomenon.

78. μισοπονηρέω “to hate the wicked, to hate wickedness”
4:49 δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ Τύρωι μισοπονηρότατας τὰ πρὸς τὴν κηδείαν αὐτῶν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐχορήγησαν; 8:4 δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων νηπίων παρανόμου ἀπωλείας […] καὶ μισοπονηρέομαι

[113.] συμμισοπονηρέομαι “to feel common hatred of what is bad”
4:36 οἱ κατὰ πόλιν Ιουδαῖοι συμμισοπονηροῦντων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

Prior to 2 Macc, the verb μισοπονηρέω appears once in Lysias (In Nicomachum, 35.3: μὴ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως μισοπονηρεῖν), and once in Polybius (Historiae, 9.39.6: καλὸν μὲν οὖν (…) ἐτι καὶ νῦν μισοπονηρήσαι). It is not confined to literary use as evidenced from a 2nd c. BCE papyrus from Memphis (UPZ 1.2.25 [163 BCE]: ἄξιω ὦν σὲ μὴ ἵππειδείν με περιστώμενον μισοπονηρήσαι τε). The substantive μισοπονηρία (2 Macc, 3:1: διὰ τὴν Ονιου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ευσεβεῖαν τε καὶ μισοπονηρίαν) and the adjective μισοπονήρος (Esther, 8:12d) are also LXX hapax legomena. The double compound συμμισοπονηρέομαι is a neologism of 2 Macc.

79. Μυσάρχης “leader of the Mysians”
5:24 ἐπεμψεν δὲ τὸν Μυσάρχην Ἀπολλόνιον

The first element of this compound is Μυσάρχης, “Mysian”, a native of Μυσία, a region in the northwest of Asia Minor. “Mysians” was the name of one of the hipparchies, viz., the cavalry units, of the Ptolemaic army. The men who served as mercenaries in that unit were presumably of Mysian origin; however, it is possible that by the end

193 The word is not listed in LEH.
194 Cf. Polybius, Historiae, 30.25.4.
of the 3rd c. BCE the name “Mysians” referred to a type of cavalry unit rather than to the actual ethnic provenance of the men who composed the unit. The second element of the compound is –άρχης, which is the usual Koine termination of nouns compounded from ἄρχω, instead of the Attic –αρχος. Nouns in –αρχος/-άρχης are military or administrative terms designating the “leader”, the “commander” or the “governor”. Hence, the title Μυσάρχης designates the commander of the Mysians. In 2 Macc, we also find φυλάρχης (8:32), Κυτταράρχης (12:2), ἐλεφαντάρχης (14:12), as well as ἔπαρχος (4:28), and στρατηγὸς πρωτάρχης (10:11). Many commentators have pointed out that this term may be understood in a figurative sense: it is possible that the author wanted to make a pun with the words Μυσῶν, “Mysian”, and μῦσος, “defilement, abomination”, or μύσος, “hate”, so that Μυσάρχης would be the “originator of a foul deed”, as older editions of LSJ translated the word.

80. μύσος “stain, uncleanness, defilement, pollution”

6:19 ὁ δὲ τῶν μετ’ εὐκλείας θανάτον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν μετὰ μῦσος βίον ἀναδεξάμενος;
6:25 καὶ μῦσος καὶ κηλίδα τοῦ γήρως κατακτήσωμαι

In tragic poetry, μῦσος is the pollution caused by the blood shed in a murder (cf. Aeschylus, Choeforoe, 650: αἰμάτων παλαιτέρων τίνειν μῦσος). This pollution is corporeal (cf. Aeschylus, Eumenides, 445: οὐδ’ ἔχον μῦσος πρὸς χειρὶ τῆμη), and can be transferred to other people or to the sanctuaries (cf. Euripides, Hercules, 1219: τί μοι προσείων χείρα σημαίνεις φόβον; ὡς μὴ μῦσος με σῶν βάλη προσφθεγµατῶν; Aeschylus, Eumenides, 195: οὐ χρηστηρίους εὖ τοίοδε πλησίοις τρίβεσθαι μῦσος). The murderer cannot flee it (cf. Euripides, Andromacha, 335: μαφόνον μὲν οὐκέτ’ ἀν φυγοί μῦσος), until it is purged away by cleansing rites (cf. Aeschylus, Choeforoe, 967: ὅταν ἄφ’ ἐστίας μῦσος ἀπαν ἐλαθή καθαρισθείσιν ἀτάν ἑλατηρίῳ). In 2 Macc, 6:19; 25 Eleazar refuses to eat pork, in order to avoid the “pollution” (μῦσος) and the “stain” (κηλίδα) on his old age. In secular literature, the only use of μῦσος in the sense of pollution derived from the eating of forbidden meat can be found in Theophrastus (De pietate, fr. 6.14: διὸ ταύρων μὲν καὶ ἐγενέσαντο καὶ ἀπήρξαντο, τῶν δὲ θηλειῶν φειδόμενοι τῆς γονῆς ἐνεκα, ἐν μῦσει τὸ ἀψαθεῖα ἐνομιζότωσαν). In the LXX, the word that denotes the pollution from cultically forbidden meat is μίσσαμα (Leviticus, 7:18: ἕαν δὲ φαγὼν φάγη ἀπὸ τῶν κρεῶν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ, οὐ δεχθήσεται αὐτῷ τῷ προσφέροντι αὐτῷ, οὐ λογισθήσεται

196 See Thackeray 2008: 156.
198 Cf. the customary expression ὁ Μυσῶν ἐσχάτος, of an utterly worthless man (Plato, Theaetetus, 209b); Scholia in Platonem, Tht, 209b: παροιμία Μυσῶν ἐσχάτος, ἐπὶ τῶν εὐπελεστάτων.
αὐτῷ, µίασµά ἐστιν). µίασµα, amply attested in tragedy and prose, and covering a wider semantic range than µύςος,²⁰⁰ does not occur in 2 Macc, but the word group to which it belongs is represented in this book by µιαφός (5x), µιαφόνος (2x) and ἀµίαντος (2x).

81. νεώς “temple”

4:14 τον µέν νεω καταφρονοῦντες; 6:2 τὸν ἐν Ιεροσολύµµοις νεώ; 9:16 ὃν δὲ πρῶτον ἐσκύύλευσεν ἄγιον νεώ; 10:3 τὸν νεώ καθαρίζαντες; 10:5 ὁ νεὼς ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλλων ἐβεβηλώθη; 13:23 ἐτίµµησεν τὸν νεώ; 14:33 προτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼ

The Attic second declension nouns are very rare in Koine Greek. In the LXX, only ἁλώς, ἕως, and νεώώς are attested.²⁰¹ The latter is found only in 2 Macc, along with the general Koine type ναός:²⁰² there are 7 instances of νεώς (in the nom., gen. and acc. sing.,) and 5 of ναός. This wavering between the two forms is evident in 10:5, where they are found side by side in the same verse: ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡµµέρᾳ ὁ νεὼς ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλλων ἐβεβηλώθη, συνέβη κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡµµέραν τὸν καθαρισµόν γενέσθαι τοῦ ναοῦ. Τhe author argues that in 2 Macc the two terms are not synonymous, since νεώς signifies “temple” and ναός “sanctuary”:

Le mot νεώς, que les dictionnaires donnent comme un pur synonyme de ναός, a dans 2 Macc un sens different, comme il ressort de l’opposition des deux mots dans 10:5, où νεώς signifie “temple” et ναός “sanctuary”. C’est également le sens général de “temple” qui convient à νεώς dans 6:2; 10:3; 13:23”²⁰³

We do not agree with this statement. If there was a differentiation between νεώς and ναός, then the author would not have used undifferentiatedly the verb βεβηλάω in 8:2 (τὸν ναὸν τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων βεβηλωθέντα) and 10:5 (ὁ νεὼς ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλλων ἐβεβηλώθη), and καθαρίζω and καθαρισµός in 10:5: (τὸν καθαρισµόν γενέσθαι τοῦ ναοῦ) and 10:3 (καὶ τὸν νεὼ καθαρίζαντες).²⁰⁴ We may additionally remark that the two terms alternate with no semantic differentiation in Greek historiographers (Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus). Cf. Polybius, Historiae, 9.27.9: κεκόσµµηται δὲ καὶ τάλλα μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἢ πόλις ναοῖς καὶ στοαῖς καὶ (µήν) ὃ τοῦ Διός τοῦ Ολυµπίου νεώς παντέλειαν µὲν ὦν εἴληφε; also, ib., 16.1.5-6.²⁰⁵

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²⁰⁰ Chantraine, s.v. µύςος.
²⁰¹ Thackeray 2008: 144.
²⁰² See Doran 1981: 27. Apart from ναός and νεώς, there also appear in 2 Macc two more terms referring to the Jerusalem temple, τὸ ἱερόν, “the temple” (3:2, passim), and ὁ τόπος, “holy place” (10:7, passim).
²⁰³ Joüon 1935: 342-343. Joüon also argues that a semantic differentiation between νεώς and ναός is attested in Philo.
²⁰⁵ De Foucault 1972: 65 and 275.
82. παλαίστρα “place for exercise, wrestling school (pars pro toto for gymnasium)”

4:14 ἔσπευδον μετέχειν τῆς ἐν παλαίστρῃ παρανόµου χορηγίας

The παλαίστρα, “wrestling ground”, along with the δρόμος, “running track”, were the two essential features of a Greek gymnasium. A gymnasium could not exist without a palaestra, but a palaestra accommodating only contact sports could exist independently of a gymnasium. As Glass remarks, “structurally, a palaestra with facilities for running is a gymnasium. But even that description is something of an oversimplification in that these added facilities must have served not only runners but also those field events –discus and javelin– requiring more open space than a simple palaestra could provide”. The two terms, γυµνάσιον and παλαίστρα, co-occur in 2 Macc, 4:12-14: γυµνάσιον is used as a more general term and παλαίστρα as a more specific one. Aside from the testimony of 2 Macc, we have no other literary or archaeological evidence for the construction and usage of such a gymnasium in Jerusalem. According to Kennell, this implies that no full-scale gymnasium was constructed during the three years of Jason’s high priesthood, and that a pre-existing structure was probably converted to the palaestra specifically mentioned in 2 Macc. In that case, “palaestra” is indeed used synecdochically for gymnasium, as LEH suggests.

83. παντελῶς “quite, utterly”

3:12 παντελῶς ἀµηχανόν; 3:31 τῷ παντελῶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ ποιήθει; 7:40 παντελῶς ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ πεποιθώ; 11:1 µετ’ ὀλίγον δὲ παντελῶς χρονίσκον; 14:46 παντελῶς ἔξαιµος

This adverb, derived from the adjective παντελής (in the LXX, only in 3 Macc, 7:16: παντελὴ σωτηρίας ἀπόλαυσιν), is frequently attested in literature from Aeschylus onwards (cf. Sophocles, Fragmenta (Radt), 646.2: πρὶν αὐτῷ παντελῶς ἔδρα ὁµιλεῖσθαι; Polybius, Historiae, 4.58.1: βραχὺν παντελῶς χρόον; Erasistratus, Testimonia et fragmenta, 199.3: κεναὶ παντελῶς αἵµατος; Agatharcides, De mari Erythraeo, 46.8: πεζῇ µὲν διελθεῖν παντελῶς (ὡς εἶπον) ἀδύνατον). It also occurs in the inscriptions (cf. Sardis 7.1.7.3 [100-50 BCE]: φανερὸν ὄν παντελώς χρόσιµον ἑαυτὸν παρεχόµενον; Prose sur pierre 46.16 [39 BCE]: παντελῶς δὲ τῆς πόλεως καταλαµµένης, and the papyri (cf. P.Enteux. 23.6 [218 BCE]: παντελῶς µε ἐκ πάντων ἀδίκη; UPZ 1.59.26 [148 BCE]: παντελῶς ἀµηδόημα; UPZ 1.110: 6.168 [164 BCE]: παντελῶς ἀγεώργητος; P.Tebt. 1.24.64 [117 BCE]: εἰς τοὺς [ὑιοῖς ὁκεύτας παντελῶς νεωτέρους; BGU 14.2370.22 [84/83 BCE]: τό τε ὀφείλειµα ὅλιον παντελῶς εἶναι).

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206 Glass 1988: 165.
207 Kennell 2005: 23.
84. παρακλείω “to shut up, to incarcerate”
4:34 ὅν καὶ παραχρήμα παρέκλεισεν οὐκ αἰδέσθεις τὸ δίκαιον

There are only two occurrences of παρακλείω in the literature prior to 2 Macc: in Herodotus (Historiae, 6.60.5) it is used with reference to the trade of the herald which was hereditary in Sparta, so that other people, even if they had a loud voice, could not “shut out” the heralds’ sons and come into the profession (οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἑπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακληλίουσι); and in Polybius (Historiae, 5.39.3) we are told that Cleomenes and his Spartan men attacked the governor of Alexandria Ptolemy, dragged him from his chariot (τοῦτον µὲν κατασπάάσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τεθρίίππου) and “παρέκλεισαν” him. Does this term mean that they “shut him up”, “incarcerated him”, or should we imagine something worse? Plutarchus relating the same episode (Agis et Cleomenes, 58.10) leaves no doubt about Ptolemy’s fate: αὐτὸν δὲ κατασπάάσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅρµατος ἀπέέκτειναν. It is thus most likely that Polybius used παρακλείω euphemistically to express the notion “to kill, to make away with someone”, and that the author of 2 Macc understood and employed the Polybian term in the same way (cf. the similar use of κατακλείίω, 208 in 2 Macc 13:21, and of ἀποκοσµμέέω and χειρόόοµµαι in 4:38 and 4:42 respectively). 209 The definition in LEH is once again inadequate.

85. παρακοµµίίζω “A: to carry, to bear”, “M: to bring home”, “P: to be carried away”
4:19 παρακοµµίίζοντας ἀργυρίίου δραχµὰς τριακοσίιας (…) ἠξίίωσαν οἱ παρακοµµίίσαντες µὴ χρῆσθαι εἰς θυσίίαν; 4:20 ἕνεκεν δὲ τῶν παρακοµµιζόόντων; 4:23 παρακοµµίίζοντα τὰ χρήήµατα τῷ βασιλεῖ; 9:8 ἐν φορείίῳ παρεκοµµίίζετο; 9:10 παρακοµµίζειν οὐδεὶς ἐδύύνατο διὰ τὸ τῆς ὀσµῆς ἀφόόρητον βάάρος; 9:29 παρεκοµµίζετο δὲ τὸ σῶµµα Φίίλιππος ὁ σύύντροφος αὐτοῦ

This compound is sporadically attested in the 5th-4th c. BCE (1x in Herodotus, 6x in Thucydides and 3x in Xenophon), but is very frequent in the Hellenistic period (18x in Polybius, 41x in Diodorus Siculus). In its 7 instances in 2 Macc it is used of money and of Antiochus’ body (cf. Polybius, Historiae, 21.41.12: τὰ δὲ χρήµατα παραδούµας τινι τῶν χιλιάάρχων συνέέταξεν παρακοµµίζειν εἰς Απάαµµειαν; UPZ 1.19.16 [163 BCE]:... μετῆλλαχεν τὸν βίου, τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναπλευσάντων καὶ ἀγαγόντων] καὶ παρακοµµισάντων αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς κατὰ Μέέµµφιν νεκρίίας).

