EZEKIEL 33:12-16 IN PAPYRUS 967[*]

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ABSTRACT

P967 has had an important effect on the study of the Greek Ezekiel and the relationship of the original Greek to the Masoretic text. This papyrus is often seen as representing the original Greek, together with the *Codex Vaticanus*. The question to be answered in this paper is whether the original Greek as reconstructed by Ziegler (2006) must be adapted as a result of readings of this papyrus. A second question is whether the parallel passages in Ezekiel 18 have affected the transmission of this passage in the Septuagint. This study has indicated a number of cases where the reading of the original Greek can be reconstructed differently from Ziegler's work. In other instances, the reading of Papyrus 967 frequently supports the choice made by Ziegler on account of B and some other witnesses.

INTRODUCTION

P967 has had an important effect on the study of the Greek Ezekiel and the relationship of the original Greek to the Masoretic text. This papyrus is often seen as representing the original Greek, together with the *Codex Vaticanus*. This paper will study Ezekiel 33:12-16 in this papyrus in its relationship to the majority of Greek witnesses and the Masoretic text. The question to be answered is whether the original Greek as reconstructed by Ziegler (2006) must be adapted as a result of readings of this papyrus. A second question is whether the parallel passages in Ezekiel 18 have affected the transmission of this passage in the Septuagint.

PAPYRUS 967 AND EZEKIEL 33:1-20

Papyrus 967 is most significant for the study of the Greek Ezekiel, as it is an important witness to the pre-hexaplaric text of Ezekiel (Lust 1986:11). A recent

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survey of all the sections of this papyrus and the history of its publication is given by Scatolini Apótolo (2005:336-338). It is dated not earlier than 130 C.E., but probably closer to the end of that century or the beginning of the next one (Scatolini Apótolo 2005:338). Kreuzer (2008:64) also supports the date of about 200 C.E.

In his critical edition of the Greek Ezekiel, Ziegler (2006:28) summarises the importance of this papyrus in five points:

1. Papyrus 967 supports the oldest, pre-hexaplaric readings previously mainly known from B (*Codex Vaticanus*);
2. in some instances, Papyrus 967 is the only witness to the original reading (such as in 26:16 and 36:8);
3. the most important contribution of this papyrus is that it demonstrates the fact that the Greek text had already been edited to bring it closer to the Hebrew in pre-hexaplaric times;
4. the vocabulary of Papyrus 967 demonstrates that many renderings were more fixed than previously thought; and
5. the incidental agreement of readings in Papyrus 967 with readings from the Alexandrian texts, the Lucianic recension and the Catenae group indicates that these witnesses frequently used pre-hexaplaric sources.

It is clear that Ziegler had a very high regard for this papyrus, a view shared by many other scholars, for instance Lust (1986) and Tov (1999:408-410). However, Ziegler had only a part of this papyrus at his disposal. The extant sections of this papyrus were published in four instalments: in 1937 (Kenyon 1937), 1938 (Johnson, Gehman & Kase 1938), 1971 (Fernández-Galiano 1971), and 1972 (Jahn 1972). Ezekiel 33 is part of the publication of 1971, and Ziegler did not have that at his disposal. The readings of the papyrus not used by Ziegler were collated by Fraenkel in an appendix to the original edition. However, the importance of the readings of this papyrus for the re-evaluation of Ziegler's reconstruction of the original Greek has not been discussed in sufficient detail. This contribution can make some proposals in this regard for the passage under discussion.

As far as the importance of this papyrus is concerned, Kreuzer (2008:66-68) includes an interesting discussion of the technical importance of this papyrus for the study of the development of the codex as book form. With its 118 leaves, with text on both sides (Kreuzer 2008:67) it dates from the time of the transition from the scroll to the codex and was probably part of a larger collection of volumes. The pages were still quite long, with leaves cut in two in the middle (Kreuzer 2008:67-69). The papyrus was written by two different hands (Kreuzer 2008:68), with one scribe responsible for Ezekiel and another for Daniel and Esther. Kreuzer also discusses the different order of chapters in Ezekiel, as well as the minus in Ezekiel 36:23-38 (2008:73-75)

EZEKIEL 33:1-20 AS PIVOTAL PASSAGE IN THE BOOK

Ezekiel 33 is a pivotal chapter in the book. The book can be divided into three parts, with chapters 1-24 containing prophecies against Judah en Jerusalem before the fall of the city. Chapters 25-32 are a collection of prophecies against the foreign nations, while chapters 33-48 contain prophecies about the restoration of Judah and Jerusalem, after the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. Cooke 1936/1970:1 and Allen 1994: xxiv-xxxvi). Ezekiel 33 follows on the prophecies against the nations and can be regarded as an introduction to the final part of the book. However, it also links this final part to the first part, by mentioning several themes that have been dealt with earlier in the book. This is especially clear in Ezekiel 33:1-20. Verses 21-22 contain the news of the fall of Jerusalem. The first part of the chapter serves as an introduction to and a preparation for that message by linking this new section of the book to the first section, specifically chapters 3 and 18.

