Croatian Slavonic Translations of Isaiah and the "Telephone Game" Andrew R. Corin

The issue addressed in this celebratory essay is the relevance of the Hebrew original to the analysis of Slavonic translations, from Greek and Latin, of Hebrew Biblical texts. One central conclusion will be that it is not merely the Hebrew text that is relevant, but also its interpretive tradition. This is true even when (as is usually the case) a Greek and/or Latin translation intervenes between the original and the Slavonic text, and even if no striking circumstance suggests the need to consult the Hebrew original.

1. Introduction

In the analysis of Biblical translations from Hebrew directly into a second language, attention is due both to the Hebrew text and its interpretive framework, as there are numerous locations in which even the simple reading of the text is clarified by an interpretive tradition. The analyst of a Slavonic version, however, might assume that interpretation of the Hebrew text relevant to translation had been addressed sufficiently in an intervening Greek or Latin version from which the Slavic translator had worked. Yet, to a greater or lesser extent, the Hebrew text and its interpretation remain relevant to the analysis of indirect renderings into Slavonic through a Greek or Latin intermediary. In this essay, I will illustrate this relevance on the basis of a short excerpt from Isaiah found in the Croatian Church Slavonic missals.

2. Versions of Croatian Church Slavonic (CCS) Liturgical Texts

In the analysis of Biblical translations found in CCS liturgical codices, it has become customary to distinguish between an A version (older, redacted probably in the 2nd quarter of the 13th century) and a younger B version (Corin 1991). The A version is typically closer to the Greek from which it was originally translated, with a smaller number of adaptations toward the Vulgate (V). The B version, in contrast, typically shows greater adaptation toward V, though this pattern does not hold in regard to every detail. There may be a distinct pairing of A and B versions in each of the two major liturgical books—the missal and the breviary. The various versions (A and B; missal

and breviary) may show complex patterns of development over time, including contamination among the versions and further adaptation toward V.

3. Relevance of the Hebrew Text (H)

Analysts of Slavonic Biblical texts typically refer to H when circumstances suggest the need. Investigators of the East Slavonic book of Esther, for example, obviously examined H in their attempt to determine whether a Greek version interceded between the original and the Slavonic translation (Lunt & Taube). An example of a different nature arose in regard to the book of Jonah (Corin 2002). The CCS versions were translated from the Septuagint (S) and subsequently corrected against V. Yet recourse to H proved necessary to resolve an anomaly, in verse 3:3 of the A version of the missal, which cannot be explained by reference to internal developments within the Slavonic text, S or V. The H wording is itself problematical, and has been the subject of exegesis. It would appear that one 12th-13th century Jewish interpretation of the phrase came to be reflected in the literal wording of the missal's A version, just as occurred later in the King James version (KJ, English translation from the original completed in 1611). However, where there is no such outstanding circumstance, it is a common practice to restrict analysis to the immediate Greek and/or Latin textual antecedents of a Slavonic version.

Still, despite its usually indirect relationship to them, H remains relevant, on general grounds, to analysis of the Slavonic versions, if only because H can never have been entirely without relevance to the producers and readers of those versions. Since reliance on translation is predicated on the belief that the translation adequately transmits the content of the original, the question of just what that original looked like and what issues it presented must have arisen in the minds of medieval Slavic translators, redactors and readers on numerous occasions. From time to time, this question must inevitably have surfaced in a form relevant to the redaction of Slavonic textual versions, especially when difficulties in the text could not be fully resolved by reference to available Greek or Latin versions. While this question might have been idle in times in which Christian scholarship lacked access to the original texts or the linguistic proficiency necessary for their use, the relevant knowledge did develop over time. In Paris, this process was underway in the 12th and 13th centuries (Corin 2002), which was early enough for Christian interest in the Hebrew text of Jonah 3:3 to find reflection in the A version of the CCS missal.

On a second general ground, reference to H allows analysts to view the Slavonic versions in the broader perspective of the overall development of the

text. Through H we can gauge, in fect—gradual divergence from t translations. The scholarly literate translations as being "faithful" to sense in which this can ever be en from H, as will be illustrated below

A third basis for the relevant meaning during the translation protect on the part of the earliest transvere in part interpretive, rather that terpretive translation can be obsertintention of the translators to prese

Yet a fourth general ground f rives from the perspective gained l per se of the text, but also the role of functional role. The language and dependent of one another. To retur nah plays a prominent role in Jewi community during the afternoon 9 ration of the theme of repentance cussed within the community durir to it. One aspect that is often discus it is precisely in the expression of the anomalous wording occurs in H (missal). It was therefore inevitable of exegesis. An excerpt from Jonah thus gained elevated prominence in role of Jonah in Jewish liturgy that in the Hebrew text would necessari including some who, following brought their ideas to bear in a man in use in Christian communities.

