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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

<i>1-4 Macc</i>	<i>1-4 Maccabees</i>
LEH	LUST, J., EYNIKEL, E., HAUSPIE, K. (2003) <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> . Revised edition. Stuttgart. Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
LSJ	LIDDELL, H.G., SCOTT, R., JONES, H. S., MCKENZIE, R. (1996) <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . With a revised Supplement. Oxford. Clarendon Press.
LXX	Septuagint
NIDNTT	BROWN, C. (ed.) (1975-1978) <i>The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i> . Vol. I-III. Exeter. The Paternoster Press.
NT	<i>New Testament</i>
OCD	HORNBLOWER, S. & SPAWFORTH, A. (eds.) (1996 ³) <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . Oxford-New York. Oxford University Press.
OT	<i>Old Testament</i>
TDNT	KITTEL, G., & FRIEDRICH, G. (eds.) (1979) <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Translated by G. W. Bromiley. Vol. I-X. Grand Rapids, Michigan. WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
TLG	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> . 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 Septuagint¹ (abbreviated as LXX), which started in Alexandria in the 3rd century BCE and was brought to completion some three centuries later.² 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.³ 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.⁴ It is not preserved in the earliest LXX manuscripts, the Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus dating from the 4th c. CE, but survives in the uncial Codices Alexandrinus (5th c. CE) and Venetus (8th c. CE).⁵

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 *Aristeae 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 Jobs & 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.

² For an introduction to the Septuagint, see Dorival, G., Harl, M., Munnich, O. (1988) *La Bible Grecque des Septante. Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*. “Initiations au christianisme ancien”. Éditions du CERF/Éditions du C.N.R.S. For an introduction to the Old Testament Apocrypha, see Harrington, D. J. (1999) *Invitation to the Apocrypha*. W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, and deSilva, D. A. (2002) *Introducing the Apocrypha. Message, Context and Significance*. Baker Academic.

³ See Dorival *et al.* 1988: 84-85.

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

⁵ See deSilva 2002: 15-41; Schwarz 2008: 57-66.

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.⁶ 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,⁷ it is the epitomator who is generally considered to be the “author” of the book that has come down to us.⁸ 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,⁹ 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.¹⁰

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

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.

⁹ See Schürer 1986: 533-534.

¹⁰ For these letters, see Momigliano (1975) and Habicht (1976).

Judas' victory over Nicanor would have been impossible).¹¹ 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.¹²

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*.¹³

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.¹⁴ 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.

¹³ See deSilva 2002: 273.

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*.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ Modern scholarship has on the one hand noticed the "dearth of echoes of Scripture at the level of style and diction"¹⁷ in this book, and on the other hand detected the "influence of Attic literary models"¹⁸ and found echoes of classical Greek writers, *inter alia*, of Plato, Euripides and Aeschines.¹⁹ It has also emphasized the author's striving after an elevated style replete with rhetorical figures such as antithesis, chiasmus, hyperbaton, paronomasia, homoioteleuton, etc.,²⁰ 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.²¹

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,²² 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".²³ 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.²⁴ 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.²⁵ He was followed by Niese, who noted Jason's poetic expressions and unusual word-formations.²⁶ 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

¹⁵ Van Henten 1997: 21; Schwarz 2008: 67.

¹⁶ Habicht 1979: 185: "Theologiegeschichtlich ist das Buch rein jüdisch, literaturhistorisch gesehen vornehmlich griechisch". See also Habicht 1976: 1.

¹⁷ deSilva 2002: 272; Schwarz 2008: 62-63.

¹⁸ Doran 1981: 27.

¹⁹ Goldstein 1984: 21.

²⁰ Gil 1958: 21 ff; Doran 1981: 42-45.

²¹ Abel 1949: xxxvii; Habicht 1979: 189; deSilva 2002: 271.

²² Doran 1981: 46; Blomqvist 1988: 192; Schwarz 2008: 67.

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: "Jason muss einen blühenden Stil geschrieben 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.²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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".²⁹ 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*.³⁰ 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).³¹ This aspect of the vocabulary of *2 Macc* has only sporadically been touched upon, and is certainly worth further investigation.³²

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

²⁷ Abel 1949: xxxvi.

²⁸ Gil 1958: 28-29.

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.

CHAPTER 2

PREVIOUS RESEARCH, DEFINITION OF TERMS AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 *The phenomenon of hapax legomena*

The technical term *hapax legomenon* (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον or ἄπαξ 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

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

³⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1989.

³⁵ B.K. Waltke-M.O’ Connor (1990) *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, Winona Lake, IN, p. 691. Cited in Ausloos and Lemmelijn 2008: 44.

³⁶ Bauer, L. (2004) *A Glossary of Morphology*. Georgetown University Press, p. 51.

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.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 *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”.⁴¹ The Hebrew Bible contains some 1,500 *hapax legomena* (their number depends on how they are counted), which constitute less than one third of its total vocabulary.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”.⁴³ He notes that the high number of *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 analysis⁴⁴ has shown that the highest frequency of absolute *hapax legomena* is found in the poetic books of the Bible (*Job*, *Canticum*, *Isaias*, *Proverbia*), whereas a low rate of absolute *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

⁴⁰ Baayen and Renouf 1996: 75-6.

⁴¹ Tate 2006: 156.

⁴² Greenspahn 1984:33.

⁴³ Casanowicz 1904: 226.

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.

⁴⁶ Harding 2001: 11 ff. For an overview of the stylometric studies devoted to the Pastorals see: O’Donnell, M. B. “Linguistic Fingerprints or Style by Numbers? The Use of Statistics in the Discussion of Authorship of New Testament Documents”. In: Porter and Carson (1999).

Codex Alexandrinus, except the *Psalmi Salomonis*). He defines a LXX *hapax legomenon* (^{LXX}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 ^{LXX}Hplg ist nicht die Einmaligkeit eines Wortes innerhalb der Septuaginta (einziger Beleg), sondern ausschließlich die Zugehörigkeit zu einem LXX-Buch. Von daher kann ein ^{LXX}Hplg durchaus öfter (in einer Schrift) vorkommen. Bei dieser Definition liegt somit das Interesse gegenüber einem ^{LXX}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. ^{LXX}Hplg ist somit eine Größe, die den textkorpusbezogenen (LXX) Aspekt mit dem autorbezogenen (Einzeltext 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”.⁵²

2.3 Definition of the term “LXX hapax legomenon”

Since our intention in this study is not to provide a statistical index of the *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 hapax legomenon” *sensu* Wagner as the most appropriate to adopt. This means that we use the term *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 significant 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 *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* [TLG] (lexicographical works excluded) are designated as absolute *hapax legomena* or *hapax legomena totius graecitatis*; words that are attested twice in the TLG corpus are designated as *dis legomena*,⁵³ and words that occur three times as *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 *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”.⁵⁴ He lists 26 words for which the only reference in LSJ is to *2 Macc*, and states vaguely that “perhaps there are more”.⁵⁵ It is therefore necessary to make a brief survey of the

⁵² Cook 2002: § 18.

⁵³ We consider a word a *dis legomenon* even if it occurs twice in *2 Macc* and nowhere else in the extant Greek literature. See notes 273 and 294.

⁵⁴ Schwarz 2008: 67.

⁵⁵ Comparing Schwarz’s list to the one we have drawn up for the present study, we can say that there are indeed many more.

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

⁵⁶ Lee 1983: Chapters IV-VI. For the neologisms occurring in two books of the Pentateuch, *Genesis* and *Deuteronomium*, see R. J. V. Hiebert "To the reader of Genesis", and M. K. H. Peters "To the reader of Deuteronomion", in: *NETS*, pp. 2-3 and 142-3 respectively.

⁵⁷ Muraoka 1993: xiii.

⁵⁸ LEH 2003: iv.

⁵⁹ In his listing of the neologisms in *Proverbia*, Cook (2002: § 23 and 72) has detected 16 words marked as "neol.?" by LEH but pre-dating Polybius, and in our examination of the vocabulary of *2 Macc*, in Chapter 3, we also challenge LEH's labels "neol." and "neol.?" with regard to several words.

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

⁶¹ Hauspie 2001: 17-18.

⁶² Dorival *et al.* 1988: 247-8.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, 18.

⁶⁴ 2002: § 23.

⁶⁵ See *supra*, 1.2.

Such a word may be either a morpho-semantic coinage⁶⁶ 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 2nd 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 papyrial 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,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 3rd 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*.⁶⁸ Along with the neologisms occurring in this book, Harl lists "quelques exemples de mots connus

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.

⁶⁸ Dogniez & Harl 1992: Introduction, IV. "Le lexique du Deutéronome grec: innovations et technicité".

employés dans des sens nouveaux (néologismes sémantiques et nouveaux emplois métaphoriques)".⁶⁹ 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".⁷⁰

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:⁷¹ (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).⁷²

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).⁷³ 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]).⁷⁴ 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

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, 64.

⁷⁰ Hauspie 2001: 18.

⁷¹ Campbell 2004: 252-272.

⁷² *Op. cit.*, 252-265.

⁷³ <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>.

⁷⁴ The Rahlfs edition has been superseded by the Göttingen critical edition (*Maccabaeorum liber II*, *copiis usus quas reliquit Werner Kappler edidit Robert Hanhart. Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis 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 ἀνῆβος, ἐξοπλησία, ἐπιπληρώω, 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)⁷⁵ contained in chapters 4-7, which have a separate lexical entry in LEH.⁷⁶ We then checked the number of occurrences of each word in *TLG's Septuaginta* corpus, and sorted out the words that occur only in *2 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 Macc* only in their passive or medial forms. For each word we provide the definition given in LEH,⁷⁷ a quotation of the verse(s) in which it occurs in *2 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),⁷⁸ for the epigraphic texts, and the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDBDP),⁷⁹ for the papyrial 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 *A New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS)*.⁸⁰ The bibliography contains only the works cited in our study.

⁷⁵ Greenspahn (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 *hapax legomena* in *Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides*, Wagner (1999: 87) does not include proper names, particles, interjections, conjunctions, comparatives, superlatives and verbal adjectives in *-τέος*, while he subsumes verbal adjectives in *-τος* under adjectives.

⁷⁶ In LEH, adverbs are not subsumed under adjectives, while there is no uniform way of listing the verbal adjectives in *-τέος*: some are subsumed under the verb from which they derive (e.g., *ἐκδεκτέον*, *ἐλευστέον*, *ἡγητέον*, etc.), whereas others are treated separately (e.g., *ἀναλημπτέος*, *νομιστέος*, etc.). Following LEH, we have treated adverbs as separate lexical items; we have done the same for the unique verbal adjective in *-τέος* occurring in our list of LXX hapaxes, *ἐλευστέον*.

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

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

⁷⁹ At: <http://papyri.info/>.

⁸⁰ Available at: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/>.

CHAPTER 3
THE SEPTUAGINTAL HAPAX LEGOMENA IN 2 MACC, 4-7

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 θνησκόντων; Polybius, *Historiae*, 4.6.11: ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐντεῦθεν αἰφνιδίως καὶ θρασέως, 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 πεσόντα πρὸς τὴν γῆν), and the later ἐξάπινα (15x). αἰφνιδίως is also attested in Hellenistic inscriptions and papyri (cf. *IosPE I²*, 352.7 [107 BCE]: Παλάκου δὲ τοῦ Σκυθᾶν βασιλεῖος αἰφνιδίως ἐπιβαλόντος μετὰ ὄχλου πολλοῦ; *SEG* 41.1040.5 [2nd-1st c. BCE]: ὁ βίαιος δαίμων ἐξ ζῶων ἤρπασεν αἰφνιδίως; *P.Diosk.* 1.13 [154 BCE]: ἀνατρέψας τοῦτο ἐπεισεπήδησεν αἰφνιδίως).

2. ἀκαριαῖος “brief”

6:25 διὰ τὸ μικρὸν καὶ ἀκαριαῖον ζῆν

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 μικρᾶς καὶ ἀκαριαίας μεταβολᾶς κινεῖν τὸ πᾶν). The usage of the adjective with respect to the brevity of life is also first attested in Aristoteles (*De respiratione*, 479a19: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀκαριαίας καὶ μικρᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ φλογὸς ἐνούσης διὰ μικρὰν κίνησιν ἀποσβέννυται).

3. ἀκατάγνωστος “not to be condemned, innocent”

4:47 τοῖς δὲ τάλαιπῶροις, οἵτινες, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ Σκυθῶν ἔλεγον, ἀπελύθησαν ἀκατάγνωστοι,
τούτοις θάνατον ἐπέκρινεν

The neologism ἀκατάγνωστος is derived from καταγιγνώσκω, ^{LSJ} II “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 λέγω, ^{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 ὑγιῆ ἀκατάγνωστον).⁸¹ In its earliest instance in the inscriptions it is employed in the sense of “irreproachable” (*IG X 2.1.623* [48 CE]: Εἰσιάδι τῇ συνβίῳι ζησάση ἀμέμπτως (...) Εἰσιάδα 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]: τὰ ἐπιτ[ασσ]όμενά μοι ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀμέμπτως ἐκτελέσαι καὶ [ἀ]καταγνώστου προαιρέσεως).

4. ἀκρόπολις “citadel, castle”

4:12 ὑπ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν γυμνάσιον καθίδρυσεν; 4:28 Σωστράτου τοῦ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐπάρχου; 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.⁸² In *2 Macc* 15:31 and 15:35, as well as in other books of the LXX, it is also referred to as ἄκρα.⁸³

5. ἀλλοφυλισμός “adoption of foreign customs or religions”

4:13 ἦν δ’ οὕτως ἀκμή τις Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ πρόσβασις ἀλλοφυλισμοῦ;
6:24 ὑπολαβόντες Ἐλεάζαρον 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,⁸⁴ was not adopted by later authors.⁸⁵ 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 βωμοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων δεδημιουργημένους; 10:5: ὁ νεὼς ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων ἐβεβηλώθη). 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.

⁸¹ See Spicq, s.v. ἀκατάγνωστος. Cf. the synonymous ἀκατάκριτος, in *Acta apostolorum*, 16:37 and 22:25.

⁸² For the controversy over the location of the citadel, see Goldstein 1976: 214-17. Also: Sievers, J. “Jerusalem, the Akra, and Josephus”, in: Parente, F. & Sievers, J. (eds.) (1994) *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman period. Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*. Leiden· New York· Köln. E.J. Brill.

⁸³ Cf. *1 Macc*, 11:20: τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ; *4 Macc*, 4:20: ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τῇ ἄκρα τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν γυμνάσιον κατασκευάσαι.

⁸⁴ The verb *ἀλλοφυλίζω, from which ἀλλοφυλισμός is derived, is unattested in literature. The neologism ἀλλοφυλέω, ^{LSJ}“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.

6. ἀναβίωσις “return to life, resurrection”

7:9 εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς ἡμᾶς ἀναστήσει

The neologism ἀναβίωσις⁸⁶ is derived from ἀναβιώω, ^{LSJ}“come to life again”, which occurs from the 5th c. BCE (cf. Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 177: ἀναβιοίην νυν πάλιν; Plato, *Respublica*, 614b: ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ κείμενος ἀνεβίω, ἀναβιὸς δ’ ἔλεγεν ἃ ἐκεῖ ἴδοι; Aristoteles, *Historia animalium*, 587a24: καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ παιδίον, ὥσπερ ἔξαιμον γενόμενον πρότερον, πάλιν ἀνεβίωσεν). The simplex βίωσις, “way of life”, (*Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides*, Prol., 14: διὰ τῆς ἐννόμου βιώσεως), as well as the compounds ἐμβίωσις, “maintenance of life”, (*op. cit.*, 38:14: ἵνα εὐδῶση αὐτοῖς ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ἰασιν χάριν ἐμβιώσεως), or “way of living” (*3 Macc*, 3:23: μετὰ τῆς δυσκλεεστάτης ἐμβιώσεως), and μακροβίωσις, “longevity”, (*Baruch*, 3:14: ποῦ ἐστιν μακροβίωσις καὶ ζωὴ) are all LXX neologisms. In the LXX, we also find συμβίωσις, “shared life” (cf. *Sapientia Salomonis*, 8:3: εὐγένειαν δοξάζει συμβίωσιν θεοῦ ἔχουσα), already attested in Polybius (*Historiae*, 5.81.2, *passim*). In *2 Macc* there also occurs the semantically related substantive ἀνάστασις (7:14 σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωὴν οὐκ ἔσται; 12:43 ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως διαλογιζόμενος).

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.⁸⁷ 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 πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῆς γῆς ἀναστήσονται, οἱ μὲν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ εἰς ὄνειδισμόν, 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: σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωὴν οὐκ ἔσται). Katz, following Schleusner, and followed by Habicht, has proposed εἰς αἰωνίου ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς, since “the life is eternal, the resurrection is not”,⁸⁹ a reading supported by 7:36: πόνον ἀενάου 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 ζωὴν, both dominated by ἀναστήσει) into one (εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς).

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.

⁸⁸ Goldstein 1984: 305-6.

⁸⁹ Katz 1960: 14; Habicht 1979: 234.

⁹⁰ Doran 1981: 22.

⁹¹ Van Henten 1997: 174.

7. ἀναγνεία “abominable wickedness”

4:13 διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς καὶ οὐκ ἀρχιερέως Ἰάσωνος ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀναγνείαν

ἀναγνεία is a neologism and a *hapax legomenon totius graecitatis*.⁹² It derives from the adjective ἀναγνος, ^{LSJ}“unclean, unholy, defiled”, first attested in Aeschylus (*Agamemnon*, 220: φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν ἀναγνον ἀνίερον; cf. also: Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 945: ἄνδρα καὶ πατροκτόνον κἀναγνον; *id.*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 1383: τὸν ἀσεβῆ, τὸν ἐκ θεῶν φανέντ’ ἀναγνον; Antiphon, *Tetralogia*, 1.10.4: τόνδε μιᾶρον καὶ ἀναγνον ὄντα εἰς <τε> τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν εἰσιόντα μιαίνειν τὴν ἀγνείαν). The simplex ἀγνεία,⁹³ first attested in Sophocles (*Oedipus Tyrannus*, 864: εὔσεπτον ἀγνείαν λόγων ἔργων τε πάντων), occurs 4 times in the LXX: it is used of the purity of the Nazirite (*Numeri*, 6:21: κατὰ νόμον ἀγνείας) and of the purity of a holy place (*1 Macc*, 14:36: ἐμίαινον κύκλω τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ἐποιοῦν πληγὴν μεγάλην ἐν τῇ ἀγνείᾳ).

8. ἀναδέχομαι “to accept”, “to undertake”

6:19 ὁ δὲ τὸν μετ’ εὐκλείας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν μετὰ μύσους βίον 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) ^{LSJ} II “take upon oneself, submit”: Polybius, *Historiae*, 6.55.2: ὑπέμενε τραυμάτων πλήθος ἀναδεχόμενος; *SEG* 39.1243.20 [130-110 BCE]: αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων κίνδυνον ἀναδεχόμενος καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν; *IC III* iv 9.30 [112/1 BCE]: πᾶσαν ἀναδεχόμενοι κακοπαθίαν, (b) ^{LSJ} II.4 “to undertake”: Polybius, *op. cit.*, 28.8.7: καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι χωρὶς χρημάτων ἀναδέξασθαι τὸν πρὸς Ρωμαίους πόλεμον; *IK Sestos* 1.104 [133-120 BCE]: ἀναδέχεται ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὸ ἀνήλωμα τὸ εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα; *P. Tebt.* 1.75.6 [112 BCE]: ἀναδέχομαι πόρον δώσειν τῆς (ἀρτάβης) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους). In the LXX, as well as in the NT, only the first aorist middle participle ἀναδεξάμενος occurs.⁹⁴

9. ἀναχάσκω “to open the mouth”

6:18 ἀναχανῶν ἠναγκάζετο φαγεῖν ὕειον κρέας

The verb occurs in the fragments of the comic poet Pherecrates (*Fragmenta* (Kock), 196: ἄγχασκε) and in Aristophanes (*Aves*, 502: ὕπτιος ὦν ἀναχάσκων ὀβολὸν κατεβρόχθισα; *Equites*, 641: κἀναχανῶν μέγα ἀνέκραγον; *Fragmenta* (Kock), 68: ἀνέχασκον εἰς ἕκαστος ἐμφερέστατα ὀπτωμέναις κόγχαισιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων). It is also used of the mouth of the womb in medical literature (Hippocrates, *De natura muliebri*, 45: ἦν ἀναχάνη τὸ στόμα τῶν μητρῶν). The participle of the 2nd aorist,

⁹² However, it is not marked as a neologism by LEH.

⁹³ Cf. Theophrastus, *De pietate*, fr. 9.11: ἀγνεία δ’ ἐστὶ φρονεῖν ὅσια.

⁹⁴ See Spicq, s.v. ἀναδέχομαι.

formed from the present *ἀναχαίνω, occurs only in Aristophanes' *Equites*, 641.⁹⁵ 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. ἄνηβος "young, not yet grown up"

5:13 ἐγίνετο δὲ νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀναίρεσις, ἀνήβων⁹⁶ 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* 1, 25.4: ἀνηβος ἑταίρων ἔχων; Plato, *Leges*, 833c: κόραις μὲν ἀνήβοις) who have not reached ἡβη, viz., the onset of puberty, usually set at 14.⁹⁷ A gloss in Hesychius specifies that ἀνηβος is the twelve-year-old (*Lexicon*, 5033: ἀνηβος· ὁ μήπω <ἐπι>φθάσας τὴν ὀφειλομένην ἡλικίαν, τουτέστιν δωδεκαέτης). In the inscriptions, the word appears in records of grants of citizenship (cf. *Miletos* 150.2 [c. 200 BCE]: [υἱὸς] Εὐκλείδης ἀνηβος; 6: Αἰσχυρίων Θεοδώρου νόθος ἀνηβος), and in athletic prize lists (cf. *BCEH* 99 (1975) 97.45 [3rd c. BCE]: [πέν]ταθ[λον] παῖδας ἀνήβους]). ἔφηβος, 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 ἀντιμαρτυροῦσης ὥδῃς διεσάφησεν Μωυσῆς

Verse 7:6 contains an explicit quotation of *Deuteronomium*, 31:21: καὶ ἀντικαταστήσεται ἡ ὥδῃ αὕτη κατὰ πρόσωπον μαρτυροῦσα.⁹⁸ In the LXX, μαρτυρέω is compounded with six prepositional prefixes: ἀντι-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι- and κατὰ-. ἀπομαρτυρέω, ἀντιμαρτυρέω and ἐκμαρτυρέω occur only in 2 *Macc*. ἀντιμαρτυρέω is first attested in Aristophanes as a juridical term meaning ^{LSJ}"to appear as witness against" (*Fragmenta (Kock)*, 437.1: ἦν γὰρ ἐν' ἄνδρ' ἄδικον σὺ διώκης, ἀντιμαρτυροῦσι δώδεκα τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐπισίτιοι). 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 ἢ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρηθῇ, τὸ ἀληθές; *ib.*, 55.9: ἵνα μὴ τὰ φαινόμενα ἀντιμαρτυρῇ; also in the fragments of the Epicurean philosopher Polystratus, *Περὶ ἀλόγου καταφρονήσεως*, col3b, 4: αὐ]τη

⁹⁵ Cf. *Scholia in Aristophanem, Scholia in Equites*, 641e: ἀναχανῶν] διάρως τὸ στόμα. Also: Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 2.97: προσήκοι δ' ἂν τῷ στόματι τὸ χαίνειν, χανεῖν, κεχηνώς, ἀναχάσκειν παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι (?) καὶ ἐγχανεῖν παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει. ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ ὁ κατάγεως καταχήνη εἴρηται παρὰ τοῖς κωμικοῖς. καὶ χάνος δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ στόμα.

⁹⁶ 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).

⁹⁷ Golden 1993: 28.

⁹⁸ See Dimant 1987: 4-6, and Van der Kooij 1999: 131-2.

γὰρ πανταχόθεν αὐτ[ῆ]ι συμφωνοῦσα καὶ οὐθαμ[ῆ]ι ἀντιμαρτ[υ]ροῦσα). However, the collocation of ἀντιμαρτυρέω with κατὰ πρόσωπον, in our verse, indicates that the term is used in the same judicial sense⁹⁹ as the legal term ἀντικαθίστημι, “^{LEH}to confront (as in a court of justice)”, in the aforementioned verse from *Deuteronomium*.

12. ἀπένθητος “unlamented”

5:10 καὶ ὁ πλῆθος 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 θρῆνοι. 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, κοπετός and θρῆνος (cf. *1 Macc* 9:20: καὶ ἔκλαυσαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκόψαντο αὐτὸν πᾶς Ἰσραηλ κοπετὸν μέγαν καὶ ἐπένθουν ἡμέρας πολλὰς), as well as by mourning rites (cf. *Genesis*, 37:34: διέρρηξεν δὲ Ἰακωβ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέθετο σάκκον ἐπὶ τὴν ὄσφυν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπένθει τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας πολλὰς; *Regnorum ii*, 14:2: πένθησον δὴ καὶ ἔνδυσαι ἱμάτια πενθικὰ καὶ μὴ ἀλείψῃ ἔλαιον καὶ ἔση ὡς γυνὴ πενθοῦσα ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι τοῦτο ἡμέρας πολλὰς).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 ^{LSJ}“free from grief”¹⁰¹ (*Agamemnon*, 895: ἀπενθήτωι φρενί;¹⁰² *Eumenides*, 912: τὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶνδ’ ἀπένθητον γένος). There is also one occurrence in a 2nd c. BCE sepulchral inscription from Karpathos (*IG XII*, 1.980.8: [□□□□□]πένθ[η]τος πᾶν ἐπὶ τέ[ρμα βίου]. The sense of “unlamented” is attested for the first time in *2 Macc*.

13. ἀπευθανατίζω “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 ἀποθνήσκω¹⁰³ and εὐθανατέω. In *2 Macc*, ἀποθνήσκω occurs 6 times. The rare verb εὐθανατέω, “to die a noble death”, is found in Chrysippus (*Fragmenta moralia*, 601: εὐθανατεῖν δὲ τὸ μετὰ ποιῶν θανάτου κατ’ ἀρετὴν τελευτᾶν), and in Polybius (*Historiae*, 5.38.8: εὐθανατῆσαι σπουδάζων).¹⁰⁴ Noteworthy is the non-accordance of

⁹⁹ Cf. the use of κατὰ πρόσωπον in the inscriptions: *Gonnoi*, 2.91.24 [mid 2nd c. BCE]: συναχθείσης προσκλήτου τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον κατηγορήσαν τὸν ἐπιβαλλόμενον μοχθηρὰν καὶ παράνομον πρᾶξιν, and in *Acta apostolorum*, 25:16: πρὶν ἢ ὁ κατηγορούμενος κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔχοι τοὺς κατηγοροῦς.

¹⁰⁰ See *TDNT*, s.v. πένθος, πενθέω.

¹⁰¹ Cf. the synonymous adjective ἀπενθήης in *Prometheus vincetus*, 956: καὶ δοκεῖτε δὴ ναίειν ἀπενθῆ πέργαμ’.

¹⁰² *Scholium in Aeschylum*, 895b: ἀπενθήτω] ληξάση τοῦ πένθους.

¹⁰³ Cf. Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 6084: ἀπευθανατίζειν· ἀποθνήσκειν.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. the synonymous phrase γενναίως τελευτᾶν (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,¹⁰⁵ 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”.¹⁰⁶

14. ἀποκοσμέω “to remove from the world, to kill”

4:38 ἐκεῖ τὸν μαιφόνον 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 ἔντεα 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 παρακλείω and χειρόομαι are used to denote killing in 2 *Macc* (4:34: ὃν καὶ παραχρηῖμα παρέκλεισεν οὐκ αἰδεσθεὶς τὸ δίκαιον; 4:42: αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἱερόσυλον παρὰ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον ἐχειρώσαντο). 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. ἀποργίζομαι “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’ ἀποργισθεὶς ἔᾱ ἀπιέναι) and in 2 *Macc*. The phrase ἀπώργισται βραχέως ὁ δεσπότης finds an echo in 7:33, where ὀργίζομαι is compounded with ἐπι-: ὁ ζῶν κύριος ἡμῶν βραχέως ἐπώργισται.¹⁰⁹ Both ἀπο- and ἐπι- strengthen the notion of anger (cf. the use of διοργίζομαι in 3 *Macc*, 3:1: ὁ δυσσεβῆς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξεχόλησεν ὥστε οὐ μόνον τοῖς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διοργίζεσθαι; *ib.*, 4:13: διοργισθεὶς). The word is wrongly labelled as a neologism by LEH.