Ezekiel 33:1-20 can be divided into two major parts, each with a further subdivision. Verses 1-6 and 7-9 are linked by the watchman motif, while verses 10-11 and 12-20 have ties with chapter 18. Verses 7-9 are closely related to the watchman motif in 3:17-19.Verses 12-16 link up with 18:21-22 and 24. Brock (1998:236-237) discusses this structure in some detail. Through these links this

passage (33:1-20) recalls important passages in the first part of the book, dealing with the commission of the prophet and his message to the people, calling them to repentance and stressing their responsibility for their own actions and the results of those actions.

In the next part of the paper the reading in Papyrus 967 will be discussed in relation to the other witnesses of the Septuagint. In the part following on that one the readings of the Greek will be compared to the Masoretic text, with conclusions at the end.

THE VARIANTS IN EZEKIEL 33:12-16 (LXX)

In his reconstruction of the Old Greek, Ziegler used his B group as starting point, with as the most important witnesses B (Codex Vaticanus), Papyrus 967 (which he only had partly at his disposal), the Vetus Latina, Coptic and Old Latin quotations. In his reconstruction of Ezekiel 33:12-16, he did not have Papyrus 967 at his disposal. The readings of the papyrus are, however, part of the collation made by Fraenkel in the addendum to the edition. In the two columns below, the edition of Ziegler is given on the left, with the reading of Papyrus 967 (as published by Fernández-Galiano) on the right.

Verse	Ziegler	Papyrus 967
12	εἶπὸν πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου Δικαιοσύνη δικαίου οὐ μὴ ἐξέληται αὐτὸν ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ πλανηθῇ, καὶ ἀνομία ἀσεβοῦς οὐ μὴ κακώσῃ αὐτὸν ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποστρέψῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας αὐτοῦ· καὶ δίκαιος οὐ μὴ δύνηται σωθῆναι	ειπον προς τους υιους του λαου σου δικαιοσυνη δικαιου ου μη εξεληται αυτον εν η ημερα πλανηθη, και ανομια ασεβους ου μη κακωση αυτον εν η ημερα αποστρεψη απο της ανομιας αυτου· και δικαιος ου μη δυνηται σωθηναι
13	ἐν τῷ εἶπεῖν με τῷ δικαίῳ Οὗτος πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ	Εν τω ειπαι με τω δικαιω ουτος πεποιθεν επι τη δικαιοσυνη

	αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσῃ ἀνομίαν, πᾶσαι αἱ δικαιοσύναι αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ ἀναμνησθῶσιν· ἐν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ᾗ ἐποίησεν, ἐν αὐτῇ ἀποθανεῖται	αυτου, και ποιηση ανομιαν, πασαι αι δικαιοσυναι αυτου ου μη μνησθωσιν εν τη αδικια αυτου, η εποιησεν, εν αυτη αποθανειται
14	καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶπεῖν με τῷ ἀσεβεῖ Θανάτῳ θανατωθήσῃ, καὶ ἀποστρέψῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιήσῃ κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην	και εν τω ειπαι με τω ασεβει Θανατω θανατωθηση, και αποστρεψη απο της αμαρτιας αυτου και ποιηση κριμα
15	καὶ ἐνεχύρασμα ἀποδῷ καὶ ἅρπαγμα ἀποτείσῃ, ἐν προστάγμασι ζωῆς διαπορεύηται τοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι ἄδικον, ζωῇ ζήσεται καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ	και ενεχυρασμον αποδοι και αρπαγμα αποτεισει, εν προσταγματι ζωης διαπορευηται του μη ποιησαι αδικον, ζωη ζησεται και ου μη αποθανη
16	πᾶσαι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτοῦ, ἃς ἥμαρτεν, οὐ μὴ ἀναμνησθῶσιν· ὅτι κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐποίησεν, ἐν αὐτοῖς ζήσεται	πασαι αι αμαρτιαι αυτου, ας ημαρτεν, ου μη μνησθωσιν· οτι κριμα και δικαιοσυνην εποιησεν, εν αυτοις ζησεται

Papyrus 967 differs in eleven instances from the text of Ziegler. Before considering all the other important variants, the following variants need to be discussed.