¹ The difficulty concerns the description of the size of the city of Nineveh (Η בּריבְּדוֹלָה). In the translations, this is rendered: S πόλις μεγάλη τῷ θεῷ; V civitas magna Dei; A grad' veli zĕlo; B grad' velik'; KJ an exceeding great city.

² "Telephone game" is a well-known message during indirect transmission. It whispers a brief message to a second per a third person, etc. By the time the message from its original version, even if participal message.

³ Lunt and Taube, for example (1994: 34 "Every other book of the Hebrew Bible | has its faithful rendering (at least one, of generally (1994: 350) that "It is also a con reproduce the Greek faithfully."

of development over time, inad further adaptation toward V.

refer to H when circumstances avonic book of Esther, for examt to determine whether a Greek the Slavonic translation (Lunt & se in regard to the book of Jonah ited from the Septuagint (S) and rse to H proved necessary to reon of the missal, which cannot be ents within the Slavonic text, S or I has been the subject of exegesis. ry Jewish interpretation of the ording of the missal's A version, ion (KJ, English translation from where there is no such outstandrestrict analysis to the immediate lavonic version.

ship to them, H remains relevant, ic versions, if only because H can to the producers and readers of s predicated on the belief that the t of the original, the question of at issues it presented must have slators, redactors and readers on is question must inevitably have of Slavonic textual versions, espebe fully resolved by reference to question might have been idle in access to the original texts or the the relevant knowledge did deunderway in the 12th and 13th ough for Christian interest in the the A version of the CCS missal. to H allows analysts to view the of the overall development of the

ize of the city of Nineveh (Η קיר-גדוֹלָה ώλις μεγάλη τῷ θεῷ; V civitas magna great city. text. Through H we can gauge, *inter alia*, the extent of "telephone game"² effect—gradual divergence from the original over the course of successive translations. The scholarly literature is replete with references to particular translations as being "faithful" to their original, 3 yet there is no meaningful sense in which this can ever be entirely true, even in the S and V translations from H, as will be illustrated below.

A third basis for the relevance of H, distinct from accidental drift of meaning during the translation process, stems from conscious shaping of the text on the part of the earliest translators, through translation techniques that were in part interpretive, rather than literal. Among the ancient versions, interpretive translation can be observed even in S and V, despite the apparent intention of the translators to preserve meaning, rather than elaborate upon it.

Yet a fourth general ground for recourse to H in scholarly analysis derives from the perspective gained by understanding not merely the language per se of the text, but also the role of the text in the milieus in which it played a functional role. The language and function of the text are not, ultimately, independent of one another. To return to the previous example, the book of Jonah plays a prominent role in Jewish liturgy. It is read in full to the gathered community during the afternoon service of Yom Kippur, to which its exploration of the theme of repentance is uniquely suited. The text is often discussed within the community during Yom Kippur and in the days leading up to it. One aspect that is often discussed is the size of the city of Nineveh, and it is precisely in the expression of this size and its significance that seemingly anomalous wording occurs in H (and, subsequently, version A of the CCS missal). It was therefore inevitable that this location would become the topic of exegesis. An excerpt from Jonah was read by Catholics during Lent, and thus gained elevated prominence in the lectionary. Yet it is by considering the role of Jonah in Jewish liturgy that we come to understand why this location in the Hebrew text would necessarily draw the attention of Jewish scholars, including some who, following conversion to Christianity, might have brought their ideas to bear in a manner that could affect the versions of Jonah in use in Christian communities.

² "Telephone game" is a well-known technique for demonstrating distortion of a message during indirect transmission. It is played by a circle of people. One person whispers a brief message to a second person, who then whispers the same message to a third person, etc. By the time the message comes full circle, it may differ significantly from its original version, even if participants attempt to faithfully transmit the original message.

³ Lunt and Taube, for example (1994: 347), report a claim by Charles C. Torrey that "Every other book of the Hebrew Bible [other than Esther, AC], whatever its nature, has its faithful rendering (at least one, often several) in Greek." They go on to remark generally (1994: 350) that "It is also a commonplace that Slavonic translations usually reproduce the Greek faithfully."

It stands to reason that these same general considerations would hold true in regard to texts that, on the surface, present no such striking anomaly as that encountered in verse 3:3 of Jonah, or striking circumstance such as the apparent absence of a Greek translation intervening between the Hebrew and the Slavonic versions of the book of Esther.

The following brief notes concern one such passage in which there is no glaring anomaly that cries out for examination of the Hebrew original. Yet an examination of H reveals issues relevant to an understanding of the CCS versions, and thus allows for a fuller appreciation of the development of the Slavonic text and its place in the overall textual history of Isaiah. The issues that arise include interpretive (non-literal) Greek and Latin renderings, and a number of seemingly minor discrepancies between the simple reading H and the translations that nevertheless contribute to a gradual "telephone game" effect. These include at least one instance that may have originated through instability in H itself.