¹⁰⁵ Blass and Debrunner 1961: § 309.2.

¹⁰⁶ Lee 1983: 49-50.

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 ψήφισμα δὲ ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀστυγείτονας Ἑλληνίδας 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 (^{LSJ} 2nd “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 εἶναι περιδεῖν ἀστυγείτονας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἄρδην ἀνηρημένας). 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]: [ὑπ]ὸ δὴ[μ]ων ἀστυγειτόνων).

17. ἀταφος “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: ἐᾶν δ’ ἄκλαυτον, ἄταφον; Plato, *Leges*, 909c: ἐκβάλλειν ἄταφον; Lysias, *In Eratosthenem*, 21.3: ἀτάφους ἐποίησαν; also in the papyri: *SEG* 17.120.7 [3rd c. BCE]: [οὐ δὲ ἄ]ταφος ἀπὸ μητρὸς ἐμῆς καὶ πατρὸς ἄπιμι; *UPZ* 1.18.15 [162 BCE]: καὶ εἰς τὴν νεκρ<ί>αν καθιστῶσιν αὐτόν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἄταφός ἐστιν; *UPZ* 2.187.20 [127/6 BCE]: ὑ]πὸ λύκων λυμανθῆ[ναι] ἄταφα σώματα κ[ατ]αβρωθέντα).

18. αὔξησις “augmentation, amplification, increase”

5:16 καὶ τὰ ὑπ’ ἄλλων 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: ζῶν δὲ λέγομεν τὴν δι’ αὐτοῦ τροφήν τε καὶ αὔξησιν καὶ φθίσιν; *id.*, *De generatione animalium*, 740b9: ἡ αὔξησις τῷ κυήματι; *ib.*, 720a2: ἡ τοῦ ὄρου αὔξησις; Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, 6.7.5: ἡ αὔξησις ἢ τῶν βλαστῶν), as a rhetorical term in the sense of “amplification” (cf. Aristoteles, *Rhetorica*, 1368a27: ὅλως δὲ τῶν κοινῶν εἰδῶν ἅπασιν τοῖς λόγοις ἢ μὲν αὔξησις ἐπιτηδειοτάτη τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς; Polybius, *Historiae*, 12.15.10: τὰ μὲν ἐλαττώματα δυσμενικῶς καὶ μετ’ αὐξήσεως ἡμῖν ἐξήγγελλε), and in the general sense of “increase, augmentation” (Thucydides, *Historiae*, 1.69.4: τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν; Xenophon, *De vectigalibus*, 3.6: αὐξήσεις τῶν προσόδων; Polybius, *Historiae*, 3.4.2: ἢ τ’ αὔξησις καὶ προκοπή τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυναστείας; *ib.*, 6.9.12: τῆς συστάσεως καὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς [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 τᾶλλα τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς

αὔξησιν πόλεως καὶ δόξαν; *Fayoum* 2.136.8 [69/8 BCE]: βούλομαι ἐπ' αὔξησει τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνηκόντων ἀνοικοδομησάιν τοῦτο τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασι).

19. γενέθλιος [ἡμέρα] "birthday"

6:7 εἰς τὴν κατὰ μῆνα τοῦ βασιλέως γενέθλιον ἡμέραν¹¹⁰

In the literature, the inscriptions and the papyri of the Hellenistic period the birthday is denoted by ἡ γενεθλία/γενέθλιος ἡμέρα and τὰ γενέθλια (cf. Callimachus, *Iambi*, fr. 202: τὴν γενεθλίην ἐβδόμην Ἡρ[η] θ[υ]γατρὸς ἡμέρην; *PSI* 4.347.5 [255 BCE]: ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως γενεθλίοις; *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59419.3 [mid-3rd c. BCE]: ἔστιν Δημητρ[ίου τοῦ] ἐμοῦ μικροῦ τὰ γενέθλια τῆι ἰζ] τοῦ Φαμενώθ; *OGIS* 90, B, 12 [196 BCE]: ἐν ἣι τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ βασιλέως ἄγεται; *IGLSyr* 1, 1.132 [c. 31 BCE]: ἐν δὲ γενεθλίοις ἡμέραις, ἅς ἐμμήνους ἐνιαυσίους τε [ἄγ]ειν, θεῶν τε κάμοῦ κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἀεὶ διατέταχα; *Priene* 6.40 [c. 9 BCE]: ἦρξεν δὲ τῶι κόσμωι τῶν δι' αὐτὸν εὐανγελί[ων ἡ γενέθλιος ἡμέ]ρα 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 ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ γενέσεως ἦν Φαραῶ, καὶ ἐποίει πότον πᾶσι τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ.

20. δαδουχία "torch-bearing, torch light"

4:22 μετὰ δαδουχίας καὶ βοῶν εἰσεδέχθη

The group of compounds formed from δάς, "fire-brand, pine-torch", and ἔχω includes: (a) the substantive δαδοῦχος, ^{LSJ}"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]: Ἐρμῆς τε καὶ δαιδοῦχος Ἑκάτη; *SEG* 21: 469.36 [129/8 BCE]: καὶ οἱ ἄλλ[λ]ο[ι] ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐ[ν]νέα ἄρχοντες καὶ ὁ ἱερο[φάν]της καὶ ὁ [δαιδ]ο[ῦ]χος καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων ἦκοντες), (b) the verb δαδουχέω, attested in Euripides in the sense ^{LSJ} I.1 "to carry a torch" (*Troïades*, 343: Ἡφαιστε, δαιδουχεῖς μὲν ἐν γάμοις βροτῶν) and in the inscriptions in the sense ^{LSJ} I.2 "to hold the office of δαδοῦχος" (cf. *IG II*² 3693.3 [3rd c. BCE]: Κλ Φιλίππου τοῦ δαδουχήσαντος θυγατέρα), and (c) δαδουχία, unrecorded in literary language prior to 2 *Macc*, but attested in inscriptions in the sense of ^{LSJ}"torch-bearing" (*Priene* 51.167 [c. 120 BCE]: εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν [οἰκί]αν τὴν νύμφην] εἰσήγετο σὺν δαιδο[υχίαις τε τῶ]ν γάμον [ἐποιήσατο) or "the hereditary office of δαδοῦχος" (*SEG* 30: 93.51 [20/19 BCE]: κατασχὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ ἱερεωσύνην μεταπαρέλαβεν διασημότατα τὴν δαιδουχίαν; *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 Schmid's article γενέθλιος ἡμέρα in Paulys *Real-Encyclopädie*, VII band, p. 1139.

¹¹¹ See Marcus 2004: 39-41.

περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν γεγονυίας ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεὰς αὐτῶι δαιδουχίας). 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 δαδουχία, “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. δεινάζω “to be in straits, to take offense, to be indignant”

4:35 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἐδεινάζον καὶ ἐδυσφόρουν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀδίκῳ φόνῳ;

13:25 ἐδυσφόρουν περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν οἱ Πτολεμαεῖς, ἐδεινάζον γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠθέλησαν ἀθετεῖν τὰς διαστάσεις

This neologism is unattested outside of 2 *Macc*. Hesychius offers the gloss: ἐδεινάζον· δεινῶς ἔφερον,¹¹³ and LSJ gives the inadequate definition “to be in straits”. The verb is probably coined on the model of σχετλιάζω,^{LSJ} “complain of hardship, utter indignant complaints” (cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 519b: ἀγανακτούντων καὶ σχετλιαζόντων ὡς δεινὰ πάσχουσι; Aeschines, *De falsa legatione*, 57: δεινῶς ἐσχετλίασε; Polybius, *Historiae*, 3.82.3: ἐσχετλίαζε, δεινὸν ἠγούμενος τὸ γινόμενον; 5.26.6: ἐσχετλίαζε καὶ δυσχερῶς ἔφερε 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,^{LSJ} “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. δεξιάζω “to greet with the right hand, to welcome”

4:34 δεξιασθεῖς μεθ’ ὄρκων δοὺς 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. *Ilias*, 2.341: σπονδαί τ’ ἄκρητοι καὶ δεξιαί, ἦς

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. ἐδεινάζον: δεινῶς ἔφερον, ἢ ἐκακολόγουν, and s.v. δεινάζειν: λοιδορεῖν).

¹¹⁴ Cf. also the LXX neologism στυγνάζω, “to be horrified by/appalled at sb or sth” (*Ezekiel*, 28:19).

¹¹⁵ Cf. the compound δεινολογέομαι,^{LSJ} “to complain loudly” (Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.44.2, and Plutarchus, *Sertorius*, 6.6.2: ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ δεινολογουμένων). 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 ἐδεξιάσατο).

¹¹⁷ See Chantraine, s.v. δεξιός, p. 263, and Goldstein 1984: 240.

ἐπέπιθμεν; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 2.5.3: οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὄρκους γεγεννημένους καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσιν ἀλλήλους; Aristoteles, *Rhetorica*, 1375a10: πολλὰ ἀνήρηκεν ἢ ὑπερβέβηκεν, οἷον ὄρκους, δεξιὰς, πίστεις, ἐπιγαμίας). The derivative verb δεξιόομαι, ^{LSJ}“to greet with the right hand, welcome”, is attested as early as the Homeric hymns (*In Venerem*, 16: οἱ δ’ ἠσπάζοντο ἰδόντες χερσὶ τ’ ἐδεξιοῶντο; cf. also: Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 4.2.18: ἐροῦντες, εἰ φίλοι εἰσίν, ὑπαντιάζειν τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνατείναντας πάντας. ἦν μὲν οὖν οὕτω ποιῶσι, δεξιούσθ’ τε αὐτοὺς καθ’ ὃν ἂν ἦ ἕκαστος καὶ ἅμα θαρρύνετε). δεξιάζομαι, coined as a variant of δεξιόομαι, is introduced in 2 *Macc* and is otherwise unattested.¹¹⁸ The juxtaposition of the passive participle δεξιασθείς and the circumlocution δούς δεξιάν¹¹⁹ leads to a redundancy, which Goldstein attributes to the author’s fondness of “multiple use of Greek root in a single verse”.¹²⁰ LEH does not mark this verb as a neologism.

23. δήμιος “public executioner”

5:8 πατρίδος καὶ πολιτῶν δήμιος; 7:29 μὴ φοβηθῆς τὸν δήμιον τοῦτον

In classical Athens, a δήμιος (δοῦλος) was a slave who under the command of the Board of Eleven carried out capital punishment.¹²¹ He was euphemistically called κοινός¹²² or δημόσιος,¹²³ “the public man”. Eustathius informs us that the word had originally a positive meaning (λέξις χρηστή ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς), viz., “public, belonging to the people”. However, from Homer onwards it took on a different meaning, that of the punisher (εἰς ἑτεροῖαν σημασίαν μετέπεσε, κολαστὴς γὰρ ὁ δήμιος παρὰ τοῖς μεθ’ Ὀμηρον).¹²⁴ The executioner’s office was deemed “unseemly, shameful” (ὁ δήμιος εἰς ἀεκεῖς ἀπεκρίθη προᾶγμα),¹²⁵ so that the δήμιος could paronomastically be called ζήμιος, “harmful”, (παρωνομάζεσθαι δοκεῖ, ὡς οἷον ζήμιός τις ὦν), since he did not render useful services to the public (οὐ μὴν δῆμον ὠφελούντες).¹²⁶ In its two instances in 2 *Macc*, 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

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

¹¹⁹ Cf. also: 11:26: δούς δεξιὰς; 12:11: οἱ νομάδες ἠξίουσι δοῦναι τὸν Ἰουδαν δεξιὰς αὐτοῖς; 12:12: λαβόντες δεξιὰς; 13:22: δεξιάν ἔδωκεν, ἔλαβεν; 14:19: δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν δεξιὰς.

¹²⁰ Goldstein 1984: 240. Already noted by Grimm (1857: 93): “... die Neigung unseres Schriftstellers, Worte desselbes Stammes 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 καταγνωσθέντας ἀναιρῶν, ἢ ὁ ὑπηρέτης τῶν βασιάνων.

¹²² Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 535a.6: Ὅτι τὸ μὴ λέγειν δύσφημα πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς μὲν φροντὶς ἦν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Διὸ καὶ τὸ δεσμοτήριον οἰκημα ἐκάλουν, καὶ τὸν δήμιον κοινόν.

¹²³ Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 4, p. 48.

¹²⁴ Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, vol. 1, p. 114.

¹²⁵ Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 4, p. 48.

¹²⁶ Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, vol. 2, p. 194.

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 τυράννους ταῖς πόλεσιν).

24. διαζάω “to live through”

5:27 θηρίων τρόπον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν διέζη

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 ἥδιον καὶ κάλλιον διαζῶσι; Plato, *Leges*, 739d: οὕτω διαζῶντες εὐφραίνόμενοι κατοικοῦσι), it is the meaning “^{LSJ} 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 μὲν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγέοντες διέζων; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 3.12.2: ἐνδεεῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὄντες καὶ κακοπαθοῦντες διαζῶσι). In this sense it is also attested in the papyri: UPZ 1.2.3 [163 BCE]: διαζῶντος δὲ καὶ ἀφ’ ὧν ἐπαιτῶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ; BGU 6.1256.16 [c. 147 BCE]: ἀλλὰ διαζῶντος ἐξ ὀλίγων ἅ καὶ μόλις αὐταρκεῖται ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις; *P.Meyer*. 1.16 [144 BCE]: μὴ ὑπεριδεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπ’ ὀλίγων [διαζῶντας κ]αὶ τοῖς ἰδίο<ι>ς ἐξησθηγκότας.

25. διαρρυθμίζω¹²⁸ “to arrange in order”

7:22 καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου στοιχείωσιν οὐκ ἐγὼ διερρυθμῖσα

The simplex ρυθμίζω is first attested in Aeschylus in the sense ^{LSJ II.2} “bring to order” (*Prometheus vinctus*, 241: ἀλλὰ νηλεῶς ᾧδ’ ἐρρῦθμισμαι). It is also attested in the sense “to educate, to train”, (cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 253b: τὰ παιδικὰ πείθοντες καὶ ρυθμίζοντες εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ ιδέαν ἄγουσιν; Theophrastus, *De causis plantarum*, 3.7.9: οἱ οὕτω ρυθμίζοντες [viz., τὸ δένδρον] ὥστε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βλέπειν), but the general meaning is “^{LSJ II} to order, to arrange, to compose”. In the LXX, ρυθμίζω appears only once in the sense “^{LEH} to arrange, to fit, to put in order” (*Isaias*, 44:13: τέκτων ξύλον ἔστησεν αὐτὸ ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ἐν κόλλῃ ἐρρῦθμισεν αὐτό).

The compound διαρρυθμίζω is first attested in a late 5th c. BCE inscription from Attica, in the sense “to adjust” (*IG I³* 475.70 [409/8 BCE]: καθ’ ἐμέραν κανόνα διαρρ[υθμίσαντι]). 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.

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, διαρρυθμίζω is used in conjunction with another rare term, στοιχειώσις (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”).¹²⁹ It is in Aristotle that we find the verb ρυθμίζω used of the formation of composite things (cf. *Physica*, 245b9: τὸ μὲν γὰρ σχηματιζόμενον καὶ ρυθμιζόμενον ὅταν ἐπιτελεσθῆ, οὐ λέγομεν ἐκεῖνο ἐξ οὗ ἐστίν, οἷον τὸν ἀνδριάντα χαλκὸν ἢ τὴν πυραμίδα κηρὸν ἢ τὴν κλίνην ξύλον, ἀλλὰ παρωνυμιάζοντες τὸ μὲν χαλκοῦν, τὸ δὲ κήρινον, τὸ δὲ ξύλινον; *De caelo*, 306b15 ff.: ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀειδὲς καὶ ἄμορφον δεῖ τὸ ὑποκείμενον εἶναι (μάλιστα γὰρ ἂν οὕτω δύναιτο ρυθμιζέσθαι, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ γέγραπται, τὸ πανδεχές), οὕτω καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα δεῖ νομίζειν ὡσπερ ὕλην εἶναι τοῖς συνθέτοις).

26. διεμπίμπλημι “to fill up, to fill completely”

4:40 ταῖς ὀργαῖς διεμπιπλαμένων

The simplex πίμπλημι occurs 117 times in the LXX and the compound ἐπί(μ)πλημι/ἐμπιπλάω 146 times. The double compound διεπί(μ)πλημι is a *hapax legomenon totius graecitatis*. Hesychius glosses it as synonym of ἐμφορέομαι,¹³⁰ “to be filled, full of”.

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

4:44 καταντήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Τύρον ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν δικαιολογίαν ἐποίησαντο οἱ πεμφθέντες 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: τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιδίκων μέλλοντα λέγεσθαι καὶ πρὸς πίστιν καὶ δικαιολογίαν καὶ συγγνώμην ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων προκαταληψόμεθα; Polybius, *Historiae*, 30.4.12: συνεστήσατο γὰρ τὴν δικαιολογίαν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος δικαίων, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορίας; *Keramos* 5.19 [167/133 BCE]: ἀποσταλεῖς πρεσβευτῆς ἐποίησατο τὴν δικαιολογίαν μετὰ [τῶν συνπρεσ][βευτῶν]; *FD III* 1.362.14 [2nd c. BCE]: οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ παραχρηῖμα κληρωσάτωσαν τὰς πόλεις ἑκατέρας ποτέρα προτέρα τὴν ἐφήγησιν καὶ τὴν δικαιο[λ]ογίαν ποιήσεται; *SB* 22.15213.22 [179/8 BCE]: ἀξιῶ οὖν σε καταχωρίσαι μου τὸ ὑπόμνημα παρὰ σοὶ ὅπως ὑπάρχη μοι μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐάν με συκοφαν[τῶσι]ν, πρὸς δικαιολογίαν).

¹²⁹ Van Henten 1997: 177.

¹³⁰ *Lexicon*, 1588: διέμπληντο· ἐνεπεφόρηντο.

28. δίσκος “gong”

4:14 μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δίσκου πρόσκλησιν

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 gymnasia and was included in the pentathlon. The phrase ἡ τοῦ δίσκου πρόσκλησις 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.¹³¹ 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:

*The priests who neglected their duties were not athletic specialists, but took part in all the varied activities of the gymnasium. “The summons of the discus” must therefore be understood as the ceremonial opening of the athletic meeting. According to Abel, it consisted either of a formal throwing of the discus (like the kick-off by an invited dignitary or star at a football match), or, more probably, of the sounding of a discus-gong (cf. Sextus Emp. Adv. Math. v. 28).*¹³²

First of all, it is obvious that Caird has misunderstood Abel, who does not mention any “formal throwing of the discus”¹³³ (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 φῶτα πυρσῶν καὶ γνωμόνων ἀποσκιασμούς) 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 ὠδινούσῃ τὴν ἀπότεξις δίσκῳ σημαίνει τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωρείας 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 gymnasia “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

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).

¹³³ Cf. Abel 1949: 334: “L’ auteur donne l’ appel du disque comme signal de l’ ouverture des exercices. [...] L’ expression toutefois peut avoir une portée plus générale et marquer simplement le début des exercices par un terme concret comme celui du pétase au v. 12”.

exercises".¹³⁴ 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.¹³⁵

29. δισμύριοι "twenty thousand"

5:24 δισμυρίους δὲ πρὸς τοῖς δισχιλίαις; 8:9 οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δισμυρίων; 8:30 ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισμυρίους αὐτῶν ἀνείλον; 10:17 ἀνείλον δὲ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν δισμυρίων; 10:23 πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων;

10:31 κατεσφάγησαν δὲ δισμύριοι πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις.

According to Smyth, μύριοι, "ten thousand", is the greatest number in Greek expressed by a single word.¹³⁶ Of course, even greater numbers can be expressed by compound numerals such as: δισμύριοι, τρισμύριοι, τετρακισμύριοι, and up to δεκακισμύριοι. δισμύριοι is attested in Herodotus, Xenophon, Plato, Demosthenes and Polybius, as well as in the inscriptions (cf. *SEG* 28.60.53 [270/69 BCE]: πυρῶν δὲ δισμυρίους μεδίμνους) and the papyri (cf. *SB* 20.14375.9 [12 BCE]: ξύλων παπυρικῶν ἀγκάλας μὲν δισμυρίας). In the LXX, aside from μύριοι and δισμύριοι, we come across ταλάντων τρισμυρίων (*Esther*, 1:7), τετρακισμύριοι εὐζωνοί (*Josue*, Cod. Vat. & Cod. Alex., 4:13), ἐπτάκις δὲ μυρίας δραχμᾶς (2 *Macc*, 10:20). Very frequent is also the use of μυριάς,^{LSJ} "number of 10,000, myriad" (cf. 2 *Macc*, 12:28: εἰς μυριάδας δύο πεντακισχιλίους).¹³⁷

30. δυσημερία "misfortune"

5:6 οὐ συννοῶν τὴν εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐνημερίαν 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 δυσαμερία in a fragment of Aeschylus (*Fragmenta* (Radt), 236: Σφίγγα δυσαμεριᾶν πρῦτανιν κύνα) quoted by Aristophanes (*Ranae*, 1287),¹³⁸ and in a fragment of Sophocles (*Fragmenta* (Radt), 591: βόσκει δὲ τοὺς μὲν μοῖρα δυσαμερίας, τοὺς δ' ὄλβος ἡμῶν). The Attic form δυσημερία occurs in a fragment of the 4th c. BCE rhetor Demades (*Fragmenta*, 60: ὁ αὐτὸς δυσημερῶν ἐπὶ τινος δημηγορίας ἔφη ὥσπερ ἀγωνιστοῦ γίνεσθαι

¹³⁴ Cicero, *De oratore*, Books I, II, transl. by E. W. Sutton. London. William Heinemann LTD, 1979.

¹³⁵ Abel 1949: 334: "Cet instrument employé pour donner le signal du bain était-il répandu dans le monde grec? On ne saurait l'affirmer". Abel seems to refer here not to Cicero's passage, but to a letter of Marcus Aurelius to Fronto: "the gong sounded (*discus crepuit*), an intimation that my father had gone to the bath". (*The correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto*, I, translated by C. R. Haines. London. William Heinemann Ltd, 1962).

¹³⁶ Smyth 1920: § 352.

¹³⁷ Cf. the NT *hapax legomenon* δισμυρίας (*Apocalypsis Joannis*, 9:16: καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν στρατευμάτων τοῦ ἵππικοῦ δισμυριάδες μυριάδων).

¹³⁸ Cf. *Scholium in Aristophanem, Commentarium in ranas*, 1287a: δυσαμερίαν] κακίην.

δυσημερίαν οὕτω καὶ ἀκροατοῦ). The equally rare verb δυσημερέω, “^{LSJ}to have an unlucky day, to be unlucky”, occurs in the fragments of Pherecrates (*Fragmenta* (Kock), 98: δυσημερεῖν) and Demades (*op. cit.*), and in Dionysius Halicarnassensis (*Antiquitates Romanae*, 1.57.2: δυσημεροῦντι κατὰ τὰς μάχας). Although δυσημερία and εὐημερία are not exactly opposite in this verse (the first term is employed in the general sense of “misfortune”, “συμφορὰ”,¹³⁹ while the second term in the sense of “military success”), δυσημερία has been chosen for the rhetorical effect of antithesis and paronomasia it produces.

31. δυσπέτημα “misfortune”

5:20 ὁ τόπος συμμετασχῶν τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους δυσπετημάτων

The neologism δυσπέτημα¹⁴⁰ presumes an unquotable in classical and Hellenistic literature verb δυσπετέω¹⁴¹(>πίπτω).¹⁴² 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 ἀποδυσπέτημα (only in *Scholia in Lucianum*, 25.3: τῶν ἀποδυσπετημάτων), which derives from ἀποδυσπετέω, “^{LSJ}desist through impatience”, found in Aristoteles (*Topica*, 163b19: ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἀποδυσπετοῦσιν οἱ ἀποκρινόμενοι πολλάκις), in Polybius (*Historiae*, 33.17.2: δυσθετούμενοι τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν ἀποδυσπετεῖν ἀναγκάζονται), and in later authors. This word group also includes the adjective δυσπετής “^{LSJ}falling out ill, most difficult”, which occurs in Sophocles (*Ajax*, 1046: μαθεῖν γὰρ ἐγγὺς ὦν οὐ δυσπετής) and in Hippocrates (*De morbis, i-iii*: 1.17: δυσπετές γνῶναι), and the adverb δυσπετῶς, attested in Aeschylus (*Prometheus vincitus*, 752: ἦ δυσπετῶς ἄν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄθλους φέροις), in Herodotus (*Historiae*, 3.107: ταῦτα πάντα πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης δυσπετέως κτῶνται οἱ Ἀράβιοι), and in Hippocrates (*Prognosticon*, 15: δυσπετέως φέρειν τὴν νοῦσον). δυσπέτημα is a *dis legomenon*; its sole other occurrence is found in Macarius [4th-5th c. CE], *Apocriticus seu Monogenēs*, Book 3, p. 113.17: τὴν σύγχυσιν τοῦ πολλοῦ δυσπετήματος. It is wrongly marked as “neol.?” by LEH.

32. δυσσεβέω “to be ungodly or impious, to act wickedly”

6:13 μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ἐᾶσθαι τοὺς δυσσεβοῦντας, ἀλλ’ ἐνθέως περιπίπτειν ἐπιτίμοις

The word group which includes δυσσεβέω, δυσσεβής, δυσσέβεια and δυσσέβημα, 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 συμφορὰς ἰδίας εὐημερίας δοκοῦντες ἔσεσθαι.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Hesychius *Lexicon*, 2649: δυσπετημάτων· ἀποτυχημάτων

¹⁴¹ First instance in Eusebius [4th c. A.D.], *Constantini imperatoris oratio ad coetum sanctorum*, 22.3: δυσπετοῦντας πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ. Cf. Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 2630: δυσπετοῦντα· δυστυχοῦντα, κακῶς ἔχοντα; 2648: δυσπετεῖ· δυσανασχετεῖ.

¹⁴² Chantraine, s.v. πίπτω.

the present participle and infinitive in Aeschylus (*Eumenides*, 910: τῶν δυσσεβούντων δ' ἐκφορωτέρα πέλοις), Sophocles (*Trachiniae*, 1245; *Fragmenta*, 85), Euripides (*Medea*, 755: ἅ τοῖσι δυσσεβοῦσι γίγνεται βροτῶν), 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 τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀδίκῳ φόνῳ;
13:25 ἐδυσφόρουν περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν οἱ Πτολεμαεῖς

This verb is sparsely attested from Aeschylus onwards (Aeschylus, *Supplices*, 513: οὔτοι τι θαῦμα δυσφορεῖν φόβῳ φρένας; Euripides, *Andromacha*, 1234: τοῖς παρεστῶσιν κακοῖς μηδὲν τι λίαν δυσφορεῖν παρήνευσα; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 2.2.8: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λοχαγὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώριζεν, ἐδυσφόρουν καὶ ἔλεγον; Aristoteles, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, 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 ἔφερον.