- In verse 12, Papyrus 967 in two instances does not have the particle ἄν, for example in the phrase ἐν ᾗ ἄν ἡμέρᾳ πλανηθῇ. In both instances, the particle makes the relative sentence indefinite, with the verb in the subjunctive, giving it the sense of a conditional construction. This is a typical Greek stylistic issue. It is interesting to note that this omission of the particle occurs only in Papyrus 967.

- In verses 13 and 14, Ziegler twice has the phrase ἐν τῷ εἶπεῖν. In his footnotes he indicates that in the case of verse 13, B* and 86* have ἐν τῷ εἶπαί. In verse 14, this readings occurs in B* and 86. The fact that this

reading occurs in both instances in Papyrus 967 raises the question whether this was not the reading of the original Greek. The present infinitive occurs in verse 8 as well. There B* and 86 read the aorist as well, but not Papyrus 967. In 35:10 the present infinitive occurs again, but with no witness having the aorist infinitive. With the present infinitive being more common in this kind of construction, the aorist may be regarded as original in the few cases where it appears in Ezekiel. This is again an issue related to the translation of the Hebrew prepositional phrase with the infinitive construct into Greek.

- In verses 13 and 16, Ziegler uses the verbal form ἀναμνησθῶσιν, while Papyrus 967 uses μνησθῶσιν. In both instances, the reading of Papyrus 967 agrees with manuscripts from Ziegler's Alexandrian group, including A, as well as from his Lucianic and Catenae groups. In these instances, the agreement between Papyrus 967 and younger groups is very interesting. The shorter form is the more common one in the Septuagint, making the longer form perhaps the more original one in this case.

- In verse 14, Papyrus 967 does not agree with B, where this papyrus omits καὶ δικαιοσύνην. This minus is not supported by any witness and may be an example of haplography or homoiteleuton, with the copyist jumping from the καὶ before δικαιοσύνην to the one directly following it.

- The final variants are in verse 15. In the first instance, Ziegler reads ἐνεχύρασμα. Papyrus 967 has ενεχυρασμον. The reading of Papyrus 967 occurs in the Lucianic group as well, with a different variant in the Alexandrian group. The neuter noun occurs only in Exodus 22:26 and Ezekiel 33:15, whereas the masculine noun appears in Ezekiel 18:7, 12 and 16. As the two nouns are synonyms, the appearance of alternative readings is to be expected. There are only two witnesses with an alternative in 18:7 and none in the other two instances in Ezekiel 18. In this instance, the variant in Papyrus 967 in Ezekiel 33:15 may be attributed to the influence of the readings in chapter 18.

- In the second instance, Ziegler has ἀποδῷ, while Papyrus 967 has αποδοι, agreeing with B. The latter form is an optative, while the others witnesses have the subjunctive. The optative would be the more uncommon form in

the Greek of the Septuagint, with the agreement between B and Papyrus 967 making it the possible reading of the old Greek.

- In the next instance in verse 15, Ziegler has ἀποτείσῃ, an aorist subjunctive. Papyrus 967 has ἀποτείσει. It is again an optative. This reading occurs in A, Q, the Lucianic recension and the Catenae tradition, amongst others. As in the previous example, this may be the reading of the Old Greek.

- In the final instance, Ziegler reads προστάγμασι. Papyrus 967 reads προσταγματι. This reading agrees with the Alexandrian group, the Lucianic group and the Catenae group. The plural agrees with the Hebrew, again raising the question whether Papyrus 967 and the younger manuscripts are not the same as the original Greek.

All the examples listed above are related to the Greek translation of the Hebrew, with no bearing on variant readings in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

There are a number of examples where Papyrus 967 contains the text as reconstructed by Ziegler and in agreement with B and other witnesses of the group of B. The first one is at the beginning of verse 12, where the reading of the vast majority of witnesses agrees with the Hebrew ("and you, son of man"). This reading does not occur in B, Papyrus 967 and the Coptic or in two manuscripts from the Alexandrian group. Here Ziegler's choice for the Old Greek is confirmed by Papyrus 967. Cornill (1886:394) had already regarded this shorter reading as original. Zimmerli (1983:181) regards the longer reading in the Hebrew as original, linking up with the view of Cooke (1970:370). Brock (1998:245) also supports this view of the Hebrew. This is a case where the original Greek had a shorter reading, while the longer reading was added in the Hebrew to mark a new section.