4. Isaiah 1:16-20: Functional Role of the Text

Portions of the first chapter of Isaiah are read in both the Jewish Sabbath morning liturgy and Catholic liturgy of the Mass.⁴ In the Jewish liturgy, verses 1–27 are read as the haftarah (supplementary reading from the prophets) that accompanies the first portion of the book of Deuteronomy. In the Slavonic Catholic liturgy of the 13th–15th centuries, Isaiah 1:16–20 was read late in the Lenten season. In both liturgies, these verses were read in a period of the year laden with expectation not without parallel in its factual basis, yet very different in its significance and the emotions that it evoked.

In the Jewish liturgy, this haftarah is one of three read during the period of grief leading up to the anniversary of the destruction of the First and Second Temple. These haftarot (pl. of haftarah) are referred to collectively as the haftarot of affliction, recalling the iniquities that resulted in the destruction of the Temple and the exile that followed. Each, however, concludes on a note of consolation, promising that the approaching destruction was not to be final and eternal, and that a time of consolation would ultimately follow. The prophecy of Isaiah in Chapter 1 expresses an offer of cleansing and redemption also in its verses 16–20, in addition to the promise of ultimate rebuilding and redemption in verses 26–27.

Isaiah 1:16–20 are the same five verses from Chapter 1 that were read in the Slavonic Catholic liturgy during Lent. For Catholics, this is also a period in which grief over imminent loss is mixed with the expectation of future re-

demption, but during which the holiday soon to follow and its ce verses thus had elevated visibil drama of their expression of corposed to the harsh rebuke contain pending calamity which they her full of blood," while verse 1:21 or harlot ..."

The message of these five we simple metonymy accessible to list sophisticated symbolism, allusion tract from the immediacy of its at the attention of the simple as we that its prominence would offer during the process of translation of the passage, there are multip during the translation process the or interpretive translation.

5. Original Text and Translations o

Isaiah 1:16–20 appears in CCS 1:16–19 appear in missals contain and KJ,⁶ are as follows:

A (based on Ill4):

16 Se glagolet' gospodi, izmi duši vaših' i zilač pomišlenič vaših' 17 i učite se dobro i suděte siru opravděte vdov gospodi. Ače budut' grěsi va budut' ěko črivleni, ěko vlin vičnete me blagač zemlskač s vičnete me oružie počst' vi us

⁴ I leave aside on this occasion the development of Isaiah in the Orthodox Slavonic traditions (on which a significant literature exists), as well as the more extensive readings from Isaiah, including Chapter 1, which are presented serially in some of the CCS breviaries for reading during the Advent season.

⁵ An inventory and description of the ⁶ Readings from KJ have been inclu language glosses for the readings independent translation from H din available at the time of its compilation comparison with A, B, S, and V.

eneral considerations would hold present no such striking anomaly r striking circumstance such as the ervening between the Hebrew and

such passage in which there is no ion of the Hebrew original. Yet an to an understanding of the CCS eciation of the development of the extual history of Isaiah. The issues Greek and Latin renderings, and a between the simple reading H and te to a gradual "telephone game" that may have originated through

read in both the Jewish Sabbath the Mass.⁴ In the Jewish liturgy, ementary reading from the prophthe book of Deuteronomy. In the centuries, Isaiah 1:16–20 was read these verses were read in a period to parallel in its factual basis, yet oftions that it evoked.

ne of three read during the period ne destruction of the First and Secn) are referred to collectively as the s that resulted in the destruction of th, however, concludes on a note of ng destruction was not to be final ion would ultimately follow. The an offer of cleansing and redempthe promise of ultimate rebuilding

from Chapter 1 that were read in For Catholics, this is also a period with the expectation of future re-

ent of Isaiah in the Orthodox Slavonic exists), as well as the more extensive th are presented serially in some of the eason. demption, but during which the community could look forward to the Easter holiday soon to follow and its celebration of the resurrection. While these five verses thus had elevated visibility in the Slavonic Catholic liturgy, the full drama of their expression of consolation emerges only in relief, when juxtaposed to the harsh rebuke contained in the surrounding passages and the impending calamity which they heralded. Verse 1:15 concludes "Your hands are full of blood," while verse 1:21 continues "How the faithful city has become a harlot ..."

The message of these five verses is expressed in language that employs simple metonymy accessible to listeners of minimal education, and is bereft of sophisticated symbolism, allusion and other coded meaning that would detract from the immediacy of its appeal. This is thus a text which could hold the attention of the simple as well as the learned. One might expect, in turn, that its prominence would offer some degree of protection to its integrity during the process of translation. Yet, despite this prominence and the brevity of the passage, there are multiple locations in which the text has "drifted" during the translation process through unintentional "telephone game" effect or interpretive translation.