34. δυσχερής “grievous, annoying”

6:3 χαλεπὴ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὄλοις ἦν δυσχερὴς ἢ ἐπίτασις τῆς κακίας; 9:7 δυσχερεῖ πτώματι;
9:24 ἢ καὶ προσαγγελθῆ τι δυσχερές; 14:45 δυσχερῶν τῶν τραυμάτων ὄντων

δυσχερής is amply attested from the time of Aeschylus (27 instances in Demosthenes, 20 in Aristoteles, 51 in Polybius). In 2 *Macc*, there are 4 instances, covering several of the semantic nuances of the adjective: 6:3: “grievous onslaught of evil”; 9:7: “hard fall”; 9:24: “unwelcome news”; 14:45: “severe wounds”. For the conjunction of χαλεπός and δυσχερής, cf. Demosthenes, *Epitaphius*, 24: δυσχερὴς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἅπας ὁ λειπόμενος ἂν ἡμῖν βίος γένοιτο; Isocrates, *Aegineticus*, 28.3: νῦν δὲ τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ καὶ δυσχερέστατα.

35. εἰστρέχω “to run in”

5:26 εἰς τὴν πόλιν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις 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 πρυτανεῖον; Polybius, *Historiae*, 1.44.6: εἰσδραμῶν καὶ καθορμισθεῖς εἰς τὸν λιμένα).

36. ἔκθυμος “ardent, angry”

7:3 ἔκθυμος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς; 7:39 ἔκθυμος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς; 14:27 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔκθυμος γενόμενος

The author of 2 *Macc* employs a wide range of figurative periphrases to convey the notion of anger and rage: πυρωθεῖς τοῖς θυμοῖς (4:38); ταῖς ὀργαῖς

διεμπιπλαμένων (4:40); ἐπαρθεῖς δὲ τῷ θυμῷ (9:4); πῦρ πνέων τοῖς θυμοῖς (9:7); πυρωθέντες τοῖς θυμοῖς (10:35); θηριώδει θυμῷ (10:35); πεπτρωμένος τοῖς θυμοῖς (14:45). To these he adds the adjective ἔκθυμος, probably a neologism, thrice reiterated in the formulaic phrase ἔκθυμος 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 ἰκετείᾳ), and “eager” (Plutarchus, *Aemilius Paullus*, 12.2: ἐκθύμοις ὑπηρεσίαις). The etymologically cognate adverb ἐκθύμως, ^{LSJ}“ardently, vehemently, bravely”,¹⁴³ is attested prior to 2 *Macc* (17x in Polybius, always in a military context). In its sole occurrence in the papyri from before the Common Era it is used in the sense of “eagerly” (*P.Lond.* 7.1946.9 [257 BCE]: πάντα γὰρ σοι ποιήσομεν ἐκθύμως). In Polybius we find another cognate, the neologism ἐκθυμία, ^{LSJ}“ardour, eagerness” (*Historiae*, 3.115.6: αἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σπεῖραι κατὰ τὴν ἐκθυμίαν ἐπόμεναι).

37. ἔκλαμψις “shining forth, brightness”

5:3 χρυσέων κόσμων ἐκλάμψεις

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 decalogo*, 44: ἀστραπῶν λάμψεσιν; *Legum allegoriarum 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), ἔκλαμψις, “sudden development at puberty” (Hippocrates, *De morbis popularibus*, 6.1.4), παράλαμψις, “shining spot on the cornea” (Hippocrates, *Prorrheticon*, 2.20), πρόσλαμψις, “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 ἔκλαμψις derives, is used from Aeschylus onwards of the sun and of flashes of lightning (Aeschylus, *Prometheus vincitus*, 1083: ἔλικες δ’ ἐκλάμπουσι στεροπῆς ζάπυροι, Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1712: ἡλίου τηλαυγὲς ἀκτίνων σέλας τοιοῦτον ἐξέλαμψεν), of fire (Herodotus, *Historiae*, 6.82.10: ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαι), of gleaming weapons (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 7.1.3: τὰ δὲ Κύρου ὄπλα ὡσπερ κάτοπτρον ἐξέλαμπεν), etc. Similarly, in the LXX: *Ezechiel*, 43:2: καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐξέλαμπεν ὡς φέγγος ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης; *Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides*, 26:17: λύχνος ἐκλάμπων; *ib.*, 50:7: ὡς ἥλιος ἐκλάμπων).

¹⁴³ Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 1406: ἐκθύμως· προθύμως, κατὰ ψυχὴν.

38. ἐκπλήρωσις “filling up the measure”

6:14 οὐ γὰρ καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνῶν ἀναμένει μακροθυμῶν ὁ δεσπότης μέχρι τοῦ καταντήσαντας αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν 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.¹⁴⁴ ἐκπλήρωσις appears for the first time in the 3rd c. BCE, in the Pythagorean writings of Aresas (*Fragmentum*, p. 49.17: τῶν ποττᾶν τῷ ὄλω συστάματος ἐκπλήρωσιν καὶ σύνταξιν καὶ συναρμογάν τευχόντων) and Hippodamus (*Fragmenta*, p. 98.14: τῶν ἐκπλαρώσει καὶ χορηγία τῶν ἀναγκαίων). In the 1st c. BCE, it occurs in Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in the sense of “satisfaction” (*Antiquitates Romanae*, 6.86.3: εἰς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν σεαυτῆς ἐπιθυμιῶν), and in Apollonius, in the sense of “filling up” (*In Hippocratis de articulis commentarius*, 5: πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἐν τῇ μασχάλη κοίλου). In the papyri, it occurs in the sense of “paying off” (cf. *P.Koeln.* 8.346.54 [3rd c. BCE]: εἰς ἐκπλήρωσιν (δραχμῶν) ρ ξ; *BGU* 8.1825.23 [c. 60 BCE]: πρὸς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν [τ]ῶν τοῦ [εἴδους] κεφα[λ]αίων).

39. ἐκπυρόω “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 πυρόω in the sense: (a) “^{LEH}to strike fire out of flints” (10:3: καὶ πυρώσαντες λίθους καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τούτων λαβόντες), and (b) figuratively, “^{LEH}to be inflamed, aflame” (4:38: πυρωθεὶς τοῖς θυμοῖς; 10:35: πυρωθέντες τοῖς θυμοῖς; 14:45: πεπυρωμένος τοῖς θυμοῖς). There also occur two compounds, the LXX *hapax legomena* προσπυρόω, “^{LEH}to inflame, to incense still more” (14:11: οἱ λοιποὶ φίλοι δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν προσεπύρωσαν τὸν Δημήτριον), and ἐκπυρόω. προσπυρόω is a neologism, whereas ἐκπυρόω is attested from Heraclitus onwards. In its occurrences in literature, ἐκπυρόω is used in the sense “to set fire, to burn” (cf. Euripides, *Troïades*, 301: αὐτῶν τ’ ἐκπυροῦσι σώματα θανεῖν θέλουσαι; *id.*, *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 1070: ὃς ἤξει [...] Πριάμοιο κλεινὰν γαῖαν ἐκπυρώσων), “to ignite, to inflame” (Aristoteles, *De caelo*, 289a21: πέφυκε γὰρ ἡ κίνησις ἐκπυροῦν καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους καὶ σίδηρον). 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 (ὥστ’ ἐκπυρουμένου τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον πανταχόθεν παροπτώμενον καὶ περιφλεγόμενον διαφθείρεσθαι).

¹⁴⁴ See Abel 1949: 365.

40. ἔλευστέον “one must come”

6:17 δι’ ὀλίγων δ’ ἔλευστέον ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν

ἔλευστέον derives from ἐλεύσομαι, the epic, ionic and poetic future of εἶμι. It is one of the rare examples of a verbal adjective formed from the stem of the future (cf. μενετός>fut. μενῶ)¹⁴⁵ instead of the aorist passive. εἶμι ordinarily forms a verbal adjective from the stem of the present: ἰτέον, attested in Thucydides (*Historiae*, 8.2.1: ἀλλ’ ἐθελοντὶ ἰτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους), Xenophon, and favoured by Plato (17x), is very rare in Hellenistic literature. Mayser notes that verbal adjectives in -τέος 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.¹⁴⁶ 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* (νομιστέον, κλητέον, γνωστέον, ἐκδεκτέον), 1 in *Proverbia* (ἡγητέον), and 5 in 2 *Macc* (φροντιστέον, ἐξεταστέον, and συγχωρητέον in the epitomator’s prologue, 2:19-32, ἔλευστέον in 6:17, and ἀναλημπτέον in 3:13). ἔλευστέον reappears in Didymus Caecus [4th c. CE], and in *Basilica* [9th-13th c. CE].

41. Ἑλληνισμός “imitation of the Greeks, Hellenism”¹⁴⁷

4:13 ἦν δ’ οὕτως ἀκμή τις Ἑλληνισμοῦ

Ἑλληνισμός derives from ἐλληνίζω. Verbs consisting of a noun stem designating a region or an ἔθνος and the suffix -ίζω may have a political meaning (e.g., μηδίζω, ^{LSJ} “to side with the Medes”), a cultural meaning (e.g., συβαρίζω, ^{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} I “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 II “to shave the head”, or III “to talk Scythian”).¹⁴⁸ ἐλληνίζω 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 Amphilocheians who became Hellenes and adopted the Hellenic language owing to their union with the Ambraciots (*Historiae*, 2.68.5: ἡλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν). Xenophon tells us of a cup-bearer who knew Greek (*Anabasis*, 7.3.25: ἐλληνίζειν γὰρ ἠπίστατο), Aeschines mentions a Greek-speaking half-Scythian (*In Ctesiphontem*, 172.11: ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκύθης βάρβαρος ἐλληνίζων 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: Ἑλλήν μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλληνίζει).

¹⁴⁵ Smyth 1920: 471a; Kühner 1892: 290.

¹⁴⁶ Mayser 1970: II 1, 359-60.

¹⁴⁷ The definition is from LSJ. LEH has no entry for Ἑλληνισμός.

¹⁴⁸ See Cohen 1999: 175-9.

Aristoteles uses the verb in the more technical sense “to use a pure Greek style” (*Rhetorica*, 1407a20: ἔστι δ’ ἀρχὴ τῆς λέξεως τὸ ἐλληνίζειν), and Posidippus distinguishes ἐλληνίζειν, “to speak Hellenistic Greek”, from ἀττικίζειν, “to speak Attic Greek” (*Fragmenta (Kock)*, 28.3: σὺ μὲν ἀττικίζεις, ἡνίκ’ ἂν φωνὴν λέγῃς αὐτοῦ τινές, οἱ δ’ Ἑλληνες ἐλληνίζομεν). 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]: κατεγνώκασίν μου ὅτι εἰμὶ βάρβαρος; *ib.*, 21: οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ἐλληνίζειν). The derivative noun Ἑλληνισμός probably appears around the 2nd c. BCE. For the Stoic philosopher Diogenes Babylonius, ἐλληνισμός, the use of a grammatically faultless and free from vulgarity Greek, is one of the five excellences of speech (*Testimonia et fragmenta*, 24: ἀρεταὶ δὲ λόγου εἰσὶ πέντε. ἐλληνισμός, σαφήνεια, συντομία, πρέπον, κατασκευή. ἐλληνισμός μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ φράσις ἀδιάπτωτος ἐν τῇ τεχνικῇ καὶ μὴ εἰκαία συνηθεία). 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.¹⁴⁹ In the eyes of a Jew, Ἑλληνισμός was dangerous because it introduced customs contrary to the Law (4:11: παρανόμους ἐθισμοὺς 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 βλασφήμοις καὶ βαρβάροις ἔθνεσιν παραδίδοσθαι) and Ἑλληνισμός a discreditable trend which leads to the desertion of Ἰουδαϊσμός.¹⁵⁰

42. ἔμπνους “with breath in one, alive”

7:5 ἐκέλευσεν τῇ πυρᾷ προσάγειν ἔμπνουν καὶ τηγανίζειν; 14:45 ἔτι δὲ ἔμπνους ὑπάρχων

The compound adjective ἔμπνους, derived from πνοή, “blowing of the wind, of fire, breathing, etc.”,¹⁵¹ is attested from the 5th c. BCE, usually referring to someone breathing his last (cf. Herodotus, *Historiae*, 7.181.6: ὡς δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ’ ἦν ἔμπνοος; Thucydides, *Historiae*, 1.134.3: ἐξάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἔτι ἔμπνουν ὄντα; *ib.*, 5.10.11: ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔτι ἔμπνουν ἐσεκόμισαν; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1442: ὁ δ’ ἦν ἔτ’ ἔμπνους; *id.*, *Fragmenta (Nauck)*, 936: ἀλλ’ ἔτ’ ἔμπνουν Αἰδῆς μ’ ἐδέξατο; Antiphon, *Tetralogia*, 1.9.4: ἔμπνους γὰρ ἔτι ἀρθεῖς; Plato, *Leges*, 944a: κομισθεῖς ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἄνευ τῶν ὀπλῶν Πάτροκλος ἔμπνους ἐγένεθ’; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, 21.16.5: καὶ κατέκαυσεν ὄντα μὲν ἔμπνουν ἔτι. In *2 Macc*, we

¹⁴⁹ Cf. the periphrastic expressions: 4:10 πρὸς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτήρα τοὺς ὁμοφύλους μετέστησε; 6:9 μεταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικά; 11:24 τῆ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικά μεταθέσει.

¹⁵⁰ See Goldstein 1984: 230, note 13, and deSilva 2002: 277.

¹⁵¹ See LSJ, s.v. πνοή.

may quote the circumlocutions τῷ παντελῶς ἐν ἐσχάτῃ πνοῇ κειμένῳ (3:31) and ἐν ἐσχάτῃ δὲ πνοῇ γενόμενος (7:9) as parallels to ἔτι ἔμπνους ὑπάρχων (14:45).

43. ἐνδείκτης “informer, complainant”

4:1 ὁ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐνδείκτης γεγονῶς

ἐνδείκτης is derived from ἐνδείκνυμι, ^{LSJ 1.2}“to inform against” (cf. Andocides, *De re dīto suo*, 14.3: ἄνδρες βουλευταί, ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐνδεικνύω ὑμῖν σίτον τε εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσαγαγόντα; Plato, *Leges*, 856c: πᾶς δὲ ἀνὴρ [...] ἐνδεικνύτω ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰς κρίσιν ἄγων τὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντα βιαίου πολιτείας μεταστάσεως; Demosthenes, *Philippica* 3, 60.3: ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προδότην τὸν Φιλιστίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ). The *nomen actionis* ἐνδειξις, “^{LSJ 1.2}laying of information against one who discharged public functions for which he was legally disqualified”, is attested in classical literature (Andocides, *De mysteriis*, 10: ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀπολογία, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς αἰτίας ὅθεν περὶ ἢ ἐνδειξις 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 μηδαμοῦ κατὰ τῶν τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐνδεικνύτων; *IG II²* 1128.28 [4th c. BCE]: τῷ δὲ φήν[αντι ἢ ἐνδείξαντι εἶναι τὰ ἡ]μίσεια). 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 ὑπὲρ σοῦ χρήσιμα τῶν σῶν πραγμάτων, ἃ σ’ οὐ δεδύνημαι διασαφῆσαι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιστολίου διὰ τὸν ἐφελκόμενόν σοι ἐνδείκτην; *ib.*, 7: εὐλαβοῦμαι τὸν ἐνδείκτην). For the collocation of ἐνδείκτης with πατρίς, cf. *2 Macc*, 5:8: πατρίδος καὶ πολιτῶν δῆμιος; *ib.*, 5:15: τὸν καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος προδότην γεγονότα.

44. ἐνενηκονταετής “ninety years old”

6:24 Ελεαζαρον τὸν ἐνενηκονταετῆ

ἐνενηκονταετής first appears in *2 Macc*. In later literature, it is attested along with the paroxytone ἐνενηκονταέτης (cf. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquitates Romanae*, 6.21.3) and ἐνενηκοντούτης (cf. Lucianus, *Dialogi mortuorum*, 22.7.14).¹⁵² Compounds with ἔτος as their second element are very common in the LXX: cf. εἰκοσαετοῦς (*Exodus*, 30:14), τριακονταετοῦς (*Paralipomenon i*, 23:3), πενηκονταετοῦς (*Numeri*, 4:23), ἑξηκονταετοῦς (*Leviticus*, 27:3), ἑκατονταετεί (*Genesis*, 17:7).

¹⁵² Cf. Aelius Herodianus, *De prosodia catholica*, 3, 1, 81: τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἔτος παρ’ ἡμῖν μὲν ὀξύνονται, διετής, τριετής, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις βαρύνονται· οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι διέτης, τριέτης, ἐξαέτης λέγουσι βαρυτόνως ὁμοίως τῷ εὐνέτης, οἰκέτης καὶ ἰκέτης, εἰ καὶ ταῦτα εἰς οὐ δίφθογγον ἔχουσι τὴν γενικὴν τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἔτος εἰς οὐς αὐτὴν ἐχόντων. See also Chantraine, s.v. ἔτος.

45. ἔντευξις “petition (to the king)”

4:8 ἐπαγγειλάμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ δι’ ἐντεύξεως ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐξήκοντα

In literary texts, ἔντευξις has the meaning^{LSJ 1.1} “meeting with” (Plato, *Politicus*, 298d: πρὸς τὰς τοῖς λησταῖς ἐντεύξεις) or^{LSJ 1.2} “converse, intercourse” (cf. Isocrates, *Ad Demonium*, 20.7: τὰς ἐντεύξεις μὴ ποιῶν πικρὰς 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 οὖν κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐντεύξεις τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων), “audience” or “conference” (*ib.*, 21.14.1: κληθεὶς πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον εἰς ἐντεύξιν; *ib.*, 3.15.4: καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρεσβείαν καὶ δοὺς αὐτὸν εἰς ἐντεύξιν διήκουε περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων; *ib.*, 5.67.11: κατὰ τὰς διαπρεσβείας καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις). In the Hellenistic inscriptions and the papyri, ἔντευξις is used “as a kind of ‘vox sollemnis’ for a petition of any kind”.¹⁵³ 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]: [τῆ]ς δ[εδο]μένης ἡμῖν [ἐντεύξε]ως παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀβάτ[ω] καὶ ἐν [Φίλ]αις Ἰσιδος ὑποτετά[χαμέν σοι τὸ] ἀντίγρα[φον]; *Fayoum* 2:117.3 [57 BCE]: τῆς δεδομένης τῆι θεᾷ βασιλίσσηι ἐντεύξεως παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων; *P.Enteux.* 41.7 [221 BCE]: περὶ ὧν ἐπικαλῶ αὐτῶι διὰ τῆς [ἐ]ντεύξεως ἵνα, διὰ σέ, βασιλεῦ, τοῦ δικαίου τύ[χω]; *UPZ*, 1.51.17 [161 BCE]: τὸν τε βασιλέα πλειονάκις δι’ ἐντεύξεως παρηνωχλήκαμεν; *P.Tor.Choach.* 8.48 [126 BCE]: περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ πληγῶν καὶ ὧν συντετελεσμένοι εἰ[σ]ιν εἰς με μετὰ ταῦτα λήμψομαι παρ’ αὐτῶν δι’ ἄλλης ἐντεύξεως τὸ δίκαιον). In *2 Macc* 4:8, the papyrial formula δι’ ἐντεύξεως 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.¹⁵⁴

46. ἐξομοιῶ “P: to become like, to be like”

4:16 καὶ ὧν ἐζήλουν τὰς ἀγωγὰς καὶ καθ’ ἅπαν ἠθελον ἐξομοιοῦσθαι

The simplex ὁμοιῶ/ὁμοιοῦμαι,^{LSJ} “to make like”, “to become like”, occurs 40 times in the LXX (cf. *Genesis*, 34:15: ἐν τούτῳ ὁμοιωθησόμεθα ὑμῖν καὶ κατοικήσομεν ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐὰν γένησθε ὡς ἡμεῖς καὶ ὑμεῖς; *1 Macc*, 3:4: καὶ ὁμοιῶθη λέοντι ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ). The compound ἐξομοιῶ is attested from Herodotus onwards (cf. Euripides, *Andromacha*, 354: ἄνδρας γυναιξίν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι φύσιν; *id.*, *Fragmenta* (Nauck), 794: κάξομοιοῦσθαι θεοῖς; Plato, *Gorgias*, 512e: ἐξομοιῶν αὐτὸν τῆ πολιτεία ταύτη ἐν ἣ ἂν οἰκῆ; Polybius, *Historiae*, 4.4.6: ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξωμοίωτο κατὰ τε τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὰλλα μέρη τοῦ σώματος τῷ προειρημένῳ).

¹⁵³ Moulton-Milligan, s.v. ἔντευξις.

¹⁵⁴ E.g., Grimm 1857: 79: “bei einer Unterredung im Gegensatz zu einem schriftlichen Versprechen, oder besser allgemeiner occasione per congressum data, bei einem (zufälligen) Zusammentreffen”; Abel (1949: 331): “au cours d’ une entrevue”; Habicht (1979: 215): “in einer persönlichen Unterredung”; Schaper (*NETS* 2007: 508): “promising the king at an interview”. Spicq (1994: vol. 2, 8): “the noun *enteuxis* also has the sense of a meeting or interview (*2 Macc* 4:8; an OT hapax)”.

47. ἐξοπλησία “getting under arms”

5:25 τοῖς ὑφ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐξοπλησίαν¹⁵⁵ παρήγγειλεν

This rare military term is known from Xenophon (*Anabasis*, 1.7.10: ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλησίᾳ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀσπίς μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία), Aeneas (*Poliorcetica*, 10.13: ἐξοπλησίας τε πυκνάς ποιῆσθαι), Aristoteles (*Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, 1.4: ἐξοπλησίαν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ ποιησάμενος), Manetho, in the sense of “manoeuvres” (*Fragmenta*, 42: ταῖς ἐξοπλησίαις πρὸς φόβον τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιμελῶς γυμνάζων), and Polybius (4x, cf. 11.9.4: τὸν εἰς ἐξοπλησίαν ἢ στρατείαν ἐκπορευόμενον). 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 ἐξοπλησίᾳ ἐξετάζειν; *Erythrae* 21.10 [c. 277/5 BCE]: τῆς τε φυλακῆς καὶ τῶν ἐξοπλησιῶν ἐπεμελήθησαν). The verb ἐξοπλίζομαι, ^{LSJ}“to get under arms, stand in armed array”, from which ἐξοπλησία is derived, is also attested in 2 *Macc* (5:2: σπειρηθὸν ἐξωπλισμένους).

48. ἐπίκτητος “acquired”

6:23 τῆς ἐπικτήτου 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: ἐπίκτητός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ), or a foreign wife (*ib.*, 3.3.8: τὴν δὲ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἐπίκτητον ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται). 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 πολιᾶ, “grey hairs”. In the LXX, the greyness of hair indicates old age and wisdom (cf. *Proverbia*, 20:29: κόσμος νεανίας σοφία, δόξα δὲ πρεσβυτέρων πολιᾶί; *Sapientia Salomonis*, 4:9: πολιᾶ δὲ ἐστὶν φρόνησις ἀνθρώποις), and inspires reverence (cf. 4 *Macc*, 5:7: αἰδοῦμαι γὰρ σου τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν πολιᾶν). 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. ἐπίπληξις “blame, rebuke”

7:33 εἰ δὲ χάριν ἐπιπλήξεως καὶ παιδείας ὁ ζῶν κύριος ἡμῶν βραχέως ἐπώργισται

Although the verb ἐπιπλήττω, ^{LSJ} II “to punish, chastise, esp. with words, rebuke”, is well-attested in the literature from Homer onwards, the derivative *nomen actionis* ἐπίπληξις 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} I “blame, rebuke” (cf. Aeschines, *In*

¹⁵⁵ The Göttingen edition reads ἐξοπλησία. See Walters 1973: 122.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Abel 1949: 367. “Opposé à ἔμφυτος, naturel, ἐπίκτητος indique des cheveux blanchis dans le labour 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”.

Timarchum, 177.8: διὰ τί οἴεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς μὲν νόμους καλῶς κειῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ ψηφίσματα εἶναι τῆς πόλεως καταδεέστερα, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἐνίοτε τὰς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἔχειν ἐπιπλήξεις). From the 2nd c. BCE, there are many instances of ἐπιπλήξεις in non-literary documents, in the strong sense of “punishment”. Its numerous occurrences in the papyri, especially in petitions to the authorities demanding that the “appropriate punishment” be assigned to law-breakers, indicate that the term belonged to the juridical vocabulary of the time (cf. *BGU* 6.1252.34 [2nd c. BCE]: ὅπως (...) τύχηι τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιπλήξεως; *PSI* 5.542.30 [185-165 BCE]: ἔξαποστῖλαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν στρατηγόν, ὅπως τύχηι ὁ ἄνθρωπος δι’ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιπλέξεως; *P.Tebt.* 1.16.24 [115/114 BCE]: ὡς αὐτοὶ κατασ[ταθέντες τύχῳσι] τῆς ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιπ[λήξεως]). Also in a 2nd c. BCE inscription: *CID* 4.107.9 [182/181 BCE]: νομίζοντες [δεῖν καὶ τῶμ βασιλέων ὅσοι μὲν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν [τοῖς Ἑλλησιν τυγχάν[ειν] τῆς καθηκού[σης] ἐπιπλήξεως.

G.B. Caird has argued that in 2 *Macc*, 7:33, ἐπιπλήξεις should not be taken in the strong sense of “punishment” but in the sense of “rebuke”. He states that “the words are spoken by the last of the seven brothers to suffer torture at the hands of Antiochus, but the point is that he makes light of these horrors and treats them as the mild censure of the Lord”.¹⁵⁷ 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”).¹⁵⁸

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 ἐντυγχάνοντας τῆδε τῇ βίβλῳ μὴ συστέλλεσθαι διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς, λογίζεσθαι δὲ τὰς τιμωρίας μὴ πρὸς ὄλεθρον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παιδείαν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ἔασθαι τοὺς δυσσεβοῦντας, ἀλλ’ εὐθέως περιπίπτειν ἐπιτίμοις, μεγάλης εὐεργεσίας σημείον ἐστίν. οὐ γὰρ καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἀναμένει μακροθυμῶν ὁ δεσπότης μέχρι τοῦ καταντήσαντας αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν κολάσαι, οὕτως καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἔκρινεν εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τέλος ἀφικομένων ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὕστερον ἡμᾶς ἐκδικᾷ. διόπερ οὐδέποτε μὲν τὸν ἔλεον ἀφ’ ἡμῶν ἀφίστησιν, παιδεύων δὲ μετὰ συμφορᾶς οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ 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 ἐκδικῶ, which do not conform to the idea of God as a “mild censurer”. Finally, the law-terms κρίσις (7:35)

¹⁵⁷ Caird 1968: 474.

