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A Study of Aner and Gune in the Septuagint

A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Faculty of  
Asbury Theological Seminary

in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the Degree  
Master of Divinity

by  
Felix Sung  
August 1988

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Signed Felix Luz

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### I. Background to the Problem

The problem under consideration in this research grows out of the investigation of the Pauline usage of the terms aner and gyne.<sup>1</sup> During a lecture on the practices of Roman household religion, Dr. M. Robert Mulholland suggested that aner and gyne in 1 Tim. 2.8ff are to be understood as designators for "husband" and "wife" rather than as designators for "man" and "woman." It was further suggested that, based on a statistical survey of the usage of these terms in the Pauline corpus, aner and gyne are used as technical terms meaning "husband" and "wife" in the writings of Paul.

If this hypothesis is tenable, it has tremendous implication in terms of translation, theology, and church practice, especially as it relates to the on-going discussion of the role of women in ministry. For instance, if the hypothesis is true, the passages most frequently cited to argue against the ordination of women

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<sup>1</sup> All Greek and Hebrew words referred to in this study are given in transliteration. The transliterations of the various Hebrew terms are taken from the Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, while those for the Greek terms are taken from the Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.

(I Cor. 11.2-16, I Cor. 14.34-35, and I Tim. 2.9ff, hereafter designated the "Problem Passages") are removed from the debate over the role of women in the church and placed in the context of the marital relationship. A summary of the data which raise the hypothesis is given immediately below.

In the Pauline Corpus, the author uses the term aner sixty times. Of these, 16 occur in the Problem Passages. Leaving aside the Problem Passages for the moment, one finds that of the 44 remaining uses, 40 of them occur in contexts which husband/wife relationships are clearly the issue. Of the remaining four usages, two are clearly used in a generic sense, i.e., "humanity" or "person," (Rom. 4.8; Eph. 4.13), one is a quotation from the LXX (Rom. 11.4), and one in which gender may be present (I Cor. 13.11).<sup>2</sup> Statistically, then, outside the Problem Passages, forty of the forty-four, (91 percent) of the Pauline usages of aner are clearly a reference to "husband" as opposed to "man" (a male). In the four remaining cases, none occurs in a context where a generic referent is contextually impossible.

The term gyne is used sixty-four times in the Pauline Epistles, forty-one of which occur outside the Problem Passages. Of these, only two refer unambiguously

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<sup>2</sup> In this passage, aner may be used to designate maturity or adulthood as opposed to immaturity or childhood rather than gender.

to gender (1. Cor. 7.34<sup>3</sup> ; Gal. 4.4). An additional two (1 Cor. 7.14 and Eph. 5.23) are ambiguous: the

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<sup>3</sup> In this passage, one of the gender-specific Pauline uses of gyne, the use of the attributive adjective agamos, "unmarried," to modify the noun gyne may suggest that Paul is using gyne in a non-normative way. That the author highlights the fact that this woman is agamos may indicate that a deviation from normal usage of the term gyne is present here. Indeed, Jeremias suggests that agamos gyne should be seen as a quasi-technical designation for divorced women (see chera in TDNT, vol. 9, p. 452, n. 110).

There is, however, a textual problem related to the text concerning the object of he agamos. If the object is he gyne only (the reading of the UBS text), such could be the case. If, however, the object is he parthenos or if it is both he gyne and he parthenos, the case for gyne being used irregularly in this passage is greatly weakened.

<sup>4</sup> Note that this is the only passage where the term anthropos and gyne occur in the same context. Given the content of what follows, this would be consistent with seeing aner as a designation for "husband" as opposed to "man." It may further suggest that when Paul makes a gender designation he uses the term anthropos rather than aner. This suggestion is supported by the observation that whenever Paul refers to an individual male, he uses a singular form of anthropos, whereas the plural forms of anthropos are used in only in the generic sense of "humanity" or "humankind."

Additionally, there is question as to how haptesthai (pres. mid. inf.) should be translated. The word may be translated "touch," but it may also be translated "take." In the former case, a translation should read, "It is good for a man not to touch a woman"; in the latter, "It is good for a man not to take a wife." The matter is further complicated by the UBS dictionary, in which gynaikos me haptesthai is taken to be an idiom which it translates "not to marry." Note that in 1 Cor. 7.2, the word "man" and "woman" do not occur in the Greek text, but are interpretations of the gender of the Nominative Singular adjective meaning "each one" (hekastos - masculine, hecaste - feminine).

Thus, 1 Cor. 7.1-2 could read: "Now concerning the matters of which you wrote, it is good for a (anthropos) not to take a (gynaikos); but because of immorality, let each one (hekastos - masculine) have his own wife (gynaika) and let each one (hecaste - feminine) have her own husband (andra)." If, however, anthropos, whether singular or plural in form, is taken in a strictly generic



surrounding context suggests the husband/wife relationship though the broader interpretation favors a gender designation. This mean that 37/41, (90.2%) of the uses of the term gyne outside the Problem Passages are clearly references to "wife" as opposed to the gender designation "woman."

The exceptionally high frequency with which aner and gyne are used in to refer to the wife/husband relationship (90+%) is noteworthy. It should be noted further that, outside the problem passages and the marriage relationship, when Paul refers to females, he designates them as parthenoi, cherai, adelphai, etc.<sup>5</sup> It is also noteworthy that the plural gynaikes is never used in the Pauline corpus in a context which is clearly outside the husband-wife relationship. Taken together, these observations raise the hypothesis that aner and gyne are technical terms for partners in a marriage in the Pauline corpus. If this hypothesis can be sustained, the question

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sense (as apparently is done be Jeremias, see TDNT, I, p. 364ff), and the UBS translation of gynaikos me haptesthai can be demonstrated, another translation possibility suggests itself: "it is good that a person not marry, nevertheless ..."

<sup>5</sup> The consistant use of the threefold division parthenoi, gynai, cherai may suggest that these terms may have a quasi-technical sense, in which they designate three distinct, and mutually exclusive groups, namely, women who have never been married, women who are presently married (wives), and women whose husbands have died, leaving them in an unmarried state. Stählin's discussion of the Pauline use of chera in TDNT mentions this possibility (see under word in TDNT, vol. 9, p. 452, esp. n. 110-112).

arises as to whether these terms ought to be translated as "husband" and "wife" rather than "man" and "woman" in their occurrences in the Problem Passages also.

The data on which the "technical term" hypothesis is grounded is, admittedly, weak. Given the inferential nature of the statistical analysis, one cannot base such a hypothesis solely on the statistical data, because alternate hypotheses may be offered which could also explain the data.<sup>6</sup> For instance, one may argue that Paul's use of the terms is too limited by the nature of the questions he is addressing to determine whether these are, in fact, technical terms.

Following this line of reasoning, one may argue that 1) while aner may mean "man" (both in a gender-related sense as well as a generic sense) and "husband", anthropos never designates "husband." Therefore, one may not conclude that the use of aner instead of anthropos is of significance, given the contexts in which aner is found; 2) unlike the word "man," Greek had no separate word for "wife" as opposed to "woman," thereby making it illegitimate to assume that Paul's use of gyne always designates "wife" rather than "woman"; 3) the contexts in which Paul uses gyne and aner outside the Problem Passages

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<sup>6</sup> The potential weakness of such a foundation is well illustrated in the well-known proverb, "There are three types of lies: lies, damn lies, and statistics."

are clearly those of marriage, whereas in the Problem Passages, this is not necessarily the case; 4) the Pauline Epistles are ad hoc letters, with their content being determined by specific questions raised by the receiving churches. Therefore, one can not legitimately infer that the statistical data on the usage of aner and gyne in the Pauline Epistles is indicative of normal Pauline usage of these terms.

How, then, are the statistical data for the usage of the terms aner and gyne in the Pauline Epistles to be interpreted? Is this a phenomenon strictly limited to the Pauline literature, or does one see a trend toward narrowing the semantic range of the terms in other Hellenistic Greek literature also? If such a narrowing of the semantic ranges of aner and gyne is suggested across a range of Hellenistic Greek literature, the hypothesis of a technical or quasi-technical usage of the terms in the Pauline Epistles becomes more plausible. If, on the other hand, no such trend is demonstrable in other literature, the evidence for a technical use in Paul would have to be more rigorously demonstrated.