An interesting variant is related to the translation of the Hebrew word הָרָשָׁע. It is translated by ἀσεβής in 33:11 and 12. However, in Ezekiel 18 it is translated by ἄνομος. The Hebrew word occurs 26 times in Ezekiel. It is frequently conveyed by ἄνομος (3:18, 19; 13:22; 18:20, 21, 23, 24, 27; 21:8, 9). In Ezekiel 33:8 the Hebrew word occurs four times. The first two are translated by one word, τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. This word is also used in 33:19; the third one in verse 8 is translated by ἀσεβής and the fourth by ἄνομος. It is translated by

ἀσεβής in Ezekiel 33:9, 11 (twice), 12 and 14. It is left out in the translation of 33:15. The plural in 7:21 is translated with τοῖς λοιμοῖς. It is clear that the translation with ἀσεβής is used only in Ezekiel 33. In some of the instances ἄνομος occurs as a variant. This happens in 33:8 (mainly in the Alexandrian group), 33:9 (mainly Lucianic) and 33:12. In the first instance in verse 11, ἁμαρτωλος is used by among others witnesses from the Alexandrian group, while some witnesses use the demonstrative instead of the second occurrence. Throughout, Papyrus 967 agrees with B and the text as reconstructed by Ziegler.

Related to this is the translation of another word used for iniquity, namely עָוֶל. This word occurs nine times in Ezekiel and is not used consistently. The following translation equivalents occur: παράπτωμα (3:20, 18:26 – twice), ἀδικία (18:8, 24, 33:13), ἀνομία (33:13, 18) and ἄδικος (33:15). Another word that should be taken into consideration is רֶשַׁע. It occurs four times in Ezekiel and is translated by ἄνομος (7:11) and by ἀνομία, (3:19, 33:12). It is not translated in 31:11. It could be that these renderings influenced the choice of ἀσεβής in Ezekiel 18, instead of ἄνομος.

At the end of verse 12, Papyrus 967 agrees with B and Coptic in not having something that agrees with the last three words of the Masoretic text. On the other hand, many of the witnesses include an addition, not always in agreement with the Masoretic Text. These variants will be discussed in the next section. Papyrus 967 agrees with the minus in verse 13 as well, where the other witnesses agree with the Masoretic text.

EZEKIEL 33:12-16 IN THE MASORETIC TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

In the table below the reading of Ziegler and the Masoretic Text will be given.

Verse	Ziegler	Masoretic Text
12	εἰπὸν πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου Δικαιοσύνη δικαίου οὐ μὴ ἐξέληται αὐτὸν ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ πλανηθῇ, καὶ ἀνομία ἀσεβοῦς οὐ μὴ κακώσῃ αὐτὸν ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποστρέψῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας αὐτοῦ· καὶ δίκαιος οὐ μὴ δύνηται σωθῆναι	וְאַתָּ֣ה בֶן־אָדָ֗ם אֱמֹ֤ר אֶל־בְּנֵֽי־עַמְּךָ֙ צִדְקַ֣ת הַצַּדִּ֔יק לֹ֤א תַצִּילֶ֙נּוּ֙ בְּי֣וֹם פִּשְׁע֔וֹ וְרִשְׁעַ֤ת הָֽרָשָׁע֙ לֹֽא־יִכָּ֣שֶׁל בָּ֔הּ בְּי֖וֹם שׁוּב֣וֹ מֵֽרִשְׁע֑וֹ וְצַדִּ֗יק לֹ֥א יוּכַ֛ל לִֽחְי֥וֹת בָּ֖הּ בְּי֥וֹם חֲטֹאתֽוֹ׃
13	ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν με τῷ δικαίῳ Οὗτος πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσῃ ἀνομίαν, πᾶσαι αἱ δικαιοσύναι αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ ἀναμνησθῶσιν· ἐν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ᾗ ἐποίησεν, ἐν αὐτῇ ἀποθανεῖται	בְּאָמְרִ֤י לַצַּדִּיק֙ חָיֹ֣ה יִֽחְיֶ֔ה וְהֽוּא־בָטַ֥ח עַל־צִדְקָת֖וֹ וְעָ֣שָׂה עָ֑וֶל כָּל־צִדְקֹתָיו֙ לֹ֣א תִזָּכַ֔רְנָה וּבְעַוְל֥וֹ אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂ֖ה בּ֥וֹ יָמֽוּת׃
14	καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν με τῷ ἀσεβεῖ Θανάτῳ θανατωθήσῃ, καὶ ἀποστρέψῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιήσῃ κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην	וּבְאָמְרִ֥י לָֽרָשָׁ֖ע מ֣וֹת תָּמ֑וּת וְשָׁ֣ב מֵֽחַטָּאת֔וֹ וְעָשָׂ֥ה מִשְׁפָּ֖ט וּצְדָקָֽה׃
15	καὶ ἐνεχύρασμα ἀποδῷ καὶ ἅρπαγμα ἀποτείσῃ, ἐν προστάγμασι ζωῆς διαπορεύηται τοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι ἄδικον, ζωῇ ζήσεται καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ	חֲבֹ֨ל יָשִׁ֤יב רָשָׁע֙ גְּזֵלָ֣ה יְשַׁלֵּ֔ם בְּחֻקּ֤וֹת הַֽחַיִּים֙ הָלַ֔ךְ לְבִלְתִּ֖י עֲשׂ֣וֹת עָ֑וֶל חָי֥וֹ יִֽחְיֶ֖ה לֹ֥א יָמֽוּת׃
16	πᾶσαι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτοῦ, ἃς ἥμαρτεν, οὐ μὴ ἀναμνησθῶσιν· ὅτι κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐποίησεν, ἐν αὐτοῖς ζήσεται	כָּל־חַטֹּאתָיו֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר חָטָ֔א לֹ֥א תִזָּכַ֖רְנָה ל֑וֹ מִשְׁפָּ֧ט וּצְדָקָ֛ה עָשָׂ֖ה חָי֥וֹ יִֽחְיֶֽה׃