¹⁵⁸ See LSJ, s.v. ἐπιπλήξεις, p. 651, and the Supplement, p. 128.

and πρόστιμον (7:36, echoing ἐπίτιμον in 6:13), occurring in the following verses, support the interpretation of ἐπίπληξίς as a legal term.¹⁵⁹

50. ἐπιπληρόω “to fill up”

6:4 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἱερὸν ἀσωτίας καὶ κώμων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπεπληροῦτο¹⁶⁰

In its rare instances in the extant literature before 2 *Macc*, the compound ἐπιπληρόω is used in a literal sense with reference to ships (Thucydides, *Historiae*, 7.14.2: ἐπιπληρωσόμεθα τὰς ναῦς; Aesopus, *Fabulae*, 251: ἡ αἶθουα δὲ χαλκοῦν ἐπεπληροῦτο), and banquets (Ephippus, *Fragmenta*, 4: συμπόσιον ἐπιπληροῦσιν), or in medical vocabulary (Dioctes, *Fragmenta*, 31: τὸ τὰς ἀρτηρίας ἐπιπληροῦσθαι). The simplex πληρόω occurs 5 times in 2 *Macc*, mostly in a figurative sense (3:30 χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἐπεπλήρωτο; 6:5 τὸ δὲ θυσιαστήριον τοῖς ἀποδισταλμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀθεμίτοις ἐπεπλήρωτο; 9:7 τῆς ὑπερηφανίας ἐπεπλήρωτο; 10:30 ταραχῆς πεπληρωμένοι; 13:16 τὴν παρεμβολὴν 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. ἐπιφύω “to adhere to, to cling to”

4:50 ἔμενε ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπιφύομενος 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 σῆμά ἐστι ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον [...] ἐπιπέφυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαίη), of a growth on a fowl’s forehead (Aristoteles, *Historia animalium*, 577a8: [τὸ ἵππομανές] ὃ ἐπιφύεται ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῶν πῶλων), 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 ὁμοία τῇ τοῦ κυάμου [...] ἐπιφύεται δὲ ὁμοίως ὁ καρπὸς τῷ τοῦ κυάμου). 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 οἷον κῆρες ἐπιπεφύκασιν, αἱ καταμαίνουσίν τε καὶ καταρροπαίνουσιν αὐτά), of dishonour which follows close when pride and insolence take the lead (*Aristeae Epistula*, 269.4: ὅταν ὑπερηφανία καθηγῆται καὶ θράσος ἄληκτον, ἀτιμασμός ἐπιφύεται καὶ δόξης ἀναίρεσις) or of the lividities and the ulcers which grow in the soul turning man into the cruellest of beasts (Polybius, *Historiae*, 1.81.7: ταῖς τε ψυχαῖς παραπλησίως τοιαῦται πολλάκις ἐπιφύονται μελανία καὶ σηπεδόνες ὥστε μηδὲν ἀσεβέστερον ἀνθρώπου μηδ’ ὠμότερον ἀποτελεῖσθαι τῶν ζῶων). It is in a similar metaphorical sense that ἐπιφύω is employed in 2 *Macc*:

¹⁵⁹ Cf. the terms τιμωρία (6:12; 6:26), κόλασις (4:38), and ζημία (4:48). Even παιδεία is used in the sense of “chastisement” in the LXX (cf. *Proverbia*, 22:15: ἀνοία ἐξηπται καρδίας νέου, ῥάβδος δὲ καὶ παιδεία μακρὰν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ).

¹⁶⁰ The Göttingen edition reads ἐπεπλήρωτο.

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 ἀλγηδόνισιν.

52. ἐπιχωρέω "to permit"

4:9 ἐὰν ἐπιχωρηθῆ¹⁶¹ διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ γυμνάσιον;

12:12 ἐπεχώρησεν εἰρήνην ἄξιειν πρὸς αὐτούς

ἐπιχωρέω is a rather rare verb, attested in various senses in classical literature: "to give way" (Sophocles, *Antigone*, 219: τὸ μὴ ἴπιχωρεῖν τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν τάδε), "to come towards" (Thucydides, *Historiae*, 4.107.1: τοὺς ἐθελήσαντας ἐπιχωρηῆσαι ἄνωθεν), "to move forward, to attack" (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.2.17: ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐπιχωρηῆσαι ὄλην 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]ήρους αὐτῶν τοὺς δύο, ὃν τε ὁ θεὸς καὶ σωτὴρ Ἀντίοχος ἐπεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς; *FD III* 2, 134, c.1.6 [205-202 BCE]: π[α]ραεκάλεον τὰ[ν πόλιν ὅπως ἄ τε] [πόλις καὶ ἄ χώρα αὐτῶν] ἐπιχωρηθῆ ἰε[ρὰ εἶμεν καὶ ἄσυλος][τοῦ Διονύσου; *OGIS* 740.31 [95 BCE]: διὸ δὴ ἀξιοῦμεν <σέ>, τὸν εὐχάριστον καὶ θεότατον βασιλέα, (...), ἐπιχωρήσαντα ἡμ[ῖν] διὰ προστάγματος εἶναι τὸ μηνυόμενον ἱερὸν ἄσυλον; *SEG* 22.110.36 [79/8 BCE]: παρακαλοῦσι τὴν βου[λὴν ἐπιχ]ωρησα[ι αὐτοῖς] ποιήσασθαι γραπτῆς εἰκόνας [ἐ]ν ὄπλωι ἀνάθεσιν ἐν τ[ῶ]ι ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἱερῶι).

53. εὐεργέτημα "service done, benefit, kindness"

5:20 διόπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τόπος συμμετασχῶν τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους δυσπετημάτων γενομένων ὕστερον εὐεργετημάτων 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 εἶσθαι τοὺς δυσσεβοῦντας, ἀλλ' εὐθέως περιπίπτειν ἐπιτίμοις, μεγάλης εὐεργεσίας σημειὸν ἐστίν) or by a king (2 *Macc* 9:26: [from a letter of Antiochus IV] παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀξιῶ μεμνημένους τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν κοινῆ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἕκαστον συντηρεῖν τὴν οὖσαν εὐνοίαν εἰς ἐμὲ). 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 (συμμετασχῶν τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους δυσπετημάτων), participated in its benefits (εὐεργετημάτων ἐκοινώνησεν), when the Lord became reconciled. Both

¹⁶¹ The Göttingen edition reads ἐὰν ἐπιχωρηγηθῆ.

εὐεργεσία and εὐεργέτημα, as employed in 2 *Macc*, have epigraphic parallels: cf. *Iasos* 93.27 [Letter of Queen Laodike III, 195/190 BCE]: τῶν ἀπαντω<μέν>ων εὐεργεσιῶν μεμνημένοις; *SEG* 34.558.25 [150-130 BCE]: τῶν γεγεννημένων ε[ὐε]ργετημάτων εἰς τὸ ἔθνος ὑπὸ Κοῖντου καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτ[ο]ῦ. We may note the antithesis and the paronomasia in δυσπετημάτων-εὐεργετημάτων, reminiscent of εὐημερίαν-δυσημερίαν in 5:6; for a similar rhetorical effect, cf. Aristoteles, *Rhetorica*, 1381b3: καὶ τοὺς μὴ ὄνειδιστὰς μήτε τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων μήτε τῶν εὐεργετημάτων; Polybius, *Historiae*, 30.4.13: τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐεργετήματα καὶ συνεργήματα παραβάλλον καὶ συγκρίνων).

54. εὐμένεια “goodwill, favour”

6:29 τῶν δὲ ἀγόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν μικρῶ πρότερον εὐμένειαν εἰς δυσμένειαν μεταβαλόντων

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 τοίνυν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐμενείας οὐδ’ ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα λελεῖψεσθαι; *Aristeae Epistula*, 254: διότι θεὸς τὸν πάντα κόσμον διοικεῖ μετ’ εὐμενείας) or, more rarely, the goodwill of one person towards another (cf. Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 631: τίς δῆτ’ ἂν ἀνδρὸς εὐμένειαν ἐκβάλοι τοιοῦδ’). In the Hellenistic inscriptions, εὐμένεια refers to the favor of the gods (cf. *Miletos* 39.18 [180/161 BCE]: ὅπως ἕκαστα συντελεσθῆι μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμενείας συμφερόντως ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν; *Priene* 66.21 [129/100 BCE]: ἐσχηκ[ῶς] διὰ παν]τὸς τοῦ βίου τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐμένεια[ν] κα[ὶ] τὴν παρὰ] [τ]ῶν [σ]υμπολιτευομένων καὶ τῶν κατοικοῦ[ντων] εὐνοι[α]ν), or of a king (cf. *IvP* 246.54 [138/133 BCE]: παρακαλείτω[σ]αν εὐνοῦν [ὄντα] καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου, συντηροῦντα τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν διὰ προγόνων [εὐμ]έ[νει]αν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν). 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 εὐμενε[ίας]) or of a στρατηγός (*P.Harr.* 2.179.7 [1st c. CE]: χάριν ἔχω τῇ εὐγε[νεῖ] σου φιλανθρωπία κ[αὶ] τῇ ὑ[πέρ] μο[υ] σῆ εὐμενεία). 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,¹⁶² 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 εὐμενείας, ἄδωρος δυσμενείας; Aesopus, *Fabulae*, 269.1: οὕτως οὐ χρητὸν τὸν δεσπότην πρὸς δυσμένειαν παρακινεῖν ἀλλὰ πρὸς εὐμένειαν). A term semantically related to εὐμένεια is εὐνοια,¹⁶³ 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 βούλησις ἀγαθῶν <ἐτέρω> αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν 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.

¹⁶³ For a discussion of the term, see Spicq 1994: vol. 2: 123.

wider semantic range than εὐμένεια: it refers not only to interpersonal relations (cf. 14:26: ὁ δὲ Ἄλκιμος συνιδὼν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους [i.e., between Judah and Nicanor] εὐνοίαν), 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 [...] ἕκαστον συντηρεῖν τὴν οὖσαν εὐνοίαν εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν υἱόν; 11:19: εἰάν μὲν οὖν συντηρήσητε τὴν εἰς τὰ πράγματα εὐνοίαν).

55. εὐτακτέω “to be orderly”

4:27 τῶν δὲ ἐπηγγελμένων τῷ βασιλεῖ χρημάτων οὐδὲν εὐτάκτει

This verb is very poorly attested in literature: it occurs once in Thucydides in the sense ^{LSJ} “to be orderly” (*Historiae*, 8.1.4: ἐτοιμοὶ ἦσαν εὐτακτεῖν) and 4 times in Xenophon in the military sense ^{LSJ} “to obey discipline” (cf. *Memorabilia*, 3.5.21: ἐν γε τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς, ἔνθα μάλιστα δεῖ σωφρονεῖν τε καὶ εὐτακτεῖν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν). It is in the inscriptions and the papyri that εὐτακτέω is employed in the sense attested in 2 *Macc*, that is, ^{LSJ} II “to pay regularly”¹⁶⁴ (cf. *Syll.3* 672.10 [160/59 BCE]: καὶ οἱ μισθοὶ τοῖς παιδευταῖς εὐτακτέωνται; *SB* 8.9841.20 [247 BCE]: εὐτακτεῖτω δὲ Χαιμενηγίσι τὸν φόρον καθ’ ἕκαστον μῆνα. εἰάν δὲ μὴ εὐτακτῆι, ἀποτεισάτω οὗ ἂν μηνὸς μὴ εὐτακτῆσι τὸν φόρον ἡμιόλιον; *UPZ* 1.45.20 [162/1 BCE]: ἀξιοῦμέν σε συντάξει οἷς καθήκει ἀποδοῦν[α] ἡμῖν τὰ προγεγραμμένα καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτα[κ]τεῖν). The substantive εὐταξία, ^{LSJ} 2 “orderly behaviour”, also occurs in 2 *Macc* (4:37: διὰ τὴν τοῦ μετηλλαχότος σωφροσύνην καὶ πολλὴν εὐταξίαν).

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

4:9 εἰάν ἐπιχωρηθῆ διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ γυμνάσιον καὶ ἐφηβεῖον¹⁶⁵ αὐτῷ συστήσασθαι

57. ἔφηβος “ephebe, adolescent, young man”

4:12 τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἐφήβων ὑποτάσσω

If one accepts Grotius’ correction ἐφηβεῖον (instead of the manuscripts’ ἐφηβίαν), adopted by Rahlfs, then the word is a *dis legomenon* in Greek literature. Its other occurrence is found in Strabo, *Geographica*, 5.4.7: πλεῖστα δ’ ἵχνη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐνταῦθα σώζεται, γυμνάσιά τε καὶ ἐφηβεῖα καὶ φρατρίαι καὶ ὀνόματα Ἑλληνικά. 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”).¹⁶⁶ It designates the ephebes’ “common-room and lecture hall”¹⁶⁷ 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

¹⁶⁴ The definition of LEH needs to be updated.

¹⁶⁵ The Göttingen edition reads ἐφηβίαν.

¹⁶⁶ Vitruvius, *On architecture*, vol. I, V.XI.2, ed. and transl. by F. Granger, London, W. Heimenann Ltd, 1983.

¹⁶⁷ Marrou 1948: 198 and 280.

edition of 2 *Macc*, Hanhart opted for ἐφηβίαν, ^{LSJ} 2“ephebic institution”, 3“body of ἔφηβοι”.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 ἀπόδει]ξι). 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 ὑποτάσσω in a military sense in a number of Hellenistic literary and epigraphic texts, has recently suggested that the phrase τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἐφήβων ὑποτάσσω 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 ἠκίζοντο

In the LXX, there occur two adverbs derived from ἐχόμενος, the present participle of ἔχομαι, ^{LSJ} C.3“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 παλλακὴ ἢ καθημένη ἐχόμενα αὐτοῦ; *Regnorum iii*, 1:9: ὅς 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 ὀργάνων 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 – εἶαν=ephebic training so that the conjecture –εἶον is no longer advised”.

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

¹⁷⁰ Townsend 1992: 315.

¹⁷¹ Kleijwegt, *op. cit.* 91-2.

¹⁷² Kennell 2005: 21-22.

ἐχομένως δὲ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ὑπογράφομέν <σοι> σαμβύκης κατασκευήν). In the papyri, ἐχόμενα is used of time (cf. *PSI* 5.514.8 [252/1 BCE]: εὐθέως δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενα κατάπεμψον τὰ ἐπισταλέντα εἰς τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ βασιλέως), and of place (cf. *P.Sarap.* 54.22 [118 CE]: ἐχόμενα Θύνεως), whereas ἐχομένως is attested with the genitive of person for “with” (cf. *P.Oxy.* 7.1061.28 [22 BCE]): κωμογραμματέως Θώλθεως παρόντος ἐχομέ(νω)ς Θέωνο(ς) Ἰσχυρίω(νος)), or in a prepositional phrase (cf. *P.Oxy.* 3.503.12 [118 CE]: τὸν Ἐπίμαχον Διονυσίου ἐχομένως μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Πετοσ[εῖ][ριν Διονυσίου]).

59. θᾶττον “sooner”, “more quickly”

4:31 θᾶττον οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤκεν καταστεῖλαι τὰ πράγματα; 5:21 θᾶττον εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐχωρίσθη; 14:11 τοιούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων ὑπὸ τούτου θᾶττον οἱ λοιποὶ φίλοι (...) προσεπύρωσαν τὸν Δημήτριον

In the LXX, the comparative of the adverb ταχέως or ταχύ is the Hellenistic τάχιον (cf. *1 Macc*, 2:40: νῦν τάχιον ὀλεθρεύσουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; *Sapientia Salomonis*, 13:9: τὸν τούτων δεσπότην πῶς τάχιον οὐχ εὔρον). It is only in *2 Macc* that we find the classical Attic θᾶττον, used with positive or relative sense.¹⁷³

60. θέμις [ἐστί] “it is lawful”

6:20 ὧν οὐ θέμις γεύσασθαι; 12:14 βλασφημοῦντες καὶ λαλοῦντες ἂ μὴ θέμις

The impersonal construction θέμις (with omission of ἐστί) is attested in poetry (cf. Sappho, *Fragmenta*, 150: οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐν μοισσοπόλων τοικίαι θρηῖνον ἔμμεν'; Euripides, *Ion*, 1256: ἰκέτιν οὐ θέμις φονεύειν) as well as in prose (cf. Plato, *Respublica*, 417a: ἄπτεσθαι χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου οὐ θέμις; Aristoteles, *Fragmenta varia*, 1.16.102: λωβούς δὲ οὐ θέμις βωμοῦ προσψάσασθαι). It is also found in religious and cultic inscriptions: *IGASMG*, III 15.1 [c. 450 BCE]: οὐ θέμις ἐντοῦθα κειῖσθαι {κειῖσθαι εἰ} με τὸν βεβαχχευμένον; *IG XII*, Suppl. 394.2 [2nd c. BCE]: Πειθοῖ αἶγα οὐδὲ χοῖρον οὐ θέμ[ις]; *I. Napoli*, II, 126ter, 6 [mid 1st c. BCE]: οὐ θέμις ἄ[λ]λον θε<ι>ναί. [ιερ]ᾶ [κ]ατάρη.

61. θεόκτιστος “established by God”

6:23 τῆς ἀγίας καὶ θεοκτίστον νομοθεσίας

This verbal adjective appears for the first time in extant literature in Aristoteles' *Poetica* (1457b29: σπείρων θεοκτίστην φλόγα) as an unidentified quotation from tragedy or lyrical poetry.¹⁷⁴ It is also attested in the *Aristeae Epistula* (201: θεόκτιστόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος), in Limenius (*Paeon Delphicus ii et prosodium in Apollinem*, 36: θεόκτιστον Παλλάδος ἄστου), as well as in the inscriptions (cf. *FD III* 2.138.34 [128/7 BCE]: σῶιζε θεόκτι<σ>τον Παλλάδος ἄστου; *OGIS* 168, I, 1.4 [115 BCE]: εἰς τὴν

¹⁷³ Thackeray 2008: 184.

¹⁷⁴ Nauck, A. (1889) *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Adespota, fr. 85, p. 856.

θηόκτιστον πόλιν Ἐλεφαντίνην). The older type θεόκτιτος is attested in Solon (*Fragmenta*, 36.8: πατρίδ' ἐς θεόκτιτον). The first element of the compound, θεός, forms 4 LXX compounds: θεοσέβεια, θεοσεβής, and the two 2 *Macc* LXX *hapax legomena*, θεομαχέω (7:19) and θεόκτιστος. The second element, the verbal adjective κτιστός, aside from one occurrence in the *Homeric hymns* (*In Apollinem*, 299: κτιστοῖσιν λάεσσιν), is found only in ecclesiastical writers. In the LXX, it forms one more compound, νεόκτιστος, “newly created” (*Sapientia Salomomis*, 11:18: νεοκτίστους 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.¹⁷⁵ In 2 *Macc*, we encounter only the derivative κτίστης as a designation of God (1:24: ὁ πάντων κτίστης; 7:23: ὁ τοῦ κόσμου κτίστης; 13:14: τῷ κτίστη τοῦ κόσμου). νομοθεσία (in the LXX, the term occurs only in 2 and 4 *Macc*), the law, the Torah, is thus not only θεῖα, “divine” (cf. 4:17: θεῖους νόμους; 4 *Macc*, 17:16: τοὺς τῆς θείας νομοθεσίας ἀθλητάς), 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 σὺν δὲ μὴ νομίσης ἀθῶος ἔσσεσθαι θεομαχεῖν ἐπιχειρήσας

This very rare verb is attested in only five authors prior to 2 *Macc*: in Euripides (*Bacchae*, 45: ὃς θεομαχεῖ τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ καὶ σπονδῶν ἄπο ὠθεῖ μ' ἐν εὐχαῖς τ' οὐδαμοῦ μνεῖαν ἔχει; *ib.*, 325: κοὺ θεομαχήσω σῶν λόγων πεισθεῖς ὕπο; *ib.*, 1255: ἀλλὰ θεομαχεῖν μόνον οἶός τ' ἐκεῖνος; *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 1408: τὸ θεομαχεῖν γὰρ ἀπολιποῦσ'), 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, σὺν θάτερον αὐτῶν ἐκβέβληκας), in Menander (*Fragmenta* (Kock), 187.1: μὴ θεομάχει, μηδὲ προσάγου τῷ πράγματι χειμῶνας ἑτέρους, τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίους φέρε), and in Manetho (*Fragmenta*, 54.97: ἀλλὰ μέλλειν θεομαχεῖν νομίσας).¹⁷⁶ Of all these occurrences, the closest to our verse are the ones in Euripides' *Bacchae*.¹⁷⁷ 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

¹⁷⁵ Cf. *TDNT*, pp. 1025-1026.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. also Euripides, *Fragmenta* (Nauck), 716.1: σὺν δ' εἶκ' ἀνάγκη καὶ θεοῖσι μὴ μάχου; *ib.*, 491.5: οὐ χροῖ μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔαν.

¹⁷⁷ See the remarks on θεομάχος and θεομαχεῖν 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 θεομάχος 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 θεομάχος=ἄθεος is found in the schol. ad Ar. *Nub.* 830 (Rutherford): Σωκράτης ὁ Μήλιος: ἐπειδὴ Διαγόρας Μήλιος ὦν διεβάλλετο ὡς θεομάχος καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη δὲ ὡς ἄθεον διαβάλλει, διὰ τοῦτο Μήλιον αὐτὸν εἶπε”.¹⁷⁸ 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 μιὰρὸς θεωροῦς

The θεωροί were delegates sent by Greek city-states to consult oracles, to participate in festivals and observe athletic games.¹⁷⁹ 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]: γίνεσ[αι δὲ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν] τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν θεωρῶν καθ’ ἐκάστην πενταετηρίδα, ὅταν καὶ [εἰς Ὀλύμπια ἀποδεικνύ]ωνται· δίδοσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀποδεικνυμένοις εἰς μὲν τὴν θυσίαν [τετρακοσίας(?) δραχμάς, εἰς]δὲ ἐφόδια ὅ τι ἂν τῶ[ι] δήμω[ι] δόξῃ; *Magnesia* 13.64 [193 BCE]: [— ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωροῦς] εἰς Μαγνησίαν τοὺς θύσοντας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκο]φρυγηνῇ [...], δίδοσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐφόδιον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου] ὅσον ἂν ὁ δῆμος ψηφ[ί]ζῃται ἰκανὸν εἶναι καὶ πρέπον]).

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

5:11 τεθηριωμένος τῆ ψυχῇ

The verb derives from θηρίον, a diminutive of θῆρ, meaning ^{LSJ} 1.1 “wild animal” or generally ^{LSJ} 1.2 “animal”. The figurative use of the substantive (“wicked person, beast”) is attested early on (cf. Aristophanes, *Equites*, 273: ὦ πόλις καὶ δῆμ’, ὑφ’ οἴων θηρίων γαστριζομαι; *id.*, *Plutus*, 439: ὦ δειλότατον σὺ θηρίον). In the LXX, the word designates “the not domesticated, in the open-country living, in most cases big and dangerous animal”.¹⁸⁰ 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. θηρίον.

are several instances of figurative use of θῆρ and its derivatives: 4:25: θυμούς δὲ ὤμοῦ τυράννου καὶ θηρὸς βαρβάρου ὀργὰς ἔχων; 10:35: ἀρρενωδῶς καὶ θηριῶδει θυμῷ τὸν ἐμπίπτοντα ἔκοπτον; 12:15: ἐνέσεισαν θηριωδῶς τῷ τείχει.

The verb θηριοῦμαι first appears in the 4th century BCE in the sense: (a) “^{LSJ} II come to the full size of a beast” (Eubulus, *Fragmenta* (Kock), 107.14: τῶν γὰρ κροκοδείλων οὗτος ᾧ λαμβάνων, πρὶν θηριοῦσθαι τὸν γόνον), and (b) “^{LSJ} II.2 become brutal” (cf. Plato, *Leges*, 935a: ὅσον ὑπὸ παιδείας ἡμερώθη ποτέ, πάλιν ἐξαγριῶν τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ τοιοῦτον, θηριούμενος ἐν δυσκολίᾳ ζῶν γίγνεται; Crantor, *Fragmenta* (Mullach), 8.17: τεθηριῶσθαι γὰρ εἰκός, ἐκεῖ μὲν σῶμα τοιοῦτον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ψυχὴν; Critodemus, *Fragmenta* (Kroll), vol. 5, 2, p. 112.37: γίνονται γὰρ πλαστογράφοι ἄρπαγες θυρεπανοίκται κυβευταὶ τεθηριωμένην τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντες). The idea of the “bestialization” of the soul is of Platonic or Aristotelian origin (cf. Aristoteles, *Magna moralia*, 2.4.3-2.5.1: Ἔστι δὲ τρία τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γινόμενα, καθ’ ἃ φαῦλοι λεγόμεθα, κακία ἀκρασία θηριότης (...) Ἔστιν δὲ ἡ θηριότης ὑπερβάλλουσά τις κακία. ὅταν γὰρ τινα παντελῶς ἴδωμεν φαῦλον, οὐδ’ ἄνθρωπόν φαμεν εἶναι ἀλλὰ θηρίον, ὡς οὔσαν τινὰ κακίαν θηριότητα). However, the phrase τεθηριωμένος τῇ ψυχῇ may have its origin in Polybius, who uses the compound ἀποθηριοῦμαι in a similar way (cf. *Historiae*, 30.11.5: γεγευμένοι τοῦ φόνου τοῦ κατ’ ἀλλήλων ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀρσινοΐαν σφαγαῖς ἔτοιμοι πρὸς πᾶν ἦσαν, ἀποτεθηριωμένοι τὰς ψυχὰς; cf. also Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, 17.9.6: οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀποθηριωθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν μηχανὰς τε πολιορκητικὰς συνεστήσατο). 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 θωρακισμούς

The neologism θωρακισμός derives from θωρακίζω, ^{LSJ} “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 τεθωρακισμένον θώραξιν βασιλικοῖς). Of the 18 substantives in -ισμός occurring in *2 Macc*, 5 are LXX *hapax legomena*: ἀλλοφυλισμός, ἑλληνισμός, ἐμφανισμός, θωρακισμός, σπλαγχνισμός; ἀλλοφυλισμός, θωρακισμός and σπλαγχνισμός are neologisms, along with Ἰουδαϊσμός, 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. ἱεροσύλημα “sacrilegious plunder”

4:39 γενομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἱεροσυλημάτων

67. ἱερόσυλος “temple robber”

4:42 τὸν ἱερόσυλον παρὰ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον ἐχειρώσαντο

¹⁸¹ Cf. Aelius Herodianus, *Partitiones*, p. 59, l. 12: θώραξ, τὸ λωρίκιον, καὶ κλίνεται θώρακος· θωρακίζω, ῥήμα, τὸ καθοπλίζω· θωρακισμός.

Temple-robbery was one of the gravest offences in antiquity. The *ιερόσυλοι*¹⁸² were grouped with the sycophants (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 30: *ιερόσυλοι, ῥήτορες καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ πονηροί*), the thieves, the deserters and all sorts of murderers (Demosthenes, *In Timocratem*, 119: *τοῖς κλέπταις, τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις, τοῖς πατραλοῖαις, τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις, τοῖς ἀστρατεύτοις, τοῖς λιποῦσι τὰς τάξεις*), but also with the traitors and those who sought to subvert the polity (Plato, *Leges*, 857a: *προδότῃ καὶ ἱεροσύλῳ καὶ τῷ τοῦς τῆς πόλεως νόμους βία ἀπολλύντι*). Upon conviction, they were put to death and denied burial in their native land.¹⁸³ In 4:42, *ιερόσυλος* is applied to Lysimachus, who stole gold vessels from the temple of Jerusalem and was put to death by the outraged crowd. The substantives *ιερόσυλος* and *ιεροσυλία* (2 *Macc*, 13:6: *τὸν ἱεροσυλίας ἔνοχον*) and the verb *ιεροσυλέω* (2 *Macc*, 9:2: *ἐπεχείρησεν ἱεροσυλεῖν*), all LXX hapaxes, are well-attested in classical and Hellenistic literary and non-literary texts. *ιεροσύλημα*,¹⁸⁴ 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 *-μα*, denoting the result of an action (cf. another 2 *Macc* neologism, *δυσπέτημα*).

68. ἴλη “troop” (mil. term for cavalry)

5:3 ἴλας ἵππων διατεταγμένας

ἴλη was a cavalry unit below the *ἵππαρχία* and above the *οὐλαμός*. 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 ἴλη consisted of 128 men.¹⁸⁵

69. κάμαξ “pike”

5:3 ἀσπίδων κινήσεις καὶ καμάκων πλήθη καὶ βελῶν βολὰς

κάμαξ, originally ^{LSJ} 1“vine-prop”¹⁸⁶, was the long, thin spear used by the cavalry against the infantry from the 5th c. BCE.¹⁸⁷ As a military term it appears only in tragic and comic poetry (cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 66: *διακναιομένης τ’ ἐν προτελείοις κάμακος*; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1403: *ἐξ ἴσου δ’ Ἄρης ἦν, κάμακος ἀμφοῖν χειρ’ ἀπεστερημένοι*; Aristophanes, *Fragmenta (Kock)*, 404: *λόγχοι δ’ ἐκαυλίζοντο καὶ ξυστή 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]: *θρασὺν αἰχμητὴν σημοφόρῳ κάμακι*).