## II. Statement of the Problem

The problem under consideration in this investigation concerns the use of aner and gyne in the

LXX. Does the use of aner and gyne in the Septuagint (LXX) support a thesis of Pauline technical or quasi-technical use of these terms to mean "husband" and "wife"? One of the focal issues in the investigation is "do aner and gyne show evidence of development which would suggest a narrowing of their respective semantic ranges toward 'husband' and 'wife'."

### III. Justification of the Inquiry

In view of the significance of the hypothesis that Paul uses aner and gyne as technical terms meaning "husband" and "wife" as opposed to "man" and "woman" as it relates issues translation and theology, but especially as it relates to the issue of women in ministry, and in view of the difficulty of grounding such a hypothesis solely on data drawn from inferential statistical analysis of the Pauline literature, it seems imperative that the hypothesis be subjected to further investigation.

If the Pauline usage of aner and gyne do, in fact, indicate that a narrowing of the semantic ranges of the terms occurred, one would expect to find traces of this narrowing by investigating the use of the term in literature written in the period immediately preceding the Pauline ministry. If the terms aner and gyne can be shown to demonstrate a narrowing of their respective semantic

domains across a wide range of Greek literature, whether secular or religious, the hypothesis of technical usage by Paul would be strengthened. Toward this end, an investigation of the use of these terms in the Septuagint (LXX) will be undertaken to determine whether such a narrowing of semantic range for the terms could be found.

### III. Review of Related Literature

A review of the existing literature on the terms aner and gyne revealed that little research has been done on the diachronic development of the terms. The discussion of aner in the Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (TDNT) focuses on the semantic range of the term, both outside the New Testament and in the New Testament. Discussion of possible semantic development, however, is not presented.

A similar situation exists for gyne in TDNT. Again, possible development of the term is passed over in favor of an extended sociological discussion of the role and place of women in the Roman, Greek, Hellenistic, and Judaic world in New Testament times, and the role of women in the early church.

In his commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, C. K. Barrett proposes that gyne should be translated as "wife"

rather than as "woman" in 1 Tim. 2. 9ff.<sup>7</sup> However, he does not indicate why this should be the case, nor does he expand his discussion to the issue of the meaning of gyne in general. When the author of this present work discussed the proposal with Barrett, Barrett confessed that, because of the passage of time, he was no longer certain of the grounds on which he made the proposal, though he supposed that it was on the basis of "the general impression left by certain sociological dynamics" which he saw as important to interpreting the text.<sup>8</sup>

In Die Frau in den paulinischen Briefen, Else Kähler investigates the teaching of Paul regarding women or wives in the "Problem Passages" and the haustafeln. Kähler's investigation, however, focuses on the question of the place and role of women in "der Kirche und in der Gesellschaft"<sup>9</sup> rather than on the meaning of the term Frau in the passages under discussion.

One additional work should be noted. Lis Blauenfeld contributed an essay entitled "Das biblische Wort über Mann und Frau" to Partnerschaft. Unfortunately, the present author has not been able to obtain a copy of the

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<sup>7</sup> C. K. Barrett, The Pastoral Epistles (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> C. K. Barrett, interview with author, 17 April 1988.

<sup>9</sup> Else Kähler, Die Frau in den paulinischen Briefen (Zürich: Gotthelf Verlag, 1960), p. 11.

article, and so he can not comment on the significance of the work.

#### IV. Limitations

This is not an exegetical or hermeneutical investigation. While it is often tempting to attempt to draw out the implications of the hypothesis relative to the interpretation of a particular passage, whether in the LXX or the Pauline Epistles, it must be emphasized that this is a preliminary investigation. Any attempt at exegesis of these passages based solely on the statistical evidence would be incomplete. Adequate exegesis must include the insights of the historical-critical and sociological analyses of the data. Such an attempt lies outside the scope of this investigation and will not be undertaken here.

For the sake of thoroughness it would be ideal to survey a wide range of secular and religious Greek literature, with representative works chosen from the various periods of Greek Literary history. Unfortunately, such an undertaking would expand the investigation well beyond the limitations of time, space, resources, and expertise of the investigator. Hence, the scope of the current investigation is confined to the use of anthropos, aner and gyne in the LXX.

Additionally, it may have been helpful to conduct a parallel investigation of the possible development of the various Hebrew terms for man/husband and woman/wife to see if a narrowing of the semantic field of any of these terms took place. Such an investigation is beyond the expertise of the present investigator, and is left for future study by those qualified to undertake such an investigation. Such discussions of the Hebrew terms which arise in the investigation are drawn primarily from the Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament (TDOT)<sup>10</sup> and the Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament (TWOT).<sup>11</sup>

While many associated philological problems have been encountered in the course of the present study, each of which may have significant bearing on the interpretation of the data, investigation and discussion of these would take one beyond the scope of the present investigation, and must be passed over at this time.

It is recognized that literary form may have had an influence on whether aner or anthropos was used in a particular instance (this would be especially true in poetic literature, where one would expect to find examples

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<sup>10</sup> G. Johanner Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, eds., Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, trans. John T. Willis, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and David E. Green, (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1978).

<sup>11</sup> R. Laird Harriss, Gleason L. Archer, Jr. and Bruce K. Waltke, Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980).



of alternating use of the terms within a chiastic structure); literary form was not factored into the statistical analysis of the use of aner and anthropos.

This investigation is not intended to prove or disprove the hypothesis that the terms aner and gyne are used as technical terms in the Pauline Epistles. This cannot be over-emphasized. This investigation is undertaken to determine whether the use of the terms in the LXX suggests a general narrowing of the semantic ranges of aner and gyne which would suggest a shift toward technical usage in a later period. If such development is hinted at, it would strengthen the case for seeing further development of this trend in Paul; if no such development is suggested, it would weaken the thesis generally, and weigh against a specific Pauline technical usage, but not disprove it.

Finally, this is a preliminary investigation rather than a comprehensive review of the available Biblical data. Given adequate time and resources, one would investigate minutely all 4071 occurrences of these Greek words in the LXX; limitations of time and space dictated the narrowing of the scope of the investigation. The procedures for this narrowing are discussed below.

## V. Research Procedures

Unlike English, which has separate signifiers for the concepts "man" and "husband," Greek has two signifiers for the concept "man" (anthropos and aner), with the latter serving as the signifier for the concept "husband" as well. Because both aner and anthropos are used to translate the the various Hebrew signifiers for the concept "man", investigation of only one Greek signifier in the LXX could skew the analysis and thus result in a faulty conclusion.

The semantic range of aner presented a number of problems. In the LXX, aner is used in five distinct ways:

- 1) with an adjective, to specify a role, e.g., Gen. 49.15 (oi andres geōrgoi), Deu. 2.16 (oi andres oi polemistai), 1 Sam. 17.33 (aner polemistes);
- 2) generically, of a person, whether male or female e.g., Gen. 14.21, Ps. 1.1, Job 14.10, 15.16, Pr. 16.32;
- 3) a man (male) as opposed to a woman, e.g., Lev. 13.29, Lev. 15.18, 1 Sam. 17.24;
- 4) a husband, e.g., Gen. 3.6, 16.3, Pr. 31.11, 23, Hos. 2.4;
- 5) an adult as opposed to a child, e.g., Ex. 10.11, Deu. 31.12.

It is not always clear into which category a particular occurrence falls. For instance, in Leviticus, there is often a section in which aner appears, followed by a section in which both aner and gyne appear. How is

aner to be interpreted in the first case? Is it generic or is it gender-specific? Similarly, when the phrase andres met' autou/auton or andres tes poleōs is used, should andres be understood as gender-specific, "men", or generic, "people"? Finally, in instance where aner occurs as part of a role designation (1), it is sometimes clearly masculine in its referent (e.g., 1 Sam. 17.33, "he has been aner polemistes since his youth"), but sometimes it is unclear whether gender-reference is intended (e.g., Gen. 46.34, "andres ktēnotrophoi esmen", III Ki. 11.28, "when Solomon saw to paidarion hoti aner ergōn estin"). Because of this occasional ambiguity, it was decided to treat each case on an individual basis. In these ambiguous instances, where the context did not specifically forbid a generic interpretation, the occurrence was considered to be generic.