86. παρόρασις “turning away and withholding of grace as a (temporary) punishment, oversight, neglect”
5:17 διὸ γέέγονεν περὶ τὸν τότον παρόρασις

The word is marked as a neologism by LEH. There is, however, one instance of it in the 3rd c. BCE (Chrysippus, Fragmenta logica et physica, 131.47: ἡ µὲν γὰρ υπόν(ο)µα καὶ ἡ ἄγ(ν)οι(α) κα(λ) ἡ ἄ(πιο)τια | καὶ τὰ παρὰ(πλῆ)µα φαῦ | (λ)ὰ ἐστὶ(ν, ἡ) δ’

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208 See the comment of De Bruyne 1921: 408, and of Schwarz 2008: 458.
(άτεχ)νία (καὶ ἡ) παρόφασις καὶ παρόφιθε (μη)οσίς τῶν ἀναμέσων). The verb from which it derives, παροφαίνομαι, attested from Herodotus onwards, means: (a) LSJ IV.14 “to notice, to remark” (cf. Herodotus, Historiae, 1.38.2: ὃ παί, οὐτε δειλὴν οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀχαί παριδῶν τι τοιοῦτα), (b) LSJ IV.11.1 “to look past”, “overlook” (cf. Isocrates, Antidosis, 134.5: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμαρτανόμενα παρόφορον, (c) LSJ IV.2.11 “to disregard” (cf. Aeschines, In Ctesiphontem, 172.8: παριδῶν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους), (d) LSJ IV.3.11 “to neglect” (cf. Polybius, Historiae, 21.19.12: τοὺς δ’ ἀληθίνους φίλους παρορώντες καὶ κατολιγωροῦντες τούτων; also in the papyri: PSI 1.64.6 [2nd-1st c. BCE]: συνοικήσουσά σοι ὥς γνησία γαμετή (…) καὶ εὐνοεῖν [σο]ι καὶ [φυλείν?] οὖθ’ἐν παριδώσα τῶν σῶν). In the LXX, it occurs 19 times in senses (b) and (c) (cf. Sapientia Salomonis, 11.23: καὶ παροφαίνομαι ἀμαρτήματα ἀνθρώπων εἰς μετάνοιαν; Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides, 32.18: ἀνήρ βουλής οὐ μὴ παρίδῃ διανόημα). Walters comments that παρόφασις in our verse “does not mean a gracious overlooking (LSJ) and non-imputation of guilt on the part of God, but, on the contrary, God’s turning away and withholding of grace as a (temporary) punishment”.210

87. παρωθεύο “to set aside”

4:11 καὶ τὰ κείμενα τῶν Ιουδαίων φιλάνθρωπα βασιλικά (...) παρώθεις

παρωθεύο is attested in a variety of contexts: it is used of a rejected wife or friend (cf. Euripides, Electra, 1037: ἀμαρτανόμαι πόσις τοῖσ παρώθεις λέκταρα; id., Orestes, 628: μηδὲ δυσσεβεῖς ἐληφθεὶς παρωθεύος εὐσεβεστέρους φίλους), of people being set aside or ousted (Xenophon, Hellenica, 2.3.14: οὕς ἐνομίσαν ήτιστα μὲν παρωθουμένοις ἀνέχεσθαι; Demosthenes, Philippica, 3.32.6: ἐχεῖ δ’ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρώθεις ήμᾶς καὶ Θετάλους καὶ Δωρίδας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύνων), or of the fate that cannot be put aside (IG IX, 2, 367.9 [3rd c. BCE]: [ο]ὐκ ἐστὶ τύχην πρόφυγειν καὶ δαίμον[α] θητο[ίς], οὔτε παρώθαςθαι).

88. παῦλα “cessation, end of”

4:6 παῦλαν ὧν ληψάμενον τῆς άνοιας

παῦλα is attested in literature from the 5th c. BCE. It is used of the cessation of troubles or misfortunes (παῦλα κακών: Sophocles, Trachiniae, 1255; Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 772; Plato, Respublica, 473d), of sorrow or pain (Plato, Respublica, 584b: ἡδονήν μὲν παῦλαν λύπης εἶναι; Hippocrates, De flatibus, 9.11: παῦλαν τίνα γενέσθαι τῶν πόνων), of the cessation of life or procreation (Plato, Phaedrus, 254c: παῦλαν ἐχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἐχει ζωής; Aristoteles, Politica, 1335a31: πρὸς τὴν παῦλαν τῆς τεκνοποιίας), of desire or ignorance (Polybius, Historiae, 13.2.2: οὐδέποτε ποιεῖ παῦλαν οὔτε κόρον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας; ib., 12.28.5: οὐκ ἔσται παῦλα τῆς τῶν ἴστοριογράφων ἀγνοίας).211 We suggest that the expression παῦλα τῆς

210 Walters 1973: 263.
211 The synonymous substantive παῦσις is also a LXX hapax legomenon (Jeremias, 31:2: παῦσιν παῦσεται).
δια, διατρίπαντα γινόμενας

Siculus, περιρρήγνυμεν τοῖς τοῦν πενθετηρικοῦν ἀγώνας

Historia plantarum περιρράγῃ breaking 601a8: (…) bursting of a stag tus (Hippocrates, œ περιρρήγνυμι 42.70 [200/199 BCE]: κληρώσαι δὲ ἀθλοθέτας εἴκοσι, δέκα μὲν <>το [τριετ][ηρικοῦ?] δέκα δὲ τοῦ πενετηρικοῦ (ἀγώνος); Miletos 42.70 [200/199 BCE]: ἐν τῷ τῷ πενδετηρικῷ τοῖς Διδυμίοις; Didyma 12.9 [167-140 BCE]: ἐν τῷ τῷ ἀγώνου πενθετηρικοῦ IoP II 268.6 [c. 98-94 BCE]: θυμ[ε]λικοὺς καὶ γνυμ[[νικοὺς ἀγώναπ> πενθετηρικο[κοὺς; P.Hal. 1.262 [after 259 BCE]: τοὺς νενικηκότας τὸν πενθετηρικοῦν ἀγώνα; P.Grad. 6.7 [223/2 BCE]: μόσχου τοῦ εἰς τὸ πενθετηρικόν). The word is wrongly labelled as “neol.” in LEH.

90. περιφρήγγυμπ “to rend, to tear off” 4:38 τοῦς χιτώνας περιρρήξας

περιφρήγγυμπ is mainly attested in a physiological sense. It is used of the breaking of the membrane that encloses the fetus (Hippocrates, De septimstri partu, 4.11: ὅταν δὲ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ περιφράγγεσσιν οἱ ὑμένες καὶ τὸ ἐμβόον μεταχωρήσῃ, of the bursting of a stag-beetle larva’s envelope or a cicada’s casing (Aristoteles, Historia animalium, 551b18: περιφράγγεστος τοῦ κελύφους ἐξέρχονται οἱ καράμβιοι; ib., 601a8: (...) περιφράγγεστος δὲ τοῦ κελύφους ἐξέρχονται [οἱ τέττιγες], of the breaking of a dog-fish’s shell (op. cit., 565a26: τοῖς μὲν οὖν σκυλίως, ὅταν περιφραγῇ καὶ ἐκτέτῃ τὸ ὀστρακόν), of the cracking of a tree’s bark (Theophrastus, Historia plantarum, 3.16.5: τὸν δὲ φλοίου λεύον ἔχει καὶ περιφρηγγύμενον). It is also used of cloaks and tunics being rent (Aeschylus, Seplem contra Thebas, 328: περιφρήγγυμενον φαρέων; Demosthenes, De falsa legatione, 197.11: περιφρήξας τὸν χιτωνίας; Polybius, Historiae, 15.33.4: τὴν χλαμύδα περιφρήξαν; Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica, 17.35.7: τὰς ἐσθήτας περιφρήγγυντες). It is in the latter sense that it is attested in 2 Macc as well as in Philo (cf. De specialibus legibus, 1.115: τὰ ἰμάτια περιφρηστεῖν; De Josepho, 16.3: τὰς ἐσθήτας περιφρήγγυμαν) and in the NT.214 However, there is another compound of ὄγγυμπ that is overwhelmingly

212 The “inclusive” method of counting is used.
213 Also πενετηρικός: Herodotus, Historiae, 6.111.9: εἰς τὰς πανηγύρις τὰς ἐν τῇ πενετηρικῇ γιγομενας; Demosthenes, In Timocratem, 125.6: πολλας πενθετηριδας των δεσμωτηριω διατιθανα.
214 Acta apostolorum, 16:22: περιφρήξαντες αυτων τα ἰματια. In the NT, however, the compound διαφρήγγυμπ is more frequent (Cf. Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, 26:65: τοτε ὁ αρχιερευς...
attested in the LXX in the sense “to rend”: διαφρήγηνυμι, conjoined with ἰμάτια, ἅσθησις, σάκκος and χιτών, is used 55 times (cf. Genesis: 37:34: διέφρησεν δὲ Ιακὼβ τὰ ἰμάτια αὐτοῦ; Psalms, 29:12: διέφρησες τῶν σάκκων μου; 1 Macc, 2:14: καὶ διέφρησεν Ματταθίας καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἰμάτια αὐτῶν). It is also found in the papyri along with καταφρήγηνυμι (cf. P.Hib. 2.200.10 [246-222 BCE]: κ[α]ὶ ὅν ἐνεβδέικη χιτόνα λινοῦ ἐπιλαμβομένη διέφρησεν; P.Grenf. 1.38.14 [170 BCE]: ὁ τε περιεβλήμην οἴονιον κατέφρησεν). The author of 2 Macc once again preferred the rarer compound to the more widely used one.

91. περισκυθίζω “to scalp in the Scythian way”

7:4 προσέταξεν γλασσοτομεῖν καὶ περισκυθίζαντας ἀκρωτηρίαξεν

Throughout antiquity, the Scythians were notorious for their savagery.215 Herodotus, in his ethnographic excursus devoted to this people (Historiae, 4.2-36; 46-82), gives an account of their cruel war-customs (ib., 4.64-66): drinking the blood of the slain enemies, making drinking-cups of their sculls, flaying the skin from their bodies and scalping their heads, etc. It is this latter practice, the scalping, that is designated by the 2 Macc verb περισκυθίζω and the circumlocution τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς δέρμα σὺν ταῖς θρίες περισύραντες (7:7). Herodotus (op. cit., 4.64) relates that the Scythian warrior would make a cut round his victim’s head at the level of the ears (περισταμὼν κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὦτα), and then grasp the scalp and shake the head out (καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκκείει). He would then turn the flayed skin into a napkin (ἄτε χειρόμακτρον ἐκκείται) or make cloaks by sewing many scalps together (ἐκ τῶν ἀποδαρμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπείνυσθαι ποιεῦσθαι, συρράσποντες κατὰ περ βαίτας).216 These acts of cruelty gave rise to ethnic verbs such as σκυθίζω, "to shave the head (from the Scythian practice of scalping slain enemies)"217 (cf. Euripides, Electra, 241: καὶ κράτα πλόκαμον τ’ ἐσκυθισµένον ἐυρώ, ἀποσκυθίζω, "to scalp (as the Scythians did)" and, metaphorically, to be shaved bare" (cf. Euripides, Troyades, 1026: κράτ’ ἀπεσκυθισµένην; Ciearchus, Fragmenta, 46.20: παντὸς ἐθνος οἱ ἐξω τὴν ἐρ’ ἔβρει κουράν ἀπεσκυθίσθαι προσηγόμεναι; 4 Macc, 10:7: περιλύσαντες τὰ ὀργανὰ σὺν ἁκραῖς ταῖς τῶν δακτύλων κορυφαῖς

215 Cf. Polybius, Historiae, 9.34.11: Σκυθῶν ἔργα καὶ Γαλατῶν ἐπιτελοῦντες; 3 Macc, 7:5: νόμον Σκυθῶν ἀγαρωτέον ἐπιτεσσερίμενοι ἐμφύτεια; Josephus, Contra Apionem, 2.269: Σκεῦας δὲ φόνους χαίροντες ἀνθρώπους καὶ βοσκῦ τῶν θηρίων διαφέροντες. Also, in 2 Macc, 4:47, Antiochus IV sentences to death three innocent Jews, “who would have been freed uncondemned, if they had pleaded even before Scythians” (τοῖς δὲ ταλαντώσις, οἵτινες, καὶ ἐπὶ Σκυθῶν ἔλεγον, ἀπελύθησαν ἀκατάγονοντο, τοῦτοις θάνατον ἐπέκρινεν).
216 Herodotus, Historiae, 4.64.
217 It also means "to drink immoderately" (Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae, 11.101.10: Ἑρώνυμος δ’ ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Μέθης καὶ τὸ μεθύονται σκυθίσας φησι). Cf. ἐσκυθίζω, "to pour out drink in Scythian fashion, i.e., with unmixed wine" (Herodotus, Historiae, 6.84: ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐρυστερὸν ἐβοῦλαντα πιεῖν, «Επισκυθίσαν» λέγουσι).
ἀπεσκύυθιζον, and ἐνσκυθίζω, known only from a gloss in Hesychius (Lexicon, 3301: ἐνσκυθίζειν· σταράττειν). As regards the formation of the compound περισκυθίζω, the prefix περί, “round”, was likely meant to evoke the chirurgical precision of Herodotus’ description of the Scythian scalping (περιταµµῶν [...] περί τὰ ὦτα). The word should have been labelled as a neologism in LEH.

92. πέτασος “petasus, broad-brimmed felt hat”

4:12 τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἑφήβων ὑποτάασσων ὑπὸ πέτασον ἦγαγεν

The πέτασος (<πετάννυµι) was a hat with a pointed crown and a broad brim turned up in front and behind. It was tied under the chin with a string or it hung behind the head. It was the usual headgear of countrymen, herdsmen, fishermen, hunters, as well as of travelers and the cavalry horsemen. Along with the χλαµµύς, the black cloak, it was also the badge of the Attic ephebes, who wore it to protect their heads from the sun when they exercised at the gymnasion. The word is extremely rare in literary and non-literary texts (cf. a line from “The Doorkeeper” by Philemon, a poet of the New Comedy, and a corrupted inscription from Macedonia, both referring to the ephebe’s kit: Fragmenta (Kock), 34: ἐγὼ γὰρ ὡς τὴν χλαµµύδα κατεθέµμην ποτὲ καὶ τὸν πέτασον; Meletemata 22, Epig. App. 42.4 [221-168 BCE]: ἐξοµβολοῦ (…) χλαµµύδα [— ἴκαὶ πέτασον[ν]]. It is doubtful, however, whether the Jerusalem athletes actually wore such a hat. As Doran, followed by Schwarz, points out, the expression “wearing the petasos” is just a colloquialism denoting the adoption of a Greek training regime. As regards the collocation of the participle ὑποτάασσων and the adverbial ὑπὸ πέτασον, and assuming that this is not a scribal error, Goldstein suggests that there is a parody of Psalmi, 46:4: οὐ πέτασιν λαοὺς ἠµῖν καὶ ἔθνη ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἤµων: “in the Psalm the God subjects the nations to Israel, here Jason subjects Israelite youth to Greek ways”. However, as Kennell has recently shown, the verb ὑποτάασσω is here used in a military sense, which has parallels in Hellenistic military handbooks and inscriptions referring to young militiamen “drawn up” under a military leader (I. Metropolis I, p. 4, l. 26: τοὺς ὑποταγόντας ἑαυτῶι νεανίσκους), and testifies to the so far downplayed “martial orientation” of the Hellenistic gymnasia. Schwarz comments that “Kennell’s discussion ignores the reference to sun-hats”, although he himself states that these hats were “highly impractical for most types of sport” and that their mention serves here only as “a metaphor for Hellenism in general”, allowing the author to create a paronomastic word-play with ὑποτάασσω. Moreover, we shoud not forget that the πέτασος was also worn by the

218 Der Neue Pauly, s.v. petasos.
219 Hesychius, Lexicon, 2052: πέτασος- τὸ τῶν ἑφήβων φόρηµα.
220 Doran 1990: 106; Schwarz 2008: 223-224.
221 Goldstein 1984: 229.
223 Schwarz 2008: 223.
224 Schwarz 2008: 223-224.
Athenian cavalrymen as well as by the ephebes training to become cavalrymen, hence its conjunction with a military verb is well-justified.