5. Original Text and Translations of Isaiah 1:16-20

Isaiah 1:16–20 appears in CCS missals containing version A, while verses 1:16–19 appear in missals containing version B.⁵ The A and B versions, H, S, V and KJ,⁶ are as follows:

A (based on Ill4):

16 Se glagolet' gospodı, izmiite se čisti buděte. Otiměte lukavstvie ot duši vaših' i zilaě pomišleniě vaša ot očiju moeju. Ostaněte se ot zlobi vaših' 17 i učite se dobro tvoriti. Ičěte suda izbavěte obidimago, suděte siru opravděte vdovicu. 18 Priděte i obličěte me glagoleti gospodi. Aĉe budut' grěsi vaši ěko bročni, ěko sněg' obělějut'. Aĉe li budut' ěko črivleni, ěko vlina obělějut'. 19 Aĉe vshoĉete i poslušati vičnete me blagaě zemlskaě sněste. 20 Aĉe li ne vshoĉete i neposlušati vičnete me oružie poěst' vi usta že gospodna se glagolaše.

⁵ An inventory and description of these manuscripts can be found in Corin 1991.

⁶ Readings from KJ have been included in this essay primarily to serve as English language glosses for the readings from A, B, S, V, and H. Nevertheless, as an independent translation from H directly into English, utilizing all of the resources available at the time of its compilation (1604–11), it provides an additional basis for comparison with A, B, S, and V.

B (based on Novak):

16 Se glagoleti gospodi bogi omiite se i čisti budete. Otimite zlomišleniě vaša ot očiju moeju. Ostanite se zla tvoriti 17 i učite se dobro tvoriti. Iĉite suda prava pomozite pognetenomu. Sudite siroti opravdaite v'dovicu. 18 Pridite i obličite me glagoleti gospodi. Aĉe buduti gresi vaši eko broĉni, eko sneg' obelejuti. I aĉe buduti eko čr'vleni eko vl'na bela obelejuti. 19 Aĉe vshoĉete i vsposlušaete me (Novak: "vsposlušaete me" corrected to "vshoĉete (i) vsposlušaete me"; Berlin, Ill8, LjI: Aĉe v'shoĉete pos'lušati me; VbI follows version A) blaga zemlskae sniste. Reče gospodi vsemogi.

H (following HUB, with cantillation omitted):

16 הַחַצוּ הָזָכּוּ הָסִירוּ רֹ עַ מַעַּלְלֵיכָם מָנְגָּד עִינֶי חָלְוֹּ הָרַעֵּי. 17 לְמְדוּ הַיְטַב דְּרְשׁוּ מְשְׁפְּט אֲשְׁרוּ חָמְאֹיְכָם כָּשְׁנִים בַּשְּׁנִים בַשְּׁלֶג חָמֹן שְׁפְטוּ יַחוֹם רִיבוּ אַלְמֶנֶה: 18 לְכוּרְגָא וְנִנְּכְחָה יֹ אמֵר יִי אָם־יִהְיוּ חָטָאִיכָם כַּשְּׁנִים בַּשְּׁלֵג יַלְפִּינוּ אָם־יַאָּדִימוּ כַּתּוֹלֶע בַּצֶּמֶר יִהְיוּ: 19 אָם־תֹּאבוּ וּשְׁמֵעְהָם טוּב הָאָרֶץ תֹ אַכֵּלוּ: 20 אָם־תּמָאנוּ וּמְרִיתָם חָרֶב תִּאָבֶּלוֹ כִּי פִּי יִי דָּבַּר:

S (following SG):

16 λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθε, ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου, παύσασθε ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν, 17 μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν, ἐκζητήσατε κρίσιν, ὁύσασθε ἀδικούμενον, κρίνατε ὀρφανῷ καὶ δικαιώσατε χήραν · 18 καὶ δεῦτε καὶ διελεγχθῶμεν, λέγει κύριος, καὶ ἐὰν ἀσιν αἱ ἀμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικοῦν, ὡς χιόνα λευκανῷ, ἐὰν δὲ ἀσιν ὡς κόκκινον, ὡς ἔριον λευκανῷ. 19 καὶ ἐὰν θέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσητέ μου, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε · 20 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλητε μηδὲ εἰσακούσητέ μου, μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται · τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα.

V (following BS, with capitalization and punctuation added):

16 Lavamini, mundi estote; auferte malum cogitationum vestrarum ab oculis meis: quiescite agere perverse, 17 discite benefacere; quaerite iudicium, subvenite oppresso, iudicate pupillo, defendite viduam. 18 Et venite, et arguite me, dicit Dominus. Si fuerint peccata vestra ut coccinum, quasi nix dealbabuntur; et si fuerint rubra quasi vermiculus, velut lana (alba) erunt. 19 Si volueritis, et audieritis me, bona terrae comeditis. 20 Quod si nolueritis, et me provocaveritis ad iracundiam, gladius devorabit vos, quia os Domini locutum est.

KJ:

16 Wash you, make you cleabefore mine eyes; cease to do relieve the oppressed, judge Come now, and let us reasons be as scarlet, they shall like crimson, they shall be a ye shall eat the good of the labe devoured with the sword it.