The use of anthropos presented its own problems. It is clearly used generically and as a designation of gender. It was not always clear, though, whether a particular use of anthropos was gender-specific or generic, e.g., hoi anthropoi oi sophoi. Is a sophos attributive to a man or is the phrase a designation of role? If the culture restricted the role to males only, should the occurrence be taken as generic or gender-specific? In cases such as this the context was scrutinized to determine whether the role or the person was the focus, and the occurrence was placed accordingly.

If aner did begin to develop into a technical term for "husband", one might expect to find an increase in the percentage of occurrences of anthropos vis a vis aner in the translation of the various Hebrew terms in the canonical books, as anthropos took over the field abandoned by aner. If, however, there is a significant increase in the use of aner vis a vis anthropos, this may indicate a narrowing of the semantic range of anthropos, which would weigh against a generalized thesis that aner develops into a technical term. Therefore, for comparative purposes, the statistics of usage for anthropos were included in the investigation.

The situation with respect to the word gyne is no less complex. Unlike the situation for "man" and "husband", only one Greek word serves to signify both "woman" and "wife." Hence, one must proceed in the analysis of the use of gyne in full awareness of the presuppositions or prejudices one takes to the analysis. Because of the nature of the hypothesis under investigation, the investigator begins with the assumption that gyne means "wife" only when the context allows for this possibility. In cases where the use of gyne is ambiguous, determination of the referent was made on a case-by-case basis.

The three words under investigation occur 4071 times in the LXX. The following procedure was employed to reduce the field of investigation to a manageable size

while still maintaining a statistically valid sample. First, every occurrence of a word was entered onto a chart which shows, by book, the number of occurrence of each equivalent Hebrew word for a particular book and for the entire LXX. (See Tables 1-3)

TABLE .I  
OCCURRENCES OF ANER

Book	Total	01	02	3a	3b	04	5a	5b	6a	6b	6c	6d	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	+	-
Genesis	53		20	28			1		2							1		1										1	1	
Exodus	19		5	9			1																					1	2	
Leviticus	12		12																									1	3	
Numbers	70		45	18											1															
Deuteronomy	35		16	11			2		2																					
Joshua	32		9	18					2																					
Judges	217		151	40			15		1																					
Ruth	22		19	2																										
1 Kings	168		79	65											2															
2 Kings	143		96	32			2		1																					
3 Kings	48		29	13												1					1							1	3	
4 Kings	89		63	23																										
1 Chronicles	38	1	17	15					1																					
2 Chronicles	34		21	11																										
2 Esdras	14		3	8	1					1																				
Nehemiah	40		20	18			1																							
Ezra	6		3	3																										
Job	28		6	1					11																					
Psalms	23	2	11	5					4																					
Proverbs	144	19	63				6		5																					
Ecclesiastes	12		8	2																										
Song of Sol.	3		3																											
Isaiah	18		8	5				1	1																					
Jeremiah	60		25	30																										
Lamentation	5		1																											
Ezekiel	48		22	24					4																					
Daniel	22		1		1					7																				
Hosea	5		5																											
Joel	3			2			1																							
Amos	3																1													
Obadiah	3			2																										
Jonah	5			5																										
Micah	3		2						1																					
Nahum	1			1																										
Habakkuk	1								1																					
Zephaniah	2			2																										
Haggai	2																													
Zachariah	9		5	3					1																					
Malachi	1																													
Judith	41																													
1 Esdras	29																													
Tobit	12																													
1 Maccabees	95																													
2 Maccabees	24																													
3 Maccabees	3																													
4 Maccabees	12																													
Wisdom Sol.	2																													
Baruch	86																													
Jeremiah																														
Epistle Jer.																														
15. Solomon																														
Total	1744	22	768	394	2	4	29	1	37	8	1	0	5	1	3	2	1	2	1	6	1	2	1	1	1	1	20	114		

TABLE II  
OCCURRENCES OF ANTHROPOS

Book	Total	01	02	3a	04	5a	6	7a	7b	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	+	-
Genesis	90	26	46	17																				5
Exodus	26	12	9	2																				3
Leviticus	65	14	46	1																			1	4
Numbers	69	22	27	13										1										3
Deuteronomy	51	6	40	4																				1
Joshua	6	4	2	2																				1
Judges	9																							
Ruth	0																							
1 Kings	32	5	24	1												1								1
2 Kings	4	4																						
3 Kings	42	5	24	1																			4	7
4 Kings	26	1	21																					2
1 Chronicles	6	3	3	2																				
2 Chronicles	16	6	7	2								1												
1 Esdras	16																							
2 Esdras	2																							
Nehemiah	5	3	2																					
Ester	12																							
Job	56	19	15	13			1	1				1	1										1	3
Psalms	102	54	28	13																				
Proverbs	31	17	5										1					1						2
Ecclesiastes	50	49																						6
Song of Sol.	0																							
Isaiah	86	24	26	14						1	1							1	1	(1)				8
Jeremiah	79	27	31	9																				
Lamentation	2																							
Ezekiel	140	124	11												1								1	4
Dan	39	4	4	7																		1	2	13
Hosea	7	4	2																					1
Joel	1	1																						
Amos	3	1	1																					
Obadiah	1																							
Jonah	4	3	1																					
Micah	5																							
Nahum	1																							
Habbakuk	2	2																						1
Zephaniah	2																							
Haggai	2	1	1																					
Zechariah	10	7	3																					
Malachi	4	1	2																					1
Judith	9																							
Tobit	23																							
1 Maccabees	10																							
2 Maccabees	10																							
3 Maccabees	10																							
4 Maccabees	8																							
Wisdom Sol.	32																							
Sirach	123																							
Baruch	5																							
Epistle Jer.	10																							
Ps. Solomon																								
Total	01	02	3a	04	5a	6	7a	7b	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	+	-	Greek Only
1346	458	399	92	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	0	1	22	62	261	

TABLE III  
OCCURRENCES OF GUNE

Book	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	+	-
Genesis	152	148	1														+	3
Exodus	36	32															1	4
Leviticus	36	35															1	1
Numbers	43	39															1	3
Deuteronomy	42	38	1	1								2						1
Joshua	10	9						1										1
Judges	70	68	1															2
Ruth	13	13																2
1 Kings	55	53							1									2
2 Kings	50	46															1	13
3 Kings	52	38															2	2
4 Kings	19	17																13
1 Chronicles	20	20																2
2 Chronicles	16	16																2
2 Esdras	10	10																1
Nehemiah	11	10																1
Esther	18	12							1	1		1					1	1
Job	13	7		1	1							1					1	4
Psalms	2	2																5
Proverbs	29	21																1
Ecclesiastes	3	3																1
Song of Sol.	2	2															1	1
Isaiah	11	8														1	1	1
Jeremiah	34	33															1	1
Lamentation	3	3															2	
Ezekiel	19	17																
Daniel	11	11																
Mosca	5	5																
Joel	0	0																
Amos	1	1																
Obadiah	0	0																
Jonah	0	0																
Micah	0	0																
Nahum	1	1																
Habbakuk	0	0																
Zephaniah	0	0																
Haggai	0	0																
Zechariah	5	5																
Malachi	3	4																1
1 Esdras	31	31																
Judith	21	21																
Tobit	41	41																
1 Maccabees	13	13																
2 Maccabees	8	8																
3 Maccabees	2	2																
4 Maccabees	11	11																
Wisdom Sol.	1	1																
Sirach	54	54																
Baruch	0	0																
Epistle Je.	4	4																
Psa. Solomon	0	0																
981	981	714	2	1	2	1	0	1	2	2	1	2	1	9	42	1	1	1



Second, using TDOT and TWOT, the semantic range of each Hebrew word which appears in the listing of Hatch and Redpath under the respective Greek words was identified. Those which included "husband" were marked for investigation. This list of words was cross-referenced with the listing of the English words "husband", "husbands", and "husband's" and "wife('s)", "wives(')" in Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible. For the current investigation, the Hebrew words 'adam, 'ish, 'enosh,<sup>12</sup> ba'al, and bā'al comprised the tested group.