93. πέτρος “stone”
1:16 βάλλουσες πέτρους συνεκεραύνωσαν τὸν ἤγεμόνα;
4:41 συναρπάσαντες οἱ μὲν πέτρους, οἱ δὲ ξύλων πάχη

The semantically related words λίθος, “stone”, πέτρα, “rock”, and πέτρος, “stone”, are all attested in the LXX: the first occurs 302 times, the second 112 times and the third is a hapax. All three of them occur in 2 Macc (cf. 14:45: στὰς ἐπὶ τινος πέτρας ἀπορρῶγος; 10:3: πυρωώσαντες λίθους συνεκεραύνωσαν τὸν ἡγεµόονα; 4:41: συναρπάσαντες οἱ µµὲν πέτρους, οἱ δὲ ξύλων πάάχη).

94. πλησιάζω “to have sexual intercourse with”
6:4 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς περιβόόλοις γυναιξὶ πλησιαζόόντων

The euphemistic use of πλησιάζω, LSJ I “to approach”, for LSJ II “having sexual intercourse with” is already found in classical authors, especially orators (cf. Isaeus, De Pyrrho, 15: ἀνάγνωθι δὴ καὶ τὰς περὶ τῶν πλησιασάντων αὐτῇ µµαρτυρίίας, ἵνα εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἑταίρα τε ἦν τοῦ βουλοµµέένου; Demosthenes, In Neaeram, 20: ἤργαζετο τῷ σώώµματι µµισθαρνοῦσα τοῖς βουλοµµέένοις αὐτῇ πλησιαζεῖν). Two other verbs used in the same sense in classical literature as well as in the LXX are ὁµμιλέέω and συγγίίνοµμαι (cf. Judith, 12:12: εἰ γυναῖκα τοιαύτην παρῆήσοµεν οὐχ ὁµμιλήήσαντες αὐτῇ; ib., 12:16: καὶ ἦν κατεπίθυµος σφόόδρα τοῦ συγγενέέσθαι µµετ’ αὐτῆς).

95. πρεσβεία “embassy”
4:11 τὸν ποιησαµμένον τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ συµµμαχίας πρὸς τοὺς Ρωµαιίους

In the LXX, the “ambassador, negotiator, spokesman” is denoted by the words πρέσβυς, which occurs 15 times (cf. 1 Macc, 9:70: καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις τοῦ συνθέέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήήνην), πρεσβευτής, which occurs 6 times (cf. 1 Macc, 13:21: οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκρας ἀπέστελλον πρὸς Τρύφωνα πρεσβευτάς καταστεύδοντας αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς), and πρεσβύτης (cf. 2 Macc, 11:34: Κόντος Μέέµµιος, Τίτος Μάάνιος, πρεσβυτά Ρωµαιίων). The verb πρεσβεύω, LSJ II“I “to serve as an ambassador” or LSJ II3“to send ambassadors”, is not attested in the LXX, but the derivative substantive πρεσβεία, “embassy”, occurs as a LXX hapax in

225 For a depiction on a lekythos of a cavalry-man wearing a petasos hat, see Sekunda & McBride 1986: 19.
2 Macc. As a legal-political term being “in everyday use in the intercourse between the Greek cities”, πρεσβεία is amply attested from the 5th c. BCE in literature and the inscriptions.

96. προηγορεῖον “to speak for sb, to be spokesperson for sb”
4:48 οἱ περὶ πόλεως καὶ δήμων καὶ τῶν ιερῶν σκευῶν προηγορήσαντες
97. προηγόρος “one who speaks on behalf of others, defender”
7:2 εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν γενόμενος προηγόρος οὕτως ἐφη; 7:4 τὸν γενόμενον αὐτῶν προήγορον

In the LXX, there occur 3 compounds in –ήγορος (deriving from ἀγορά<ἀγείρω, but referring not to the sense of “assembly” but to that of “speaking”): κατήγορος (2 Macc, 4:5; Proverbia, 18:17), εὐπροσήγορος (Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides, 6:5), and προήγορος. From the latter substantive derives the verb προῃγορέω, “to be spokesman for others”, which in classical literature is attested only in Xenophon (Hellenica, 1.1.27: συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τους ἑαυτῶν στρατιῶτας Ἑρµμοκράτους προῃγοροῦντος; ib., 2.2.22: προῃγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραµµέενης; Anabasis, 5.5.7: προῃγόρει δὲ Ἐκατώώνυµµος δεινὸς νοµµιζόοµµενος εἶναι λέέγειν), and which resurfaces in 2 Macc, 4:48 and later in Josephus, Plutarchus, Arrianus, and others. The substantive is unrecorded in the literature prior to 2 Macc as well as in the papyri, but its occurrence as a judicial term in inscriptions from the 4th-3rd c. BCE onwards indicates that it is not a neologism as LEH labels it (cf. Ephesos 572.1 [c. 334-281 BCE]: οἱ προφητοὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θεοῦ κατε[δι]κάσαντο θάάνατογ κατὰ τὴν προγρ[α]φήν τῆς δίκης ταύτην; Samos 21.20 [c. 240 BCE]: προχειρισθείς τε πλειονάκις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προῃ[γ]ορος ταῖς δηµοσίαις δίκαις).

98. προπτύω “to spit forth or out”
6:20 προπτύσας δὲ καθ’ ὁν ἔδει τρόόπον προερχεσθαι τούς ὑποµένοντας ἀµύνασθαι ὧν οὐ θέμις γεύσασθαι

προπτύω is a hapax legomenon totius graecitatis. πτύω, “to spit”, occurs in the LXX both as simplex (Numeri, 12:14; Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides, 28:12) and compounded with ἀπο- (ἀποπτύω, “to abhor, to spurn”, in 4 Macc, 3:18), ἐν- (ἐμμπτύω, “to spit upon”, in Numeri, 12:14 and Deuteronomium, 25:9) and προ-. προπτύω is used of the old scribe Eleazar who, when forced to eat pork during a sacrificial meal, spat the meat. Van Henten comments that the prefix προ- may signify that Eleazar “spitted in a forward direction” or that he spitted “already before the meat was put in his mouth, in order to be rid of it at once”. The use in 2 Macc of other similarly compounded verbs related to body parts and body actions indicates that προ- is most probably used here in a local sense (cf. 7:10: τὴν γλῶσσαν αἰτηθεὶς ταχέως προεβαλεν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εὐθαρσῶς προετείνεν; 14:46: προβαλὼν τὰ ἐντερα).

226 Moulton-Milligan, s.v. προεβεία.
227 See Chantraine, s.v. ἀγορά.
228 Van Henten 1997: 97, note 34.
Given the context, there is no reason to take προστύω metaphorically, as Van Henten suggests: the latter verb, for that matter, is also attested in a literal sense (“to spit forth”, cf. Plutarchus, De garrulitate, 505D: διαφαγών τὴν γλάτταν προσέπτυτε τῷ τυφάνω).

**99. προσβολή “assault, attack”**

5:3 καὶ προσβολας γινοµένας καὶ καταδροµάς; 15:19 ἢ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πολει κατειληµµένοις οὐν πάρεργος ἀγνοία ταρασσόµενοι τῆς ἐν υπαίθρῳ προσβολῆς

The terms προσβάλλω (cf. 10:28: προσέβαλον ἐκάτεροι, οί μὲν ἔγγυον ἔχοντες εὐµµερίας καὶ νίκης μετὰ ἀρετῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον καταφυγήν; 12:10: προσέβαλον ἀραβὲς αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔλλαττος τῶν πεντακισχιλίων; 13:22: προσεβάλλων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ιουδαν; 10:17: οίς καὶ προσβαλόντες εὐφόρτως ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο τῶν τόπων; 10:35: προσβαλόντες τῷ τείχει) and προσβολή are part of the military vocabulary found in 2 Macc, 6. As a military term, προσβολή is attested from Aeschylus onwards, mainly in the historians (5x in Herodotus, 20x in Thucydides, 7x in Xenophon, 34x in Polybius, 85x in Diodorus Siculus). Also in the inscriptions: Panamara 2.21 [c. 39 BCE]: τῶν δὲ ἡµετέρων τῶν ἐν ταῖς προσβολαῖς βαλλοµένων οὔτε τραύµα ἐπικίνδυνον οὐ[δὲ εἶ]ς ἕσχεν.

**100. προσενέχοµαι “to be held by, to be in the grip of, to be involved in”**

5:18 εἰ δὲ µὴ συνέβη προσενέχεσθαι πολλοίς ἀµαρτήµασιν

In classical literature, ἐνέχοµαι is attested in various senses: (a) “to be held, caught, entangled in” (cf. Herodotus, Historiae, 2.121.11: τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι; and figuratively: ib., 8.52.11: ἀπορίησι ἐνέχεσθαι, Aristoteles, De cælo, 309a29: ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐνέχεσθαι δυσχερείας, (b) “to be liable or subject to” (cf. Aeschylus, Supplices, 169: καὶ τότ’ αὖ δικαίως Ζεὺς ἐνέξεται ψόγοις), and (c) as a legal term, “to be subject to the law, to be liable to prosecution, to incur punishment” (cf. Demosthenes, De corona trierarchiae, 11.6: τοῖς ἑσχάτοις ἑττητίµως ἐνέξεται; Plato, Leges, 935c: ἐνεχέσθω τῇ τεταγµένῃ ζηµίᾳ). It is in the latter sense that it is attested in the Hellenistic inscriptions and the papyri (cf. SEG 41.768.5 [c. 200 BCE]: ἐνέχεσθαυ τοῖς ’πιτιµίοις; Fayoum 2.112.25 [93 BCE]: τοὺς δὲ παρὰ ταύτα ποιοῦντας ἐνέχεσθαι ἱεροφιλίαι; P.Tebt. 1.5.9 [118 BCE]: δ[ι]ά τὸ ἐνέχεσθαι [Ἀ]λείας καὶ ἐτέφασις αἰτίας; BGL 4.1102.36 [13 BCE]: τὸν παραβαίνοντα ἐνέχεσθαι τῷ ἤριστοι[ν] ἐνεχέσθαι τῷ ἰπτεροτιµα[ι]. In the LXX, ἐνέχοµαι occurs 3 times: in Ezechiel, in the sense “to be held fast” (14:4: ἐγὼ κύριος ἀποκριθήσοµαι αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν εἰς ἐνέχεται ἡ διάνοια αὐτοῦ; ib., 14.7), and in 3 Macc, 6:10 in sense (a): εἰ δὲ ἀσεβείας κατὰ τὴν ἀποκίνην ὁ βίος ἡµῶν ἐνέχεσται. The 2 Macc term προσενέχοµαι (the prefix προ-  

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229 Op. cit. “προστύω might be taken metaphorically (like the expression ‘venting one’s gall’), meaning that Eleazar was very angry (…)προστύω can have a similar meaning”.


231 See LSJ, and Spicq, s.v. ἐνέχω.
conveys the sense of “additionally”) is a neologism and a hapax legomenon totius graecitatis.

101. πρόσκλησις "summons"
4:14 meta tôn tôn diòkôn prōsklēsan

πρόσκλησις as a law-term signifies the summons, the order to appear in court232 (cf. Aristophanes, Vespae, 1041: ἀντωμοσίας καὶ προσκλήσεις καὶ μαρτυρίας; Plato, Leges, 846c: ληξέων τε πέρι δικών καὶ προσκλήσεων καὶ κλητήρων; Aristoteles, Αθηναίων Πολιτεία, 29.4: τὰς τῶν παρανόμων γραφὰς καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας καὶ τὰς προσκλήσεις; also in 2nd–1st c. BCE inscriptions and papyri: MDAI(A) 27.1902.47.71.125 [b. 133 BCE]: ἐστώ δὲ περὶ μὲν τε<ων κοινῶν τύχων ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταθείζοντος πρόσκλησις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους; BGU.8.1823.20 [60–55 BCE]: παλαγγελί[ών] καὶ προσκλήσεων διὰ προφημι[άτων γενομένων]. It is only in 2 Macc that it is used in an athletic context, denoting the summons of the young men to participate in the activities of the palaestra (see comment s.v. δίσκος).

102. προσκύπτω “to stoop over to, to lean over to”
7:27 προσκύψασα δὲ αὐτῷ χλευάσασα τὸν ὀμόν τύραννον οὕτως ἔφησεν τὴν πατρίω φωνή

In the LXX, κύπτω, “to bend forward or down”, forms 11 compounds: 9 with one prepositional prefix (ἀνα-, δια-, ἐγ-, εἰς-, κατα-, παρα-, προς-, συγ-) and 2 with double prefix (διεκ-, κατεξπ-). 6 of these compounds are LXX hapax legomena, and 2 of these hapax legomena are found in 2 Macc: the neologism διεκκύπτω (3:19: τινές δὲ διὰ τῶν θυρίδων διεξεκυπτόν) and προσκύπτω. The latter is extremely rare in the literature up to the time of 2 Macc: it is found in Aristophanes (Vespae, 608: ἡ θυγάτηρ με ἀπονική καὶ τῷ πόδι ἀλείφη καὶ προσκυψάσα φιλήσῃ), twice in Plato (Euthydæmus, 275e: καὶ εν τούτῳ ὁ Διονυσοῦδωρος προσκύψας μοι μικρὸν πρὸς τὸ οὖς; Republica, 449b: καὶ προτείνας ἑαυτὸν ἐλεγεν ἄττα προσκεκυψα), and in Theophrastus (Characteres, 2.10.5: καὶ μὴ ταῦτα λέγων πρὸς τὸ οὖς προσκύπτων διαφθορίζειν).

103. προσονομάζω “to call by name”
6:2 molíναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμωι νεό καὶ προσονομάζασι Διὸς Ὀλυμπίων

This compound is attested in Herodotus (Historiae, 2.52.4: θεοὺς δὲ προσονομάζοσιν σφέας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου ὅτι κόσμω θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα), Aristoteles (cf. De caelo, 270b: αἰθέρα προσονομάζαν τὸν ἀνωτάτω τόπων), Polybius (Historiae, 2.16.11: τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔτερον στόμα προσονομάζεται Παδόα), and in the Aristeæ Epistula (16.3: ὅν καὶ πάντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ, βασιλεύ, προσονομάζοντες ἐτέρως

232 Harpocratio, Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos, 261: Πρόσκλησις: ἡ εἰς δικαστήριον κλήσεις, καὶ προσκαλέσασθαι τὸ παραγγέλλειν εἰς δίκην. Ημισθένθης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγνίου κλήσος, ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Δάμισπων.
This legal term appears in the Hellenistic period, in both literary and non-literary texts. It occurs 8 times in Polybius and 27 times in Diodorus Siculus. It designates the penalty for serious misdeeds such as desertion in the military (Polybius, Historiae, 1.17.11: τὸ γὰρ πρόστιμον παρ’ αυτοῖς θάνατός ἐστι τῷ προεμένῳ τὸν τόπον καὶ φυγόντι τὸ παράπαν ἐς ἐφεδρείας), offenses against the state (ib., 6.16.2: τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν, οίς θάνατος ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ πρόστιμον), bribery (ib., 56.5: παρὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίους δώρα φανερῶς διδόντες λαμβάνουσι τὰς ἀρχὰς, παρὰ δὲ Ρωμαίοις θάνατός ἐστι περὶ τούτο πρόστιμον), bodily harm (Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica, 12.17.4: τυφλώσαντα γὰρ ἄνα τῶν πολιτῶν, εἰ τὸ κατὰ νόμον πρόστιμον ὁ πράξας ὑπομένω, μὴ τετευχέναι τῆς ἱστης συμφορᾶς), perjury or calumny (ib., 1.77.2: πρῶτον μὲν οὖν κατὰ τῶν ἐπιώκρων θάνατος ἢ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ πρόστιμον; ib., 1.77.4: οἱ δὲ ψευδός τινος κατηγορήσαντες ώφειλον τούτο παθεῖν ὃ τοῖς συκοφαντηθεὶσιν ἐστάκις τρόστιμα), etc.