6. A and B Compared against S, V,

Comparison of the several vacorrespondences:

- **6.1.** Differences between A a from, nor bring it closer to, S, examples CCS forms are given in
- 6.1.1. A lexical or morpholog omiite se (פּנְעָבְיֵי / Lavamini / λούσα ὀρφανῷ / the fatherless); opravděte / plead for).
- 6.1.2. Expression of future to differ: i poslušati vičnete / i v'sposlu / and [be] obedient).
- 6.1.3. The following example added word in B is viewed as bri (υρψφ / iudicium / κρίσιν / judgmen
- et si fuerint rubra / ἐὰν δὲ ἄσιν άν which translates most simply in conditional sentence (cf. verses meaning. KJ offers an interpretive of concessive meaning (though; cf. 1:20). S (ἐὰν δὲ) and V (et si), and each employing a conditional or junction et si, as such, expresses how medieval Croatian readers in

 $^{^7}$ Some manuscripts have a small space between zlo and mišlenie, indicating scribal uncertainty as to the reading of this phrase.

se i čisti budete. Otimite te se zla tvoriti 17 i učite se pognetenomu. Sudite siroti me glagoleti gospodi. Aĉe obělějuti. I aĉe buduti ěko vshoĉete i vsposlušaete me "vshoĉete (i) vsposlušaete išati me; VbI follows version semogi.

ted):

16 קסצו הזכו הסירו ר'ע מעלליכם כ המוץ שפטו יחום ריבו אלמנה: 18 לי ילפינו אם־יאדימו כחולע פצמר יהיז ואם־המאנו ומריסם חרב האכלו כי פי י

ετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ν μου, παύσασθε ἀπὸ τῶν ποιεῖν, ἐκζητήσατε κρίσιν, ῷ καὶ δικαιώσατε χήραν · 18 κύριος, καὶ ἐὰν ὧσιν αἱ α λευκανῶ, ἐὰν δὲ ὧσιν ὡς ἱν θέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσητέ 10 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλητε μηδὲ εται · τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου

punctuation added):

lum cogitationum vestrarum erse, 17 discite benefacere; iudicate pupillo, defendite t Dominus. Si fuerint peccata tur; et si fuerint rubra quasi ii volueritis, et audieritis me, ritis, et me provocaveritis ad os Domini locutum est.

a zlo and mišleniě, indicating scribal

KI:

16 Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil: 17 Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. 18 Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. 19 If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: 20 But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

6. A and B Compared against S, V, H, and KJ

Comparison of the several versions shows, inter alia, the following correspondences:

- **6.1.** Differences between A and B that neither distance one or the other from, nor bring it closer to, S, V or H. These include (in the following examples CCS forms are given in the order A/B):
- 6.1.1. A lexical or morphological difference between A and B: izmiite se / omiite se (אַבָּוֹ / Lavamini / λούσασθε / Wash you); siru / siroti (בּוֹבוֹ / pupillo / ὀψανῷ / the fatherless); opravděte / opravdaite (בְּבַּבוֹ / defendite / καὶ δικαιώσατε / plead for).
- **6.1.2.** Expression of future tense, a feature in which A and B regularly differ: i poslušati vičnete / i v'sposlušaete (פְּמָשְׁיִם / et audieritis / καὶ εἰσακούσητέ / and [be] obedient).
- 6.1.3. The following example may be included in this category, unless the added word in B is viewed as bringing the text closer to V): suda / suda prava (ישָׁשָּׁבָּע / iudicium / κρίσιν / judgment).

V (i aĉe; cf. modern Serbian/Croatian iako "although" vs. i ako "and if" or "even if").

6.3. Verse 1:18: aĉe li / I aĉe (¤κ / Et si / ἐὰν δὲ / though). A second related issue at the same location concerns the syntactic relation between two parallel portions of verse 1:18. The first is expressed in KJ as "though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow," the second as "though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." S, and possibly V (depending on the interpretation of the compound conjunction et si), introduce a paratactic link between the two sentences ($\delta \hat{\epsilon}$, et). This interpretation is supported by the contrast within verse 1:18 ($S \kappa \alpha i \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\alpha} \nu ..., \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\alpha} \nu \delta \dot{\epsilon} ...; V Si ..., et si ...), and the parallel contrast$ between verses 1:19 and 1:20 (S 1:19 καὶ ἐὰν θέλητε ... 1:20 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλητε ...; V 1:19 Si volueritis, ... 1:20 Quod si nolueritis, ...). The explicit paratactic link expressed in S and, arguably, V, was transmitted to A (ace li) and B (i ace), respectively. However clearly this link may seem to be implied by the context. this is nevertheless an interpretive element if introduced into the literal wording of the translation. The standardized Masoretic H, like KJ, expresses no paratactic link, though some H manuscripts (see HUB) do have a conjunction: אָם "and if".