¹⁸² Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 324: *ιερόσυλος· τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτων*.

¹⁸³ Cf. Isocrates, *In Lochitem*, 6.4; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 1.7.22.

¹⁸⁴ Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 325: *ιεροσυλημάτων· τῶν κλοπῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ*.

¹⁸⁵ See Sage 1996: 206.

¹⁸⁶ Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 559: *κάμαξ· δόρυ· σχίζα· καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀναδενδράσι ξύλα*.

¹⁸⁷ Sekunda & McBride 1986: 16.

70. καταδρομή “charge, attack (by an army)”

5:3 καὶ προσβολὰς γινομένας καὶ καταδρομὰς ἐκατέρω

Another military term occurring in Thucydides (cf. *Historiae*, 8.41.2: καὶ τὴν χώραν καταδρομαῖς λείαν ἐποιεῖτο), Xenophon (cf. *Hellenica*, 5.4.42: καταδρομὰς δὲ ποιούμενος ἐκακούργει τὴν χώραν), and Polybius (cf. 5.99.5: πολλάκις γὰρ ἐποιοῦντο τὰς καταδρομὰς ἕως ἐπὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀμυρικὸν πεδῖον). 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 κατασχολούμενον, καταδρομὰς μου ποιούμενος οὐκ ἔᾶ <με> πρὸς τῇ γεωργίᾳ γίνεσθαι.

71. κατατολμάω “to dare, to presume, to have the boldness to”

3:24 πάντα τοὺς κατατολμήσαντας συνελθεῖν;

5:15 κατετόλμησεν εἰς τὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς ἀγιώτατον ἱερὸν εἰσελθεῖν

κατατολμάω occurs 8 times in Polybius in the sense: (a) to dare (*Historiae*, 2.13.5: ἐπιτάττειν ἢ πολεμεῖν οὐ κατετόλμων τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις), and (b) to take bold action against the enemy (*op. cit.*, 4.79.7: κατατολμᾶν τῶν Φιαλέων). The word also appears in vernacular documents such as the “Petition from the Serapeum twins” (*UPZ* 1.42.20 [162 BCE]: τῶν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς χειρισμοῖς ἐν τῷ Σαραπιεῖω καὶ Ἀσκληπιεῖω τεταγμένων κατατετολμηκότων). In 2 *Macc*, both the simplex (4:2 ἐτόλμα λέγειν) and the compound occur. In the latter, the prefix κατὰ strengthens the notion of boldness.

72. κηδεῖα “care for the dead, funeral”

4:49 τὰ πρὸς τὴν κηδεῖαν αὐτῶν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐχορήγησαν;

5:10 κηδεῖας οὐδ’ ἤστινοσοῦν οὔτε πατρῶου τάφου μετέσχεν

κηδεῖα has the meanings: (a) ^{LSJ} II “connexion by marriage, alliance” (cf. Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 2.6.36: ἔφη γὰρ τὰς ἀγαθὰς προμνηστοῖδας (...) δεινὰς εἶναι συνάγειν ἀνθρώπους εἰς κηδεῖαν; Aristoteles, *Politica*, 1280b36: διὸ κηδεῖαί τ’ ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς πόλεις καὶ φατρίαὶ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ διαγωγαὶ τοῦ συζῆν) and, from the Hellenistic period,¹⁸⁸ (b) ^{LSJ} I “care for the dead, funeral” (cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, 2.836: ἀμφὶ δὲ κηδεῖῃ νέκυος μένον ἀσχαλῶντες). In the inscriptions, κηδεῖα is attested in sense (b) (cf. *IosPE* I² 34.23 [early 1st c. BCE]: τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰσκα[ο]μισθῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν καθήκουσαν κηδεῖαν) as well as in the sense of ^{LSJ} I “mourning” (*IMT Kaikos* 922.14: τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ [μηνί] λύειν τὰ πένθη τοὺς ἀνδρας, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῷ πέμπτῳ, καὶ ἐξανίστασθαι ἐκ τῆς κηδεῖας). In the papyri from before the Common Era there is only one instance of the word in the sense “connexion by marriage” (*PSI* 3.166.30 [118 BCE]: σύνειμι ἐν τῇ σῆι κηδ[εῖα]); the sense “care for the dead, funeral” is attested from the 1st c. CE

¹⁸⁸ The verb κηδεύω, from which κηδεῖα is derived, is already attested in the 5th c. BCE in the sense “attend to a corpse, bury” (cf. Sophocles, *Electra*, 1141: ἀλλ’ ἐν ξένῃσι χερσὶ κηδευθεὶς τάλας).

onwards (cf. *P. Oslo* 3.130.12 [2nd half of 1st c. CE]: εἷς τε κηδεῖαν καὶ περιστολὴν τοῦ σοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδου σωματίου; *PSI* 12.1263.7 [2nd c. CE]: εἰς κηδεῖαν καὶ περιστολὴν τοῦ σωμα[α]τίου μου ταφισο[μένου Αἰγυ]πτία ταφῆ).

73. κηδεμών “one who cares for, guardian of”

4:2 τὸν κηδεμόνα τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν

κηδεμών 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, *Respublica*, 412c: κηδεμόνας τῆς πόλεως; Dinarclus, *In Demosthenem*, 31: φιλόπολις ἀνὴρ καὶ κηδεμών τῆς πόλεως). The designation τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸν κηδεμόνα τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν 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 ἀγαθὸς κηδεμών; *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”

6:7 ἠναγκάζοντο κισσοῦς ἔχοντες πομπεύειν τῷ Διονύσῳ

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 (σκηνοπηγία).¹⁸⁹ The latter, as we are told in *Quaestiones Convivales*, 671D-E, was celebrated at the height of vintage (ἀκμάζοντι τρυγητῶ) and the Jews set out tables of fruit under tents and huts plaited of vines and ivy (ὑπὸ σκηναῖς καὶ καλιάσιν ἐκ κλημάτων μάλιστα καὶ κιττοῦ διαπεπλεγμέναις), while in a thyrsus procession (θυρσοφορία), which took place a few days later, the worshippers entered the temple carrying a thyrsus (θύρσους ἔχοντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν εισίασιν).¹⁹⁰ 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

¹⁸⁹ Plutarchus, *Quaestiones Convivales* (Πρόβλημα ζ. Τίς ὁ παρ’ Ἰουδαίοις θεός, 671C-672C); Tacitus, *The Histories*, 5.5.5 (transl. by C. H. Moore, London, Heinemann, 1979): “but since their priests [i.e., of 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”.

¹⁹⁰ Both the author of 2 *Macc* and Flavius Josephus use the Dionysiac term θύρσος to refer to the palm branch (*lulav*) of Tabernacles (2 *Macc*, 10:7: διὸ θύρσους καὶ κλάδους ὠραίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ φοίνικας ἔχοντες ὕμνους

ἀνέφερον τῷ εὐδῶσαντι καθαρισθῆναι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τόπον; *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 13.372: νόμου ὄντος παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῇ σκηνοπηγίᾳ ἔχειν ἕκαστον θύρσους ἐκ φοινίκων καὶ κιτρίων). See Feldman 1996: 541 and Schwarz 2008: 377-378.

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 to 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 παρασήμῳ Διονύσου κισσοφύλλῳ). In any case, the Jews of both Alexandria and Jerusalem probably saw the ivy as a symbol of anti-Jewish persecution.

75. κρημνίζω “to hurl down”

6:10 δημοσίᾳ περιαγαγόντες αὐτὰς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκρήμνισαν

The verb derives from κρημνός, “overhanging cliff, precipice”, which is a LXX *hapax legomenon* (*Paralipomenon ii sive Chronicon ii*, 25:12). Apart from its occurrence in 2 *Macc*, κρημνίζω is found only twice in the literature of the 3rd-1st c. BCE: in Aristophanes Grammaticus (*Aristophanis historiae animalium epitome*, 2.581.6: κρημνίσαι ἑαυτὸν) and in Diodorus Siculus (cf. *Bibliotheca historica*, 9.19.1: κατὰ πετρῶν ἐκρήμνισεν). The compound κατακρημνίζω 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: ἀναδραμῶν γενναίως ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος κατεκρήμνισεν ἑαυτὸν, and, in the sense “to destroy”, in 12:15: τὸν ἄτερ κριῶν καὶ μηχανῶν ὀργανικῶν κατακρημνίσαντα τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ).

76. λεληθότως “secretly”

6:11 συνδραμόντες εἰς τὰ σπήλαια λεληθότως ἄγειν τὴν ἐβδομάδα;
8:1 παρεισπορευόμενοι λεληθότως εἰς τὰς κόμας

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 λάθρα (9x), as well as the adverbs κρυφῆ (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. μαιφόνος “someone polluted by murder, murderer”

4:38 τὸν μαιφόνον ἀπεκόσμησεν; 12:6 ἐπὶ τοὺς μαιφόνους τῶν ἀδελφῶν

The compound μαιφόνος 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*, 607: πῶς γὰρ σ’ ἔθρεψεν ἐντός, ὦ μαιφόνε, ζώνης; Sophocles, *Electra*, 492: μαιφόνων γάμων; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1760: Σφιγγὸς τῆς μαιφόνου; *id.*, *Orestes*, 1563: ἐκ χειρῶν μαιφόνων; *id.*, *Hippolytus*, 1379: μαιφόνον σύγγονον; *id.*, *Medea*, 1346: τέκνων μαιφόνε), and is sparsely 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 μαρός (5 times in 2 *Macc*) and ἀμίαντος (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 Τύριοι μισοπονηρήσαντες τὰ πρὸς τὴν κηδεῖαν αὐτῶν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐχορήγησαν; 8:4 μνησθῆναι δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων νηπίων παρανόμου ἀπωλείας [...] καὶ μισοπονηρῆσαι

[113.] συμμισοπονηρέω “to feel common hatred of what is bad”

4:36 οἱ κατὰ πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι συμμισοπονηρούντων 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 (...) ἔτι καὶ νῦν μισοπονηρῆσαι). It is not confined to literary use as evidenced from a 2nd c. BCE papyrus from Memphis (*UPZ* 1.2.25 [163 BCE]: ἀξιῶ οὖν σε μὴ \ύ/περιδεῖν με περισπώμενον μισοπονηρῆσαί τε). The substantive μισοπονηρία (2 *Macc*, 3:1: διὰ τὴν Ονίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ μισοπονηρίαν) and the adjective μισοπόνηρος (*Esther*, 8:12d) are also LXX *hapax legomena*. The double compound συμμισοπονηρέω is a neologism of 2 *Macc*.

79. Μυσάρχης “leader of the Mysians”¹⁹³

5:24 ἔπεμψεν δὲ τὸν Μυσάρχην Ἀπολλώνιον

The first element of this compound is Μυσός, “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;¹⁹⁴ 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.¹⁹⁵ The second element of the compound is –άρχης, which is the usual Koine termination of nouns compounded from ἄρχω, instead of the Attic –αρχος.¹⁹⁶ 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), Κυπριάρχης (12:2), ἐλεφαντάρχης (14:12), as well as ἑπαρχος (4:28), and στρατηγός πρώταρχος (10:11). Many commentators have pointed out that this term may be understood in a figurative sense:¹⁹⁷ it is possible that the author wanted to make a pun with the words Μυσός,¹⁹⁸ “Mysian”, and μύσος, “defilement, abomination”, or μίσος, “hate”, so that Μυσάρχης would be the “originator of a foul deed”, as older editions of LSJ translated the word.¹⁹⁹

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

6:19 ὁ δὲ τὸν μετ’ ἐνκλείας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν μετὰ μύσους βίον ἀναδεξάμενος;
6:25 καὶ μύσος καὶ κηλῖδα τοῦ γήρωος κατακτήσωμαι

In tragic poetry, μύσος is the pollution caused by the blood shed in a murder (cf. Aeschylus, *Choephoroe*, 650: αἱμάτων παλαιτέρων τίνειν μύσος). This pollution is corporeal (cf. Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 445: οὐδ’ ἔχων μύσος πρὸς χειρὶ τήμηι), and can be transferred to other people or to the sanctuaries (cf. Euripides, *Hercules*, 1219: τί μοι προσείων χεῖρα σημαίνεις φόβον; ὡς μὴ μύσος με σῶν βάλῃ προσφθεγμάτων; Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 195: οὐ χρηστηρίοις ἐν τοῖσδε πλησίοισι τρίβεσθαι μύσος). The murderer cannot flee it (cf. Euripides, *Andromacha*, 335: μαιφόνον μὲν οὐκέτ’ ἂν φύγοι μύσος), until it is purged away by cleansing rites (cf. Aeschylus, *Choephoroe*, 967: ὅταν ἀφ’ ἐστίας μύσος ἅπαν ἐλαθῇ καθαρμοῖσιν ἀτᾶν ἐλατηρίοις). In 2 *Macc*, 6:19; 25 Eleazar refuses to eat pork, in order to avoid the “pollution” (μύσος) and the “stain” (κηλῖδα) on his old age. In secular literature, the only use of μύσος 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 ἐγεύσαντο καὶ ἀπήρξαντο, τῶν δὲ θηλειῶν φειδόμενοι τῆς γονῆς ἔνεκα, ἐν μύσει τὸ ἄψασθαι ἐνομοθέτησαν). In the LXX, the word that denotes the pollution from cultically forbidden meat is μίασμα (*Leviticus*, 7:18: ἐὰν δὲ φαγῶν φάγη ἀπὸ τῶν κρεῶν τῆ ἡμέρα τῆ τρίτη, οὐ δεχθήσεται αὐτῷ τῷ προσφέροντι αὐτό, οὐ λογισθήσεται

¹⁹⁵ Griffith 1977: 250.

¹⁹⁶ See Thackeray 2008: 156.

¹⁹⁷ Grimm 1857: 106; Abel 1949: 356, and Goldstein 1984: 267. Ecclesiastical writers such as Theodorus Studites certainly understood it as a derogatory term (cf. *Epistulae*, 421.12: μάθε, χρίστουβρι, (...) ἴσθι, μυσάρχα).

¹⁹⁸ Cf. the customary expression ὁ Μυσῶν ἔσχατος, of an utterly worthless man (Plato, *Theaetetus*, 209b); *Scholia in Platonem*, Tht, 209b: παροιμία Μυσῶν ἔσχατος, ἐπὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων.

¹⁹⁹ H. G. Liddell & R. Scott (1883) *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. μυσάρχης.

αὐτῶ, 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 μισρός (5x), μαιφόνος (2x) and ἀμιάντος (2x).

81. νεώς “temple”

4:14 τοῦ μὲν νεῶ καταφρονοῦντες; 6:2 τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεῶ; 9:16 ὃν δὲ πρότερον ἐσκόλευσεν ἄγιον νεῶ; 10:3 τὸν νεῶ καθάρισαντες; 10:5 ὁ νεῶς ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων ἐβεβηλώθη; 13:23 ἐτίμησεν τὸν νεῶ; 14:33 προτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν νεῶ

The Attic second declension nouns are very rare in Koine Greek. In the LXX, only ἄλωσ, ἕως, and νεῶς are attested.²⁰¹ The latter is found only in 2 *Macc*, along with the general Koine type ναός:²⁰² there are 7 instances of νεῶς (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 ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ὁ νεῶς ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων ἐβεβηλώθη, συνέβη κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν τὸν καθαρισμόν γενέσθαι τοῦ ναοῦ. Joüon argues that in 2 *Macc* the two terms are not synonymous, since νεῶς signifies “temple” and ναός “sanctuary”:

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

We do not agree with this statement. If there was a differentiation between νεῶς and ναός, then the author would not have used undifferentiatedly the verb βεβηλώω in 8:2 (τὸν ναὸν τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων βεβηλωθέντα) and 10:5 (ὁ νεῶς ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων ἐβεβηλώθη), and καθαρίζω and καθαρισμός in 10:5: (τὸν καθαρισμόν γενέσθαι τοῦ ναοῦ) and 10:3 (καὶ τὸν νεῶ καθάρισαντες).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: κεκόσμηται δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἡ πόλις ναοῖς καὶ στοαῖς. καὶ (μὴν) ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου νεῶς παντέλειαν μὲν οὐκ εἴληφε; also, *ib.*, 16.1.5-6.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ Chantraine, s.v. μύσος.

²⁰¹ Thackeray 2008: 144.

²⁰² See Doran 1981: 27. Apart from ναός and νεῶς, 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 νεῶς and ναός is attested in Philo.

²⁰⁴ *Op. cit.*, 342-343.

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”.²⁰⁶ 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*.²⁰⁷ In that case, “palaestra” is indeed used synecdochically for gymnasium, as LEH suggests.

83. παντελῶς “quite, utterly”

3:12 παντελῶς ἀμήχανον; 3:31 τῷ παντελῶς ἐν ἐσχάτῃ πνοῇ κειμένῳ; 7:40 παντελῶς ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ πεποισθῶς; 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: παντελῆ σωτηρίας ἀπόλαυσιν), is frequently attested in literature from Aeschylus onwards (cf. Sophocles, *Fragmenta* (Radt), 646.2: πρὶν αὐτῷ παντελῶς ἤδη βίος διεκπεραθῆ; Polybius, *Historiae*, 4.58.1: βραχὺν παντελῶς χρόνον; Erasistratus, *Testimonia et fragmenta*, 199.3: κεναὶ παντελῶς αἵματος; Agatharcides, *De mari Erythraeo*, 46.8: πεζῆ μὲν διελθεῖν παντελῶς (ὡς εἶπον) ἀδύνατον). It also occurs in the inscriptions (cf. *Sardis* 7.1.7.3 [100-50 BCE]: φαν]ερός ὢν παντελῶς χ[ρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρεχόμενος; *Prose sur pierre* 46.16 [39 BCE]: π]αντελῶς δὲ τῆς πόλεως κρινομένης), and the papyri (cf. *P.Enteux*. 23.6 [218 BCE]: παντελῶς με ἐκ πάντων ἀδικεῖ; *UPZ* 1.59.26 [168 BCE]: παντελῶς ἀηδίζομαι; *UPZ* 1.110: 6.168 [164 BCE]: παντελῶς ἀγεώργητος; *P.Tebt*. 1.24.64 [117 BCE]: εἰς τοὺς [νί]ους ὄ<ν>τας παντελῶς νεωτέρους; *BGU* 14.2370.22 [84/83 BCE]: τό τε ὀφείλημα ὀλίον παντελῶς εἶναι).

²⁰⁶ Glass 1988: 165.

²⁰⁷ Kennell 2005: 23.

84. παρακλείω “to shut up, to incarcerate”

4:34 ὃν καὶ παραχρήμα παρέκλεισεν οὐκ αἰδεσθεῖς 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 ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακληίουσι); 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 κατασπάσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τεθρίππου) 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 κατασπάσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος ἀπέκτειναν. 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 κατακλείω,²⁰⁸ in 2 *Macc* 13:21, and of ἀποκοσμέω and χειρόομαι in 4:38 and 4:42 respectively).²⁰⁹ The definition in LEH is once again inadequate.

85. παρακομίζω “A: to carry, to bear”, “M: to bring home”, “P: to be carried away”

4:19 παρακομίζοντας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τριακοσίας (...) ἠξίωσαν οἱ παρακομίσαντες μὴ χρῆσθαι εἰς θυσίαν; 4:20 ἔνεκεν δὲ τῶν παρακομιζόντων; 4:23 παρακομίζοντα τὰ χρήματα τῷ βασιλεῖ; 9:8 ἐν φορειῷ παρεκομίζετο; 9:10 παρακομίζειν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο διὰ τὸ τῆς ὁσμῆς ἀφόρητον βάρος; 9:29 παρεκομίζετο δὲ τὸ σῶμα Φίλιππος ὁ σύντροφος 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 παραδούς τινα τῶν χιλιάρχων συνέταξεν παρακομίζειν εἰς Ἀπάμειαν; UPZ 1.19.16 [163 BCE]: ... μετήλλαχεν τὸν βίον. τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναπλευσάντων καὶ ἀγαγόντων] καὶ παρακομισάντων αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς κατὰ Μέμφιν νεκρίας).

86. παρόρασις “turning away and withholding of grace as a (temporary) punishment, oversight, neglect”

5:17 διὸ γέγονεν περὶ τὸν τόπον 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 ὑπόν(ο)ια καὶ | ἡ ἄγ(ν)οι(α) κα(ι) ἡ ἀ(πισ)τία | καὶ τὰ παρα(πλήσ)ια φαῦ|(λ)ά ἐστι(ν, ἡ) δ’

²⁰⁸ See the comment of De Bruyne 1921: 408, and of Schwarz 2008: 458.

²⁰⁹ See Abel 1949: 342 and Goldstein 1984: 240.

(ἀτεχ)νία (καὶ ἢ) παρό(ρα)σις καὶ παλραρίθ(μη)σι(ς τῶν) ἀναλμέσον). The verb from which it derives, παροράω, attested from Herodotus onwards, means: (a) ^{LSJ I}“to notice, to remark” (cf. Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.38.2: ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδῶν τοι ποιέω ταῦτα), (b) ^{LSJ II.1}“to look past”, “overlook” (cf. Isocrates, *Antidosis*, 134.5: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμαρτανόμενα παρόψονται), (c) ^{LSJ II.2}“to disregard” (cf. Aeschines, *In Ctesiphontem*, 172.6: παριδῶν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους), (d) ^{LSJ II.3}“to neglect” (cf. Polybius, *Historiae*, 21.19.12: τοὺς δ’ ἀληθινούς φίλους παρορῶντες καὶ κατολιγωροῦντες τούτων; also in the papyri: PSI 1.64.6 [2nd-1st c. BCE]: συννοκ[ή]σουσά σοι ὡς γνησι[ία] γαμετή (...) καὶ εὐνοεῖν [σο]ι καὶ [φιλεῖν(?) οὐθ]ὲν παρορῶσα τῶν σῶν). In the LXX, it occurs 19 times in senses (b) and (c) (cf. *Sapientia Salomonis*, 11:23: καὶ παρορᾶς ἀμαρτήματα ἀνθρώπων εἰς μετάνοιαν; *Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides*, 32:18: ἀνήρ βουλήσ οὐ μὴ παρίδη διανόημα). Walters comments that παρόρασις 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. παρωθέω “to set aside”

4:11 καὶ τὰ κείμενα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φιλάνθρωπα βασιλικά (...) παρώσας

παρωθέω is attested in a variety of contexts: it is used of a rejected wife or friend (cf. Euripides, *Electra*, 1037: ἀμαρτάνη πόσις τᾶνδον παρώσας λέκτρα; *id.*, *Orestes*, 628: μηδὲ δυσσεβεῖς ἔληι, παρώσας εὐσεβεστέρους φίλους), of people being set aside or ousted (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 2.3.14: οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἦκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι; Demosthenes, *Philippica*, 3.32.6: ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας), or of the fate that cannot be put aside (IG IX, 2, 367.9 [3rd c. BCE]: [ο]ὐκ ἔστι τύχην προ[ο]φυγεῖν καὶ δαίμ[ο]να θνητο[ί]ς, οὐδὲ παρώσασθαι).

88. παῦλα “cessation, end of”

4:6 παῦλαν οὐ ληψόμενον τῆς ἀνοίας

παῦλα is attested in literature from the 5th c. BCE. It is used of the cessation of troubles or misfortunes (παῦλα κακῶν: Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1255; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 772; Plato, *Respublica*, 473d), of sorrow or pain (Plato, *Respublica*, 584b: ἡδονὴν μὲν παῦλαν λύπης εἶναι; Hippocrates, *De flatibus*, 9.11: παῦλάν τινα γενέσθαι τῶν πόνων), of the cessation of life or procreation (Plato, *Phaedrus*, 254c: παῦλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἔχει ζωῆς; Aristoteles, *Politica*, 1335a31: πρὸς τὴν παῦλαν τῆς τεκνοποιίας), of desire or ignorance (Polybius, *Historiae*, 13.2.2: οὐδέποτε ποιεῖ παῦλαν οὐδὲ κόρον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας; *ib.*, 12.28.5: οὐκ ἔσται παῦλα τῆς τῶν ἱστοριογράφων 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 παύσεται).

ἀνοίας, in 4:6, is a punning allusion to the aforementioned Polybian expression παῦλα τῆς ἀγνοίας.

89. πενταετηρικός “held every five²¹² years, quinquennial”

4:18 ἀγομένου δὲ πενταετηρικοῦ ἀγῶνος

πενταετηρικός derives from πενταετηρίς,²¹³ LSJ I “term of five years”, (Aristoteles, *Mirabilium auscultationes*, 847a4: τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις τῆς Σικελίας πηγὴν Ἀρέθουσαν διὰ πενταετηρίδος κινεῖσθαι λέγουσιν) or LSJ II “coming every fourth year” (Pindarus, *Nemea*, 11.27: πενταετηρίδ’ ἑορτὰν Ἡρακλέος). In the inscriptions and the papyri, aside from πενταετηρικός, there also occur the types πεντετηρικός and πενθετηρικός (cf. SEG 16.55.13 [330/29 BCE]: κληρῶσαι δὲ ἀθλοθέτας εἴκοσι, δέκα μὲν <τ>οῦ [τριετ][ηρικοῦ(?) δέκα δὲ τοῦ πεντετηρικοῦ(?) ἀγῶνος); *Miletos* 42.70 [200/199 BCE]: ἐν τε τῷ πενθετηρικῷ τοῖς Διδυμείοις; *Didyma* 12.9 [167-140 BCE]: ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀγῶνος πενθετηρικῷ; *IoP II* 268.6 [c. 98-94 BCE]: θυμ[ε]λικούς καὶ γυ[μνικούς ἀγῶ]να<ς> πενταετηρ[ικούς]; *P.Hal.* 1.262 [after 259 BCE]: τοὺς νενικηκό[τ]ας τ[ὸν πενθετηρικὸν] ἀγῶνα; *P.Grad.* 6.7 [223/2 BCE]: μόσχου τοῦ εἰς τὸ πενθετηρ(ικὸν)). The word is wrongly labelled as “neol.” in LEH.

90. περιρρήγνυμι “to rend, to tear off”

4:38 τοὺς χιτῶνας περιρρήξας

περιρρήγνυμι is mainly attested in a physiological sense. It is used of the breaking of the membrane that encloses the foetus (Hippocrates, *De septimestri partu*, 4.11: ὅταν δὲ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ περιρραγέωσιν οἱ ὑμένες καὶ τὸ ἔμβρυον μεταχωρήσῃ), of the bursting of a stag-beetle larva’s envelope or a cicada’s casing (Aristoteles, *Historia animalium*, 551b18: περιρραγέντος τοῦ κελύφους ἐξέρχονται οἱ καράμβιοι; *ib.*, 601a8: (...) περιρραγέντος δὲ τοῦ κελύφους ἐξέρχονται [οἱ τέττιγες]), of the breaking of a dog-fish’s shell (*op. cit.*, 565a26: τοῖς μὲν οὖν σκυλίοις, ὅταν περιρραγῇ καὶ ἐκπέσῃ τὸ ὄστρακον), of the cracking of a tree’s bark (Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, 3.16.5: τὸν δὲ φλοιὸν λειὸν ἔχει καὶ περιρρηγνύμενον). It is also used of cloaks and tunics being rent (Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, 328: περιρρηγνυμένων φαρῶων; Demosthenes, *De falsa legatione*, 197.11: περιρρήξας τὸν χιτωνίσκον; Polybius, *Historiae*, 15.33.4: τὴν χλαμύδα περιέρρηξαν; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, 17.35.7: τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιρρηγνύντες). 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 ἱμάτια περιρρήττειν; *De Josepho*, 16.3: τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιρρηξάμενος) and in the NT.²¹⁴ However, there is another compound of ρήγνυμι that is overwhelmingly

²¹² The “inclusive” method of counting is used.

²¹³ Also πεντετηρίς: Herodotus, *Historiae*, 6.111.9: ἐς τὰς πανηγύρις τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένας; Demosthenes, *In Timocratem*, 125.6: πολλὰς πεντετηρίδας ἐν τῷ δεσποτικῷ διατροψαντα.