In the papyri, πρόστιμον designates a fine, a contractual penalty (cf. P.Dion. 9.35 [139 BCE]: διεγγυ[ά]τω δὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος προστίμου [τῶν] ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ξενικοῦ πράκτορος; P.Amh. 2.31.1.11 [112 BCE]: πειθανάγχης προσαχθείσης περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος προστίμου; BGU 4.1103.29 [13 BCE]: καὶ ἐνέχεσθαι τὸν παραβαίνοντα τοῖς τέ βλάβει καὶ τῶν ἄρσιμένων προστίμων). Also in the inscriptions: Miletos 41, A1, 36 [205/204 BCE]: ἐστωσαν καὶ οὕτοι ὑπόδικοι καὶ τάλλα πρόστιμα κατ’ αὐτῶν ὑπαρχόντα κατα ταῦτα; Chaniotis, Vertræge 60, A, B1, 7 [111/110 BCE]: ἢ δὲ τίς κα τίνα ἀδικήσῃ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἀποτεισάτω ἐξαπλόα τὰ πρόστιμα.

Along with πρόστιμον, in 2 Macc, 6:13 we encounter the term ἐπίτιμον (=ἐπιτίμοιμον, 151 L2 assessment of damages, penalty): τὸ μὴ πολύν χρόνον ἔσσθαι τοῖς δυσεβεῦντας, ἄλλ’ εὐθέως περιτίπτειν ἐπιτίμιοι; ἐπίτιμοι is Hellenistic for the Attic ἐπιτίμιοι,234 which occurs mostly in the plural (cf. Sophocles, Electra, 1382: καὶ δεῖξον ἀνθρώποις ἀπατήματα τῆς δυσεβείας οἷα διωρύνη θεοί; Xenophon Memorabilia, 3.12.3: ἢ καταφρονεῖς τῶν ἐπιτίμων τῆς καθεξίας τῶν τῶν; in the LXX, only in Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides, 9:5). The figurative use of πρόστιμον in the plural,

233 Hesychius, Lexicon, 3902: πρόστιμον· ζημία. παραγραφή.
reminiscent of the abovementioned line from Electra, indicates that the author employs it in lieu of ἐπίτιμον/ἐπιτιμιόν.

105. πρωτοκλίσια “festival on a king’s proclamation”

This word is elsewhere unattested and constitutes a crux interpretum. LSJ gives as a synonym another hapax legomenon totius graecitatis, τὰ ἀνακλητήρια, a ceremony for the coming of age of Ptolemaic kings, known only from Polybius (18.55.3 and 28.12.9: γέγονεν αὐτῷ [viz., king Ptolemy VI “the Philometor”] τὰ νομμιζόόμενα γίνεσθαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἐπαναλαμβάνοντα ἀνακλητήρια). The first element of the compound is the root πρωτ-, “first”, and the second either the root κλιν-, “recline”, or, if we accept the reading πρωτοκλήσια, καλε-, “call”. In the inscriptions and the NT, we encounter the term ἡ πρωτοκλίσια, “first seat at a table” (cf. ID 1520.3 [after 153/2 BCE]: ὑπαρχέέτω δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ κλισία ἐµμὲν τοῖς Ποσιδείιοις μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θύτου, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀλλαὶς συνόόδοις πάσαις πρωτοκλίσια; Evangelium secundum Lucam, 20:46: πρωτοκαθεδρίιας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλίσιας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις). The meaning of the latter term could be extended so as to fit the context of 2 Macc 4:21. In that case, τὰ πρωτοκλίσια would mean “the celebration of the first occasion on which the young king presided over a formal state banquet”, or “the ceremony of installing a new king, the enthronement”. Bunge, who reads πρωτοκλήσια, suggests that the term refers to the celebration, in 174 BCE, of the first anniversary of Ptolemy VI’s πρωτόόκλησις, viz., the assumption of the protocollary titles by the king who had been crowned the year before as Pharaoh according to Egyptian rites. The neuter plural ending –iα is found in analogous terms such as ἐγκαίίνια, LSJ “feast of renovation or consecration”, γενέέσια, LSJ “birthday-feast”, and πρωτογενέέσια, LSJ “celebration of the first birthday” (cf. C.Pap.Gr. 1.30.73 [140 CE]: τοῖς τοῦ παιδίου πρωτογενεσίοις).

106. ῥάδιος “easy”

What is worth-noting in the use of the common adjective ῥάδιος, in the impersonal construction ῥάδιόν (ἐστι), “it is easy”, is its juxtaposition, in the space of one verse,
with the synonymous adjective εὐχερής (2:27: οὗκ εὐχερές), an indication of the author’s concern to vary his vocabulary. The litotes οὗ ὀάδιὸν corresponds to χαλεπός, which occurs 11 times in the LXX, 3 of which in 2 Macc. In 4:17, οὗ ὀάδιὸν is used in the infrequent sense “it is not a light matter”, “it does not go unpunished” (cf. Euripides, Hecuba, 1247: τάχ’ οὗν παρ’ ύμιν ὀάδιὸν ξενοκτονεῖν).

107. σπασμός “drawing (of swords)”
5:2 μαχαιρών σπασμοῦς

The verb σπασω is attested from Homer onwards in the sense 135 "to draw (of a sword)” (cf. Homerus, Illias, 5.621: ἐκ νεφροῦ χάλκεων ἐγχος ἑσπάσαστ’; Herodotus, Historiae, 3.29.2: σπασάμενος το ἑγχευιδίου; Euripides, Orestes, 1148: φάσγανον σπάσω μέλιν; Xenophon, Anabasis, 1.8.29: σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκιν). It is very frequent in the LXX, conjoined with φαλάγγα and σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκιν. Among the other meanings of σπασω, 135 ιι “to cause convulsion or spasm” is attested in medical literature (cf. Hippocrates, De morbis popularibus, 5.1.86: και σπασθείσας ἐδιόην). The derivative substantive σπασμός is used almost exclusively in a medical sense (“spasm, convulsion”) in the relevant literature; it is only in 2 Macc that it appears in a military sense.

108. σπειρηδόν “by cohorts, in troops”
5:2 σπειρηδόν ἐξωπλισµένους; 12:20 σπειρηδόν κατέστρεψαν αὐτούς ἐπὶ τῶν σπειρῶν

σπειρα was a tactical infantry unit in the Ptolemaic army, consisting of 256 men. Four σπειρα constituted a χιλιαρχία, while each σπειρα was divided into four τετραχρία of 64 men.243 In Polybius we encounter the adverbials κατὰ σπειράς (Historiae, 3.115.12: οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι φαλαγγηδόν, ἄλλα κατ’ ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ σπειράς) and the neologism σπειρηδόν (ib., 5.4.9: σπειρηδόν τάξας; 11.11.6: τὴν φαλαγγα κατὰ τέλη σπειρηδόν ἐν διαστήμασιν ἐπέστηση).244 In the LXX, the former term is found only in Judith (14:11: καὶ ἀνέλαβεν πᾶς ἀνήρ τὰ ὁπλα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξήλθοσαν κατὰ σπειράς), and the latter only in 2 Macc. Adverbs ending in –ηδόν are found in the Greek books of the LXX: in 2 Macc, the Polybian σπειρηδόν, the Homeric ἀγεληδόν, the neologisms λευτηδόν (11:11) and κρουνηδόν (14:45); in 4 Macc, ἐθνηδόν (2:19) and ταυρηδόν (15:19); in Sapientia Salomonis, the Polybian neologism σωρηδόν (18:23).

241 εὐχερής, rare in classical literature, also occurs in Proverbia, 14:6, and in Judith, 7:10.
242 Cf. Grimm 1857: 84: “mit Gefahr und Strafe verbunden; Vulg.: impune non cedit”.
244 Goldstein (1984: 248) notes that Polybius was probably the first to use σπειρα to designate “the Roman tactical unit, which in his time was the ‘manipulus’ of 120 men” and that “the formations of the infantry in the apparitions [in 2 Macc, 4:1-4] were of the Roman type”. For the adverbs in –ηδόν used in or coined by Polybius, see De Foucault 1972: 33-34.
109. σπλαγχνιῶς “to share in the sacrifices”
6:8 ψφίσμα δὲ ἐξέτεεν εἰς τὰς ἀστυγείτιονας Ἑλληνιδάς πόλεις Πτολεμαίοιν ὑποθεμένουν τὴν αὐτὴν ἁγωγὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἱουδαίων ἄγειν καὶ σπλαγχνίζειν

110. σπλαγχνισμός “the eating of internal organs of a sacrificial victim or pagan sacrifices”
6:7 ἦγοντο δὲ μετὰ πικρᾶς ἀνάγκης εἰς τὴν κατὰ μήνα τοῦ βασιλέως γενέθλιον ἥμεραν ἐπὶ σπλαγχνισμὸν; 6:21 οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ παρανόμον ὑποθεμένου τεταγμένο; 7:42 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοὺς σπλαγχνισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ὑπερβαλλόντιας αἰκίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δεδηλώθω

The original meaning of σπλάγχνα is LSJ I.11 “inward parts, esp. the heart, lungs, liver, kidneys, which in sacrifices were reserved to be eaten by the sacrificers at the beginning of their feast”, or LSJ I.12 “any part of the inwards”. Already in tragic poetry the word also denotes the seat of feelings such as anger, love and compassion.245 These two senses of σπλάγχνα appear in 2 Macc: in 9:5-6, Antiochus is seized by pain in his bowels (ἐλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀνήκεστος τῶν σπλάγχνων ἄλγηδὼν), which is a punishment for his having tortured the vitals of others (ἐτέρων σπλάγχνα βασανίζαντα). The verb which means LSJ I.1 “to eat the inwards of a victim after a sacrifice” or LSJ II.1 “to prophesy from the inwards” is σπλαγχνεύω, attested only once in classical literature (Aristophanes, Aves, 984: λυπή θύωντας καὶ σπλαγχνεύειν ἐπὶ θυμῷ), and sporadically found in later authors. The synonymous verb σπλαγχνίζομαι is quoted solely in an inscription from Cos (HKG 4.14 [mid. 4th c. BCE]: σπλαγχνίζεται πράττειν μὲν [τὰ ἐπὶ βωμοῦ, εἰτὰ τὰ] ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου) and in 2 Macc.246 The derivative σπλαγχνισμός is a neologism of 2 Macc and a dis legomenon: it reappears in Hippolytus [3rd c. CE], who quotes freely from 2 Macc (De Antichristo, 49: τοὺς δὲ μὴ βουλομένους ὑποτάσσεσθαι, τούτους μετὰ σπλαγχνισμῶν καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀναφέρεσθαι).

111. στοιχείωσις “elementary exposition, fashion of the elements”
7:22 οὐκ ὁδεγοὶ ὑπὸς εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἐφάνη κοιλίαν, οὐδὲ ἑγὼ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐμὴν ἐχαρίσαμήν, καὶ τὴν ἐκάστον στοιχείωσιν οὐκ ἑγὼ διερρόθμησα

στοιχείωσις traces its etymology to στοιχεῖον (from στείχω, “to walk”), LSJ I.11 “row”, “file of persons marching one behind another”. From στοιχεῖον came στοιχεῖον, usually in the plural: στοιχεῖα: (a) the elements of the alphabet as sounds arranged in a series and as component parts of the words, (b) in physics and philosophy, the constituent parts of the universe, the four primary cosmic elements, earth, air, fire, water,247 (c) generally, fundamental principles.248 In the LXX, στοιχεία occurs 3 times in the sense of “elemental substances” (Sapientia Salomonis, 7:17: ἀυτὸς γὰρ μοι ἐδωκέν τὸν

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246 The middle σπλαγχνισμόμαι, in the sense “to feel pity, compassion or mercy”, does not occur outside Jewish and early Christian literature.
248 See Chantraine, s.v. στείχω, LSJ, Moulton, s.v. στοιχεῖον, TDNT, s.v. στοιχεῖα.
The earliest occurrence of στοιχείωσις (from στοιχείω, 139“instruct in the basic principles”) is found in Epicurus (Epistula ad Herodotum, 37.5; και ταυτόν τινα ἐπιτομήν <συνεδρία> και στοιχείωσιν τῶν ὀλίων δοξῶν), whose theory of physics was summarized in a treatise entitled Δωδεκα στοιχείωσεις, the “Twelve elementary principles” (op. cit., 44.9). The term is also found in the titles of other lost technical and philosophical treatises in the sense of “exposition of the elementary principles” (cf. Archimedes, De sphaera et cylindro, 1.19.4: ταύτα γάρ ἐν τῇ Στοιχείωσει παραδέδοται; Eudromus, Fragmenta, 1.4: καὶ Εὐδρομός ἐν τῇ ἡθικῇ στοιχείωσει; Posidonius, Fragmenta, 334.2: ὡς φησί Ποσειδόνιος ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογίᾳ στοιχείωσει), as well as in the fragments of the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus [1st c. BCE] (Περί εὐσεβείας, 13.347: στο<χου>ς-[είως] σις ὡσ[ιων οὐσια] φαινο[ιτ'] ἅ[ν έν]ήτης). In any case, the word is a LXX hapax legomenon but not a LXX neologism, as labelled in LEH.

As regards the meaning of the word in 2 Macc, 7:22, the translators and commentators point out that στοιχείωσις is used as a philosophical terminus technicus denoting the composition of the physical elements in the human body.249 These elements are not clay, skin, bones and sinews as in Job, 10:9-11 (αι χείρες σου ἐπλασάν με καὶ ἐποίησάν με, μέτα ταύτα μεταβαλὼν με ἐπιείκεια, μνησθῆτι ὅτι πηλόν με ἐπιλασάς, εἰς δέ γην με πάλιν ἀποστρέφεις. ἢ οὐκ ἠπεστὰ γάλα με ἡμελέας, ἐτύρωσας δὲ με ἴσα τυρώ; δέομα καὶ κρέας με ἐνέδυσας, ὡστεὶς δε καὶ νεύροις με ἐνείρας) but rather the four Greek cosmological elements.250 It is astonishing that a term as sophisticated as στοιχείωσις (as well as διαρρυθµικός, with which it is conjoined) is put in the mouth of the mother of the seven martyrs, and even more astonishing that the latter is supposed to be speaking in her “ancestral language” (7:21 τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ), i.e., Hebrew, which has no equivalent term.

112. συμμετέχω “to take part in, to partake of”
5:20 αὐτὸς ο ὁ τόπος συμμετασχῶν τῶν τοῦ ἐθνῶς δύσπετημάτων

The simplex μετέχω with genitive occurs 10 times in the LXX, 3 of which in 2 Macc (4:14: ἐσπευδὸν μετέχειν τῆς ἐν παλαιότητι παρανόμου χορηγίας; 5:10: κηδείας οὐδ’ ἑστινοσοῦν ούτε πατρὸς τάφου μετέχεις; 5:27: πρὸς τὸ μή μετασχεῖν τοῦ μολυσμοῦ). There are hardly 10 instances of the compound συμμετέχω in the literature prior to 2 Macc (cf. Euripides, Bacchae, 63: συμμετασχήσω χορῶν; Plato,

Philebus, 54b: τοῦ λόγου συμμέτεχε; Aristoteles, Politica, 1330a21: μή συμμετέχειν βουλής). In the papyri, it is used in a legal sense of people who share a house or are business associates (cf. SB 24.16134.11 [137 BCE]: ἐπεὶ υπαρχούσης μοι πατρικῆς οἰκίας ἐν τῇ σημαίνομενή κώμῃ, ἢ καὶ συμμετέχοισιν κατὰ τὸ ἡμίσυ Αρμύσις καὶ Δήμαρχος; BGU 6.1282.5 [2nd-1st c. BCE]: ὁμολογούμεν συμμετέχειν υμῖν τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος Παοῦτι Σαββαταίοι περὶ Νείλου πόλιν κεραμείοι). Also in the inscriptions: SEG 52.724.42 [c. 200 BCE]: ὁμολογοῦμεν συμμετέχειν τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος Παοῦτι Σαββαταίοι περὶ Νείλου πόλιν κεραμείοι).