The interpretive translations discussed in sections 6.2 and 6.3 (though the latter could have originated as a variant within H itself), both of which concern the rendering of Hebrew DN, may seem insignificant in their effect. Nevertheless, each contributes to a "telephone game" effect in the transmission of the text, through explicit rendering of content (in one case primarily on the part of KJ) felt to be implied in the original text.

- **6.4.** An interpolated conjunction that distances B from A, V, S and H, albeit minimally, again through the explicit expression of a paratactic link to the previous clause: *čisti buděte | i čisti buděte | mundi estote |* $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha$ 001 γ éve ϵ 008 | make you clean).
- 6.5. Anomalous readings in V, S, A and B: lukavstvie ot dušī vaših' i zīlaē pomišleniě vaša / zlomišleniě vaša (מַלְלִיכָם / malum cogitationum vestrarum / τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν / the evil of your doings). KJ presents a straightforward word-for word rendering of the singular noun y ֹ¬, the plural noun with 2nd pl. pronominal suffix מַּלְלִיכָם, and the genitive relationship between the two words. However, S, V, A and B depart from this model in regard to lexical meaning, number, or phrase construction, while A presents an interpolation through doubled translation, juxtaposing a translation based on S to one based on V. The simple meaning of מַּלְלִיכָּם is "deeds, doings," as expressed in multiple Biblical locations. In a majority of instances, to be sure words, are rendering an interpretive translation. While based on an troversial interpretive tradition, this nevertheless results in a "telephone game" effect

through elimination of explicit re ence to mental processes. In A achieved through the doubled to readers that distinct contents wen

6.6. i obličěte me / i obličite me and let us reason together). A and l personal pronoun in V, translat reciprocal meaning of argument subjunctive) and KJ, which a cohortative). The chain of transmithe meaning of the original H exp

6.7. učite se dobro tvoriti / učite μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν / Learn to de absolute from the verb שנו" "to be functions, as a syntactic accusati Isaiah 1:17 by Arnold and Choi (I they also note (2003: 77) that certa so naturally and frequently that those most often used in this we might thus be read as meaning "le a reader to expect a reference to ri in study. In fact, it is the adverbia 1:17 by Even-Shoshan in his Conc 1996). This is one of 10 example entry for the adverb ביים adduced in his entry for the verb:

Interpretation of הַיֹּטָב is not the the imperative למדו varies between on the vowel pointing. The pointithis is the imperative qal form meaform meaning "teach," which wou

The two potential ambiguities tention of the commentators who dard editions of the Mikra'ot G Hebrew text and Targum (Arama form לְּמְדֹּיִ, Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki to explain this parsing. In regard t complement or modifier of the ve the proper reading at this location In their view, the proper reading is A, B, S, V, KJ. While all of these tra

although" vs. i ako "and if" or

 $rv \delta \dot{\epsilon} / though)$. A second related tic relation between two parallel in KJ as "though your sins be as id as "though they be red like crimdepending on the interpretation ce a paratactic link between the supported by the contrast within t si ...), and the parallel contrast θέλητε ... 1:20 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλητε eritis, ...). The explicit paratactic ismitted to A (ace li) and B (i ace), eem to be implied by the context, it if introduced into the literal Masoretic H, like KJ, expresses iscripts (see HUB) do have a

sections 6.2 and 6.3 (though the within H itself), both of which eem insignificant in their effect. lephone game" effect in the ndering of content (in one case in the original text.

tances B from A, V, S and H, alression of a paratactic link to the (1007 / mundi estote / καθαροί

B: lukavstvie ot duši vaših' i zilaě / malum cogitationum vestrarum / wil of your doings). KJ presents a the singular noun y, the plural and the genitive relationship and B depart from this model in e construction, while A presents , juxtaposing a translation based g of מְצְלְלִים is "deeds, doings," as majority of instances, to be sure, ting evil intent. S and V, in other ion. While based on an troversial Its in a "telephone game" effect through elimination of explicit reference to "deeds" in favor of explicit reference to mental processes. In A, a further "telephone game" effect was achieved through the doubled translation, which would have suggested to readers that distinct contents were transmitted through each of the phrases.

6.6. i obličete me / i obličite me (ΠΕΡΙΙ) / et arguite me / καὶ διελεγχθώμεν / and let us reason together). A and B agree with the transitive construction and personal pronoun in V, translatable as "accuse me." They differ from the reciprocal meaning of argumentation expressed by S (1st pl. aorist active subjunctive) and KJ, which more directly translate H וַנְּכְּהָה (1st pl. cohortative). The chain of transmission has thus resulted in a distancing from the meaning of the original H expression, both lexically and syntactically.