The translation of this passage in the Septuagint is quite literal, translating the Hebrew word for word, with some free semantic renderings, such as at the end of verse 12 ("to save oneself" for "to live").

There are a number of instances where the Masoretic text is longer than the original Greek text. In verse 12, the Hebrew starts with the common address

וְאַתָּה בֶן־אָדָ֫ם. This is normally translated by και συ υιε ανθρωπου. This reading is added to all the other witnesses, except the group of B (B, 967, Coptic) and two witnesses of the Alexandrian group (239 and 306). This introduction appears in the Masoretic Text in 33:7, 10 and 12 and it is to be expected in verse 12 as well. The testimony of the group of B indicates, however, that this introduction was not in the original Greek. This variant was discussed above in more detail.

The last three words of verse 12 are not in B, Papyrus 967 or the Coptic. Ziegler accepts this shorter reading as the original Greek. It is added in all the other Greek witnesses, although not exactly in the same way in the Lucianic and hexaplaric witnesses. Again, the words are expected, as a parallel to the similar phrase in the first half of the verse, so that the shorter reading must be regarded as original. However, the Greek has a different reading for the preceding section as well, namely that the righteous will not be able to save himself. Zimmerli (1983:181) does not think that his own could have been the reading of the original text, but does not discuss the reading in detail. Cornill also regarded the reading of the Greek in this instance as not original (1886:394). Cooke regards the reading of the Septuagint as a simplification of the Hebrew (1970:370). The shorter reading of the original Greek is thus not without problems in its relationship to its *Vorlage*, but must still be regarded as the original Greek, even if it simplified its *Vorlage*.

In verse 13, the words חָיֹה יִחְיֶה do not appear in B, Papyrus 967, Q, 407 and the Coptic, but are added in the other witnesses. It is interesting to note that two hexaplaric manuscripts agree with the group of B in this instance. Both Zimmerli (1983:181) and Cornill (1886:394) regard the omission as an error.

In verse 15, the word רָשָׁע is omitted by most of the Greek witnesses, with the exception of the Lucianic group. Zimmerli (1983:182) and Cornill (1886) want to omit it from the Hebrew as well. It was clearly not part of the original Greek.

In verse 16, the preposition ל plus suffix is not translated by the original Greek, but is added by many witnesses from the Lucianic and Hexaplaric groups.

It is thus clear that many of the minuses of the original Greek were added in the various recensions of the Greek text. The original Greek was a shorter text, witnessed by especially B and Papyrus 967.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has indicated a number of cases where the reading of the original Greek can be reconstructed differently from Ziegler's work. These are:

- In verses 13 and 14 ἐν τῷ εἶπαί instead of ἐν τῷ εἶπεῖν;
- the two optatives in verse 15; and
- προσταγματι for προστάγμασι in verse 15.

In other instances, the reading of Papyrus 967 frequently supports the choice made by Ziegler on account of B and some other witnesses. The original Greek of this passage reflects a shorter text than the Masoretic Text, as is frequently the case in Ezekiel. In the later recensions of the Greek, the text was edited to bring it in line with the Masoretic text. In this regard, some influence of the parallel passage in Ezekiel 18 may have played a minor role.

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