113. συμμισσοπονήσω (see μισσοπονηρέω)

114. συμφλογίζω “P: to be burnt together”

6:11 μηνυθέντες τῷ Φιλίππῳ συνεφλογίσθησαν

φλογίζω, 15) ὑποστείλω “set on fire, burn”, is rare in classical writers, who use καίω/καίω and φλέγω. It occurs twice in Sophocles (Philoctetes, 1199: οὐδ’ εἰς πυρφόρος ἀστερόπητης βροντᾶς αὐγαίς μ’ εἰσί φλογίζων; Trachiniae, 95: ὃν αἰόλα νῦς ἐναριζομένα τίτκει κατευνάζει τε φλογίζομεν), and once in [Ps.-] Aristoteles (De mundo, 397a: πυρκαϊαῖς τε κατὰ κατὰ φλογιζομένη). In the LXX, it occurs 7 times in the sense “to set on fire, to burn up, to consume”. The compound συμφλογίζω is a neologism and a tris legomenon. It also occurs in Theodotion’s Isaías, 42:25, and in Barsanuphius et Joannes [6th c. CE], Quaestiones et responsiones, 48.65: ἵνα μὴ συμφλογισθῇς αὐτοῖς τῇ ὀργῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

115. σύμφορον “the good, welfare”

4:5 τὸ δὲ σύμφορον κοινῇ καὶ κατ’ ἴδιαν παντὶ τῷ πλῆθει σκοπῶν

In 2 Macc, both the substantivized neuter of the adjective σύμφορος and the substantivized neuter of the present participle συμφέρων occur. τὸ συμφέρον is much more widely attested in literature than τὸ σύμφορον, and is found 7 times in the LXX, inter alia in 2 Macc (11:15: τοῦ συμφέροντος φροντίζων). As parallel phrases from classical literature we may quote Aristoteles, Fragmenta varia, 1.12.80.78: ὁ καλὸν τε υπάρχειν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ σύμφορον ἴδια καὶ κοινῇ, and, with σύμφορον substituted by συμφέρον, Plato, Timaeus, 71a: περὶ τοῦ πᾶσι κοινῆ καὶ ἴδια συμφέροντος ἐῳ βουλεύεσθαι. Also in the inscriptions: IGBulg F 390.9 [b. 72 BCE]: δημοσία τε καὶ ἴδια ἅντον τε ἀποδεικνύμενος τοὺς ἐνυπνιάνυσθαι εὐχηθησον καὶ σύμφορον τῇ τε πόλει.

251 See also Spicq, s.v. μετέχω, μετοχή, μέτοχος.
116. συνεκκεντέω “to pierce through at once”
5:26 καὶ τοὺς ἐξελθόντας πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν συνεκκεντήσεν

Of the 5 compounds of κεντέω, “to prick, to stab, to pierce”, occurring in the LXX, 3 are found in 2 Macc: ἐκκεντέω, “to pierce, to stab” (12:6: τοὺς δὲ ἐκεὶ συμφυγόντας ἐξεκεντήσεν), and the LXX hapax legomena συγκεντέω, “to pierce, to stab, to put to the sword” (12:23: συγκεντῶν τοὺς Ἀλιτηρίους διέεφθειρέν τε εἰς μυριάδας τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν), and συνεκκεντέω. ἐκκεντέω is attested 3 times in Aristoteles, in the sense LSJ I “to prick out” (Historia animalium, 508b6: ἐὰν γὰρ τις ἐκκεντήσῃ τὰ ὄμματα τῶν ὀφεων), 3 times in Polybius in the sense LSJ II “to stab” (cf. Historiae, 24.7.7: τοῦτον ἀποπορευόµενον ἡµµέρας ἐκ βαλανείιου προσπέµµψας τινὰς ἐξεκέεντησεν), and 9 times in the LXX, in the sense “to pierce, to stab, to massacre”. συγκεντέω is attested twice in Herodotus (cf. Historiae, 3.77.11: σπασάµµενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια τούτους µµὲν τοὺς ἴσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συγκεντέουσι), and 3 times in Polybius (cf. Historiae, 15.33.6: προσδραµμόόντες τινὲς ἀφίνω συνεκέεντησαν). συνεκκεντέω, combining the prefixes attested in the aforementioned verbs, is a neologism of 2 Macc.

117. συνελαύνω “A: to drive”, “P: to be driven to”
4:26 φυγὰς εἰς τὴν Ἀµµανῖτιν χώραν συνήλαστο; 4:42 πάντας δὲ εἰς φυγὴν συνήλασαν; 5:5 τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει συνελασθέέντων

The compound συνελαύνω is infrequently attested from Homer onwards. We may note in the abovecited examples the insertion of σ in the passive aorist participle συνελασθέέντων, instead of the Attic συνελαθέέντων (cf. Epicurus, Epistula ad Pythoclem, 109.7: ἃ συνελασθέέντα πῆξιν τῷ ὕδατι παρεσκεύασε; Polybius, Historiae, 18.22.6: οὐκέέτι συνηλάάσθησαν ἕως ἐς τοὺς ἐπιπέέδους τόόπους), and the late pluperfect συνηληλάάµµην, instead of the Attic συνηληλαµμέένος εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήήν (cf., however, the Attic perfect in Polybius: op. cit., 4.48.2: συνεληλαµμένος εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήήν).252

118. συννοέω “to comprehend, to understand”
5:6 οὐ συννοῶν τὴν εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς εἰσηµεριαν δοµηµερίαν εἶναι τὴν µεγίστην; 11:13 συννόησας ἀνικήητους εἶναι; 14:3 συννόησας ὅτι καθ’ ὀντιναοῦ τρόπον οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ σωτηρία

συννοέω is attested from the 5th c. BCE. It is particularly favored by Plato (34x) and Polybius (26x). It is also found in the papyri from the 2nd c. BCE (cf. UPZ 1.110.97 [164 BCE]: ος οὐδ᾽ αὐτό τοῦτο γε δυνήσεται συννοείν; P.Tebt. 1.24.30 [117 BCE]: οἱ δὲ συννόησαντες τὸ<ν> ἐγδησόµενον κίνδυνον).

119. συσσύρω “to pull down, to pull about”
5:16 ταῖς βεβήλοις χερσίν συσσύρων

The neologism συσσύρω belongs to the group of verbs compounded with συν-, for which the author of 2 Macc seems to have a certain fondness. In this verse, the author describes the profanation of the temple of Jerusalem by Antiochus IV: the king takes the holy vessels with his polluted hands (ταῖς μιαρᾶς χερσὶν τὰ ιερὰ σκεύη λαμβάνων) and “sweeps away” with profane hands the votive offerings that other kings had made (καὶ τὰ ὑπὶ ἀλλὰς βασιλέων ἀνατεθέντα [...] ταῖς βεβήλοις χερσίν συσσύρων). The juxtaposition of the two participles, λαμβάνων and the ad hoc coined συσσύρων, is analogous to the pairing of the verbs λαμβάνω (repeated 4 times) and the rare λεπίζω in the corresponding passage of 1 Macc, 1:21-24:

καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἁγίασμα ἐν ὑπερφάνειαν καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσόν καὶ τὴν λυχνίαν τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν τραπέζαν τῆς προθήκης καὶ τὰ σπαράξαι καὶ τὰς φιάλας καὶ τὰς θυίασις καὶ τὸ καταπέέσαμα καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους καὶ τὸν κόσμον τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἔλεπτον πάντα· καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸ ἄργυρον καὶ τὸ χρυσόν καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἐπιθύμητα καὶ ἔλαβεν τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἀποκρύφους, οὓς εὑρεῖν· καὶ λαβὼν πάντα ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ.

But how fitting is the use of συσσύρω in this context? In literature, the simplex σύρω (trans.) is used of: (a) a plough (cf. Aesopus, Fabulae, 38.1.5: ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρον τὸ ἀρότρον ἐσυρεῖν); (b) feet, slippers or tunics (cf. Hippocrates, De articulis, 60.8: καὶ σύρουσι δὲ ἐνίοτε πρὸς τὴν γῆν τὸν πόδα; Anaxilas, Fragmenta (Kock), 18.2: βλαύτας σύρων; Theocritus, Idyllia, 2.73: καλὸν σύροισα); (c) of bodies (cf. Timaeus, Fragmenta (Jacoby), 115.3: ἐκ τοῦ σκέλους φησί τῷ χωλῷ τὰ παιδία τὸν νεκρὸν ἐφαψάμενα τοῦ Φιλίστου σύρειν διὰ τῆς πόλεως). In the LXX, it is used in the sense: (a) “to trail along”: Isaías, 3:16: σύρουσι τοὺς χειρόνας, (b) “to draw, to drag”: Regnorum ii, 17:13: καὶ λήμυρεται πάς Ἰσραηλ πρὸς τὴν πόλην ἐκείνην σχοινία καὶ συροῦμεν αὐτὴν ἐως εἰς τὸν χειμάρρον; 4 Macc, 6:1: οἱ δορυφόροι πικρῶς ἐσυροῦν ἐπὶ τὰ βασανιστήρια τὸν Ἐλεαζαρον, (c) “to sweep away”: Isaías, 28:2: ὡς ύδατος πολύ πλῆθος σύρων χωραν. The notion of “tearing away, taking by violence from, plundering” is conveyed by the compounds of σύρω: κατασύρω (cf. Pherecydes, Fragmenta, 87a.5: πλείοντιν ἐντευθέν κατασύρασα λείαν; Phylarchus, Fragmenta (Jacoby), 70.7: Φαύλλος δὲ τὰ τὰ ἄλλα κατασύρα τὸν ἐλευθέρων ἀναθήματα ἀναιρεῖται καὶ τὸν ὅμοιον), and περισύρω (cf. Hyperides, Fragmenta, 264: λείαν περισύραστο; Polybius, Historiae, 3.93.1: τὴν μὲν λείαν αὐτῶν ἥπισεν ἀδημόστως περισύρειν).253 συσσύρω is coined along this line of compounds. The prefix συν-, “together with”, was probably chosen not only because reference is

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253 We may add ἀνασύρομαι, in the sense 131 ἄπολεγε "to plunder, to ravage", occurring in Plutarchus, De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute, p. 330, D, 2: οὐδ' ὄπλος ἄραγα καὶ λάφυρον εὐτυχιας ἀνελπιστού σταμάζα με καὶ ἀνασύρομαι διανοθήσθαι. Cf. Hesychius, Lexicon, 4624: ἀνασυφόμεθα τὸ πολὺ ἀργύριον ἢ τί ἄλλο λαμβάνειν σύραι ἐλεγον Ἀττικοὶ μεταφορικῶς, ἀπὸ τῶν τὰς τοστήνας ἀρόντων.
made to both the holy vessels and the offerings, but also for the effect of alliteration it produces (χερσὶν συσσύύρων).

120. συχνός “frequent, much”

The adjective is abundantly attested in literature: it occurs in Herodotus (47x), in Thucydides (3x), in Xenophon (12x), in Plato (54x), in Aristotle (13x), in Polybius (1x), in Diodorus Siculus (53x) and in Dionyssius Halicarnassensis (100x). It is rare in the inscriptions (cf. IG IV² 1.122.4 [4th c. BCE]: ὡς δ’ ἐξερρύύα συχνὸν ὑγό[ό]ν; Teos 59.82 [c. 303 BCE]: ἀναλίίσκειν χρήηµατα συχνὰ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα [όντα], and extremely rare in the papyri.

121. τηγανίίζω “to fry in the frying pan”

In classical literature, τάάγηνον or τήγανον,254 “frying pan”, is attested almost exclusively in the fragments of comic poets. In the LXX, aside from a cooking utensil,255 the word designates an instrument of torture and death (cf. 2 Macc, 7:3: ὃ βασιλεὺς προσέεταξεν τήηγανα καὶ λέέβητας ἐκπυροῦν; 4 Macc, 8:13: τροχούύς τε καὶ ἀρθρέέµμβολα, στρεβλωτήήρια τε καὶ τροχαν τῆρας καὶ καταπέέλτας καὶ λέέβητας, τήηγανάά τε καὶ δακτυλήήθρας καὶ χεὶρας σιδηρᾶς καὶ σφῆνας καὶ τὰ ζώώπυρα τοῦ πυρὸς). The derivative verb ταγηνίίζω or τηγανίίζω, “to fry”, occurs in the fragments of the comic poets Eupolis (Fragmenta (Kock), 351: {ΑΛΚΙΒ.} μισῶ λακωνίίζειν, ταγηνίίζειν δὲ κἂν πριαίίµμην) and Posidippus (Fragmenta (Kock), 5: τηγανίίζεσθαι),256 and the compound ἀποταγηνίίζω or ἀποτηγανίίζω,151 “to eat off the frying pan, to broil”, in the fragments of Sotades (Fragmenta (Kock), 1: καρῖδας ἐλαβον πρῶτον, ἀπεταγήήνισα τάυτας ἁπάάσας), Pherecrates (Fragmenta (Kock), 123), Phrynicus (Fragmenta (Kock), 57), and Machon (Fragmenta (Gow), 18.421).257 In the LXX, it occurs in Jeremias, 36:22, in a martyrological sense: οὐς ἀπετηγάάνισεν βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος ἐν πυρὶ.

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256 The word is marked as “neol.?” by LEH, although attested prior to Polybius.