In the case of gyne, the population is so heavily weighted toward 'ishshāh (748 of the 817 canonical

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<sup>12</sup> Statistics for the usage of 'enosh are drawn from the listing in Hatch and Redpath. According to TDOT 'enosh occurs only forty-two times in the Old Testament. This figure agrees with the number of occurrences listed in Evan-Shoshan, A New Concordance of the Bible: Thesaurus of the Language of the Bible, (Israel: Kiryat Sefer Publishing House, 1985). The discrepancy can apparently be attributed to the method of counting employed by the different sources. TDOT and Evan-Shoshan apparently include under 'enosh only those instances where singular forms appear; the vast majority of instances where aner or anthropos are used to translate 'enosh in Hatch-Redpath are plurals, though this is not exclusively the case.

A check of 'enosh in Evan-Shoshan indicates that plural occurrences of 'enosh appear under the listing for 'anshe (which is also the plural of 'ish). A sampling of cases where Hatch-Redpath correlate aner or anthropos to 'enosh appear under 'anshe. Since the 'ish and 'enosh are etymologically related and their plurals are the same, it may be that the differences between TDOT and Hatch-Redpath can be explained on these grounds.

For this investigation, the statistics concerning the occurrences of 'enosh are drawn from the listing provided in Hatch and Redpath.

occurrence) that in the canonical books, investigation was confined to these occurrences.

Third, the canonical book were divided into five groups, i.e., Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), Historical Books (Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I-IV Kings, 1-2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther), Wisdom and Poetic (Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon), Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentation, Ezekiel), Minor Prophets (Hosea-Malachai); the Apocryphal books (under which the book of Daniel was included) were treated as a unit. The total number of occurrences of each Greek word, and the number of occurrences of each Hebrew word for each of the groups was noted. In the case the total number of occurrences of a particular Greek word was less than ten percent of the total number of occurrences for that word in the LXX as a whole, the entire set of occurrences for that group was analyzed. If the number of occurrences amounted to more than ten percent of the total, thirty percent of these were chosen at random for evaluation.

For the Deutero-Canonical books fifty percent of the occurrences, chosen at random according to the procedure outlined below, were scrutinized.

When it was necessary to narrow the population, a computer was employed to generate a table of random numbers and to select the test population. Because of inherent flaws in the random number generators included in

most programming languages and statistical packages, the random number generator used in the selection process was designed by the investigator. Appendix A includes a listing of the Random Number Generator with explanatory comments.

## CHAPTER TWO

## THE CANONICAL BOOKS

## I. The Pentateuch

In the Pentateuch aner is used 189 times and anthropos is used 301 times to render fourteen different Hebrew words into Greek. Those of immediate concern are listed in the table below.

A random sample of fifty of the 168 occurrences of aner in the Pentateuch (30 percent) broke down into the following groupings: Gen. - fourteen entries; Exo. - five entries; Lev. - four entries; Num. - nineteen entries, Deu. eight entries. Twenty-nine of the occurrences of aner in the population sample corresponded to the Hebrew 'ish; one occurrence corresponded to ba'al; twenty occurrences had 'enosh in the original.

In twelve of fifty occurrences (24 percent) aner signifies "husband"; in twenty-seven occurrences (54 percent), aner was gender-specific in its reference; the remaining eleven occurrences (22 percent) were generic.

The ratio of occurrences of anthropos to aner for the entire population is 301/189. For word group under consideration the ratio is 285:168; excluding 'adam, which is not translated by aner in the Pentateuch, the ratio is

Table IV

## THE PENTATEUCH

	<u>'adam</u>	<u>'ish</u>	<u>ba'al</u>	<u>'enosh</u>
Gen. <u>aner</u> <u>anthropos</u>	- 26	20 46	1 -	28 17
Exo. <u>aner</u> <u>anthropos</u>	- 12	5 9	1 -	9 2
Lev. <u>aner</u> <u>anthropos</u>	- 14	12 46	- -	- 1
Num. <u>aner</u> <u>anthropos</u>	- 22	45 27	- -	18 13
Deu. <u>aner</u> <u>anthropos</u>	- 6	16 40	2 -	11 4
Total <u>aner</u> <u>anthropos</u>	- 80	98 168	4 -	66 37

205/168. For the entire population this yields a 1.6:1 rate of incidence for anthropos to aner; for the word group under investigation here the incidence is 1.7:1.

Anthropos is clearly preferred over aner as the translation of 'ish in the Pentateuch. Excepting the book of Numbers, anthropos is used almost twice as often as aner in these books. For 'enosh the reverse is true: aner is preferred by the translators, again, at almost a 2:1 ratio.

Gyne is used 309 times in the Pentateuch, primarily to translate the Hebrew 'ishshāh (292x). The sample population of 92 occurrences consisted entirely of instances where gyne translated 'ishshāh. Forty-five of the ninety-two (49 percent) designated "wife" as opposed to "woman."

It is generally agreed that the Pentateuch was the earliest portion of the Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek. Projecting ahead on the basis of these populations in the Pentateuch, a significant deviation from the 24 percent of the uses where aner designates "husband" and the 49 percent of the uses where gyne designates "wife" and a significant increase in the 1.6:1 rate of incidence for anthropos to aner where anthropos specifies gender would be necessary to demonstrate the hypothesized development of the terms aner and gyne. Furthermore, given the tendency toward rigidity in translation exhibited by the later translators, it would be expected

that anthropos would remain the preferred translation for 'ish and aner the preferred translation for enosh. A shift away from this pattern may be an indication of a shift in the way in which the particular Greek words came to be used.<sup>13</sup>

### THE HISTORICAL BOOKS

Twelve books are included in the Historical Books section. Aner is used 851 times in these books. Its most frequent usage is in Judges (217x), followed by I Kings (168x), and II Kings (143x); Esther contains the fewest occurrences (6x), of which one has no underlying Hebrew word, and one use is debatable. In all, aner occurs 448 times in I - IV Kings.

The use of anthropos drops off sharply in the Historical Books. In this group the term is used only 160 times. It is most frequent in III Kings (42x), followed by I Kings (32x) and IV Kings (26x). Unlike aner which occurs in each of the Historical Books, anthropos is not used at all in the book of Ruth.

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<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, such a shift in patterns of usage does not necessarily indicate a shift in the semantic range of aner or anthropos. Such considerations as contextual factors must be weighed in determining whether, in fact, a shift in understanding or meaning took place.

Table V

## THE HISTORICAL BOOKS

	<u>'adam</u>	<u>'ish</u>	<u>ba'al</u>	<u>'enosh</u>
Joshua				
<u>aner</u>	-	9	-	18
<u>anthropos</u>	-	6	-	-
Judges				
<u>aner</u>	-	151	15	40
<u>anthropos</u>	4	2	-	2
Ruth				
<u>aner</u>	-	19	-	2
<u>anthropos</u>	-	-	-	-
I Kings				
<u>aner</u>	-	79	-	65
<u>anthropos</u>	5	24	-	1
II Kings				
<u>aner</u>	-	96	2	32
<u>anthropos</u>	4	-	-	-
III Kings				
<u>aner</u>	-	29	-	13
<u>anthropos</u>	5	24	-	1
IV Kings				
<u>aner</u>	-	63	-	23
<u>anthropos</u>	1	23	1	-
I Chronicles				
<u>aner</u>	1	17	-	15
<u>anthropos</u>	3	3	-	-
II Chronicles				
<u>aner</u>	-	21	-	11
<u>anthropos</u>	6	7	-	2
Ezra				
<u>aner</u>	-	3	-	8
<u>anthropos</u>	-	1	-	-
Nehemiah				
<u>aner</u>	-	20	-	18
<u>anthropos</u>	3	2	-	-
Esther				
<u>aner</u>	-	3	1	-
<u>anthropos</u>	-	8	-	-
TOTAL				
<u>aner</u>	1	510	18	245
<u>anthropos</u>	31	100	1	6



The Hebrew word 'enosh occurs 251 times in the Historical Books. Although aner continues to serve as the primary translation for 'enosh, the degree of its predominance is surprising: 245 times 'enosh is translated by aner, while only six times is it translated by anthropos. Significantly, five of the six instances where anthropos is used to translate 'enosh, the referent is clearly generic, while in the remaining instance, two specific individuals are in mind.