6.7. učite se dobro tvoriti / učite se dobro tvoriti (יְמְדוּ הַיְטָב / Discite benefacere / μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν / Learn to do well). Hebrew στο is, in form, an infinitive absolute from the verb "to be/do good," and can be used, among other functions, as a syntactic accusative. This is the function ascribed to הַיֶּעֶב in Isaiah 1:17 by Arnold and Choi (2003: 74), in line with A, B, V, S and KJ. Yet they also note (2003: 77) that certain infinitive absolutes were used for manner so naturally and frequently that they came to be treated as adverbs, one of those most often used in this way being היטב (well, thoroughly). לְמְדוּ הַיטַב might thus be read as meaning "learn well," although the context would lead a reader to expect a reference to righteous behavior rather than to proficiency in study. In fact, it is the adverbial meaning that is attributed to הַיָּעָב in Isaiah 1:17 by Even-Shoshan in his Concordance of the Hebrew Bible (Even-Shosan 1996). This is one of 10 examples adduced by Even-Shoshan in his lexical entry for the adverb קיטב, as opposed to just three instances of the same form adduced in his entry for the verb יטב.

Interpretation of הַּיְטָב is not the only complexity in this phrase. Parsing of the imperative 'm' varies between "learn" (gal) and "teach" (piel) depending on the vowel pointing. The pointing in the Masoretic text indicates that this is the imperative qal form meaning "learn," rather than the causative piel form meaning "teach," which would be pointed יְלְמְדוּ 2.

The two potential ambiguities at this location inevitably attracted the attention of the commentators whose interpretations are reproduced in standard editions of the Mikra'ot Gedolot ("Rabbinic Bible") along with the Hebrew text and Targum (Aramaic translation). In regard to the imperative form לְּקְדֹּל, Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki (Rashi) composed an interpretive passage to explain this parsing. In regard to the form קיטב, which represents either the complement or modifier of the verb, the commentaries appear to agree that the proper reading at this location is as an infinitive with accusative meaning. In their view, the proper reading is "learn to do good (deeds)," analogously to A, B, S, V, KJ. While all of these translations agree with one another and with these interpretations, what is lost is the surface ambiguity of the original H. The uniformity of the translations erases any clue to the difficulties.

6.8. ĕko vlma obělějut' / ĕko vl'na běla obělějutı (אָבֶּי / velut lana (alba) erunt / ὡς ἔριον λευκανῶ / they shall be as wool). KJ renders a word-for-word translation. A large part of the V stemma (see BS), including, apparently, that relevant to the development of A and B, interpolates an explicit reference to the concept of "whiteness" through the adjective alba, thus metonymically rendering the sense of "cleanliness" or "purity" that is implicit in H.⁸ S interpolates an analogous explicit reference to "whiteness" through the verb λευκανῶ.

What appears to have occurred is thus as follows. The compilers of S rendered this location in accordance with interpretive tradition, rather than the literal text of H. One branch of the V stemma introduced an analogous interpretive wording, utilizing an adjective rather than a verb. Both S and V went beyond the interpretive rendering of the Targum, adding a layer of metonymy through reference to "whiteness" (though, to be sure, the applicability of this metonymy was understood even in the Hebrew interpretive tradition⁹). The compilers of A retained a word-for-word translation from S. B, in turn, retained the wording of A, but added to it a translation of the interpolation contained in V ($alba > b\check{e}la$). B thus combines two distinct interpretive interpolations, one deriving from S and the other from V, of a single meaning that had not been expressed explicitly in H.

The account of this location is far from complete. *Inter alia*, it leaves entirely out of consideration the previous stages of Slavonic translation that were utilized by the compilers of A. Yet even such an abbreviated and selective exploration suggests multiple aspects of the divergence of the text from its original.

7. Conclusions

The preceding comments, albeit selective and tentative, provide support for the main thesis of this paper and the four aspects of relevance of H identified in the introduction. The main thesis, to reiterate, is the claim that the Hebrew original remains relevant to an understanding of Slavonic Biblical translations even when there exist intervening Greek and/or Latin translations, and even in the absence of striking anomalies that cannot be explained by reference to internal processes or to the intervening Greek or Latin translations.

Comparison of A and B aga of interpretive translation and these present seemingly insign translation, while others appear they present a significant "telepeven though most instances of of translators' attempts to present elaborate upon it. In at least on inevitably out of ambiguity in whether translating into Greek ated an ambiguous location in the V, and through them A and B, tradition concerning this location

Ultimately, there is no mear cal book can render the content out deviation). "Telephone gam texts, or indeed any text contain ties, or corruption. The only way and extent of this effect is by refition, and to the functional role of has circulated. This is true even Hebrew into Slavonic through a

Bibliography

Arnold, Bill T. and John H. Chu Cambridge: Cambridge Univ [HUB] (1975) *The Book of Isaiah*. I H., ed. Jerusalem: The Magna ersity Bible.)

Even-Shoshan, Avraham. (1996) Khetuvim. Jerusalem: Ķiryat S

⁸ This is expressed explicitly in the interpretive translation of the Targum by the adjective בְּעָבֵּר נְבֶּי יְרְנוֹן.