257 The only occurrence in the papyri is found in a 1st c. CE letter from Arsinoites (BGU 2.665.3: [ἐ]τηγανίζετο ἀναβῆναι, ὅπως σε παρακαλέσῃ [ἐ]ὐλαβεῖν αὐτὴν).
122. τιµωρητής “avenger”
4:16 τούτους πολεµίους καὶ τιµωρητὰς ἔσχον

There are three nomina agentis derived from τιµωρέω: the amply attested τιµμώροός, in the sense of “avenger, vindicator” (Aeschylus, Agamemnon, 1280: ἥξει γὰρ ἡµῶν ἄλλος αὐ τιµάορος, μητροκτόνον φίτυμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός), the Herodotean hapax legomenon totius graecitatis τιµμωρητήής (Historiae, 5.80.5: δοκέεω ἡµῖν Αἰγινητέέων δέέεσθαι τὸν θεόν χρῆσαι τιµμωρητήήρων γενέσθαι), and the neologism of 2 Macc τιµμωρητήής. The latter may have been coined on the model of the LXX hapax legomenon ἐκδικητήής in Psalmi, 8:3: τοῦ καταλῦσαι ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητήν.258

123. τριήήρης “trireme”
4:20 εἰς τὰς τῶν τριηρέέων κατασκευάάς

Noteworthy in the use of this common substantive is the (Ionic) uncontracted form of the genitive plural τριηρέέων instead of τριήήρων,259 which in literature is attested only in Herodotus (Historiae, 3.37.7: ἐν τῇσι πρORIZED τῶν τριηρέέων; ib., 7.36.13, and 7.89.1). In the inscriptions, there are on the whole 37 occurrences of τριήήρων/τριηρῶν and 2 of τριηρέέων/τριηρέέων (cf. IG XII 1 43.20 [100-50 BCE]: πρωρατεύύσαντα τριηρέέων; IC I xvi 35.1: Ῥοδίίων οἱ στρατευσάάµμενοι µµετὰ ἄρχοντος τᾶν τριήήρεων Εὐαγόόρα). In Koine, the genitive plural frequently occurs uncontracted in 3rd declension nouns in -ος (cf. 2 Macc, 12:14; 17: τῶν τειχέέων).260

124. τρόόπαιον “trophy”
5:6 δοκῶν δὲ πολεµίων καὶ οὐχ ὀµοεθνῶν τρόόπαια καταβάάλλεσθαι;
15:6 διεγνώκει κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰουδαν συστήήσασθαι τρόόπαιον

In classical Greece, a trophy marked the site of a victory in a land battle. It consisted of a suit of enemy armour and weapons set upon a cross so as to represent the θεός τροπαιος who had routed the enemy. From the 4th c. BCE, victories were commemorated by more permanent trophies, which were treated as monuments. The Hellenistic kings used to erect such monuments to their victories in public places.261 In 15:6, reference is made to a κοινὸν τρόόπαιον, viz., a public monument, which the governor of Judea Nicanor intended to erect in token of his victory over Judas Maccabeus. In 5:6, on the contrary, τρόόπαια is used as a metaphor for military victory. The verb usually conjoined with τρόόπαιον is ἵστηµι. Rarely attested are the verbs τίίθηµι (Aeschylus, Septem contra Thebas, 956; Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 318), ἱδρύοµµαι (Euripides, Heraclidae, 786), and the compounds ἀνίίστηµι (Hegesander, 258 In 2 Macc, most quotations and allusions to the Bible are from the LXX Pentateuch (see Dimant 1987 and Van der Kooij 1999). A reference to the “books of David”, viz., the Psalms, is made in 2:13: ἐπισυνήήγαγεν τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων βιβλία καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυιδ.
261 Goldstein 1973: 474; OCD, s.v. trophies, p. 1556.
Apart from its occurrence in 2 Macc, this extremely rare adverb is found in a 2nd c. BCE inscription from Pessinus (Strubbe, Cat. Pessinus 7.7 [159-156 BCE]: πολλοὶ μὲν ύπεραγόντως ἐγίνοντο λόγοι). It reappears in a 3rd c. CE Homeric commentary (Porphyrius, Quaestionum Homericarum ad Iliadem pertinentium reliquiae, 18.100.4: υπεραγόντως μεγάλην), and in a gloss in Hesychius (Lexicon, 493: υπενόθευσεν· ὑπεραγὸντα). It is derived from the present participle of the Hellenistic verb υπεράγω, LSJ II “to excel, to surpass” (cf. Philo Mech., Belopoeica, p. 58.21: τὴν υπεράγουσαν ἐπιστροφήν; 1 Macc, 6:43: καὶ ἦν υπεράγον πάντα τὰ θηρία; Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica, 4.85.1: πολὺ τῶν μνημονευομένων ἡρώων υπεράγοντα φιλοκυνῆγον γενέσθαι). In 2 Macc, we also find the Hellenistic adverb υπεράγαν (10:34: υπεράγαν ἐβλασφήµµουν), which is also a LXX hapax.

The compound υπονοθεύω,263 a neologism of 2 Macc, is sparingly attested in the literature of the 1st c. BCE. It appears in the Fragmentum of the Hellenistic astrologer Timaeus Praxidas (vol. 1, 98.13: ὑπὸ γείτονος ὡς τινός τῶν συνεστίων υπονοθεύεσαι; ib., 98.24: ἄργυρον ἀποίσει ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ὀλίγον, καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ υπονοθεύειν), in Diodorus Siculus (Bibliotheca historica, 6.5.1: μυστικὰς φαντασίας ποιῶν τινας καὶ υπονοθεύων αὐτάς [viz. τάς γυναίκας]), in Dionysius Halicarnassensis (Antiquitates Romanae, 11.18.2: ὅταν ταχεῖαν ψηφιούµεθα τῇ υπονοθευοµένῃ χώρᾳ τὴν βοήθειαν, and in a 1st c. BCE inscription (Mylasa 133.2 [38 BCE-14 CE]: καὶ [τ]ὰς ύπέρ τῶν δημοσίων κτήσεις εἰς τὸν κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως καρφισµῶν τινῶν ἀνα<σ>[τα]ς ὑπονοθεύειν). The simplex νοθεύω,159 ἰν’ “to corrupt (a woman, a marriage)”, 159 ἰν’ “to adulterate”, appears only once in the LXX (Sapientia Salomonis, 14:24: οὖτε βίως οὐτε γάμους καθαροὺς ἐτε ψηφιούµεθα, ἐτερος δ’ ἐτερον ἢ λοχῶν ἀναιρεί ἢ νοθεύων ὀδυνά). Abel comments that υπονοθεύω, used derogatorily by the author of 2 Macc, implies that Jason bought the high priesthood in the way a man buys the favours of a

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262 ἄγαν occurs only in 3 Macc, 4:11.
263 Hesychius, Lexicon, 314: υπενόθευσεν· υπέφθειεν; 707: υπονοθεύσαν· υποφθείαν.
courtesan. However, to the best of our knowledge, there are no instances of νοθεύω or ὑπονοθεύω used with reference to a courtesan. Schwarz more aptly remarks that in 4:7 the verb suggests that, by obtaining the high priesthood by corruption, Onias degraded the office.

127. ύποψία “suspicion”
4:34 καίπερ ἐν ὑποψίᾳ κείμενος

This substantive is amply attested from Herodotus onwards. From the same root, the adjective ὑποψίτος (2 Macc 3:32; 12:4) is also a LXX hapax, whereas the verb ὑποπτεύω, “to view with apprehension or anxiety”, occurs in Psalmi, 118:39 and in Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides, 9:13 (καὶ οὐ μὴ ὑποπτεύς φόβον θανάτου). We may note in this verse the construction κείμαι ἐν with dative, which is frequent in 2 Macc (cf. 3:11: ἀνδρὸς ἐν ὑπεροχῇ κειµένου; 3:31: ἐν ἑσχάτῃ πνεύµατι κειµένων; 4:31: τῶν ἐν αξιώµατι κειµένων; 15:18: ἐν ἤτοιν μέρει κειµένων).

128. φρόνημα “thinking, mind”
7:21 ἡκαστὸν δὲ αὐτῶν παρεκάλει τῇ πατρίδι φωνῇ γενναίᾳ πεπληρωµένῃ φρονήµατι;
13:9 τοίς δὲ φρονήµασιν ὁ βασιλεὺς βεβαρβαρωµένος

In classical literature, φρόνημα (general meaning: “mind, spirit”) is used in either a positive sense (“high spirit”: cf. Thucydides, Historiae, 2.61.3: δουλοί γὰρ φρόνηµα τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ τὸ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ξυµµβαῖνον) or a negative sense (“arrogance”: cf. Aeschylus, Prometheus vinctus, 953: σεµμνόόστοµµόός γε καὶ φρονήµατος πλέως ὁ µυθὸς ἐστιν; also in the plural: Isocrates, Plataicus, 37.7: παυσάµενοι τῶν φρονηµάτων ἠθὸν ὡς ὑµᾶς, ταπεινότερον διατεθέέντες ἢ νῦν ἠµείς τυγχάάνοµεν ἔχοντες). Both senses are exemplified in 2 Macc: in 7:21, the mother of the seven martyrs is filled with a “noble spirit”, whereas in 13:9 king Antiochus is full of “barbarous arrogance”.

129. φύρδην “with confusion”
4:41 τινὲς δὲ ἐκ τῆς παρακειµένης σποδοῦ δρασσόµενοι φύρδην ἐνετίνασσον εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυσίµαχον

This rare adverb, derived from φύω, to mix something dry with something wet”, is attested only 5 times up to the 1st c. BCE, in tragic poetry and historiography (Aeschylus, Persae, 812: δαµιόνων θ’ ἱδρύµατα πρόφυριξα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων; Sophocles, Fragmenta (Radt), 210.39: σύρει δὴ φύρδαν; Xenophon, Cyropaedia, 7.1.37: φύρδην ἐμάχοντο; Polybius,

264 Abel 1949: 331: “L’auteur flétrit la surenchère qui valut à Jason le pontificat par le terme ὑπονοθεύειν: obtenir une dignité comme les faveurs d’une courtisane, à prix d’argent”.
265 Schwarz 2008: 218.
266 Hesychius, Lexicon, 1024: φύρδην· ἀτάκτως, συγκεχυµένος, ἀναµιέ.
Historiae, 16.8.9: τοὺς αἰγαλοὺς ἦν ἰδεῖν φύσην σεσωρευμένους ἀναμεί πάντων τῶν προειρημένων [viz., νεκρῶν, αἰματως, ὅπλων, ναυαγίων]; ib., 30.11.6: πάντα δ᾽ εἰκῆ καὶ φύσην ἐπράττετο). Another very rare adverb in –δὴν occurring in 2 Macc is ὀψη, “violently, furiously” (3:25: φερόμενος δὲ ὀψῆν), attested only in the fragments of Hipponax and in Polybius (Fragmenta ex incertis libris, 18: ἐφέστε ὀψῆν). We may assume that the author of 2 Macc drew both φύσην and ὀψῆν from Polybius.

130. χορτώδης “of grass, grass-like”
5:27 τὴν χορτώδη τροφὴν σιτούμενοι

χόρτος, initially [Latin] “enclosed feeding-space” (Homer, Ilias, 11.774: αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτῳ), designates from Hesiod onwards the “fodder”, especially for horses and cattle (cf. Hesiodus, Opera et dies, 606: χόρτον δ᾽ ἐσκομμίσατα καὶ συφοτένων, ὥσπερ τοι εἰς βουσὶ καὶ ἡμιόνοισιν ἐπηεταν). The “hay” (cf. Xenophon, Anabasis, 1.5.10: ψυχαίρας ὁς εἴχον στεγάσματα ἐπίπλασαν χόρτων κούφου), the “grass” (cf. ib., 1.5.5: οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὔτε ἀλλὰ οὔτε δὲνδρον, ἀλλὰ ψυχή ἦν ἀπασά ὧ ψυχά), or food in general (cf. Hipponax, Fragmenta, 26.6: σύκα μέτωπο τρώγων καὶ κραθίνον κόλλικα, δούλων χόρτον). In the LXX, χόρτος translates the Hebrew “’ēseḥ”, “seed-bearing annuals springing up after rain: grass, weeds, vegetables, cereals”.267 It occurs 50 times along with λάχανον (edible herbs and vegetables), and βοτάνη (rendering the Hebrew “deše”, grass, “’ēseḥ”, cultivated plants, and “ḥāṣîr”, herbage).268 The attachment of the suffix –άδης, denoting resemblance or, in this case, abundance,269 to χόρτος has led to the formation of the neologism χορτώδης, “rich in grass”, modelled after ποώδης (cf. Herodotus, Historiae, 4.47: ἢ τε γὰρ γῆ ἐνύσα πεδίας αὕτη ποώδης τε καὶ εὐνύδος ἐστι; Theophrastus, Historia plantarum, 7.9.2: ποώδη καὶ χλωδή). Of the 25 adjectives in –άδης occurring in the LXX, 4 are found in 2 Macc, and 3 of them are LXX hapax legomena: ἀντρώδης, ληρώδης, χορτώδης.270

131. ψυχικῶς “heartily, from the heart”
4:37 ψυχικῶς σὺν ὡς ἀντίχως ἐπιλυπθείς; 14:24 ψυχικῶς τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσεκέκλιτο

The adverb ψυχικῶς is a neologism of 2 Macc. It derives from the adjective ψυχικός, “belonging to the soul, mental”, attested from Aristotle onwards as an initially philosophical term complementary to σωματικός, “bodily” (cf. Ethica Nicomachea, 1117b28: δημιουργοῦσαν δὴ αἱ ψυχικαὶ καὶ αἱ σωματικαὶ [’ηδονα]); Polybius (Historiae, 6.5.7: τῇ σωματικῇ ὀψη καὶ τῇ ψυχικῇ τόλμη; I. Aeg. Thrace 5.20 [166-160 BCE]: ψυχικὴν ἀμα καὶ σωματικὴν] ὑπέμειναν κ[α]κοπαθίαν).271 In the LXX, the

267 NIDNTT, vol. 2, p. 211.
269 Kühner 1892: 298.
270 The fourth, ὀψη, is also attested in 4 Macc, 12:13: θησιωδεστατε.
271 See TDNT, s.v. ψυχικός.
adjective occurs only in 4 Macc (1:32: τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμμῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσὶν ψυχικαί, αἱ δὲ σωματικαί). In 2 Macc, ψυχικῶς is used in the hapax sense “from the heart”, ex animo. It corresponds to the LXX adverbial ἐκ ψυχῆς (cf. Deuteronomium, 13:4: εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε κύριον τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν ἐκ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ ἐκ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν; Ezechiel, 25:15: ἐπιχαίροντες ἐκ ψυχῆς).
CHAPTER 4
DISCUSSION

4.1 The frequency of the LXX hapax legomena in 2 Macc, 4-7

2 Macc has a total word count of 11,917 words. Chapters 4-7 contain 3,287 words, which represent 27.58% of the total word number of the book. The list of the LXX hapax legomena in these chapters comprises 131 words. According to a strict definition of the term “LXX hapax”, only 95 of these 131 words are “singles”, i.e., they occur only once in 2 Macc as well as in the entire LXX; the remaining 36 words occur from 2 to 7 times in 2 Macc, but are unattested in any other book of the LXX (see Table 1). When it comes to absolute hapaxes, the proportion is considerably lower: only 9 words occur once in 2 Macc and nowhere else in the extant Greek literature. In other words, a 2.89% (strict definition) or a 3.98% (broad definition) of the total word number of chapters 4-7 consists of LXX hapaxes, and a 0.27% consists of hapax legomena totius graecitatis. All the data presented henceforth are based on the broad definition of the term “LXX hapax” that we have adopted throughout this study.

Chapter 5 has the highest proportion of LXX hapaxes (34 or 5.27% of the total word number of the chapter), followed by Chapter 4 (53 or 4.87%) and Chapter 6 (26 or 3.83%). Chapter 4 is by far the richest in absolute hapaxes (8) and in neologisms (14); chapters 6 and 5 rank next with 2 and 1 absolute hapaxes, and 7 and 7 neologisms respectively. It is noteworthy that chapter 7, the “centerpiece of the entire book”, as it has been called, relating the martyrdom of the seven brothers and their mother, contains the fewest LXX hapaxes (18 or 2.05% of the chapter’s total word number), the fewest neologisms (3) and no absolute hapaxes. A possible explanation for this disproportion is that in chapter 4, which centers on the clash between Hellenism and Judaism, the author had to use a specifically Greek vocabulary that reflected the causes of this clash, and at the same time raise the anti-Hellenizing rhetoric, employing an elevated style befitting his polemic against opponents well-versed in Greek, whereas the martyrlogical content of chapter 7 demanded a more colloquial style that would make it more accessible to the average Jewish reader, in accord with the desire expressed by the epitomator to provide an easy narrative for those who want to commit it to memory and profit from it (cf. 2:25: ἐφροντίζουμεν (...) τοῖς δὲ φιλοφρονοῦσιν εἰς τὸ διὰ μνήμης ἀναλαβεῖν εὐκοπίαν πᾶσιν δὲ τοῖς...

272 As counted by Microsoft Word’s Word Count (the number of words of chapters 4-7 has also been counted manually). TLG gives the number of 12,762 words.

273 According to a strict definition of the term “absolute hapax”, ἀλλοφυλισµόος and δεινάζω are dis legomena totius graecitatis, since they occur twice in 2 Macc and never elsewhere.