More surprising are the statistics for the translation of 'ish. Aner is used to translate the Hebrew word 'ish 510 times in the Historical Books, while anthropos is used 100 times.

Analysis of 232 of the occurrences of aner in the Historical Books reveals that in 27 percent (63x) of the occurrences the referent is generic, in 69 percent (160x) it is gender-specific, and in 4 percent (10x) it designates "husband."

For the 138 occurrences of anthropos in the Historical Books, 24 percent (33x) have a gender-specific referent, while the remaining 76 percent (105x) are generic.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The use of anthropos in the phrase ho anthropos tou theou, though addressed to an individual male person, appears to focus more on the role of the one so designated than on the individual or the gender of the individual. While the designation is addressed exclusively to males, because of the apparent emphasis on role rather than person, when the phrase occurs anthropos is treated as having a generic referent.

Of the 344 occurrences of gyne in the Historical Books, 312 are translations of 'ishsha. In twenty-six of the remaining thirty-two occurrences, no Hebrew word for "woman" or "wife" in the text. Judges, with seventy occurrences of gyne, has the highest number of occurrences, followed by I and II Kings, with fifty-five and fifty-two occurrences respectively; Nehemiah (11x) has the fewest occurrences in this group of books.

One hundred five of the 312 occurrences where gyne translates 'ishsha in the Historical Books were examined. "Wife" was the referent in fifty-six instances, "woman" the referent in forty-nine. This distribution is well within the range one would expect for gyne.

There are a number of immediately noticable differences from the Pentateuch: aner is much more frequent in the Historical Books, being used almost seven times as often as anthropos. Especially curious is the greater than 5:1 preference aner to anthropos in translating 'ish. Similarly, there is the major shift toward aner as the translation of 'enosh. Surely some of this shift may be explained on the basis of translator preference; perhaps some of it can be explained on the basis of a mechanical translation which poses an exact, rigid synonymy between words in the source and receptor languages; whether all of the shift can be accounted for on this basis remains an open question. On the other hand, the almost exclusive generic use of anthropos when

it translates 'enosh, and the increase in its use generically may be an indication of a narrowing of anthropos toward a generic term.

#### WISDOM AND POETIC LITERATURE

In the Wisdom and Poetic literature, aner is used 210 times, anthropos 239 times. In forty-seven instances aner appears and nine instances anthropos appears in the text of the LXX where no Hebrew word appears in the text; in ten instances where aner appears and three where anthropos appears, the Hebrew or Greek terms is uncertain.

Proverbs has the highest number of occurrences of aner (144) while Psalms the highest number for anthropos (102). 'ish is most frequently translated aner, 'adam most frequently translated anthropos. It is noteworthy that the Hebrew word gābar is translated twenty times by aner, but never by anthropos. The statistical data for the use of aner and anthropos is given in the table below.

Here the influence of literary genre is clearly seen in the statistics for both the Hebrew and Greek terms. 'adam is the most frequently used Hebrew term in the Wisdom and Poetic literature, occurring 160 times. While elsewhere, it is rarely translated by aner, here it is so translated 13 percent of the time (21x). Most of these

Table VI

## WISDOM AND POETIC LITERATURE

	<u>'adam</u>	<u>'ish</u>	<u>ba'al</u>	<u>'enosh</u>
Job				
<u>aner</u>	-	6	-	1
<u>anthropos</u>	19	15	-	13
Psalms				
<u>aner</u>	2	11	-	5
<u>anthropos</u>	54	28	-	13
Proverbs				
<u>aner</u>	19	63	6	5
<u>anthropos</u>	17	5	-	-
Eccl.				
<u>aner</u>	-	8	-	2
<u>anthropos</u>	49	-	-	-
Song Sol.				
<u>aner</u>	-	3	-	-
<u>anthropos</u>	-	-	-	-
Total				
<u>aner</u>	21	91	6	12
<u>anthropos</u>	139	48	0	26

occurrences are in Proverbs, where nineteen of thirty-six occurrences of 'adam are rendered by aner. This may suggest that the rendering of 'adam by aner was an idiosyncrasy of the translator of Proverbs. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in every instance where 'adam is translated by aner, the referent is generic.

For 'enōsh, there is again a deviation from the expected: where previously aner was the more frequent translation, here anthropos predominates. Similarly, in the twelve instances where 'enōsh is translated by aner, only once is its referent gender-specific, while of the twenty-six where it is rendered by anthropos all are generic. Also of note, the twenty-six instances where anthropos translates 'enōsh are confined to Job and Psalms, again suggesting an idiosyncrasy of the translator.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> There appears to be no particular rhyme or reason other than translator idiosyncrasy which would account for the switch for either 'enōsh or 'adam. It was conjectured that the occurrences where 'enosh was translated by anthropos or 'adam was translated by aner might fit into some sort of mathematical progression, such as primes, triangular numbers, quartics, or an arithmetic, geometrical, or algebraic series. This hypothesis was tested, both by treating the words 'adam and 'enōsh individually and in combination with various other Hebrew synonyms in the appropriate books. In each case, analysis for such a series failed to yield a solution.

Additionally, the contexts in which the words occurred was examined to determine whether there was a similarity of content, or a particular combination of words which were common to the contexts that would allow the translation to be explained as an idiom. This probe also failed to explain the phenomena.

Four of six times when aner translates ba'al, the referent is "husband." In the ninety-one instances where aner translates 'ish, none means "husband." On examination, then, only four of the 130 occurrences of aner in the Wisdom and Poetic Literature have "husband" as the referent, a much lower number than would be anticipated strictly on the basis of probability. Where aner is used, it is almost exclusively generic in its referent. Clearly, the content and the nature of the books is responsible for this. This being the case, it is probably safe to take the use of aner and anthropos in the Wisdom and Poetic Literature as being non-indicative of common use and common understanding of the terms.

Gyne occurs forty-nine times in the Wisdom and Poetic books. In nine of these occurrences, gyne is placed in the LXX text where there is no equivalent in the Hebrew text; in one case the text is uncertain, and in one case gyne appears in an "appendix" to the Hebrew text of Job.<sup>16</sup> Of the remaining thirty-eight occurrences, thirty-four translate the Hebrew word 'ishshāh. In eighteen of these thirty-four occurrences (53%), the

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<sup>16</sup> Hatch and Redpath identify this as 42.18. The appendix is from a Syriac book (see Job 42.17b in Alfred Rahlfs, Septuaginta, (Germany: Deutsch Bibelgesellschaft Stuttgart, 1935), p. 344.

reference is clearly to "wife".<sup>17</sup> This coincides with the expected distribution of usage for gyne.

#### THE PROPHETS

In the Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentation, Ezekiel) aner is used 131 times while anthropos is used 307 times. Of the 385 occurrences of the Hebrew words included in this study, 116 are translated by aner and 269 by anthropos. A book-by-book breakdown for the Hebrew words in this study is given in the table below.

In addition to the fourteen uses of aner in Isaiah listed in the table above, aner is once used to translate 'am (36.11), and twice is inserted into the text where no Hebrew term appears. Isaiah 54.1, where aner translates the Hebrew word ba'al, is the only instance in Isaiah where "husband" is the referent of aner. Of the remaining seventeen uses of aner, one (Isa. 22.17) is gender-specific; the remaining sixteen occurrences are generic in their reference.

Anthropos occurs sixty-four times in Isaiah. In only four instances is it gender-specific in reference

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<sup>17</sup> Proverbs 14.1, 21.9, 21.19, 25.24 could refer to either "woman" or "wife." The general application of a proverb tips the balance toward understanding "woman" rather than "wife" in these instances.