²¹⁴ *Acta apostolorum*, 16:22: περιρρήξαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια. In the NT, however, the compound διαρρήγνυμι is more frequent (Cf. *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, 26:65: τότε ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς

attested in the LXX in the sense “to rend”: διαρρήγνυμι, conjoined with ἱμάτια, ἐσθής, σάκκος and χιτῶν, is used 55 times (cf. *Genesis*: 37:34: διέρρηξεν δὲ Ἰακώβ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ; *Psalms*, 29:12: διέρρηξας τὸν σάκκον μου; *1 Macc*, 2:14: καὶ διέρρηξεν Ματθαθίας καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν). It is also found in the papyri along with καταρρήγνυμι (cf. *P.Hib.* 2.200.10 [246-222 BCE]: κ[αὶ ὄν ἐνε]δεδύκη χιτῶνα λινούν ἐπιλαβομένη διέρρηξεν; *P.Grenf.* 1.38.14 [170 BCE]: ὁ τε περιεβλήμην ὀθόνιον κατέρρηξεν). 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 γλωσσοτομεῖν καὶ περισκυθίσαντας ἀκρωτηριάζειν

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 skulls, 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 θριξίν περιούραντες (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 (περιταμῶν κύκλω περὶ τὰ ὦτα), and then grasp the scalp and shake the head out (καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσεῖει). He would then turn the flayed skin into a napkin (ἄτε χειρόμακτρον ἔκτηται) or make cloaks by sewing many scalps together (ἐκ τῶν ἀποδαρμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπείνυσθαι ποιεῦσι, συρράπτοντες κατὰ περὶ βαίτας).²¹⁶ These acts of cruelty gave rise to ethnic verbs such as σκυθίζω, ^{LSJ} 2 “to shave the head (from the Scythian practice of scalping slain enemies”²¹⁷ (cf. Euripides, *Electra*, 241: καὶ κρᾶτα πλόκαμόν τ’ ἐσκυθισμένον ξυρῶι), ἀποσκυθίζω, ^{LSJ} 1 “to scalp (as the Scythians did)” and, metaphorically, ^{LSJ} 2 “to be shaved bare” (cf. Euripides, *Troïades*, 1026: κρᾶτ’ ἀπεσκυθισμένην; Clearchus, *Fragmenta*, 46.20: παντὸς ἔθνους οἱ ἔξω τὴν ἐφ’ ὕβρει κουρὰν ἀπεσκυθίσθαι προσηγόρευσαν; *4 Macc*, 10:7: περιλύσαντες τὰ ὄργανα σὺν ἄκραις ταῖς τῶν δακτύλων κορυφαῖς

διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ; *Evangelium secundum Marcum*, 14:63: ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς διαρρήξας τοὺς χιτῶνας αὐτοῦ; *Acta apostolorum*, 14:14: διαρρήξαντες τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν).

²¹⁵ Cf. Polybius, *Historiae*, 9.34.11: Σκυθῶν ἔργα καὶ Γαλατῶν ἐπιτελοῦντες; *3 Macc*, 7:5: νόμου Σκυθῶν ἀγριωτέραν ἐμπεπορημένοι ὠμότητα; Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, 2.269: Σκύθαι δὲ φόνοις χαίροντες ἀνθρώπων καὶ βραχὺ 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 ταλαιπώροις, οἵτινες, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ Σκυθῶν ἔλεγον, ἀπελύθησαν ἀκατάγνωστοι, τούτοις θάνατον ἐπέκρινεν).

²¹⁶ Herodotus, *Historiae*, 4.64.

²¹⁷ It also means ^{LSJ} 1 “to drink immoderately” (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 11.101.10: Ἰερώνυμος δ’ ὁ Ρόδιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Μέθης καὶ τὸ μεθύσαι σκυθίσαι φησί). Cf. ἐπισκυθίζω, ^{LSJ} “pour out drink in Scythian fashion, i.e., with unmixed wine” (Herodotus, *Historiae*, 6.84: ἐπεὰν ζωρότερον βούλωνται πιεῖν, «Ἐπισκύθισον» λέγουσι).

ἀπεσκούθιζον), and ἐνσκούθιζω, known only from a gloss in Hesychius (*Lexicon*, 3301: *ἐνσκούθιζειν· σπαράττειν). As regards the formation of the compound περισκούθιζω, the prefix περί, “round”, was likely meant to evoke the chirurgical precision of Herodotus’ description of the Scythian scalping (περιταμῶν [...] περὶ 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 ἐφήβων ὑποτάσσων ὑπὸ πέτασον ἤγαγεν

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.²¹⁸ Along with the χλαμύς, the black cloak, it was also the badge of the Attic ephebes,²¹⁹ who wore it to protect their heads from the sun when they exercised at the gymnasium. 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 χλαμύδα κατεθέμην ποτὲ καὶ τὸν πέτασον; *Meletemata 22, Epig. App.* 42.4 [221-168 BCE]: ἔ]φηβοι (...) χλαμύδα [—]καὶ πέτασο[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.²²⁰ As regards the collocation of the participle ὑποτάσσων and the adverbial ὑπὸ πέτασον, and assuming that this is not a scribal error, Goldstein suggests that there is a parody of *Psalms*, 46:4: ὑπέταξεν λαοὺς ἡμῖν καὶ ἔθνη ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν: “in the Psalm the God subjects the nations to Israel, here Jason subjects Israelite youth to Greek ways”.²²¹ However, as Kennell has recently shown, the verb ὑποτάσσω 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 ὑποταγέντας ἑαυτῶι νεανίσκους), and testifies to the so far downplayed “martial orientation” of the Hellenistic gymnasia.²²² Schwarz comments that “Kennell’s discussion ignores the reference to sun-hats”,²²³ 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 ὑποτάσσω.²²⁴ Moreover, we should not forget that the πέτασος was also worn by the

²¹⁸ *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. petasos.

²¹⁹ Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 2052: πέτασος· τὸ τῶν ἐφήβων φόρημα.

²²⁰ Doran 1990: 106; Schwarz 2008: 223-224.

²²¹ Goldstein 1984: 229.

²²² Kennell 2005: 21.

²²³ Schwarz 2008: 223.

²²⁴ Schwarz 2008: 223-224.

Athenian cavalrymen as well as by the ephebes training to become cavalrymen,²²⁵ hence its conjunction with a military verb is well-justified.

93. πέτρος “stone”

1:16 βάλλοντες πέτρους συνεκεραύνωσαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα;

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: στάς ἐπί τινος πέτρας ἀπορρῶγος; 10:3: πυρώσαντες λίθους). In classical Greek, stone-throwing or stoning is periphrastically denoted by πέτρους βάλλω, whereas in Biblical Greek by λίθους βάλλω (cf. Homer, *Ilias*, 16.411: βάλε πέτρῳ μέσσην κὰκ κεφαλῆν; Euripides, *Andromacha*, 1128: ἔβαλλον ἐκ χειρῶν πέτροις; *id.*, *Orestes*, 914: καὶ σ’ ἀποκτεῖναι πέτροις βάλλοντας; *Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides*, 27:25: ὁ βάλλων λίθον εἰς ὕψος ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ βάλλει; *Ecclesiastes*, 3:5: καιρὸς τοῦ βαλεῖν λίθους καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ συναγαγεῖν λίθους; *Judith*, 6:12: καὶ ἔβαλλον ἐν λίθοις ἐπ’ αὐτούς).

94. πλησιάζω “to have sexual intercourse with”

6:4 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς περιβόλοις γυναιξὶ πλησιαζόντων

The euphemistic use of πλησιάζω, ^{LSJ I}“to approach”, for ^{LSJ II.3}“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 μαρτυρίας, ἵνα εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἑταῖρα τε ἦν τοῦ βουλομένου; Demosthenes, *In Neaeram*, 20: ἠργάζετο τῷ σώματι μισθαροῦσα τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτῇ πλησιάζειν). Two other verbs used in the same sense in classical literature as well as in the LXX are ὀμιλέω and συγγίνομαι (cf. *Judith*, 12:12: εἰ γυναικὰ τοιαύτην παρήσομεν οὐχ ὀμιλήσαντες αὐτῇ; *ib.*, 12:16: καὶ ἦν κατεπίθυμος σφόδρα τοῦ συγγενέσθαι μετ’ αὐτῆς).

95. πρεσβεία “embassy”

4:11 τοῦ ποιησαμένου τὴν πρεσβεῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους

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 συνθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην), πρεσβευτής, which occurs 6 times (cf. 1 *Macc*, 13:21: οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἀπέστελλον πρὸς Τρύφωνα πρεσβευτὰς κατασπεύδοντας αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς), and πρεσβύτης (cf. 2 *Macc*, 11:34: Κόιντος Μέμμιος, Τίτος Μάνιος, πρεσβῦται Ῥωμαίων). The verb πρεσβεύω, ^{LSJ II.1}“to serve as an ambassador” or ^{LSJ II.3}“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”,²²⁶ *προεσβεία* is amply attested from the 5th c. BCE in literature and the inscriptions.

96. προηγορέω “to speak for sb, to be spokesperson for sb”

4:48 οἱ περὶ πόλεως καὶ δήμων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν προηγορήσαντες

97. προήγορος “one who speaks on behalf of others, defender”

7:2 εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν γενόμενος προήγορος οὕτως ἔφη; 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”):²²⁷ κατήγορος (2 *Macc*, 4:5; *Proverbia*, 18:17), εὐπροσήγορος (*Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides*, 6:5), and προήγορος. From the latter substantive derives the verb προηγορέω, ^{LSJ}“to be spokesman for others”, which in classical literature is attested only in Xenophon (*Hellenica*, 1.1.27: συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας Ἐρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος; *ib.*, 2.2.22: προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης; *Anabasis*, 5.5.7: προηγόρει δὲ Ἐκατόνυμος δεινὸς νομιζόμενος εἶναι λέγειν), 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 προήγοροι ὑπὲρ τῆς θεοῦ κατε[δι]κάσαντο θάνατον κατὰ τὴν προγο[α]φὴν τῆς δίκης ταύτην; *Samos* 21.20 [c. 240 BCE]: προχειρισθεῖς τε πλειονάκις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προή[γ]ορος ταῖς δημοσίαις δίκαις).

98. προπτύω “to spit forth or out”

6:20 προπτύσας δὲ καθ’ ὃν ἔδει τρόπον προσέρχεσθαι τοὺς 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- (ἐμπτύω, “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”.²²⁸ 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 αἰτηθεῖς ταχέως προέβαλεν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εὐθαρσῶς προέτεινεν; 14:46: προβαλὼν τὰ ἔντερα).

²²⁶ Moulton-Milligan, s.v. *προεσβεία*.

²²⁷ See Chantraine, s.v. ἀγορά.

²²⁸ Van Henten 1997: 97, note 34.

Given the context, there is no reason to take προπτύω metaphorically, in the sense of προσπτύω, as Van Henten suggests;²²⁹ the latter verb, for that matter, is also attested in a literal sense (“to spit forth”, cf. Plutarchus, *De garrulitate*, 505D: διαφαγῶν τὴν γλῶτταν προσέπτυσσε τῷ τυράννῳ).

99. προσβολή “assault, attack”

5:3 και προσβολὰς γινομένας και καταδρομάς; 15:19 ἦν δὲ και τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατελιημένοις οὐ πάρεργος ἀγωνία ταρασσομένοις τῆς ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ προσβολῆς

The terms προσβάλλω (cf. 10:28: προσέβαλον ἑκάτεροι, οἱ μὲν ἔγγυον ἔχοντες εὐημερίας και νίκης μετὰ ἀρετῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον καταφυγὴν; 12:10: προσέβαλον Ἀραβες αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων; 13:22: προσέβαλεν τοῖς περι τὸν Ἰούδαν; 10:17: οἷς και προσβαλόντες εὐρώστως 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 τραῦμα ἐπικίνδυνον οὐδ[ὲ εἶ]ς ἔσχεν.

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

5:18 εἰ δὲ μὴ συνέβη προσενέχεσθαι²³⁰ πολλοῖς 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 caelo*, 309a29: ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐνέχεσθαι δυσχεραίας), (b) “to be liable or subject to” (cf. Aeschylus, *Supplices*, 169: καὶ τότ’ αὖ δικάϊοις Ζεὺς ἐνέξεται ψόγοις), and (c) as a legal term, “to be subject to the law, to be liable to prosecution, to incur punishment”²³¹ (cf. Demosthenes, *De corona trierarchiae*, 11.6: τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐπιτιμίοις ἐνέξεται; Plato, *Leges*, 935c: ἐνεχέσθω τῇ τεταγμένη 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]: ἐνεχέσθω τοῖς ἴπιτιμίοις; *Fayoum* 2.112.25 [93 BCE]: τοὺς δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶντας ἐνέχεσθαι ἱεροσ[υλίας]; *P.Tebt.* 1.5.9 [118 BCE]: δ[ιὰ τὸ ἐνέχεσθαι] [λ]είαις και ἑτέραις αἰτίας; *BGU* 4.1102.36 [13 BCE]: τὸν παραβαί[ν]οντα ἐνέχ[εσθαι τῷ] ὠ[ρισμ]ῆ[ν]ω [π]ροστί[μ]ω). In the LXX, ἐνέχομαι occurs 3 times: in *Ezechiel*, in the sense “to be held fast” (14:4: ἐγὼ κύριος ἀποκριθήσομαι αὐτῷ ἐν οἷς ἐνέχεται ἡ διάνοια αὐτοῦ; *ib.*, 14.7), and in 3 *Macc*, 6:10 in sense (a): εἰ δὲ ἀσεβείαις κατὰ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ἐνέσχηται. The 2 *Macc* term προσενέχομαι (the prefix προσ-

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

²³⁰ The Göttingen edition reads προενέχεσθαι.

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 μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δίσκου πρόσκλησιν

πρόσκλησις as a law-term signifies the summons, the order to appear in court²³² (cf. Aristophanes, *Vespaе*, 1041: ἀντωμοσίας καὶ πρόσκλησεις καὶ μαρτυρίας; Plato, *Leges*, 846c: λήξεων τε πέρι δικῶν καὶ προσκλήσεων καὶ κλητήρων; Aristoteles, *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, 29.4: τὰς τῶν παρανόμων γραφὰς καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας καὶ τὰς πρόσκλησεις; also in 2nd-1st c. BCE inscriptions and papyri: *MDAI(A)* 27.1902.47.71.125 [b. 133 BCE]: ἔστω δὲ περὶ μὲν τ<ῶ>ν κοινῶν τοίχων ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταφθείροντος πρόσκλησις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους; *BGU.8.1823.20* [60-55 BCE]: πα]ραγγελ[ιῶν] καὶ πρόσκλήσεων διὰ προγορ[αμμ]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 αὐτῶ χλευάσασα τὸν ὠμὸν τύραννον οὕτως ἔφησεν τῇ πατριῶ φωνῇ

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-, κατεπι-). 6 of these compounds are LXX *hapax legomena*, and 2 of these *hapax legomena* are found in 2 *Macc*: the neologism διεκκύπτω (3:19: τινὲς δὲ διὰ τῶν θυρίδων διεξέκυπτον) and προσκύπτω. The latter is extremely rare in the literature up to the time of 2 *Macc*: it is found in Aristophanes (*Vespaе*, 608: ἡ θυγάτηρ με ἀπονίζη καὶ τῷ πόδ’ ἀλείφη καὶ προσκύψασα φιλήση), twice in Plato (*Euthydemus*, 275e: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Διονυσόδωρος προσκύψας μοι μικρὸν πρὸς τὸ οὖς; *Respublica*, 449b: καὶ προτείνας ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν ἄττα προσκεκυφώς), and in Theophrastus (*Characteres*, 2.10.5: καὶ μὴν ταῦτα λέγων πρὸς τὸ οὖς προσκύπτων διαψιθυρίζειν).

103. προσονομάζω “to call by name”

6:2 μολῦναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεῶ καὶ προσονομάσαι Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου

This compound is attested in Herodotus (*Historiae*, 2.52.4: θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα), Aristoteles (cf. *De caelo*, 270b: αἰθέρα προσωνόμασαν τὸν ἀνωτάτω τόπον), Polybius (*Historiae*, 2.16.11: τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον στόμα προσονομάζεται Παδόα), and in the *Aristeae Epistula* (16.3: ὃν καὶ πάντες, ἡμεῖς δέ, βασιλεῦ, προσονομάζοντες ἑτέρως

²³² Harpocration, *Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos*, 261: Πρόσκλησις: ἡ εἰς δικαστήριον κλήσις, καὶ προσκαλέσασθαι τὸ παραγγέλλειν εἰς δίκην. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἀγνίου κλήρου, Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Δάμιππον.

Ζήνα καὶ Δία). It also occurs in Hellenistic inscriptions (cf. *OGIS* 56, A, 22 [238 BCE]: καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοὺς ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερῶν προσονομάζεσθαι ἱερεῖς καὶ τῶν Εὐεργετῶν θεῶν; *ib.*, 24: ἢ προσονομασθήσεται πέμπτη φυλὴ τῶν Εὐεργετῶν θεῶν; *OGIS* 90, A, 39 [196 BCE]: εἰκόνα ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἱερῶι [...], ἢ προσονομασθήσεται Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπαμύναντος τῆι Αἰγύπτῳ).

104. πρόστιμον “penalty, fine”

7:36 σὺν δὲ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει δίκαια τὰ πρόστιμα τῆς ὑπερηφανίας ἀποίση

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 penalty²³³ for serious misdeeds such as desertion in the military (Polybius, *Historiae*, 1.17.11: τὸ γὰρ πρόστιμον παρ’ αὐτοῖς θάνατός ἐστι τῷ προεμένῳ τὸν τόπον καὶ φυγόντι τὸ παράπαν ἐξ ἐφεδρείας), offenses against the state (*ib.*, 6.16.2: τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων κατὰ τῆς πολιτείας, οἷς θάνατος ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ πρόστιμον), bribery (*ib.*, 6.56.5: παρὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίοις δῶρα φανερώς διδόντες λαμβάνουσι τὰς ἀρχάς, παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις θάνατός ἐστι περὶ τοῦτο πρόστιμον), bodily harm (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, 12.17.4: τυφλώσαντα γὰρ ἓνα τῶν πολιτῶν, εἰ τὸ κατὰ νόμον πρόστιμον ὁ πράξας ὑπομένοι, μὴ τετευχέναι τῆς ἴσης συμφορᾶς), perjury or calumny (*ib.*, 1.77.2: πρῶτον μὲν οὖν κατὰ τῶν ἐπίορκων θάνατος ἦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ πρόστιμον; *ib.*, 1.77.4: οἱ δὲ ψευδῶς τινῶν κατηγορήσαντες ὄφειλον τοῦτο παθεῖν ὃ τοῖς συκοφαντηθείσιν ἐτέτακτο πρόστιμον), etc.

In the papyri, πρόστιμον designates a fine, a contractual penalty (cf. *P.Dion.* 9.35 [139 BCE]: διεγγυ[άτ]ω δὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος προστίμου [τ]ῷ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ξενικῶι πράκτορι; *P.Amh.* 2.31.1.11 [112 BCE]: πειθανάγκης προσαχθείσης περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος προστίμου; *BGU* 4.1103.29 [13 BCE]: καὶ ἐνέχεσθαι τὸν παραβαίνοντα τοῖς τε βλάβεσι καὶ τῷ ὠρισμένῳ προστίμῳ). Also in the inscriptions: *Miletos* 41, A1, 36 [205/204 BCE]: ἔστωσαν καὶ οὗτοι ὑπόδικοι καὶ τᾶλλα πρόστιμα κατ’ αὐτῶν ὑπαρχέτω κατὰ ταυτά; *Chaniotis, Verträge* 60, A, B1, 7 [111/110 BCE]: αἱ δὲ τίς κά τ[ινα] ἀδικήσῃ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἀποτεισάτω ἑξαπλόα τὰ πρόσ]τιμα.

Along with πρόστιμον, in 2 *Macc*, 6:13 we encounter the term ἐπίτιμον (=ἐπιτίμιον, ^{LSJ} 1.2 “assessment of damages, penalty”): τὸ μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ἐᾶσθαι τοὺς δυσσεβοῦντας, ἀλλ’ εὐθέως περιπίπτειν ἐπιτίμοις. ἐπίτιμον is Hellenistic for the Attic ἐπιτίμιον,²³⁴ which occurs mostly in the plural (cf. Sophocles, *Electra*, 1382: καὶ δεῖξον ἀνθρώποισι τὰπιτίμια τῆς δυσσεβείας οἷα δωροῦνται θεοί; Xenophon *Memorabilia*, 3.12.3: ἢ καταφρονεῖς τῶν ἐπιτιμίων τῆς καχεξίας τούτων; 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.

²³⁴ Moeris, *Lexicon Atticum*, p. 196.21: ἐπιτίμιον Ἀττικοί, πρόστιμον Ἑλληνες. Cf. Ptolemaeus Gramm. *De differentia vocabulorum*, p. 396.21: ἐπιτίμιον καὶ ἐπίτιμον διαφέρει· ἐπιτίμιον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ζημία, ἐπίτιμον δὲ τὸ τιμῆς μετέχον· ὥστε οὐ δεῖ λέγειν ἐξέτισε τὸ ἐπίτιμον.

reminiscent of the abovementioned line from *Electra*, indicates that the author employs it in lieu of ἐπίτιμον/ ἐπιτίμιον.

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

4:21 διὰ τὰ πρωτοκλίσια²³⁵ τοῦ Φιλομήτορος βασιλέως

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 αὐτῶ [viz., king Ptolemy VI “the Philometor”] τὰ νομιζόμενα γίνεσθαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ὅταν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθωσιν, 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”.²³⁶ In the inscriptions and the *NT*, we encounter the term ἡ πρωτοκλισία, “first seat at a table” (cf. *ID* 1520.33 [after 153/2 BCE]: ὑπαρχέτω δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ κλισία ἐμ μὲν τοῖς Ποσιδεῖοις μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θύτου, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις συνόδοις πάσαις πρωτοκλισία; *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, 20:46: πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δεῖπνοις). 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”,²³⁷ or “the ceremony of installing a new king, the enthronement”.²³⁸ Bunge, who reads πρωτοκλήσια, suggests that the term refers to the celebration, in 174 BCE, of the first anniversary of Ptolemy VI’s πρωτόκλησις, viz., the assumption of the protocollary titles by the king who had been crowned the year before as Pharaoh according to Egyptian rites.²³⁹ The neuter plural ending –ια is found in analogous terms such as ἐγκαίνια, ^{LSJ}“feast of renovation or consecration”, γενέσια, ^{LSJ}“birthday-feast”, and πρωτογενέσια, ^{LSJ}“celebration of the first birthday” (cf. *C.Pap.Gr.* 1.30.73 [140 CE]: τοῖς τοῦ παιδίου πρωτογενεσίαις).²⁴⁰

106. ῥάδιος “easy”

2:26 καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν τοῖς τὴν κακοπάθειαν ἐπιδεδεγμένοις τῆς ἐπιτομῆς οὐ ῥάδιον;

4:17 ἀσεβεῖν γὰρ εἰς τοὺς θείους νόμους οὐ ῥάδιον

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,

²³⁵ The Göttingen edition reads πρωτοκλήσια.

²³⁶ See Goldstein 1984: 234.

²³⁷ *Op. cit.*, 235.

²³⁸ Abel 1949: 336.

²³⁹ Bunge 1974: 71. See also Goldstein’s objections, *op. cit.*, 235.

²⁴⁰ See Walters 1973: 48-9.

with the synonymous adjective εὐχερής²⁴¹ (2:27: οὐκ εὐχερές), an indication of the author's concern to vary his vocabulary. The litotes οὐ ῥάδιος corresponds to χαλεπός, which occurs 11 times in the LXX, 3 of which in 2 *Macc*. In 4:17, οὐ ῥάδιον is used in the infrequent sense "it is not a light matter", "it does not go unpunished"²⁴²(cf. Euripides, *Hecuba*, 1247: τάχ' οὖν παρ' ὑμῖν ῥάδιον ξενοκτονεῖν).

107. σπασμός "drawing (of swords)"

5:2 μαχαιρῶν σπασμοῦς

The verb σπάω is attested from Homer onwards in the sense ^{LSJ} I "to draw (of a sword)" (cf. Homer, *Ilias*, 5.621: ἐκ νεκροῦ χάλκεον ἔγχος ἐσπάσατ'; Herodotus, *Historiae*, 3.29.2: σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον; Euripides, *Orestes*, 1148: φάσγανον σπάσω μέλαν; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.8.29: σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην). It is very frequent in the LXX, conjoined with ῥομφαία and μάχαιρα. It is also found in the papyri of the 2nd c. BCE (*P.Tebt.* 1.48.19 [117? BCE]: σπασαμένων τὰς μαχαίρας; *ib.*, 1.138 [125-100 BCE]: ἀνελόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μάχαιραν [...] καὶ σπασάμενον ταύτην). Among the other meanings of σπάω, ^{LSJ} II.6 "to cause convulsion or spasm" is attested in medical literature (cf. Hippocrates, *De morbis popularibus*, 5.1.86: καὶ σπασθεὶς ἔθανεν). 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 σπειρηδὸν ἐξωπλισμένους; 12:20 σπειρηδὸν κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν σπειρῶν

σπεῖρα was a tactical infantry unit in the Ptolemaic army, consisting of 256 men. Four σπεῖραι constituted a χιλιαρχία, while each σπεῖρα was divided into four τετραρχίαι of 64 men.²⁴³ In Polybius we encounter the adverbials κατὰ σπείρας (*Historiae*, 3.115.12: οὔτοι μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι φαλαγγηδόν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ σπείρας) and the neologism σπειρηδόν (*ib.*, 5.4.9: σπειρηδὸν τάξας; 11.11.6: τὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ τέλη σπειρηδὸν ἐν διαστήμασιν ἐπέστησε).²⁴⁴ In the LXX, the former term is found only in *Judith* (14:11: καὶ ἀνέλαβεν πᾶς ἀνὴρ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξήλθοσαν κατὰ σπείρας), and the latter only in 2 *Macc*. Adverbs ending in -ηδόν are found only in the Greek books of the LXX: in 2 *Macc*, the Polybian σπειρηδόν, the Homeric ἀγεληδόν, the neologisms λεοντηδόν (11:11) and κρουνηδόν (14:45); in 4 *Macc*, ἔθνηδόν (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*".

²⁴³ Bar-Kochva 1976: 66.

²⁴⁴ Goldstein (1984: 248) notes that Polybius was probably the first to use σπεῖρα 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. σπλαγχνίζω “to share in the sacrifices”

6:8 ψήφισμα δὲ ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀστυγείτονας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις Πτολεμαίου ὑποθεμένου τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγωγὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄγειν καὶ σπλαγχνίζειν

110. σπλαγχνισμός “the eating of internal organs of a sacrificial victim or pagan sacrifices”

6:7 ἤγοντο δὲ μετὰ πικρᾶς ἀνάγκης εἰς τὴν κατὰ μῆνα τοῦ βασιλέως γενέθλιον ἡμέραν ἐπὶ σπλαγχνισμῶν; 6:21 οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῷ παρανόμῳ σπλαγχνισμῷ τεταγμένοι; 7:42 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοὺς σπλαγχνισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας αἰκίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δεδηλώσθω

The original meaning of σπλάγχνα is ^{LSJ 1.1} “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 1.2} “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 (ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀνήκεστος τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀλγηδῶν), which is a punishment for his having tortured the vitals of others (ἐτέρων σπλάγχνα βασανίσαντα). The verb which means ^{LSJ 1} “to eat the inwards of a victim after a sacrifice” or “^{LSJ 11}to prophesy from the inwards” is σπλαγχνεύω, attested only once in classical literature (Aristophanes, *Aves*, 984: λυπηθύοντας καὶ σπλαγχνεύειν ἐπιθυμῆ), and sporadically found in later authors. The synonymous verb σπλαγχνίζω is quoted solely in an inscription from Cos (*HGK* 4.14 [mid. 4th c. BCE]: σπ[λαγχν]ίζεταί πρᾶτιστα με[ν] [τὰ ἐπὶ βωμοῦ, εἶτα 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 ἔτασμων καὶ βασάνων ἀναιρεῖσθαι).