275 deSilva (2002: 277) is right in pointing out that “both Jason and the epitomator did not simply reject everything that Greek culture had to offer but rather drew the lines where they felt it counted most – which was obviously not at the level of language or literary production”. See also Blomqvist 1988: 32.
It is also possible that chapter 7 was an addition to the book, written by a later reviser in a plain prose style reflecting a Hebrew Vorlage, as Habicht has suggested. As regards the epitomator’s commentary in 6:12-17, it has its share of LXX hapaxes (3), among which ἐλευστέεον stands out. Does this striking neologism reflect an effort on the part of the epitomator to show that his mastery of Greek is on a par with Jason’s? Or should we ascribe most of the coinages occurring in the book to the epitomator himself, based on his programmatic statement, in 2:23-32, where he likens himself to the painter and the decorator who come after the master builder (in this case, Jason of Cyrene) to adorn a newly built house (2:29: τῷ δὲ ἐγκαίειν καὶ ζωγραφεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς διακόσμησιν ἐξεταστέεον)? The string of three verbal adjectives in –τέεος (φροντιστέεον, ἐξεταστέεον, συγχωρητέεον), occurring in the epitomator’s prologue, is evidence enough that it is the latter who uses this feature throughout the book in order to enhance the literary quality of his prose.

The highest concentration of LXX hapaxes appears in 4:8-20 (introduction of Hellenic customs in Jerusalem), 4:34-38 (murder of the high priest Onias by Andronicus and punishment of the latter by the king), 5:2-6 (apparitions of armed horsemen in the sky over Jerusalem), 6:2-8 (defilement of the Temple and imposition of the Dionysiac cult on the Jews), 6:18-21 and 6:23-25 (martyrdom of Eleazar), and 7:1-6 (martyrdom of the first of the seven brothers) (see Table 2). In most cases, the clusters of LXX hapaxes correspond to crucial moments in the narrative of the “Hellenization crisis” or to high points of pathos.

### 4.2 Classification of the LXX hapax legomena in 2 Macc, 4-7

In order to account for the occurrence of the 131 extra-Septuagintal words in 2 Macc, 4-7, it is necessary to classify them first according to the period of the Greek language to which they belong and then according to the semantic domains to which they pertain.

#### 4.2.1 Chronological classification

Starting with a chronological classification of our vocabulary, we find that 88 words (67,17 %) are Classical, i.e., they are attested before 322 BCE, and 43 words (32,82 %) are post-Classical, i.e., they are attested after 322 BCE (see Table 3). Although most of the words that go back to Classical Greek continue to be attested in the post-Classical period with different frequency of occurrence for each word, it is evident that the extra-Septuagintal vocabulary of the chapters under consideration consists overwhelmingly of words of a Classical stock. If we attempt a further selection on the basis of the rarity of the Classical words, we come up with a list of words that occur no more than 10 times in the extant literature prior to 2 Macc:

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276 Habicht 1979: 171 and 233. See also Schwarz 2008: 20.
This vocabulary of rare words presupposes a familiarity with Classical literature (or with Hellenistic authors well-versed in Classical literature), and would have been unlikely to appear elsewhere in the LXX than in the literary books. This applies also to Atticisms rare in the Koine such as ὀδότον and νεώς.

As regards the post-Classical vocabulary, we may single out a significant number of words (31), which appear for the first time in 2 Macc. These neologisms-cum-proton legomena could not have occurred or did not happen to occur in the LXX books translated prior to 2 Macc, and did not happen to recur in the LXX books translated or written after 2 Macc. They represent 23.66% of the total number of LXX hapaxes occurring in chapters 4-7.278 There remain only 12 post-Classical words (9.9% of the LXX hapaxes), which are attested for the most part in non-literary texts of the late 3rd-1st c. BCE.

What is striking is that this vocabulary, which is totally absent from the rest of the LXX, is abundantly attested in other, mainly historiographic works of the Classical, Hellenistic and Greco-Roman periods. Of the 100 (87 Classical and 13 post-Classical279) words that we have designated as LXX hapaxes, 51 are attested in Xenophon, 51 in Polybius, 65 in Diodorus Siculus, 53 in Dionysius Halicarnassensis, 50 in Philo, 12 in the NT and 68 in Flavius Josephus. Moreover, 39 of these words occur in the papyri from the 3rd-1st c. BCE, and 56 in the inscriptions from the same period. Although this sample is very small, we think it can serve as an indicator of the extra-Biblical linguistic affiliations of 2 Macc.

4.2.2 Classification into semantic domains

Based on the classification of the LXX hapaxes into semantic domains (see Table 4),280 we may distinguish the following major groups of words:

(a) Terms related to military activities (ἀκρόπολις, ἐξοπλησία, θωρακισµός, ἱλη, κάµαξ, καταδροµή, Μυσάρχης, προοβολή, στασις, σπειρηδόν, τρόπαιον),
(b) Terms denoting violence, harm and killing (ἀποκοσµμέω, δήµιος, κοµµινίζω, μιαφόνος, παρακλείω, περισκυθίζω, συµµετρητός, συµµετρητίζω, συµµετρηνήτω, τηγανίζω).

278 The neologisms are treated in 4.5.
279 The neologisms have not been counted.
280 This classification is based on Louw & Nida (1988).
(c) Terms denoting moral and ethical qualities and related activities (ἀναγνεία, ἀπευθανατίζω, ἐνεργέτημα, θέμις, θηριός, μισοπονηρεῖ, µύσος, πλησιάζω, συµµισοπονηρεῖ, ύπονοθεύω),
(d) Terms related to religious activities and beliefs (ἀναβίωσις, δυσσεβεῖ, θεοµαχέω, ἱεροσύληµα, νεώς, σπλαγχνίζω, σπλαγχνισµός),
(e) Terms related to courts and legal procedures (ἀκατάγνωστος, ἀντιµαρτυρέω, δικαιολογία, ἐνδείκτης, ἐπίπληξις, προηγορέω, προήγορος, πρόόστιµον),
(f) Terms denoting attitudes and emotions (ἀποργίζοµαι, δεινάζω, δυσφορέω, ἔκθυµος, εὐµµένεια, κατατολµάω, ψυχικῶς).

These groups highlight the main themes not only of chapters 4-7 but of the whole book: military clashes, religious and ethical issues, martyrlogy. Noteworthy is the abundance of legal terms, which bear evidence to the author’s familiarity with the legal terminology of his time, while the many emotive terms, half of which are neologisms, show his concern for pathopoeia.

The question that we have set as the main purpose of our study to reply to is, of course, why these words are LXX hapax legomena, viz., why they do not appear in the other books of the LXX. The chronological criterion revealed on the one hand a rarefied, classical Greek vocabulary that would have been unlikely to appear in books whose translators or writers had no high literary knowledge or ambitions, and on the other hand a good number of new words that probably entered the vocabulary of the 2nd c. BCE through 2 Macc. The semantic classification reveals another group of words that would have been unlikely to appear in the translated books of the LXX, because they denote things and notions alien to the Jewish culture and religion (and probably unnamed in Hebrew) or associated with the pagan practices of the Greeks, which were negatively valued by the Jews. E.g., ἀκρόπολις, ἀνήβος, γενέθλιος, δαδουχία, ἐφηβεῖον, ἐφηβος, θεωρός, παλαιστρα, πενταετηρικός, πέτασος, θέµις, σπλαγχνίζω, τρόπαιον, etc.). Finally, it is to chance that we have to attribute the non-attestation of a number of words elsewhere in the LXX.

Now, how can we account for the use of these LXX hapaxes in 2 Macc? Schwarz remarks that 2 Macc “deals with struggles, both internal and external”, and that “lively language is used to involve the reader emotionally in the heat of the struggles”. We may suggest that a fair number of LXX hapaxes serve this purpose, namely to make the language more colorful, to impress it on the reader’s or the listener’s mind and memory and to heighten his or her emotional response. This is especially evident in the variety of synonyms denoting killing and torturing, which, as de Bruyne has noted, should be ascribed to the subject-matter of the book as well.

282 Schwarz 2008: 72 and 76 ff.
as to the author’s aspiring to eloquence. Moreover, the author’s concern for verbal variation prompts him to use rare, infrequent or novel words as equivalents of more common or frequently attested ones (e.g., the rare adverb αἰφνιδίως occurs along the synonymous ἀφνω, the very rare in Koine νεώς alternates with the common ναός, δυσσεβέω is used along ἀσεβέω, δυσφόρεω alongside δυσφόρως φέρω, the neologism λεληθότως is used as a variant of λαθραίως, the neologisms νεώς alternates with the common ναός, δυσφορέω along side δυσφόρως φέρω, the neologism λεληθότως is used as a variant of λαθραίως, the neologisms ἱεροσύληµμα and σπειρηδόν are used along ἱεροσύλια and κατὰ σπείρας respectively, συχνός occurs along side πολύς, ἀκρόπολις along ἀκρα, εὐεργέτηµα along εὐεργεσία, πέτρος along side λίθος, οὐ ῥᾴδιος along side οὐκ εὐχερῆς and χαλεπός, πρόοστιµμον along ἐπίτιµον, σύµμφορον along συµµφέερον, ὑπεραγόντως along ὑπεραγάν, κατακρηµμνίίζω in lieu of the amply attested in the LXX διαρρήγνυµι), or simplicia along with compounds with prefixes which strengthen or vary their meaning (e.g., τολµμάάω -κατατολµμάάω, πυρόόω -ἐκπυρόόω, πληρόόω -ἐπιπληρόόω, κρηµµίίζω -κατακρηµµίίζω, ἀποργίίζοµµαι -ἐποργίίζοµµαι, ἐκκεντέέω -συγκεντέέω -συνεκκεντέεω, µµισοπονηρέέω -συµµµισοπονηρέεω).

No less decisive in the use of a rare or unusual word is the author’s fondness for rhetorical effect: antithesis, homoioteleuton, alliteration and, above all, paronomasia motivate the choice of a number of LXX hapaxes such as δεξιάάζω (δεξιασθείίς -δοὺς δεξιάν), δυσηµμερίία (εὐηµµερίίαν -δυσηµμερίίαν), δεινάάζω and δυσφορέέω (ἐδείίναζον καὶ ἐδυσφόουν), εὐµµέένεια (εὐµµέένειαν -δυσµµέένειαν), ἐλληνισµμόός (ἐλληνισµµοῦ -ἀλλοφυλισµµοῦ), etc.

There is a more subtle reason, however, that may have triggered the use of extra-Biblical words in 2 Macc. As Himmelfarb has demonstrated, 2 Macc artfully appropriates Greek terminology to express praise for the Jewish heroes and martyrs: the adjective γενναῖος, used in Greek literature of warriors, is applied to the martyrs Eleazar and Razis, to one of the seven brothers and their mother, as well as to Judas Maccabeus and his men, while the “quintessentially Greek” phrase καλὸς κἀγαθός is used to designate the old high priest Onias III. One might equally well suggest that the author of 2 Macc uses a Greek vocabulary in order to undermine or reverse cultural stereotypes established by the Greeks. E.g., the LXX hapax περισκυθίίζω, an ethnic verb referring to an atrocious military practice of the Scythians, is used of a method of torture employed by the men of Antiochus IV against one of the seven Jewish martyrs. The Seleucid king and his men are thus equated to people traditionally regarded as savage and barbarian by the Greeks. In the same way, from the Jewish viewpoint of the author of 2 Macc, Ἑλληνισµμός, originally the usage of the prestigous Greek language and style, which served to distinguish a Greek from a non-Greek speaking “barbarian”, is used here of the Greek way of life, which is associated with a people bluntly called barbarian.

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283 De Bruyne 1921: 409: “Dans un livre où l’on tue beaucoup et avec un auteur qui vise à l’élégance il faut s’attendre à un grand nombre de synonymes ayant le sens de tuer”.

284 For further examples of the author’s care for stylistic variation, see Schwarz 2008: 68 ff.


4.3 The provenance of the LXX hapax legomena in 2 Macc, 4-7

4.3.1 Classical and Hellenistic authors

We may summarize here some of our conjectures concerning the provenance of the LXX hapaxes in 2 Macc, based on the examination of the vocabulary in chapter 3. One has to be very cautious, of course, when discussing literary allusions, echoes and influences, given the amount of Classical and Hellenistic literature that has been lost, but to which our author had probably access. With this caveat in mind, we may say that, prior to 2 Macc, προηγορέεω is found only in Xenophon and ἀποργίίζοµμαι only in Menander; περισκυθίίζω has its origin in Herodotus; ἀπέένθητος, δυσηµερία, δυσσεβέω, θεοµαχέέω and μύσος, as well as the Homeric adjective μιαφόόνος, occurring mainly in the tragedians, suggest a familiarity with tragic poetry; τὰ πρόόστιµμα τῆς ὑπερηφανίας echoes τὰ πιτίίµια τῆς δυσσεβείίας in Sophocles’ Electra, 1378; ἀναχανώών points to Aristophanes; σπειρηδόόν is undoubtedly Polybian, as well as the figurative use of παρακλείίω and of θηριόόω (in the expression τεθηριωµέένος τῇ ψυχῇ); the expression παῦλα τῆς ἀνοίίας (possibly a pun on Polybius’ παῦλα τῆς ἀγνοίίας) and the hendiadys αὔξησις καὶ δόόξα may also have their origin in Polybius; and the metaphorical use of ἐπιφύύω probably derives from Plato via Polybius. These few examples imply that a portion of the extra-Biblical vocabulary of 2 Macc is derived directly or indirectly from poetry and historiography.

4.3.2 The LXX

Several scholars have already pointed out the paucity of quotations from or allusions to the LXX in 2 Macc. Apart from the explicit quotation of Deuteronomium, 31:21 in 7:6 (see comments s.v. ἀντιµαρτυρέεω), we have suggested that the neologism τιµμωρητήής, in 4:16: τούτους πολεµίίους καὶ τιµμωρητὰς ἔσχον, alludes to ἐκδικητήής, in Psalmi, 8:3: τοῦ καταλύσαι ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητήν.

4.4 Linguistic evidence for the date of 2 Macc

As noted in 4.3.1, 2 Macc is indebted to Polybius’ Historiae for at least one word, the military terminus technicus σπειρηδόόν, in 5:2 and 12:20. This adverb is a neologism of Polybius, occurring twice in Historiae, in 5.4.9 and 11.11.6. If we knew with certainty the date of publication of Polybius’ work, then we could also have a hint as to the date of composition of 2 Macc. Unfortunately, the date of composition and publication of Historiae is a debated issue. Walbank argues that books i to v had been published piecemeal by about 150, and makes a further hypothesis that “by 147 or

287 deSilva 2002: 272-3, Schwarz 2008: 61 ff. For these quotations and allusions, see Dimant (1986) and Van der Kooij (1999).
288 See De Foucault 1972: 33-34.
thereabouts books i to xv had been not only written but also published”. If we ascribe the usage of σπειρηδόόν to Jason, then a date of composition of his history before 160 BCE, as some scholars suggest, is not likely, but a date in the late 150s or later is possible. If it is the epitomator who adopted this, and possibly other Polybian neologisms, then any date after 150 is possible. If the first publication of Historiae was a posthumous one, then we have to consider a date after 120 BCE for the composition of the epitome. In any case, the linguistic debt of 2 Macc to Polybius is worth further investigation.

4.5 The neologisms

4.5.1 Morpho-semantic neologisms

Of the 131 LXX hapaxes examined in this study, 31 are morpho-semantic neologisms:

άκατάγνωστος, ἀλλοσφυλισμός, ἀναβίωσις, ἀναγνεία, ἀπευθανατίζω, δαδουχία, δεινάζω, δεξιάζω, διεµμπληµμι, δυσπέτηµα, ἐκθυµος, ἐλευστέεος, ἐνενηκονταετήης, ἐφηβεῖον, θωρακισµόος, λεληθόότως, Μυσάάρχης, περισκυθίζω, προσενέέχοµµαι, συµµµισοπονηρέεω, συµµφλογίίζω, συνεκκεντέέω, συσσύρω, τιµωρητήής, υπονοθεύύω, χορτώώδης, ψυχικῶς.