Table VII

## THE PROPHETS

	<u>'adam</u>	<u>'ish</u>	<u>ba'al</u>	<u>ba'al</u>	<u>'enosh</u>
Isa.					
<u>aner</u>	-	8	-	1	5
<u>anthropos</u>	24	26	-	-	14
Jer.					
<u>aner</u>	-	25	-	-	30
<u>anthropos</u>	27	31	1	-	9
Lam.					
<u>aner</u>	-	1	-	-	-
<u>anthropos</u>	2	-	-	-	-
Ezk.					
<u>aner</u>	-	22	-	-	24
<u>anthropos</u>	124	11	-	-	-
Total					
<u>aner</u>	-	56	-	1	59
<u>anthropos</u>	177	68	1	-	23



Of the twenty-five occurrences where aner translates 'ish in Jeremiah, four designate "husband"; of thirty occurrences where 'enosh is translated by aner three designate "husband". Of the remaining forty-eight occurrences, twelve are gender-specific in reference and 36 are generic.

In Lamentation, the sole occurrence of aner as the translation for 'ish is generic in reference, as are both occurrences of anthropos, which translates 'adam.

If the characteristic phrase in Ezekiel, huios (tou) anthropou, where anthropos is used teleologically rather than otherwise, is left out of the present consideration, aner is used forty-six times and anthropos is used forty-two times in Ezekiel. Of these occurrences, anthropos translates 'adam (31x) and 'ish (11x) while aner translates 'ish (22x) and 'enōsh (24x).

In every instance where anthropos is used in Ezekiel, the referent is generic. For aner, thirteen of the twenty-two occurrences of 'ish are generic, seven designate gender, and two designate "husband." When aner translates 'enōsh eleven times its referent is generic, twelve times it is gender-specific, and once it is "husband."

Out of the 116 occurrences of aner in the Prophets, less than 10 percent (11) designate "husband." Thirty-two occurrences (28%) are gender-specific, seventy-three (63%) are generic. This is, again, less than what would have

been expected based on probability. Again however, content may have been responsible for restricting the semantic range of the aner.

Gyne occurs sixty-seven times in the Prophets. It is most frequent in Jeremiah (34x plus 3 in Lamentation), and least frequent in Isaiah (11x); the remaining nineteen occurrences are in Ezekiel. Once the word is added to the Greek text; four times the Greek or Hebrew text is uncertain. Of the remaining sixty-two occurrences of gyne sixty-one translate the Hebrew 'ishshāh'; once in Isaiah gyne translates yālad. Of the sixty-seven occurrences of gyne in the Prophets, twenty-nine (43%) clearly designate "wife". An additional occurrence (Jer. 38.22) may be either "wives" or "women". This percentage is well within the range of what one would expect for the use of gyne.

#### THE MINOR PROPHETS

In the Minor Prophets, the term anthropos occurs forty-two times, while aner occurs thirty-five times. Statistical data for the usage of anthropos and aner in the Minor Prophets are as follows:

The Hebrew term 'ish' is translated by anthropos eleven times in the Minor Prophets, while it is translated by aner twelve times. The twelve occurrences of aner are

confined to three books: Hosea (5x), Micah (2x), and Zechariah (5x). The translator of Hosea and Zechariah use both anthropos and aner to translate 'ish. Of the twelve occurrences where 'ish is translated by aner, in only four is "husband" clearly intended.<sup>1</sup> All of these occur in Hosea.

The Hebrew term 'enosh is translated by aner sixteen times. Surprisingly, it is never translated by anthropos. Three of these are generic; the remaining twelve are gender-specific. This is surprising, for it runs counter to the commonly accepted understanding that

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<sup>1</sup> Hosea 3.3 may be a fifth example. Questions as to the meaning of aner in Hosea 3.3 arise on a number of fronts. First, both the proximate and the remote contexts apparently indicate the understanding "husband." In the immediate context, the statement οὐ μὴ γενῆ ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ occurs within the context of a charge from a husband to a wife, whom he is receiving back to himself as his wife. Second, how should the phrase andri hetero be understood in relation to the words "I will go and return to my first husband" in 2.7? Is it possible that the phrase γενῆ ἀνδρὶ is a legal or an idiomatic phrase expressing the relationship of a wife to her husband? If this is the case, it would strengthen the case for aner here being understood to mean "husband".

On the other hand, there is a question of the importance of literary structure in interpretation. The rhetorical form of the statement is chiasmic:

A ἡμέρας πολλὰς καθύπερθε ἐπ' ἐμοί  
 B καὶ οὐ μὴ πορνεύσῃς  
 B<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ μὴ γενῆ ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ  
 A<sup>1</sup> ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σοί

But what is the function of this chiasm? The formal syntactical chiasm may suggest that B<sup>1</sup> is to be understood as appositional to B. In that case, οὐδὲ μὴ γενῆ ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ (B<sup>1</sup>) must be interpreted as the functional equivalent of the preceding clause (B). In this case, andri must be understood as designating "man."

Table VIII

## THE MINOR PROPHETS

	<u>'adam</u>	<u>'ish</u>	<u>ba'al</u>	<u>'enosh</u>
Hosea				
<u>aner</u>	-	5	-	-
<u>anthropos</u>	4	-	-	-
Joel				
<u>aner</u>	-	-	1	2
<u>anthropos</u>	1	-	-	-
Amos				
<u>aner</u>	-	-	-	1
<u>anthropos</u>	1	1	-	-
Obadiah				
<u>aner</u>	-	-	-	2
<u>anthropos</u>	0	1	-	-
Jonah				
<u>aner</u>	-	-	-	5
<u>anthropos</u>	3	1	-	-
Micah				
<u>aner</u>	-	2	-	-
<u>anthropos</u>	5	-	1	-
Nahum				
<u>aner</u>	-	-	-	1
<u>anthropos</u>	-	-	-	-
Habbakuk				
<u>aner</u>	-	-	-	-
<u>anthropos</u>	2	-	-	-
Zephaniah				
<u>aner</u>	-	-	-	2
<u>anthropos</u>	2	-	-	-
Haggai				
<u>aner</u>	-	-	-	-
<u>anthropos</u>	1	1	1	-
Zechariah				
<u>aner</u>	-	5	-	3
<u>anthropos</u>	7	3	-	-
Malachi				
<u>aner</u>	-	-	-	-
<u>anthropos</u>	1	2	-	-
TOTAL				
<u>aner</u>	-	12	1	16
<u>anthropos</u>	27	9	-	-

the basic meaning of 'enosh is "mankind".<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that in none of these occurrences of aner is "husband" a possibility for translation.

Of the seven remaining uses of aner, three translate gābar, one translates the Hebrew bā'al, and one translates bayit. In Amos 7.7, the Hebrew or Greek word is unclear, and in Obdiah 1.21, no Hebrew term appears.

Adam is used twenty-eight times in the Minor Prophets. In every occurrence, it is translated by anthropos. It occurs in both singular and plural forms, and is used in generic and gender-specific senses, but it is never used as a proper name.

Three of the remaining four occurrences of anthropos have no Hebrew term behind them. In the remaining use, the Hebrew is unclear.

Of the seventy-seven total uses of aner and anthropos in the Minor Prophets, in only four is "husband" clearly the object of the term, with a possible fifth occurrence of aner if one accepts "husband" as a translation of Hos. 3.3. This works out to 4.5% or 6.5% respectively. In all of these cases, aner is used by the translator of Hosea to render the Hebrew word 'ish. Even if the evidence is restricted to the use in Hosea alone, this leaves just five of twelve occurrences (41.7%) where aner translates 'ish that "husband" is the translation.

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<sup>1</sup> See Maass, 'enosh in TDOT, p. 345ff. or Thomas E. McComiskey, 'enosh in TWOT, p. 59.

The percentage of occurrences in which aner is used to signify "husband" is far below what one would expect if the Greek term underwent a shift in meaning toward "husband." This is true even if one would propose a shift in the meaning where aner was used to translate the Hebrew word 'ish'. If anything, on the basis of the exclusive use of aner to translate 'enosh' and the use of 'enosh' to designate gender, one would argue that the shift is toward the gender-specific designation "man."