111. στοιχειώσις “elementary exposition, fashion of the elements”

7:22 οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἐφάνητε κοιλίαν, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν ἐχαρισάμην, καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου στοιχειώσιν οὐκ ἐγὼ διερρύθμισα

στοιχειώσις traces its etymology to στοιχος (from στείχω, “to walk”), ^{LSJ 1} “row”, “file of persons marching one behind another”. From στοιχος came στοιχειῖον, usually in the plural: στοιχειᾶ: (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, στοιχειᾶ occurs 3 times in the sense of “elemental substances” (*Sapientia Salomonis*, 7:17: αὐτὸς γὰρ μοι ἔδωκεν τῶν

²⁴⁵ LSJ, s.v. σπλάγχνον; Spicq 1994: vol. 3, 273-5; Helbing 1907: 128.

²⁴⁶ The middle σπλαγχνίζομαι, in the sense “^{LSJ 11}to feel pity, compassion or mercy”, does not occur outside Jewish and early Christian literature.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 1893: στοιχειῖον· πᾶν τὸ ἄτμητον καὶ ἀμερές; 1894: στοιχειᾶ· πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆ, καὶ ἀήρ, ἀφ’ ὧν τὰ σώματα. ἢ γράμματα.

²⁴⁸ See Chantraine, s.v. στείχω, LSJ, Moulton, s.v. στοιχειῖον, *TDNT*, s.v. στοιχειᾶ.

ὄντων γνῶσιν ἀψευδῆ εἰδέναι σύστασιν κόσμου καὶ ἐνέργειαν στοιχείων; *ib.*, 19:18: δι' ἑαυτῶν γὰρ τὰ στοιχεῖα μεθαρμοζόμενα, ὥσπερ ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ φθόγγοι τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ τὸ ὄνομα διαλλάσσουσιν; 4 *Macc*, 12:13: οὐκ ἠδέσθης ἄνθρωπος ὢν, θηριωδέστατε, τοὺς ὁμοιοπαθεῖς καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότας στοιχείων γλωττοτομήσαι).

The earliest occurrence of στοιχείωσις (from στοιχειῶ, ^{LSJ}“instruct in the basic principles”) is found in Epicurus (*Epistula ad Herodotum*, 37.5: καὶ τοιαύτην τινὰ ἐπιτομήν <συνέθηκα> καὶ στοιχειῶσιν τῶν ὅλων δοξῶν), whose theory of physics was summarized in a treatise entitled Δώδεκα στοιχειώσεις, 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: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ Στοιχειώσει παραδέδοται; Eudromus, *Fragmenta*, 1.4: καὶ Εὐδρόμος ἐν τῇ ἠθικῇ στοιχειώσει; Posidonius, *Fragmenta*, 334.2: ὡς φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογικῇ στοιχειώσει), as well as in the fragments of the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus [1st c. BCE] (*Περὶ εὐσεβείας*, 13.347: στο<ι>χ[είω-] σις ὁμ[οίων οὐσα] φαίνο[ιτ'] ἀ[ν ἐν]ότης). 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 στοιχειώσεις 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 (αἱ χεῖρες σου ἐπλασάν με καὶ ἐποίησάν με, μετὰ ταῦτα μεταβαλὼν με ἔπαισας. μνήσθητι ὅτι πηλὸν με ἔπλασας, εἰς δὲ γῆν με πάλιν ἀποστρέφεις. ἦ οὐχ ὥσπερ γάλα με ἤμελξας, ἐτύρωσας δέ με ἴσα τυρῶ; δέρμα καὶ κρέας με ἐνέδυσας, ὀστέοις δὲ καὶ νεύροις με ἐνείρας) but rather the four Greek cosmological elements.²⁵⁰ It is astonishing that a term as sophisticated as στοιχειώσεις (as well as διαρρυθμίζω, 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 πατρῴῳ φωνῇ), i.e., Hebrew, which has no equivalent term.

112. συμμετέχω “to take part in, to partake of”

5:20 αὐτὸς ὁ τόπος συμμετασχῶν τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους δυσπετημάτων

The simplex μετέχω with genitive occurs 10 times in the LXX, 3 of which in 2 *Macc* (4:14: ἔσπυδον μετέχειν τῆς ἐν παλαίστρῃ παρανόμου χορηγίας; 5:10: κηδείας οὐδ' ἡστινοσοῦν οὔτε πατρῶου τάφου μετέσχεν; 5:27: πρὸς τὸ μὴ μετασχεῖν τοῦ μολυσμοῦ). There are hardly 10 instances of the compound συμμετέχω in the literature prior to 2 *Macc* (cf. Euripides, *Bacchae*, 63: συμμετασχῆσω χορῶν; Plato,

²⁴⁹ Goldstein 1984: 312-3, Van Henten 1997: 177.

²⁵⁰ See Goldstein 1984: 309-313; Van Henten 1997: 177.

Philebus, 54b: τοῦ λόγου συμμετέχε; Aristoteles, *Politica*, 1330a21: μὴ συμμετέχειν βουλῆς). 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 ὑπαρχούσης μοι πατρικῆς οἰκίας ἐν τῇ σημαινομένῃ κώμῃ, ἧς καὶ συμμετέχουσιν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ Ἀρμιῦσις καὶ Δήμαρχος; *BGU* 6.1282.5 [2nd-1st c. BCE]: ὁμολογοῦμεν συμμετέχειν ὑμῖν τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος Παοῦτι Σαββαταίου περὶ Νείλου πόλιν κεραμείου). Also in the inscriptions: *SEG* 52.724.42 [c. 200 BCE]: πρὸς τε τὸ συμμε[τέχειν τῆς] ἐργασίας τῶμ πο[λιτῶν].²⁵¹ Noteworthy in 5:20 is the personification of the Place, viz., Jerusalem, and especially its Temple, which shares in the misfortunes of the nation.

113. συμμισοπονηρέω (see μισοπονηρέω)

114. συμφλογίζω “P: to be burnt together”

6:11 μηνυθέντες τῷ Φιλίππῳ συνεφλογίσθησαν

φλογίζω, ^{LSJ} I “set on fire, burn”, is rare in classical writers, who use κάω/καίω and φλέγω. It occurs twice in Sophocles (*Philoctetes*, 1199: οὐδ’ εἰ πυρφόρος ἀστεροπητῆς βροντᾶς ἀγαῖς μ’ εἴσι φλογίζων; *Trachiniae*, 95: ὄν αἰόλα νύξ ἐναριζομένα τίκτει κατευνάζει τε φλογιζόμενον), and once in [Ps.-] Aristoteles (*De mundo*, 397a: πυρκαϊαῖς τε κατὰ μέρος 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 *Isaias*, 42:25, and in Barsanuphius et Joannes [6th c. CE], *Quaestiones et responsiones*, 48.65: ἵνα μὴ συμφλογισθῆς αὐτοῖς τῇ ὀργῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

115. σύμφορον “the good, welfare”

4:5 τὸ δὲ σύμφορον κοινῇ καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν παντὶ τῷ πλήθει σκοπῶν

In 2 *Macc*, both the substantivized neuter of the adjective σύμφορος and the substantivized neuter of the present participle συμφέρον 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 καλόν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ σύμφορον ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ, and, with σύμφορον substituted by συμφέρον, Plato, *Timaeus*, 71a: περὶ τοῦ πᾶσι κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ συμφέροντος ἐφ’ βουλευέσθαι. Also in the inscriptions: *IGBulg I*² 390.9 [b. 72 BCE]: δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἑαυτὸν τε ἀποδεικνύμενος τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι εὐχρηστον 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 ἐξεληθόντας πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν συνεξεκέντησεν

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 ἐκεῖ συμφυγόντας ἐξεκέντησεν), and the LXX *hapax legomena* συγκεντέω, “to pierce, to put to the sword” (12:23: συγκεντῶν τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους διέφθειρέν 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 ὄψεων), 3 times in Polybius in the sense ^{LSJ II} “to stab” (cf. *Historiae*, 24.7.7: τοῦτον ἀποπορευόμενον ἡμέρας ἐκ βαλανείου προσπέμψας τινὰς ἐξεκέντησεν), 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: σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἴσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτη συγκεντέουσι), and 3 times in Polybius (cf. *Historiae*, 15.33.6: προσδραμόντες τινὲς ἄφνω συνεκέντησαν). 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 Ἀμμανίτιν χώραν συνήλαστο; 4:42 πάντας δὲ εἰς φυγὴν συνήλασαν;
5:5 τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει συνελασθέντων

The compound συνελαύνω is infrequently attested from Homer onwards. We may note in the abovesited examples the insertion of σ in the passive aorist participle συνελασθέντων, instead of the Attic συνελαθέντων (cf. Epicurus, *Epistula ad Pythoclem*, 109.7: ἂ συνελασθέντα πῆξιεν τῷ ὕδατι παρεσκευάσσε; Polybius, *Historiae*, 18.22.6: οὐκέτι συνηλάσθησαν ἕως εἰς τοὺς ἐπιπέδους τόπους), and the late pluperfect συνηλάσμεν, instead of the Attic συνηληλάμεν (cf., however, the Attic perfect in Polybius: *op. cit.*, 4.48.2: συνεληλαμένος εἰς τὴν πατρῶαν ἀρχήν).²⁵²

118. συννοέω “to comprehend, to understand”

5:6 οὐ συννοῶν τὴν εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς εὐημερίαν δυσημερίαν εἶναι τὴν μεγίστην;
11:13 συννοήσας ἀνικήτους εἶναι; 14:3 συννοήσας ὅτι καθ’ ὄντιναοῦν 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]: ὃς οὐδ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτό γε δυνήσεται συννοεῖν; *P.Tebt.* 1.24.30 [117 BCE]: οἱ δὲ συννοήσαντες τὸ<v> ἐγβησόμενον κίνδυ[ν]ον).

²⁵² See Thackeray 2008: 219-220.

119. συσσύρω “to pull down, to pull about”

5:16 ταῖς βεβήλοις χερσὶν 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 μίαιραις χερσὶν τὰ ἱερὰ σκεύη λαμβάνων) and “sweeps away” with profane hands the votive offerings that other kings had made (καὶ τὰ ὑπ’ ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀνατεθέντα [...] ταῖς βεβήλοις χερσὶν 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 λειπίζω in the corresponding passage of *1 Macc*, 1:21-24:

καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἅγιασμα ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν καὶ τὴν λυχνίαν τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τῆς προθέσεως καὶ τὰ σπονδεῖα καὶ τὰς φιάλας καὶ τὰς θυῖσκάς τὰς χρυσᾶς καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους καὶ τὸν κόσμον τὸν χρυσοῦν τὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἐλέπισεν πάντα· καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἐπιθυμητὰ καὶ ἔλαβεν τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἀποκρύφους, οὓς εὗρεν· 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 ἄρουραν τὸ ἄροτρον ἔσυρεν); (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 χιτῶνα); (c) of bodies (cf. Timaeus, *Fragmenta* (Jacoby), 115.3: ἐκ τοῦ σκέλους φησὶ τοῦ χωλοῦ τὰ παιδάκια τὸν νεκρὸν ἐφαψάμενα τοῦ Φιλίστου σύρειν διὰ τῆς πόλεως). In the LXX, it is used in the sense: (a) “to trail along”: *Isaias*, 3:16: σύρουσαι τοὺς χιτῶνας, (b) “to draw, to drag”: *Regnorum ii*, 17:13: καὶ λήμψεται πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην σχοινία καὶ συροῦμεν αὐτὴν ἕως εἰς τὸν χειμάρρουν; *4 Macc*, 6:1: οἱ δορυφόροι πικρῶς ἔσυραν ἐπὶ τὰ βασανιστήρια τὸν Ἐλεαζαρον, (c) “to sweep away”: *Isaias*, 28:2: ὡς ὕδατος πολὺ πλῆθος σῦρον χώραν. The notion of “tearing away, taking by violence from, plundering” is conveyed by the compounds of σύρω: κατασύρω (cf. Pherecydes, *Fragmenta*, 87a.5: πλείστην ἐντεῦθεν κατεσύρατο λείαν; Phylarchus, *Fragmenta* (Jacoby), 70.7: Φάλλος δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα κατασύρων ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀναθήματα ἀναιρεῖται καὶ τὸν ὄρμον), and περισύρω (cf. Hyperides, *Fragmenta*, 264: λείαν περιεσύραντο; Polybius, *Historiae*, 3.93.1: τὴν μὲν λείαν αὐτῶν ἤλπισεν ἀδηρίτως περιεσυρεῖν).²⁵³ συσσύρω is coined along this line of compounds. The prefix συν-, “together with”, was probably chosen not only because reference is

²⁵³ We may add ἀνασύρομαι, in the sense ^{LSJ} III “to plunder, to ravage”, occurring in Plutarchus, *De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute*, p. 330, D, 2: οὐδ’ ὥσπερ ἄρπαγμα καὶ λάφυρον εὐτυχίας ἀνεπίστου σπαράξαι καὶ ἀνασύρασθαι διανοηθεῖς. Cf. Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 4624: ἀνασυροίμεθα· τὸ πολὺ ἀργύριον ἢ τι ἄλλο λαμβάνειν σῦραι ἔλεγον Ἀττικοὶ μεταφορικῶς, ἀπὸ τῶν τὰς τρωτῆνας ἀρόντων.

made to both the holy vessels and the offerings, but also for the effect of alliteration it produces (χερσὶν συσσύρων).

120. συχνός “frequent, much”

5:9 καὶ ὁ συχνὸς τῆς πατρίδος ἀποξενώσας

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 Dionysius Halicarnassensis (100x). It is rare in the inscriptions (cf. *IG IV²* 1.122.4 [4th c. BCE]: ὡς δ’ ἐξεργόα συχνὸν ὑγρ[ό]ν; *Teos* 59.82 [c. 303 BCE]: ἀναλίσκειν χρήματα συχνὰ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα [ὄντα], and extremely rare in the papyri.

121. τηγανίζω “to fry in the frying pan”

7:5 ἐκέλευσεν τῇ πυρᾷ προσάγειν ἔμπνον καὶ τηγανίζειν

In classical literature, τάγηνον 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: ὁ βασιλεὺς προσέταξεν τήγανα καὶ λέβητας ἐκπυροῦν; *4 Macc*, 8:13: τροχούς τε καὶ ἀρθρέμβολα, στρεβλωτήριά τε καὶ τροχαντήρας καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ λέβητας, τήγανά τε καὶ δακτυλήθρας καὶ χεῖρας σιδηρᾶς καὶ σφῆνας καὶ τὰ ζώπυρα τοῦ πυρός). The derivative verb ταγηνίζω or τηγανίζω, “to fry”, occurs in the fragments of the comic poets Eupolis (*Fragmenta (Kock)*, 351: {ΑΛΚΙΒ.} μισῶ λακωνίζειν, ταγηνίζειν δὲ κἄν πρῖαιμην) and Posidippus (*Fragmenta (Kock)*, 5: τηγανίζεσθαι),²⁵⁶ and the compound ἀποταγηνίζω or ἀποτηγανίζω,^{LSJ} “to eat off the frying pan, to broil”, in the fragments of Sotades (*Fragmenta (Kock)*, 1: καρῖδας ἔλαβον πρῶτον, ἀπεταγήνισα ταύτας ἀπάσας), Pherecrates (*Fragmenta (Kock)*, 123), Phrynichus (*Fragmenta (Kock)*, 57), and Machon (*Fragmenta (Gow)*, 18.421).²⁵⁷ In the LXX, it occurs in *Jeremias*, 36:22, in a martyrological sense: οὐς ἀπετηγάνισεν βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος ἐν πυρὶ.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Herodianus et Pseudo-Herodianus, *Περὶ παθῶν*, 3.2.7: τάγηνον: τοῦτο Ἰωνικῶς τινες τήγανον λέγουσι καὶ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τήκω τήκανον καὶ μεταθέσει τοῦ κ εἰς γ τήγανον καὶ καθ’ ὑπέροθεσιν τάγηνον οἶον «ἐμοῦ δὲ ὡσπερ ἐπὶ ταγήνου ἔσιζεν ἡ καρδία»; Phrynichus, *Praeparatio sophistica (epitome)*, p. 112.11: τάγηνον οἱ Ἀττικοί, τήγανον οἱ Δωριεῖς; Moeris, *Lexicon Atticum*, p. 210.12: τάγηνον Ἀττικοί, τήγανον Ἑλληνας. See also Chantraine, s.v. τάγηνον, p. 1087.

²⁵⁵ τήγανον usually translates כַּכְרִית, “frying pan” or “griddle”. See Van Henten 1997: 108.

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 [ε]ύλαβεῖν αὐτήν).

122. τιμωρητής “avenger”

4:16 τούτους πολεμίους καὶ τιμωρητὰς ἔσχον

There are three *nomina agentis* derived from τιμωρέω: the amply attested τιμωρός, in the sense of “avenger, vindicator” (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1280: ἦξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμάρορος, μητροκτόνον φίτυμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός), the Herodotean *hapax legomenon totius graecitatis* τιμωρητήρ (*Historiae*, 5.80.5: δοκέω ἡμῖν Αἰγινητέων δέεσθαι τὸν θεὸν χρῆσαι τιμωρητήρων γενέσθαι), and the neologism of 2 *Macc* τιμωρητής. The latter may have been coined on the model of the LXX *hapax legomenon* ἐκδικητής in *Psalms*, 8:3: τοῦ καταλῦσαι ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητήν.²⁵⁸

123. τριήρης “trireme”

4:20 εἰς τὰς τῶν τριηρέων κατασκευάζ

Noteworthy in the use of this common substantive is the (Ionic) uncontracted form of the genitive plural τριηρέων instead of τριήρων,²⁵⁹ which in literature is attested only in Herodotus (*Historiae*, 3.37.7: ἐν τῆσι πρόρησι τῶν τριηρέων; *ib.*, 7.36.13, and 7.89.1). In the inscriptions, there are on the whole 37 occurrences of τριήρων/τριηρῶν and 2 of τριήρων/τριηρέων (cf. *IG XII 1* 43.20 [100-50 BCE]: προρατεύσαντα τριηρέων; *IC I* xvi 35.1: Ῥοδίων οἱ στρατευσάμενοι μετὰ ἄρχοντος τᾶν τριήρων Εὐαγόρα). In Koine, the genitive plural frequently occurs uncontracted in 3rd declension nouns in -ος (cf. 2 *Macc*, 12:14; 17: τῶν τειχέων).²⁶⁰

124. τρόπαιον “trophy”

5:6 δοκῶν δὲ πολεμίων καὶ οὐχ ὁμοεθνῶν τρόπαια καταβάλλεσθαι;
15:6 διεγνώκει κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν συστήσασθαι τρόπαιον

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 τροπαῖος 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 κοινόν τρόπαιον, 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, τρόπαια is used as a metaphor for military victory. The verb usually conjoined with τρόπαιον is ἴστημι. Rarely attested are the verbs τίθημι (Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, 956; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 318), ἰδρύομαι (Euripides, *Heraclidae*, 786), and the compounds ἀνίστημι (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: ἐπισυνήγαγεν τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων βιβλία καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ.

²⁵⁹ See Smyth 1920: 264 and Kühner 1890: 437.

²⁶⁰ See Thackeray 2008: 151.

²⁶¹ Goldstein 1973: 474; *OCD*, s.v. trophies, p. 1556.

Fragmenta, 11.4), καθίστημι (Critias, *Fragmenta* (West), B2, 14; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, 13.51.7), ἀνθίστημι (Thucydides, *Historiae*, 1.54.1; 1.105.6). The collocation of τρόπαιον with the compounds συνίστημι and καταβάλλω is elsewhere unattested.

125. ὑπεραγόντως “exceedingly”

7:20 ὑπεραγόντως δὲ ἡ μήτηρ θαυμαστή

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 ὑπεραγόντως ἐγίνοντο λόγοι). It reappears in a 3rd c. CE Homeric commentary (Porphyrius, *Quaestionum Homericarum ad Iliadem pertinentium reliquia*, 18.100.4: ὑπεραγόντως μεγάλην), and in a gloss in Hesychius (*Lexicon*, 493: ὑπερφυῶς· ὑπεραγόντως; 6457: ἐσχάτως· ὑπεραγόντως ἰάκρως). It is derived from the present participle of the Hellenistic verb ὑπεράγω, ^{LSJ} II¹ “to excel, to surpass” (cf. Philo Mech., *Belopoeica*, p. 58.21: τὴν ὑπεράγουσαν ἐπιστροφὴν; 1 *Macc*, 6:43: καὶ ἦν ὑπεράγον πάντα τὰ θηρία; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, 4.85.1: πολὺ τῶν μνημονευομένων ἡρώων ὑπεράγοντα φιλοκύνηγον γενέσθαι). In 2 *Macc*, we also find the Hellenistic adverb ὑπεράγαν²⁶² (10:34: ὑπεράγαν ἐβλασφήμουν), which is also a LXX hapax.

126. ὑπονοθεύω “to procure by corruption, to labour underhand, to undermine”

4:7 ὑπενόθευσεν Ἰάσων ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ονίου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην;

4:26 ὁ τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν ὑπονοθεύσας ὑπονοθευθεὶς ὑφ’ ἐτέρου

The compound ὑπονοθεύω,²⁶³ a neologism of 2 *Macc*, is sparsely 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 ἢ τινος τῶν συνεστίων ὑπονενόθευται; *ib.*, 98.24: ἄργυρον ἀποίσει μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ὀλίγον, καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ ὑπονοθεύσει), in Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica*, 6.5.1: μυστικὰς φαντασίας ποιῶν τινὰς καὶ ὑπονοθεύων αὐτάς [viz. τὰς γυναικάς]), in Dionysius Halicarnassensis (*Antiquitates Romanae*, 11.18.2: οὐ ταχεῖαν ψηφιοῦμεθα τῇ ὑπονοθευομένῃ χώρᾳ τὴν βοήθειαν), and in a 1st c. BCE inscription (*Mylasa* 133.2 [38 BCE-14 CE]: καὶ [τ]ὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοσίων κτήσεις εἰς τε τὸν κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως καρφισμὸν τινῶν ἀνα<σ>[τά]σεις ὑπονοθεύειν). The simplex νοθεύω, ^{LSJ} I¹ “to corrupt (a woman, a marriage)”, ^{LSJ} II¹ “to adulterate”, appears only once in the LXX (*Sapientia Salomonis*, 14:24: οὔτε βίους οὔτε γάμους καθαρὸς ἔτι φυλάσσουσιν, ἕτερος δ’ ἕτερον ἢ λοχῶν ἀναίρει ἢ νοθεύων ὀδυνᾶ). Abel comments that ὑπονοθεύω, 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

²⁶² ἄγαν occurs only in 3 *Macc*, 4:11.

²⁶³ Hesychius, *Lexicon*, 314: ὑπενόθευσεν· ὑπέφθειρεν; 707: ὑπονοθεῦσαι· ὑποφθεῖραι.

courtesan.²⁶⁴ 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.²⁶⁵

127. ὑποψία “suspicion”

4:34 καίπερ ἐν ὑποψία κείμενος

This substantive is amply attested from Herodotus onwards. From the same root, the adjective ὑποπτος (2 *Macc* 3:32; 12:4) is also a LXX hapax, whereas the verb ὑποπτεύω, “to view with apprehension or anxiety”, occurs in *Psalms*, 118:39 and in *Ecclesiasticus sive Siracides*, 9:13 (καὶ οὐ μὴ ὑποπτεύσης 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 ἐσχάτῃ πνοῇ κειμένω; 4:31: τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι κειμένων; 15:18: ἐν ἥττονι μέρει κείμενος).

128. φρόνημα “thinking, mind”

7:21 ἕκαστον δὲ αὐτῶν παρεκάλει τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ γενναίῳ πεπληρωμένη φρονήματι;
13:9 τοῖς 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: δουλοῖ γὰρ φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ τὸ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ξυμβαῖνον) or a negative sense (“arrogance”: cf. Aeschylus, *Prometheus vincetus*, 953: σεμνόστομός γε καὶ φρονήματος πλέως ὁ μῦθος ἐστίν; also in the plural: Isocrates, *Plataicus*, 37.7: παυσάμενοι τῶν φρονημάτων ἦλθον ὡς ὑμᾶς, ταπεινότερον διατεθέντες ἢ νῦν ἡμεῖς τυγχάνομεν 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”²⁶⁶

4:41 τινὲς δὲ ἐκ τῆς παρακειμένης σποδοῦ δρασσόμενοι φύρδην ἐνετίνασσον εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυσίμαχον

This rare adverb, derived from φύρω, ^{LSJ} I “to mix something dry with something wet”, ^{LSJ} II “to jumble together, to confuse”, is attested only 5 times up to the 1st c. BCE, in tragic poetry and historiography (Aeschylus, *Persae*, 812: δαιμόνων θ’ ἰδρύματα πρόρριζα 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, συγκεχυμένως, ἀναμίξ.

Historiae, 16.8.9: τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς ἦν ἰδεῖν φύρδην σεσωρευμένους ἀναμιξ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων [viz., νεκρῶν, αἵματος, ὄπλων, ναυαγίων]; *ib.*, 30.11.6: πάντα δ' εἰκῆ καὶ φύρδην ἐπράττετο). Another very rare adverb in -δην occurring in 2 *Macc* is ῥύδην, “violently, furiously” (3:25: φερόμενος δὲ ῥύδην), attested only in the fragments of Hipponax and in Polybius (*Fragmenta ex incertis libris*, 18: ἐφέρετο ῥύδην). We may assume that the author of 2 *Macc* drew both φύρδην and ῥύδην from Polybius.

130. χορτώδης “of grass, grass-like”

5:27 τὴν χορτώδη τροφήν σιτούμενοι

χόρτος, initially ^{LSJ} “enclosed feeding-space” (Homer, *Ilias*, 11.774: ἀυλῆς ἐν χόρτῳ), designates from Hesiod onwards the “fodder”, especially for horses and cattle (cf. Hesiodus, *Opera et dies*, 606: χόρτον δ' ἐσκομίσαι καὶ συρφετόν, ὄφρα τοι εἴη βουσι καὶ ἡμίονοισιν ἐπηετανόν), the “hay” (cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.5.10: διφθέρας ἅς εἶχον στεγάσματα ἐπίμπλασαν χόρτου κούφου), the “grass” (cf. *ib.*, 1.5.5: οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἄπασα ἢ χώρα), or food in general (cf. Hipponax, *Fragmenta*, 26.6: σῦκα μέτρια τρώγων καὶ κριθινὸν κόλλικα, δούλιον χόρτον). In the LXX, χόρτος translates the Hebrew “‘ēšēḅ”, “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, “‘ēšēḅ”, cultivated plants, and “hāšîr”, herbage).²⁶⁸ The attachment of the suffix -ώδης, 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: ἡ τε γὰρ γῆ ἐοῦσα πεδιάς αὕτη ποιώδης τε καὶ εὐυδρός ἐστι; Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, 7.9.2: ποώδη καὶ χλωώδη). Of the 25 adjectives in -ώδης 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 οὖν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐπιλυπηθεῖς; 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 Aristoteles onwards as an initially philosophical term complementary to σωματικός, “bodily” (cf. *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1117b28: διηρήσθωσαν δὴ αἰ ψυχικαὶ καὶ αἰ σωματικαὶ [ἡδοναί]); Polybius (*Historiae*, 6.5.7: τῇ σωματικῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ψυχικῇ τόλμῃ; *I. Aeg. Thrace* 5.20 [166-160 BCE]: ψυχικὴν ἄμα καὶ σω[ματικὴν] ὑπέμειναν κ[α]κοπαθίαν).²⁷¹ In the LXX, the

²⁶⁷ *NIDNTT*, vol. 2, p. 211.

²⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 743.

²⁶⁹ Kühner 1892: 298.

²⁷⁰ The fourth, θηριώδης, is also attested in 4 *Macc*, 12:13: θηριωδέστατε.

²⁷¹ See *TDNT*, s.v. ψυχικός.

adjective occurs only in *4 Macc* (1:32: τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσιν ψυχικαί, αἱ δὲ σωματικάι). 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 ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξ 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.²⁷² 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.²⁷³ 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”,²⁷⁴ 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,²⁷⁵ whereas the martyrological 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: ἐφροντίσαμεν (...) 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”, ἀλλοφυλισμός and δεινάζω are *dis legomena totius graecitatis*, since they occur twice in 2 *Macc* and never elsewhere.

²⁷⁴ Elledge 2006: 17.

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.

έντυγχάνουσιν ὠφέλειαν). 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.²⁷⁶ As regards the epitomator's commentary in 6:12-17, it has its share of LXX hapaxes (3), among which ἐλευστέον 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 ἐξεταστέον)? The string of three verbal adjectives in -τέος (φροντιστέον, ἐξεταστέον, συγχωρητέον), 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*:

²⁷⁶ Habicht 1979: 171 and 233. See also Schwarz 2008: 20.

ἀκαριαῖος, ἀναχάσκω, ἀπένθητος, ἀποκοσμέω, δυσημερία, δυσσεβέω, ἐξοπλησία, ἐπιπληρώω, θεόκτιστος, θεομαχέω, θηριώω, μισοπονηρέω, παρακλείω, προηγορέω, προσκύπτω, φύρδην.

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 θᾶπτον 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, ἴλη, κάμαξ, καταδρομή, Μυσάρχη, προσβολή, σπασμός, σπειρηδόν, τριήρης, τρόπαιον),
- (b) Terms denoting violence, harm and killing (ἀποκοσμέω, δήμιος, κρημνίζω, μαιφόνος, παρακλείω, περισκυθίζω, συμφλογίζω, συνεκκεντέω, 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, εὐεργέτημα, θέμις, θηριώω, μισοπονηρέω, μύσος, πλησιάζω, συμμισοπονηρέω, ὑπονοθεύω),
- (d) Terms related to religious activities and beliefs (ἀναβίωσις, δυσσεβέω, θεόκτιστος, θεομαχέω, ιεροσύλος, ιεροσύλημα, νεώς, σπλαγχνίζω, σπλαγχνισμός),
- (e) Terms related to courts and legal procedures (ἀκατάγνωστος, ἀντιμαρτυρέω, δικαιολογία, ἐνδείκτης, ἐπίπληξις, προηγορέω, προήγορος, πρόστιμον),
- (f) Terms denoting attitudes and emotions (ἀποργίζομαι, δεινάζω, δυσφορέω, ἔκθυμος, εὐμένεια, 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, martyrology. 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 religion²⁸¹ (and probably unnamed in Hebrew) or associated with the pagan practices of the Greeks, which were negatively valued by the Jews. E.g., ἀκρόπολις, ἄνηβος, γενέθλιος, δαδουχία, ἐφηβεῖον, ἔφηβος, θεωρός, παλαίστρα, πενταετηρικός, πέτασος, θέμις, σπλαγχνίζω, τριήρης, 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".²⁸² 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

²⁸¹ See Richnow, W. (1966) *Untersuchungen zu Sprache und Stil des zweiten Makkabäerbuches*, p. iv. Cited in Goldstein 1984: 20.

²⁸² Schwarz 2008: 72 and 76 ff.

as to the author's aspiring to eloquence.²⁸³ 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 ἄφνω, the very rare in Koine νεώς alternates with the common ναός, δυσσεβέω is used along ἀσεβέω, δυσφορέω alongside δυσφόρως φέρω, the neologism λεληθότως is used as a variant of λαθραίως, the neologisms ἱεροσύλημα and σπειρηδόν are used along ἱεροσυλία and κατὰ σπείρας respectively, συχνός occurs alongside πολύς, ἀκρόπολις along ἄκρα, εὐεργέτημα along εὐεργεσία, πέτρος alongside λίθος, οὐ ῥάδιος alongside οὐκ εὐχερής and χαλεπός, πρόστιμον along ἐπίτιμον, σύμφορον along συμφέρον, ὑπεραγόντως along ὑπεράγαν and περιρρήγνυμι 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., τολμάω-κατατολμάω, πυρόω-ἐκπυρόω, πληρόω-ἐπιπληρόω, κρημνίζω-κατακρημνίζω, ἀποργίζομαι-ἐποργίζομαι, ἐκκεντέω-συγκεντέω-συνεκκεντέω, μισοπονηρέω-συμμισοπονηρέω).²⁸⁴ 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 δεξιάζω (δεξιασθείς-δούς δεξιάν), δυσημερία (εὐημερίαν-δυσημερίαν), δεινάζω and δυσφορέω (ἐδείναζον καὶ ἐδυσφόρουν), εὐμένεια (εὐμένειαν-δυσμένειαν), ἑλληνισμός (ἑλληνισμοῦ-ἄλλοφυλισμοῦ), 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 κάγαθός is used to designate the old high priest Onias III.²⁸⁵ 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 περισκυθίζω, 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*, ἑλληνισμός, originally the usage of the prestigious 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.²⁸⁶

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.

²⁸⁵ Himmelfarb 1998: 32 ff.

²⁸⁶ See Habicht 1979: 190.

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*, προηγορέω is found only in Xenophon and ἀποργίζομαι only in Menander; περισκυθίζω has its origin in Herodotus; ἀπένθητος, δυσημερία, δυσσεβέω, θεομαχέω and μύσος, as well as the Homeric adjective μαιφόνος, occurring mainly in the tragedians, suggest a familiarity with tragic poetry; τὰ πρόστιμα τῆς ὑπερηφανίας echoes τὰπιτίμια τῆς δυσσεβείας in Sophocles' *Electra*, 1378; ἀναχανών points to Aristophanes; σπειρηδόν is undoubtedly Polybian, as well as the figurative use of παρακλείω and of θηριώω (in the expression τεθηριωμένος τῇ ψυχῇ); the expression παῦλα τῆς ἀνοίας (possibly a pun on Polybius' παῦλα τῆς ἀγνοίας) and the hendiadys αὐξήσις καὶ δόξα may also have their origin in Polybius; and the metaphorical use of ἐπιφύω 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*.²⁸⁷ Apart from the explicit quotation of *Deuteronomium*, 31:21 in 7:6 (see comment s.v. ἀντιμαρτυρέω), we have suggested that the neologism τιμωρητής, in 4:16: τούτους πολεμίους καὶ τιμωρητὰς ἔσχον, alludes to ἐκδικητής, in *Psalms*, 8:3: τοῦ καταλῦσαι 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* σπειρηδόν, in 5:2 and 12:20. This adverb is a neologism of Polybius,²⁸⁸ 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 150,²⁸⁹ 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.

²⁸⁹ Walbank 1990: 21.

thereabouts books i to xv had been not only written but also published". If we ascribe the usage of σπειρηδόν to Jason, then a date of composition of his history before 160 BCE, as some scholars suggest,²⁹⁰ 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,²⁹¹ then any date after 150 is possible. If the first publication of *Historiae* was a posthumous one,²⁹² 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:

ἀκατάγνωστος, ἀλλοφυλισμός, ἀναβίωσις, ἀναγνεία, ἀπευθανατίζω, δαδουχία, δεινάζω, δεξιάζω, διεμπίμπλημι, δυσπέτημα, ἔκθυμος, ἔλευστέος, ἐνενηκονταετής, ἐφηβεῖον, θωρακισμός, ἱεροσύλημα, λεληθότως, Μυσάρχης, περισκυθίζω, προπτύω, προσενέχομαι, πρωτοκλίσια, σπλαγχνισμός, συμμιοσπονηρέω, συμφλογίζω, συνεκκεντέω, συσσύρω, τιμωρητής, ὑπονοθεύω, χορτώδης, 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 ἐνενηκονταετής, for instance, cannot have been a neologism *strictu senso*, since εἰκοσαετής, τριακονταετής, etc. are attested in the classical language as well as in the LXX; the military title Μυσάρχης 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

²⁹⁰ J. J. Collins (2000) *Between Athens and Jerusalem. Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, p. 82.

²⁹¹ Another interesting word is λυσιτέλεια, "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 BCE²⁹¹. 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 λυσιτέλεια 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* (ἀλλοφυλισμός, δεινάζω, ἔκθυμος, λεληθότως, σπλαγχνισμός, ὑπονοθεύω, 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* (ἀναγνεία, ἀπευθανατίζω, διεμπίμπλημι, ἱεροσύλημα, προπτύω, προσενέχομαι, πρωτοκλίσια, συμμισοπονηρέω), 6 are *dis legomena* (ἀλλοφυλισμός, δεινάζω,²⁹⁴ δεξιάζω, δυσπέτημα, ἐφηβείον, σπλαγχνισμός), and ἐλευστέος and συμφλογίζω 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, Μυσάρχη, συνεκκεντέω), martyrological terms (ἀπευθανατίζω, περισκυθίζω, συμφλογίζω), religious or cultic terms (ἀναβίωσις, ἱεροσύλημα, σπλαγχνισμός), moral and ethical terms (ἀναγνεία, συμμισοπονηρέω, ὑπονοθεύω), which are related to the subject-matter of the chapters in which they occur. There are also emotive terms (δεινάζω, ἔκθυμος, ψυχικῶς), official terms (πρωτοκλίσια, δεξιάζω), and a fair number of miscellaneous terms (ἀκατάγνωστος, ἀλλοφυλισμός, διεμπίμπλημι, δυσπέτημα, ἐλευστέον, ἐνενηκονταετής, ἐφηβείον, 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 -μός (3), -ία/-εία (2) and -σις (1), followed by result nouns (*nomina rei actae*) ending in -μα (2), as well as a prevalence of verbs in -ίζω (3) and -άζω (2), denoting action, and in -έω (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.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, σύν being the most frequent, prefixed in 4 compounds), as well as the number of double compounds: 3 verbs are prefixed with two prepositional prefixes (διεμπίμπλημι, προσενέχομαι, συνεκκεντέω), 1 with a prepositional prefix and an adverb (ἀπευθανατίζω) and 1 with a prepositional prefix and a verb (συμμισοπονηρέω). 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., δεξιάζομαι is a variant of δεξιόομαι, ιεροσύλημα of ιεροσυλία, τιμωρητής of τιμωρός, ἀπευθανατίζω of εὐθανατέω, and λεληθότως of λάθρα). Further, the coinage of other words must have been facilitated by the existence of etymological cognates (e.g., the neologism δυσπέτημα is predated by the verb ἀποδυσπετέω, the adjective δυσπετής and the adverb δυσπετῶς, ιεροσύλημα is predated by the substantives ιεροσυλία and ιερόσυλος and the verb ιεροσυλέω, and ἔκθυμος by the adverb ἐκθύμως and the substantive ἐκθυμία) or semantic cognates (e.g., χορτώδης, coined by analogy with ποώδης). A few neologisms may have been created on the model of other neologisms, e.g., τιμωρητής was probably coined as an allusion to the neologism ἐκδικητής in *Psalms*, 8:3 (see 4.3.2), while ἀλλοφυλισμός was created on the model of the neologism Ἰουδαϊσμός and the semantic neologism Ἑλληνισμός. It is also possible that the author's striving after rhetorical effect motivated the creation of neologisms such as δυσπέτημα, whose collocation with εὐεργέτημα in 5:20 (συμμετασχῶν τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους δυσπετημάτων γενομένων ὕστερον εὐεργετημάτων) produces an antithesis, an homoioteleuton and an isocolon (see 4.2.2).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

²⁹⁶ See Mayser 1970: I. III, 89-90 and 151-2, and Montevicchi 1973: 76-79.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Gil 1958: 24-25: "Esta desmedida afición por los juegos de palabras le hace al epitomador [...] crear neologismos como πολεμοτροφέιν (X 14: ἐξενοτρόφει ... καὶ ἐπολεμοτρόφει) por el gusto de no perder un buen *homoioteleuton*, o el innecesario δεξιάζειν, existiendo ya un δεξιόσθαι, 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. ἀποκοσμέω, first attested in the *Odyssey* 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 διαρρυθμίζω, 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 σπασμός, 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} “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 Ἑλληνισμός, “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 τηγανίζω, “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 πρόσκλησις, “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 ἀπένθητος, 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 ἔκλαμψις, 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

Ἑλληνισμός, 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*.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

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

²⁹⁸ Schwarz 2008: 66.

²⁹⁹ Grimm 1857: 7.

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

Chapter	Total number of words	Number of LXX hpxlgm		%	
		Total	"Singles"	Total	"Singles"
4	1088	53	37	4,87	3,40
5	645	34	26	5,27	4,03
6	678	26	20	3,83	2,94
7	876	18	12	2,05	1,36
Total	3287	131	95	3,98	2,89

Table 2: A listing of the LXX *hapax legomena* and neologisms in 2 Macc, 4-7 in the order of their occurrence.

		Chapter 4				Chapter 5				
		V ³⁰⁰	NO ³⁰¹	AHL ³⁰²	N ³⁰³		V	NO	AH L	N
1.	ένδεικτης	1	1			σπειρηδόν	2	2		
2.	κηδεμών	2	1			σπασμός	2	1		
3.	σύμφορον	5	1			ἴλη	3	1		
4.	παῦλα	6	1			προσβολή	3	2		
5.	ὑπονοθεύω	7;26	3		*	καταδρομή	3	1		
6.	ἔντευξις	8	1			κάμαξ	3	1		
7.	ἐπιχωρέω	9	2			ἔκλαμψις	3	1		
8.	ἐφηβεῖον	9	1		*	θωρακισμός	3	1		*
9.	πρεσβεία	11	1			αἰφνιδίως	5	2		
10.	παρωθέω	11	1			συννοέω	6	3		
11.	ἀκρόπολις	12;28	3			δυσημερία	6	1		
12.	ἔφηβος	12	1			τρόπαιον	6	2		
13.	πέτασος	12	1			δήμιος	8	2		
14.	Ἑλληνισμός	13	1			συχνός	9	1		
15.	ἀλλοφυλισμός	13	2	*	*	ἄταφος	10	1		
16.	ἀναγνεία	13	1	*	*	ἀπένθητος	10	1		
17.	νεώς	14	7			θηριώ	11	1		
18.	παλαίστρα	14	1			ἄνηβος	13	1		
19.	δίσκος	14	1			κατατολμάω	15	2		
20.	πρόσκλησις	14	1			αὔξησις	16	1		
21.	ἔξομοῖω	16	1			συσσύρω	16	1		*
22.	τιμωρητής	16	1		*	ἀποργίζομαι	17	1		
23.	ῥάδιος	17	2			παρόρασις	17	1		
24.	πενταετηρικός	18	1			προσενέχομαι	18	1	*	*
25.	θεωρός	19	1			συμμετέχω	20	1		
26.	παρακομίζω	19;20;23	7			δυσπέτημα	20	1		*

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

27.	τριήρης	20	1			εὐεργέτημα	20	1		
28.	πρωτοκλίσια	21	1	*	*	Μυσάροχης	24	1		*
29.	δαδουχία	22	1		*	δισμύριοι	24	6		
30.	συνελαύνω	26	3			ἐξοπλησία	25	1		
31.	εὐτακτέω	27	1			συνεκκεντέω	26	1		*
32.	θαττον	31	3			εἰστρέχω	26	1		
33.	δεξιάζω	34	1		*	διαζάω	27	1		
34.	ὑποψία	34	1			χορτώδης	27	1		*
35.	παρακλείω	34	1							
36.	δεινάζω	35	2	*	*					
37.	δυσφορέω	35	2							
38.	συμμισοπονηρέω	36	1	*	*					
39.	ψυχικῶς	37	2		*					
40.	περιρρήγνυμι	38	1							
41.	μιαιφόνος	38	2							
42.	ἀποκοσμέω	38	1							
43.	ἱεροσύλημα	39	1	*	*					
44.	διεμπίμπλημι	40	1	*	*					
45.	πέτρος	41	2							
46.	φύρδην	41	1							
47.	ἱερόσυλος	42	1							
48.	δικαιολογία	44	1							
49.	ἀκατάγνωστος	47	1		*					
50.	προηγορέω	48	1							
51.	μισοπονηρέω	49	2							
52.	κηδεία	49	2							
53.	ἐπιφύω	50	1							
	Total		37/16	7		14		26/8	1	7

		Chapter 6				Chapter 7				
		V	NO	AHL	N	V	NO	AHL	N	
1.	προσονομάζω	2	1			προήγορος	2,4	2		
2.	δυσχερής	3	4			ἔκθυμος	3;39	3		*
3.	ἐπιπληρώω	4	1			ἐκπτυρόω	3;4	2		
4.	πλησιάζω	4	1			περισκυθίζω	4	1		*
5.	γενέθλιος	7	1			ἔμπνους	5	2		
6.	σπλαγχνισμός	7;21	3		*	τηγανίζω	5	1		
7.	κισσός	7	1			ἀντιμαρτυρέω	6	1		
8.	ἀστυγείτων	8	1			ἀναβίωσις	9	1		*
9.	σπλαγχνίζω	8	1			ἐχομένως	15	1		
10.	κρημνίζω	10	1			θεομαχέω	19	1		
11.	λεληθότως	11	2		*	ὑπεραγόντως	20	1		
12.	συμφλογίζω	11	1		*	φρόνημα	21	2		
13.	δυσσεβέω	13	1			στοιχείωσις	22	1		
14.	ἐκπλήρωσις	14	1			διαρρυθμίζω	22	1		
15.	ἐλευστέον	17	1		*	προσκύπτω	27	1		
16.	ἀναχάσκω	18	1			ἐπίπληξις	33	1		
17.	μύσος	19;2 5	2			πρόστιμον	36	1		

18.	ἀναδέχομαι	19	2			παντελῶς	40	5		
19.	προπτύω	20	1	*	*					
20.	θέμις	20	2							
21.	ἐπίκτητος	23	1							
22.	θεόκτιστος	23	1							
23.	ἐνενηκονταετής	24	1		*					
24.	ἀκαριαῖος	25	1							
25.	ἀπευθανατίζω	28	1	*	*					
26.	εὐμένεια	29	1							
	Total		20/6	2	7			12/6	0	3

Table 3: A chronological classification of the LXX *hapax legomena* in 2 Macc, 4-7

	Classical		Post-Classical			Neologisms		
	Inscr. 304	Pap. 305		Inscr	Pap		Inscr	
1.	αἰφνιδίως	*	*	ἀποργίζομαι 306			ἀκατάγνωστος	
2.	ἀκαριαῖος			ἐκπλήρωσις		*	ἀλλοφυλισμός	
3.	ἀκρόπολις	*		Ἑλληνισμός			ἀναβίωσις	
4.	ἀναδέχομαι	*	*	ἐνδείκτης		*	ἀναγνεία	
5.	ἀναχάσκω			ἐχομένως		*	ἀπευθανατίζω	
6.	ἄνηβος	*		κατατολμάω		*	δαδουχία	*
7.	ἀντιμαρτυρέω			κρημνίζω			δεινάζω	
8.	ἀπένθητος	*		παρόρασις			δεξιάζω	
9.	ἀποκοσμέω			πρόστιμον	*	*	διεπίμπλημι	
10.	ἀστυγείτων	*		σπειρηδόν			δυσπέτημα	
11.	ἄταφος		*	στοιχείωσις			ἔκθυμος	
12.	αὐξησις	*		ὑπεραγόντως	*		ἐλευστέον	
13.	γενέθλιος	*	*				ἐνενηκονταετής	
14.	δήμιος						ἐφηβείον	
15.	διαζάω		*				θωρακισμός	
16.	διαρρυθμίζω	*					ἱεροσύλημα	
17.	δικαιολογία	*	*				λεληθότως	
18.	δίσκος	*					Μυσάρχης	
19.	δισμύριοι	*	*				περισκυθίζω	
20.	δυσημερία						προπτύω	
21.	δυσσεβέω						προσενέχομαι	
22.	δυσφορέω						πρωτοκλία	
23.	δυσχερής	*	*				σπλαγχνισμός	
24.	εἰστρέχω						συμμισοπονηρέω	
25.	ἐκλαμψις						συμφλογίζω	

³⁰⁴ Attestation in the inscriptions from the 4th-1st centuries BCE.

³⁰⁵ Attestation in the papyri from the 3th-1st centuries BCE.

³⁰⁶ First attestation in Menander's *Samia*, dated 314 BCE (see: Arnott, W. G. (1998) "First Notes on Menander's *Samia*". In: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bd. 121, p. 35.

26.	ἐκπυρόω						συνεκκεντέω	
27.	ἔμπνους	*					συσσύρω	
28.	ἔντευξις	*	*				τιμωρητής	
29.	ἐξομοίω						ὑπονοθεύω	*
30.	ἐξοπλησία	*					χορτώδης	
31.	ἐπίκτητος		*				ψυχικῶς	
32.	ἐπίπληξις	*	*					
33.	ἐπιπληρόω							
34.	ἐπιφύω							
35.	ἐπιχωρέω	*	*					
36.	εὐεργέτημα	*						
37.	εὐμένεια	*	*					
38.	εὐτακτέω	*	*					
39.	ἔφηβος	*						
40.	θάττον							
41.	θέμις	*						
42.	θεόκτιστος	*						
43.	θεομαχέω							
44.	θεωρός	*	*					
45.	θηριόω							
46.	ιερόσυλος	*	*					
47.	ἴλη							
48.	κάμαξ	*						
49.	καταδρομή	*	*					
50.	κηδεία	*	*					
51.	κηδεμών	*						
52.	κισός	*						
53.	μιαφόνος							
54.	μισοπονηρέω		*					
55.	μύσος							
56.	νεώς	*						
57.	παλαιίστρα	*	*					
58.	παντελῶς	*	*					
59.	παρακλείω							
60.	παρακομίζω	*	*					
61.	παρωθέω		*					
62.	παῦλα	*						
63.	πενταετηρικό ς	*	* ³⁰⁷					
64.	περιορήγνυμι							
65.	πέτασος	*	*					
66.	πέτρος	*						
67.	πλησιάζω		*					
68.	πρεσβεία	*	*					
69.	προηγορέω							
70.	προήγορος	*						
71.	προσβολή	*	*					
72.	πρόσκλησις	*	*					

³⁰⁷ In the papyri, it is attested as πενθετηρικός.

73.	προσκύπτω							
74.	προσονομάζω	*						
75.	ράδιος	*	*					
76.	σπασμός							
77.	σπλαγχνίζω	*						
78.	συμμετέχω	*	*					
79.	σύμφορος	*	*					
80.	συνελαύνω							
81.	συννοέω		*					
82.	συχνός	*						
83.	τριήρης	*						
84.	τρόπαιον	*						
85.	τηγανίζω							
86.	ύποψία		*					
87.	φρόνημα	*						
88.	φύρδην							

Table 4: Classification of the LXX *hapax legomena* into semantic domains (based on Louw & Nida)

MILITARY ACTIVITIES	MORAL AND ETHICAL QUALITIES AND RELATED ACTIVITIES	VIOLENCE, HARM, DESTROY, KILL	COURTS AND LEGAL PROCEDURES	ATTITUDES AND EMOTIONS
ἀκρόπολις	ἀναγνεία	ἀποκοσμέω	ἀκατάγνωστος	ἀποργίζομαι
ἐξοπλησία	ἀπευθανατίζω	δήμιος	ἀντιμαρτυρέω	δεινάζω
θωρακισμός	εὐεργέτημα	κρημνίζω	δικαιολογία	δυσφορέω
ἴλη	θέμις	μιαιφόνος	ἐνδείκτης	ἔκθυμος
κάμαξ	θηριώω	παρακλείω	ἐπίπληξις	εὐμένεια
καταδρομή	μισοπονηρέω	περισκυθίζω	προηγορέω	κατατολμάω
Μυσάρχης	μύσος	συμφλογίζω	προήγορος	ψυχικῶς
προσβολή	πλησιάζω	συνεκκεντέω	πρόστιμον	
σπασμός	συμμισοπονηρέω	τηγανίζω		
σπειρηδόν	ύπονοθεύω			
τριήρης				
τρόπαιον				
DEGREE/QUANTITY	RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES	PHYSIOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND STATES	TIME	LINEAR MOVEMENT
αὐξησις	δυσσεβέω	ἀναβίωσις	αἰφνιδίως	εἰστρέχω
διεπίμπλημι	ἱερόσυλος	ἀναχάσκω	ἀκαριαῖος	ἐλευστέον
ἐκπλήρωσις	ἱεροσύλημα	διαζάω	ἐνενηκονταετής	παρακομίζω
ἐπιπληρώω	νεώς	ἔμπνους	ἐχομένως	συνελαύνω
παντελῶς	σπλαγχνίζω	ἐπιφύω	θάττον	συσσύρω
συχνός	σπλαγχνισμός	προπτύω	πενταετηρικός	
ὑπεραγόντως				
FESTIVALS	TROUBLE, HARDSHIP, RELIEF, FAVORABLE	CONTESTS AND PLAY	BEHAVIOR AND RELATED STATES	COMMUNICATION

	CIRCUMSTANCES			
γενέθλιος	δυσημερία	δίσκος	άλλοφυλισμός	προσονομάζω
δαδουχία	δυσπέτημα	έφηβειον	Έλληνισμός	πρόσκλησις
θεωρός	δυσχερής	παλαιίστρα	έξομοιόω	έντευξις
πρωτοκλίσια	ράδιος	πέτασος		
FUNERALS AND BURIAL	ASSOCIATION	CONTROL, RULE	PEOPLE	NATURAL SUBSTANCES
άπένθητος	άναδέχομαι	έπιχωρέω	άνηβος	πέτρος
άταφος	δεξιιάζω	πρεσβεία	έφηβος	στοιχείωσις
κηδεία	συμμετέχω	προσενέχομαι		
PHYSICAL EVENTS AND STATES	PLANTS	POSSESS, TRANSFER, EXCHANGE	HOLD A VIEW, BELIEVE, TRUST	ARRANGE, ORGANIZE
έκλαμψις	κισσός	έπίκτητος	παρωθέω	διαρρυθμίζω
έκπυρόω	χορτώδης	εύτακτέω	ύποψία	
SPACIAL POSITIONS	STANCES AND EVENTS RELATED TO STANCES	WHOLE, UNITE, PART, DIVIDE	PERFORM, DO	PHYSICAL IMPACT
άστυγείτων	προσκύπτω	φύρδην	θεόκτιστος	περιορήγνυμι
PSYCHOLOGICAL FACULTIES	KNOW	THINK	UNDERSTAND	HELP, CARE FOR
φρόνημα	λεληθότως	παρόρασις	συννοέω	κηδεμών
VALUE	ASPECT	PUNISH, REWARD	HOSTILITY, STRIFE	NUMBER
σύμφορον	παύλα	τιμωρητής	θεομαχέω	δισμύριοι

Table 5: Neologisms

Simplicia	Compounds		
	First part a noun-stem or a numeral	First part a prepositional prefix	First part an inseparable prefix (ά-privative, δυσ-)
δεινάζω	άλλοφυλισμός	άναβίωσις	άναγνεία
δεξιιάζω	δαδουχία	άπευθανατίζω	άκατάγνωστος
έλευστέον	ένενηκονταετής	διεπίμπλημι	δυσπέτημα
θωρακισμός	ίεροσύλημα	έκθυμος	
λεληθότως	Μυσάραχης	έφηβειον	
σπλαγχνισμός	πρωτοκλίσια	περισκυθίζω	
τιμωρητής		προπτύω	
χορτώδης		προσενέχομαι	
ψυχικώς		συμμισοπονηρέω	
		συμφλογίζω	
		συνεκκεντέω	
		συσσύρω	
		ύπονοθεύω	

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