⁹ This is indicated by the commentary of Rabbi David Kimchi reproduced in standard editions of the *Mikṛa'ot Gedolot*.

ace ambiguity of the original H. clue to the difficulties.

lějuti (יְּהָיּ / velut lana (alba) ool). KJ renders a word-for-word e BS), including, apparently, that erpolates an explicit reference to jective alba, thus metonymically ity" that is implicit in H.⁸ S inter-"whiteness" through the verb

s follows. The compilers of S renpretive tradition, rather than the la introduced an analogous interr than a verb. Both S and V went argum, adding a layer of metongh, to be sure, the applicability of Hebrew interpretive tradition⁹). Ind translation from S. B, in turn, a translation of the interpolation two distinct interpretive interpofrom V, of a single meaning that

complete. Inter alia, it leaves enages of Slavonic translation that en such an abbreviated and selection the divergence of the text from

nd tentative, provide support for spects of relevance of H identified erate, is the claim that the Hebrew ng of Slavonic Biblical translations nd/or Latin translations, and even mnot be explained by reference to ek or Latin translations.

we translation of the Targum by the

David Kimchi reproduced in standard

Comparison of A and B against H, S, V, and KJ reveals multiple instances of interpretive translation and accidental drift. Taken individually, some of these present seemingly insignificant departures from a simple or literal translation, while others appear significant even individually. Taken together, they present a significant "telephone game" effect in the history of the text, even though most instances of interpretive translation presumably arose out of translators' attempts to preserve the meaning of the original, rather than to elaborate upon it. In at least one instance (6.7), interpretive translation arose inevitably out of ambiguity in H. Whatever solution a translator chose, whether translating into Greek or Latin, or Slavonic, it inevitably disambiguated an ambiguous location in the literal wording of H. The solutions in S and V, and through them A and B, appear to rely on an established interpretive tradition concerning this location.

Ultimately, there is no meaningful sense in which a translation of a Biblical book can render the content of the original faithfully (i.e., fully and without deviation). "Telephone game" effect is a fact of life in translating Biblical texts, or indeed any text containing layered meaning, ambiguity, uncertainties, or corruption. The only way to approach an understanding of the nature and extent of this effect is by reference to the original, to its interpretive tradition, and to the functional role of the text in the communities within which it has circulated. This is true even in the case of texts rendered indirectly from Hebrew into Slavonic through a Greek or Latin intermediary translation.

Defense Language Institute Presidio of Monterey Monterey, California 93944 andrew.corin@us.army.mil

Bibliography

Arnold, Bill T. and John H. Choi. (2003) *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[HUB] (1975) The Book of Isaiah. Part One. Part Two. Goshen-Gottstein, Moshe H., ed. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, Hebrew University. (Hebrew University Bible.)

[BS] (1969) Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatem versionem ad codicum fidem. Liber Isaiae. Rome: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis.

Corin, Andrew R. (1991) The New York Missal: A Paleographic and Phonetic Analysis. Columbus, OH: Slavica.

———. (2002) "Jonah 3, 3: A Reflection of Jewish Exegesis in the Croatian Church Slavonic Missals?" Slavic and East European Journal 46(1): 125–49.

Even-Shoshan, Avraham. (1996) Konkordantsyah hadashah le-Torah, Nevi'im, u-Khetuvim. Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer.

Lunt, Horace G. and Moshe Taube. (1994) "The Slavonic Book of Esther: Translation from Hebrew or Evidence for a Lost Greek Text". The Harvard Theological Review 87(3): 347–62.

—. (1998) The Slavonic Book of Esther. Text, Lexicon, Linguistic Analysis, Problems of Translation. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[SG] (1983) Isaias. 3rd Edition. Joseph Ziegler, ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, 14.)

On Vasilii Aksenov's T

Lis

The critical silence surroundin tion of E.L. Doctorow's Ragtim eign Literature) has contrasted. While the post-Soviet period has as materials that describe the enov's self-described "free" transin Aksenov's oeuvre largely recontextualize Aksenov's transk rial policy toward publishing 1970s, and offer an analysis of emphasizing the implications of the cultural and professional co

For Ragtime, Doctorow de "seeming negation of style" (For tive sentences lacking any quot tor relates the story of America century through the experience tences such as "Teddy Roosev groes" demonstrates how the subjective misrepresentations, or ica's self-conception shifts as the of the novel, such sentences wo translator, and at least one Sow novel's didactic structure, descriptions of the contemporary America" (Zasure)

In this light, Aksenov emer Ragtime, which would appear a ings of this period. After an indifficulty publishing his work lished the fantastical travelogue stop, 1975), the children's novel Which Something Thumps, 1976), 1978), and the short story "Suppublish as a Soviet citizen (Jo

Craig Cravens, Masako U. Fidler, Susan Festschrift for Michael Henry Heim. Bloo