Gyne is used fifteen times in the Minor Prophets. Here, its occurrence is confined to Hosea (5x), Amos (1x), Nahum (1x), Zechariah (5x), and Malachi (3x). In every case where a Hebrew term is translated (no Hebrew term appears in Za. 12.12), it is used to translate the Hebrew 'ishsha'. Nine of the ten singular forms and two of the four plural forms of gyne (78.5%) denote "wife."

On the basis of its use in the Minor Prophets, gyne appears to shift in meaning from "woman" toward "wife". However, in formulating a conclusion, it is necessary to keep in mind the relative rarity of the term in this body of literature. Given this limitation, it may be best to reserve judgment on the question of a possible shift in meaning for the term gyne in the Minor Prophets.

## SUMMARY OF THE CANONICAL LITERATURE

Analysis of the use of aner, gyne, and anthropos in the Canonical books of the LXX fails to give indication of development of aner and gyne toward a technical usage of these terms, though a case could be made for anthropos developing into a technical term for "humankind."

While aner does continue to designate "husband" it continues to function in both a generic and a gender-specific manner with a high degree of regularity.

Gyne continues to function as the designator for both "woman" and "wife" with approximately equal frequency. While the evidence of the Minor Prophets is tantalizing, given the sharp deviation from the use in the other canonical books, the statistical data for the Minor Prophets may be an aberration.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Given the relative infrequency with which gyne is used in much of the canonical literature, it is difficult to judge the significance of the data from the Minor Prophets in relation to the rest of the canon. Gyne simply may not have been used frequently enough in the canonical books to give an accurate indication of its usage in during the third and second centuries B.C.E. Given the available evidence, however, it must be concluded that gyne does not show development toward a technical term.

## THE DEUTERO-CANONICAL BOOKS

In the Deutero-Canonical books, aner is used 329 times, anthropos 296. Aner occurs in ten of the thirteen books<sup>21</sup> while anthropos fails to appear in only one book. It is noteworthy that in the Deutero-Canon, aner is more common than anthropos, a situation which occurs only in the Historical Books in the Canon. This is contrary to the pattern anticipated by the hypothesis of this investigation.

In Daniel where there is a Hebrew or Aramaic text underlying the Greek, aner serves to translate one of the terms nine times, anthropos twenty-four. In ten occurrences of aner in Daniel and thirteen of anthropos there is no Hebrew word behind the Greek. Anthropos translates 'adam four times; four times it translates 'ish; seven times it renders 'enōsh. Aner is used to translate 'enōsh once and 'ish once. Each of the nine instances where aner translated a Hebrew or Aramaic word in Daniel was analyzed; none had "husband" as its referent.

In the Deutero-Canonical books, 165 occurrences of aner, 148 occurrences of anthropos, and 100 occurrences of gyne were examined. Table IX and X below gives the book-

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<sup>21</sup> Susanna and Bel and the Dragon are included in Daniel.



by-book breakdown of these occurrences and the number of occurrences in drawn from each book in the text group.

In seventy-six instances, aner was gender-specific; in sixty-five instances it was generic. The remaining twenty-four occurrences examined designated "husband." This works out to 46 percent, 39 percent, and 15 percent respectively. For anthropos, 26 percent of the occurrences were gender-specific in reference (38/148) while 74 percent were generic (110).

Gyne is used 198 times in the Deutero-Canon. In Daniel it translates 'ishshāh and nashiyn once each. In the instance where it translates nashiyn its referent is "wife".

Of the one hundred instances of gyne which comprised the test group, fifty-five designated "wife" and forty-five designated "women." As in the canonical books, wherever gyne appears with a possessive genitive, its referent is "wife." Also noteworthy is the number of times gyne designates "wife" in the phrase gunai kai ta tekna. In eight of eleven occurrences of this phrase in the Deutero-Canon, "wives" was clearly the designated concept. In one additional instance, the referent of gunai can be either "women" or "wives". Only in Dan. (Bel) 9 and 2 Mac. 5.13 was "women" clearly the referent.

Table IX

## THE DEUTERO-CANON

	aner	anthropos	gyne
1 Esdras	29	16	31
Judith	41	9	21
Tobit	12	23	41
1 Maccabees	95	10	13
2 Maccabees	24	10	8
3 Maccabees	3	10	2
4 Maccabees	12	8	11
Wisdom Sol.	2	32	1
Sirach	86	123	54
Baruch	-	5	-
Epistle Je.	-	10	4
Ps. Solomon	-	-	-
Daniel	25	40	12
TOTAL	329	296	198

Table X

## ANALYZED SAMPLE

	<u>aner</u>	<u>anthropos</u>	<u>gyne</u>
1 Esdras	14	7	14
Daniel	5	10	3
Tobit	4	13	24
Judith	31	4	12
Wisdom	1	21	1
Sirach	46	65	30
Baruch	-	1	-
Ep. Jer.	-	6	-
1 Macc.	42	6	7
2 Macc.	11	7	4
3 Macc.	4	5	1
4 Macc.	7	3	4
Ps. Sol.	-	-	-
TOTAL	165	148	100

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Does the usage of aner and gyne in the LXX show development which would suggest a shift in usage toward a technical definition of the terms as "husband" and "wife"? The present study of the use of aner and gyne in the LXX uncovered no evidence upon which a general thesis that aner and gyne developed into technical terms meaning "husband" and "wife" respectively can be sustained. If anything, the evidence for aner and anthropos suggests that aner broadened in its semantic range while the semantic range of anthropos narrowed toward a generic usage.

Nor does the evidence support a generalization that when aner and gyne appear in close context, they mean "husband" and "wife", for there are enough instances which juxtapose these terms in which men and women, irrespective of marital status, are the respective referents to disallow the generalization. Rather, the referents must be deduced from the context in which the words occur.

What, then, of the use of the terms for in Pauline material? This is much more difficult to judge. As was noted in the Introduction, in the Pauline corpus, except when the LXX is quoted, aner and anthropos appear to be exclusive in their respective referents, while gyne appears to be restricted to contexts which define its referent as "wife". However, this phenomenon can be

plausibly explained on other grounds, such as those mentioned above. Nothing found in the current investigation supports the thesis that aner and gyne are used as technical terms in the Pauline writings; if anything, the evidence weighs against such a thesis. But the rejection of a general thesis does not necessarily entail the rejection of the thesis for a specific case. Nothing in the present investigation clearly contradicts the validity of the thesis solely with respect to usage of the terms in the Pauline epistles. The evidence does, however, require that such a thesis be much more rigorously demonstrated than would be necessary if the terms aner and gyne had demonstrated a general shift in the direction of technical usage. Perhaps the most that can be said with confidence is that the use of the terms aner and gyne in the LXX does not support a thesis of technical usage of these terms in the Pauline epistles.

#### QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

A number of questions were suggested during the course of the current investigation which seem to call for further investigation. While it is concluded that the "technical term" thesis is not supported by the use of aner and gyne in the LXX, is it possible that in the rabbinic tradition one pair of Hebrew terms

"man"/"husband" and "woman"/"wife" developed into technical terms for "husband" and "wife"? The Pauline use of aner and gyne could then be explained on the basis of Paul's rabbinic training. Such a thesis, while attractive, is not without its own particular difficulties.<sup>22</sup>

Closely related to this investigation are questions concerning the development of the various Hebrew words designating "man", "husband", and "humanity." How did these develop in the Intertestamental period, and what effect did their development have on the translation of the LXX?

The strict limitation of the current investigation to the LXX may be too restrictive to gain a sense of the general usage of the terms aner, gyne, and anthropos. In regard to the use of anthropos, for example, to what extent do the theological overtones which become associated with the term in Hellenistic Judaism<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> For instance, was Paul a Palestinian or Hellenistic Jew? If the latter, one would expect to see similar usage on aner, anthropos and gyne in Philo of Alexandria. Furthermore, there is the question of whether the "Hellenistic Judaism"- "Palestinian Judaism" is an actual or an artificial distinction, or whether this was simply a convenient "fiction" of modern scholars (see, e.g., Shaye J. D. Cohen, From the Maccabees to the Mishna or John J. Collins, From Athens to Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Diaspora).