It is not possible to assert how many and which of these words were coined by Jason or the epitomator, and how many and which were existing, albeit rare words that just did not happen to find their way into the literary and non-literary texts of the 2nd c. BCE that have come down to us. The age-designating adjective ἐνενηκονταετήης, for instance, cannot have been a neologism strictu senso, since εἰκοσαετήής, τριακονταετήής, etc. are attested in the classical language as well as in the LXX; the military title Μυσάάρχης must have been current in the Seleucid army; ἐφηβεῖον, designating a part of the gymnasium, must have been a term pertaining to the educational-athletic vocabulary of the Hellenistic period. δαδουχία, attested in an inscription from 120 BCE, must also have been more or less current in the time of 2 Macc, and it is only our suggested chronological boundary of 124 BCE that obliges us

291 Another interesting word is λυσιτέέλεια, “benefit”. It occurs in 2:27, that is, in the epitomator’s prologue, which, according to most scholars, was written around or after 124 BCE, and, according to Schwarz (2008: 11) by 143 BCE 290. Now, this word is first attested in Polybius’ Historiae, 18.15.2 and 31.27.11, and, aside from 2 Macc, it recurs in Diodorus Siculus (1.36.4, passim). If we assume that the epitomator picked this word from Polybius, and that Polybius had not composed more than books i-xv before 147 BCE, then Schwarz’s suggestion that the epitome was completed before 143 BCE is not very probable, since it is doubtful whether book xviii, in which λυσιτέέλεια occurs, had been published by that date.
292 See Walbank’s comment, op. cit., 22.
to count it among the neologisms of our book. For these terms, the designation proton legomena is more appropriate. As for πρωτοκλίσια, it could have been a nonce-word,²⁹³ coined for a special occasion such as the first official proclamation of king Ptolemy VI. It is worth noting that 7 of the neologisms introduced in 2 Macc (άλλοφυλισμός, δεινάζω, ἐκθυμος, λεληθότως, σπλαγχνισμός, ύπονοθεύω, ψυχικῶς) occur more than once in the book. This recurrence may reflect the author’s intention to establish, as it were, these neologisms, especially if they are his coinages.

Of the 31 neologisms, 8 are hapax legomena totius graecitatis (ἀναγνείος, ἀπευθανάτιζω, διεμμπλήµµα, ἱεροσύληµµα, προπτύω, προσενέχοµαι, πρωτοκλίσια, συµµισοπονηρέεω), 6 are dis legomena (ἀλλοφυλισµός, δεινάζω, δεξιάζω, δυσπέετηµµα, ἐφηβεῖον, σπλαγχνισµός), and ἐλευστέεος and συµµφλογίζω are tris legomena. This means that at least half the neologisms introduced in 2 Macc did not catch on.

The neologisms of 2 Macc that were most widely taken up by later authors (more than 200 instances in the TLG corpus, occurring in texts postdating 2 Macc) are ἀναβίωσις, probably due to its theological significance for the dogma of resurrection, ἀκατάγνωστος, which entered the ecclesiastical vocabulary through Paul’s Epistula ad Titum (2:8), and the adverbs λεληθότως and ψυχικῶς.

If we categorize these neologisms according to the semantic domains to which they belong, we note a preponderance of military terms (θωρακισµός, Μυσάρχης, συνεκκεντέεω), martyrological terms (ἀπευθανάτιζω, περισκυθίζω, συµµφλογίζω), religious or cultic terms (ἀναβίωσις, ἱεροσύληµµα, σπλαγχνισµός), moral and ethical terms (ἀναγνείος, συµµισοπονηρέεω, ύπονοθεύω), which are related to the subject-matter of the chapters in which they occur. There are also emotive terms (δεινάζω, ἐκθυμος, ψυχικῶς), official terms (πρωτοκλίσια, δεξιάζω), and a fair number of miscellaneous terms (ἀκατάγνωστος, ἀλλοφυλισµός, διεµµπλήµµα, δυσπέετηµµα, ἐλευστέεον, ἑννηκονταετής, ἐφηβεῖον, λεληθότως, προπτύω, συσσύρω, χορτώδης).

The high number of neologisms is an indication of the author’s linguistic skill and creativity, which enables him to coin novel terms for the sake of lexical variation and literary effect.

4.5.2 Formation of the neologisms of 2 Macc

The list of the neologisms occurring in 2 Macc, 4-7 is comprised of a balanced number of substantives (12) and verbs (12), of 3 adjectives and 2 verbal adjectives, and of 2 adverbs (see Table 4). We notice a prevalence of action nouns (nomina actionis) ending in –µμός (3), –ια/ια (2) and –σις (1), followed by result nouns (nomina rei actae) ending in –µµα (2), as well as a prevalence of verbs in –ιω (3) and –αζω (2), denoting action, and in –ω (2), denoting a condition or an activity. These noun and verb

²⁹³ For the term, see Lee 1983: 52, and Hauspie 2001: 27.
²⁹⁴ See note 273.
suffixes are among the most productive in Koine.\textsuperscript{296} We also note the overwhelming predominance of compounds (22) over simplicia (9). 6 compounds have a noun-stem or a numeral as their first element, 3 are prefixed with an inseparable prefix (ἀ-privative and δυσ-) and 13 with a prepositional prefix. Noteworthy is the variety of the prepositional prefixes (10, σὺν being the most frequent, prefixed in 4 compounds), as well as the number of double compounds: 3 verbs are prefixed with two prepositional prefixes (διεμπίππλημ, προσενέέχοµµα, συνεκκεντέέω), 1 with a prepositional prefix and an adverb (ἀπευθανάτηζω) and 1 with a prepositional prefix and a verb (συµµµισοπονηρέεω). The large number of composite verbs indicates an elevated style, and the variety of the prepositional prefixes is a sign of the author’s concern to convey semantic nuances and achieve stylistic variation.

All these neologisms would not have sounded strange to the ears of a Greek-speaker, as the derivatives, on the one hand, are based on known roots, and the compounds, on the other hand, are composed of elements from which many other Greek words are formed (the only word that might have presented an interpretation and comprehension problem is πρωτοκλίσια). A number of neologisms are no more than morphological variants of existing words (e.g., δεξιάζοµµαι is a variant of δεξιόοοµµαι, ἱεροσύληµµα of ἱεροσυλίία, τιµμωρητήής of τιµµωρόός, ἀπευθανάτηζω of εὐθανατέεω, and λεληθόότως of λάάθρᾳ). Further, the coinage of other words must have been facilitated by the existence of etymological cognates (e.g., the neologism δυσπέέτηµµα is predated by the verb ἀποδυσπετέεω, the adjective δυσπετήής and the adverb δυσπετῶς, ἱεροσύληµµα is predated by the substantives ἱεροσυλίία and ἱερόοσυλος and the verb ἱεροσυλέεω, and ἔκθυµµος by the adverb ἐκθύύµµως and the substantive ἐκθυµµίία) or semantic cognates (e.g., χορτώώδης, coined by analogy with ποώώδης). A few neologisms may have been created on the model of other neologisms, e.g., τιµμωρητήής was probably coined as an allusion to the neologism ἐκδικητήής in Psalmi, 8:3 (see 4.3.2), while ἀλλοφυλισµµόός was created on the model of the neologism Ἰουδαϊσµµόός and the semantic neologism Ἑλληνισµµόός. It is also possible that the author’s striving after rhetorical effect motivated the creation of neologisms such as δυσπέέτηµµα, whose collocation with εὐεργ τηµµα in 5:20 (συµµµετασχὼν τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους δυσπετηµµάάτων γενοµμέένων ὕστερον εὐεργετηµµάάτων) produces an antithesis, an homoioteleuton and an isocolon (see 4.2.2).\textsuperscript{297}

4.5.3 Semantic neologisms

Among the LXX hapax legomena occurring in 2 Macc, 4-7, we may pick out a number of semantic neologisms, i.e., previously attested words which appear in a new sense


\textsuperscript{297} Cf. Gil 1958: 24-25: “Esta desmedida afición por los juegos de palabras le hace al epitomador [...] crear neologismos como πολεµμοτροφεῖν (X 14: ἐξενοτρόόφει ... καὶ ἐπολεµµοτρόόφει) por el gusto de no perder un buen homoioteleuton, o el innecesario δεξιάζειν, existiendo ya un δεξιοῦσθαι, en IV 34 por el mismo prurito de no desperdiciar la ocasión para el empleo de la figura etimológica”.

in our book. As in the case of the morpho-semantic neologisms, it is not always easy to distinguish whether a semantic neologism was created by the author of 2 Macc or whether it existed in the mainstream language, but did not happen to survive in any other document predating our book. ἀποκοσµέέω, first attested in the Odyssea in the sense “to clear away (the table)”, is found six centuries later in 2 Macc in the euphemistic sense “to remove from the world, to kill”. It is obviously a literary semantic neologism resulting from the author’s desire to play upon the meanings of κόσµος (“order”, “world”). The verb διαρρυθµίίζω, which appears in the speech of the mother of the seven sons in the sense “to arrange in order (the natural elements of which human beings are composed)”, is separated by three centuries from its sole previous occurrence in a corrupted Attic inscription, in the sense “to adjust”. We may wonder whether the author was aware of previous occurrences of this verb or whether he coined it de novo. In the case of the substantives στοιχείωσις, previously attested in the sense “elementary exposition”, and σπασµόός, exclusively used in the medical sense of “convulsion, spasm”, the author exploits the polysemy of the words from which they derive (στοιχεῖα: (a) LSJ II.4 “elementary or fundamental principles”, (b) LSJ II.2 “components into which matter is ultimately divisible, elements”, and σπάω: (a) LSJ I 1 “draw (of a sword)”, (b) LSJ II.6 “cause convulsion or spasm”, respectively) to draw the new meanings, “drawing (of a sword)” and “arrangement of the elements” respectively. The use of the linguistic term Ἑλληνισµμόός, “use of a pure Greek style and idiom”, in the more general, cultural sense, “imitation of the Greek ways” should also be ascribed to the author of 2 Macc.

Other semantic neologisms must have appeared in the general language sometime in the 2nd c. BCE or earlier. The culinary term τηγανίίζω, “to fry”, is used in 2 Macc in a martyrological sense, which must have existed in the mainstream language of the time, if “frying” was employed as a method of torture and execution. δίσκος, “discus”, here refers to a discus-shaped gong which sounded the opening of the palaestra. Such δίσκοι may have been common in many Hellenistic gymnasia. The juridical term πρόόσκλησις, “judicial summons”, appears in the sense of “summons”, “call”, which must also have been used in an athletic context, as 2 Macc, 4:14 implies. As regards the poetic word ἀπέένθητος, it first appears in Aeschylus in the sense “free from grief” and reappears in the same sense three centuries later, in a corrupt sepulchral inscription from Karpathos, and in the sense of “unlamented” in 2 Macc, a sense which has survived up to Modern Greek. Should we conjecture that the inscription retains the archaic poetic sense, whereas 2 Macc illustrates an otherwise unattested vernacular sense, that was current in the language of the 2nd c. BCE? The lack of other occurrences of this word in any other document up to the time of our book does not permit us to draw a firm conclusion. Finally, the medical term ἔκλαµµψις, attested in the Hippocratic corpus in the sense of “sudden development at puberty”, appears in 2 Macc in the sense of “brightness”, which becomes current later.

If we classify the above-mentioned words into the types of semantic change cited in 2.6, we find that a broadening or extension of meaning is attested in
Ἐλληνισμός, πρόσκλησις, δίσκος and τηγανίζω. As an example of restriction of meaning we may cite παρόρασις, “overlooking”, which in 2 Macc is employed in a more specific religious sense (“God’s turning away and withholding of grace as a (temporary) punishment”), and as an example of euphemism, ἀποκοσμέω. Finally, the metaphorical use of the words δήμιος, ἐνδείκτης, ἐπιπληρόω and πρόστιμον is first attested in 2 Macc.
In our study, we examined the extra-Septuagintal vocabulary of 2 Macc, 4-7. We found 131 words that do not occur anywhere else in the Septuagint (LXX *hapax legomena*). These words are not at all absent or rare in Greek or Jewish-Greek historiographic works dating from the 4th c. BCE to the 1st c. CE. They are amply attested in Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Flavius Josephus, as well as in the inscriptions and, to a lesser degree, the papyri of the Hellenistic period. The main reason for their non-attestation in the rest of the LXX has to do with the fact that 2 Macc, unlike most LXX books, is not a translation of a Semitic *Vorlage*, but was originally written in Greek taking as its historiographic and linguistic models Greek and not Biblical works.

The chronological classification of the hapaxes showed an overwhelming predominance of classical words. The occurrence, among them, of a number of very rare words, originating in tragic poetry and historiography, is an indication of the author’s preciosity and word-hunting. A classification into semantic domains showed a preponderance of military, moral and ethical, religious, legal and emotive terms related to the subject-matter of the chapters in which they occur. The non-attestation of these words in the rest of the LXX is due to: (a) their rarity or novelty, (b) their profane character, or (c) mere chance. Their usage in the book is motivated by the author’s striving after an elevated style, and his effort to achieve stylistic variation and produce rhetorical effect.

About ¼ of the extra-Septuagintal vocabulary in chapters 4-7 consists of morpho-semantic neologisms, half of which do not recur in later literature. The distinction between neologisms coined by the author of 2 Macc and *proton legomena* is not always easy to draw. Both the derivative and the compound neologisms, which prevail, follow patterns of word-formation well-attested in Koine. Among the LXX hapaxes, there also occur a number of semantic neologisms, many of which are probably created by the author of 2 Macc. Together with the morpho-semantic neologisms, they attest to the latter’s lexical creativity and *Sprachgefühl*, which result from his high mastery of Greek.

As a subject for further investigation we suggest an examination of 2 Macc’s linguistic debt to Polybius. Schwarz has recently stated that, although the comparison of Polybius’ vocabulary with that of 2 Macc is useful, there is no “special relationship between the two”298. However, as early as 1857, Grimm had noted some “interessanten Berührungen mit der Phraseologie des Polybius”299, and in our study we found a number of characteristic Polybian words, and especially neologisms, indicating that either Jason, who was probably an exact contemporary of Polybius, or

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298 Schwarz 2008: 66.
the epitomator, or both, were readers of the Historiae. Further investigation in this direction might confirm a closer linguistic affinity between 2 Macc and Historiae than thought so far, and perhaps even give us some clues about the debated issue of the date of composition of 2 Macc.
## APPENDIX

### Table 1: Number of LXX *hapax legomena* in 2 Macc, 4-7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Total number of words</th>
<th>Number of LXX hapax legomena</th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>876</td>
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### Table 2: A listing of the LXX *hapax legomena* and neologisms in 2 Macc, 4-7 in the order of their occurrence.

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<td>26. (\παρακοµμίζω)</td>
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300 Verse(s) in which the word occurs in the specific chapter.
301 Total number of occurrences in 2 Macc.
302 Absolute *hapax legomena* (*hapax legomena totius graecitatis*).
303 Neologisms
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Table 3: A chronological classification of the LXX hapax legomena in 2 Macc, 4-7

---

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305 Attestation in the papyri from the 3rd-1st centuries BCE.
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307 In the papyri, it is attested as πενθετηρικός.
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**Table 4:** Classification of the LXX *hapax legomena* into semantic domains (based on Louw & Nida)

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<th>CONTESTS AND PLAY</th>
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Table 5: Neologisms
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Electronic databases