Additionally, given Paul's rabbinic training in Jerusalem, would positing underlying Hebrew terms behind Paul's use of aner and gyne imply a Hebrew original?

<sup>23</sup> If, in fact, the distinction between "Hellenistic" as opposed to a "Palestinian" Judaism is a real as opposed to a strictly academic distinction.

restrict its semantic range, while consequently forcing the translators of the LXX to broaden of the range of aner. Could this phenomenon explain the significant increase in the use of aner over anthropos which was observed in the Historical and Deutero-Canonical books? It may be important to extend the investigation to extra-biblical literature, especially Hellenistic Jewish literature contemporary to that of Paul, such writers as Philo Judaeus (Philo of Alexandria) and Josephus, to answer these questions.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, if the thesis of a quasi-technical or technical usage of aner and gyne by Paul is valid and if it cannot be sustained on the basis of diachronic development of the terms, on what evidence can such a thesis be sustained? Surely such a usage did not arise ex nihilo, and to posit the technical usage of the terms as original to Paul, while not impossible given the not infrequent use of these terms to designate "husband" and "wife", is not without difficulty.<sup>25</sup> Are there other

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<sup>24</sup> As originally proposed, the present investigation was to include a discussion of the use of aner, anthropos, and gyne in by Philo of Alexandria and Josephus. However, a comprehensive concordance listing of the occurrences of these terms in the writings of these authors was received too late to be surveyed and incorporated into the present investigation.

<sup>25</sup> The difficulties surrounding a supposition of Pauline originality for a technical usage of aner and gyne are analogous to the difficulties which surrounded Bultmann's adoption and use of the term "myth" as a technical term. The confusion and misinterpretation of Bultmann's work arose out of a failure on the part of not a few readers to recognize this technical usage differed

grounds, such as the "sociological dynamics" mentioned by Barrett, on which a thesis of technical terminology can be defended?

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significantly from the generally accepted understanding of "myth." Similarly, if Paul used aner and gyne in an exclusively technical sense, without making this explicit, it must be supposed that almost from the very beginning, his teaching has been misunderstood.

Nevertheless, the problem of an alternate to aner as the designator for "husband" in the Koine period remains. While Jeremias' suggestion of a four-fold "classification" of women as parthenos, agamos, gyne, or chera based on their marriage state may justify a technical understand for gyne, there appears to be no analagous classification system for males.



## APPENDIX A

## THE RANDOM NUMBER GENERATOR

The random number generator was written in GWBASIC,<sup>26</sup>  
 v. 2.11. The program code, along with explanatory comments  
 is given below.

```

PROGRAM: RANDOM NUMBER GENERATOR
INPUT "POPULATION SIZE";PS          ' Enter Population Size
INPUT "SAMPLE SIZE";SS              ' Enter Sample Size
INPUT "SEED1";X                     ' # Books in Sample
INPUT "SEED2";Y                     ' # Occurences Test Group
INPUT "SEED3";Z                     ' # Total Occurences LXX
TS = 40*PS/100                      ' Calculate 40% of PS27
DIM A(TableSize)                    ' Define Array to Hold
                                     ' Random Numbers Generated
FOR I = 1 TO TableSize              ' Recursive Loop
  X = 171*(X MOD 177)-2*(X/177)      ' Generate X
  IF X<0 THEN X=X+30269              ' Insure X > 0
  Y = 172*(Y MOD 176)-35*(Y/176)    ' Generate Y
  IF Y<0 THEN Y=Y+30307              ' Insure Y > 0
  Z = 170*(Z MOD 178)-63*(Z/178)    ' Generate Z
  IF Z<0 THEN Z=Z+30323              ' Insure Z > 0
  TEMP = (X/30269)+(Y/30307)+(Z/30323) ' Calculate TEMP
  RANDOM = 100*(TEMP-INT(TEMP))      ' Calculate RANDOM
  A(I) = (INT(RANDOM)) MOD SS        ' Convert A(I) to Integer
NEXT I                              ' Repeat until I=TableSize
                                     (continues)

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<sup>26</sup> GWBASIC is a trademark of Microsoft Corporation

<sup>27</sup> The numbers generated by the program are all positive real numbers. These were converted to integers by means of the INT function in GWBASIC and reduced to the specified range by means of Modulo Arithmetic. The conversion from real numbers to integers raised the possibility of repetition of a given integer. To account for this possibility, the sample population size of 40% rather than 30% of the population under investigation was generated. In the event of a repeated entry in the sample population, the repeated entry was passed over, and counting resumed with the next non-repeated entry in the table.

```

FOR I = 1 TO TableSize
  FOR J = 1 TO (TableSize-1)
    IF A(J) > A(J+1) THEN SWAP
  NEXT J
NEXT I
FOR I = 1 TO TableSize
  PRINT A(I)
NEXT I
END.

```

' Loop to sort generated  
' numbers in order of  
' magnitude. This  
' simplifies the process  
' of identifying the  
' sample population.  
' Loop to print Random  
' Number Table.

Each pass through the loop generated a random number. Using Modulo Arithmetic, the generated number was reduced to a manageable magnitude, i.e., to a magnitude which would fall within the size of the population being sampled.

Once the table of random numbers was generated, the test sample was identified by choosing the entry in the concordance listing whose position on the concordance listing corresponded to the value in the random number table. If, for example, the group under investigation was aner in the Historical Books and the first four numbers in the table were 2,5,7,13, the second, fifth, seventh, and thirteenth occurrences of aner listed consecutively in the Historical Books were included in the sample population.

To ensure randomness in each group, a new table of random numbers was generated for each group of data which was evaluated.

## APPENDIX B

LISTING OF HEBREW WORDS TRANSLATED BY  
ANER, ANTHROPOS, AND GYNE

The Greek words and their Hebrew counterparts are listed below. The tables are taken from the Concordance to the Septuagint compiled by Edwin Hatch and Henry Redpath.

ἀνὴρ. (1) אָדָם (2) אִישׁ (3) a. אַנְטִישׁ b. אַנְשׁ  
 (4) בֶּן (5) a. בַּעַל b. εἶχει ἀνδρα בַּעַל  
 (6) a. זָכָר b. זָכָר c. δυνατὸς d. זָכָר  
 (7) מַלְאָךְ (8) זָכָר (9) זָקֵן (10) מַלְאָךְ  
 (11) עַם (12) נַפֶּשׁ (13) נָשִׂיא (14) עַם  
 (15) אָדָם (16) רִחַם (17) רָשָׁע (18) אָדָם  
 (19) מֵת (20) רָאשׁ (21) מֵת  
 (22) אֲבִיוֹן d. ἐν ἀνάγκαις

ἀνθρωπος. (1) אָדָם (2) אִישׁ (3) a. אַנְטִישׁ  
 b. אַנְשׁ (4) בֶּן (5) בַּעַל (6) בִּישָׁר  
 (7) a. זָכָר b. זָכָר (8) נָוִי (9) יָחִיד  
 (10) אָרֶץ (11) עַם (12) שָׂכָם (13) אָרֶץ  
 (14) חַיִּים (15) חַי (16) הוּא (17) בֶּן־אָדָם  
 (18) אִישׁ d. υἱὸς τοῦ (19) υἱὸς  
 ἀνθρώπου (20) בֶּן־אָדָם

γυνή. (1) אִשָּׁה (2) בַּת (3) חַתָּן  
 (4) יְבֵמֶת (5) מַלְכָּה (6) נַעֲרָה (7) נָשִׂא  
 (8) פִּלְגֶּשֶׁת, פִּלְגֶּשֶׁת (9) רְעוּת (10) יְסֻפָּה  
 (11) יְבֵמֶת d. γ. τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ (12) αἵφρων γ.  
 נִבְלָה (13) γ. κακοποιός b. hi.  
 (14) γ. πόρνη זָנָה (15) γ. τίκτουσα יָלַד

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