

## The Alleged Interchangeability of ἐν and εἰς in the Septuagint<sup>1</sup>

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1982

### *Abstract*

The so-called interchangeability of ἐν and εἰς is often not properly distinguished from the issue of whether the collocations with these prepositions express movement or rest. For example, an unexpected collocation with ἐν may not be due to its interchangeability with εἰς but rather to the author's focus on the state of rest which is the end result of the action. A survey of the Pentateuch material shows that this, indeed, is the rationale of its use of ἐν, and that the semantic distinction between ἐν and εἰς was still recognized. This is also the background of the papyri. The boundaries between ἐν and εἰς begin to blur in the NT. We should therefore use Johannesson's work with caution. The acquired insight can serve as a useful guideline in textual criticism.

### *Confusing treatments in Greek grammars*

[131] The Greek preposition εἰς is merely a variant of ἐν, formed with the ending -ς (εἰς > εἰς). Originally, ἐν expressed both rest and movement. In the former meaning it was expressed with the dative, in the latter with the accusative. Ἐν + acc. occurs in many dialects. Since the first centuries CE the use of εἰς + acc. expanded until ἐν completely disappeared in modern Greek, and εἰς + acc. had absorbed the meaning of rest.

Since in Koine Greek ἐν + dat. is used frequently where one would expect εἰς + acc., many grammars claim that ἐν and εἰς are interchangeable. Nigel Turner, for example, puts it like this,

In the Koine ἐν and εἰς are freely interchanged, until in MGr εἰς has absorbed ἐν completely, consistently with the disappearance of the dat.<sup>2</sup>

But the matter is not that simple. If ἐν and εἰς were freely interchangeable, both should answer the question of "where" as well as the question of "where to" In other words, both should then express rest as well as movement. But if in expressions with certain verbs the focus is sometimes on movement and sometimes on rest, that's a different thing. [132] The former suggests that prepositions have merged semantically (thus the ubiquitous use

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<sup>1</sup> This is a translation of "Ἐν für εἰς in der Septuaginta," in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo; AASF, Ser.B, Tom. 237; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 131-140, by Theo van der Louw. I thank Elizabeth R. Willett for her correction of my draft. The original page numbers are indicated in bold, between square brackets.

<sup>2</sup> N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. III *Syntax* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963), 254.

of εἰς + acc. in modern Greek), the latter points to a different psycholinguistic nuance. For example, in English we say either “to arrive at a place” or “to arrive somewhere,” but in Finnish the second possibility is not possible. Or we say “to hide somewhere”, although hiding normally entails movement (it is obviously also possible to hide something by covering it, i.e. without movement). In this case Finnish would also say “to hide to some place.” If such use is limited to expressions of a certain kind, we must account for it by different psycholinguistic reasoning: the end result (“where”) is in focus instead of the movement (“where to”) or *vice versa*. Some expressions allow both possibilities for certain verbs.

The confusion of interchangeability and mental focus is visible in Moulton’s *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, where it says (255),

In the LXX (e.g. Ge 31:33 Nu 35:33), Diodorus (e.g. 3, 44) and in Hermas (e.g. V, I 2, 2; II 4, 3; S I 2), εἰς = ἐν is common. Note especially κρύπτω εἰς Jb 40:8 (13), Pr 1:11 Isa 2:10 Je 4:29 Ps 88:40.

But as said above, κρύπτω normally entails movement. In Greek, this verb can answer both the questions “where” and “where to.” The other examples from the LXX can be explained in a similar fashion. And since Diodorus and Hermas represent later texts, we must conclude that Moulton’s examples are quite beside the mark.

There are, however, grammars that observe that the focus sometimes shifts between rest and movement in Greek. Schwyzer writes,

Already in older Greek the focus varies between rest (ἐν + dat.) and movement (εἰς + acc.), e.g. with τίθημι etc.<sup>3</sup>

Kühner and Gerth express it very eloquently,

It is a particularity of the Greek, especially Homeric, language that it often joins verbs that express the direction *where to* to prepositions governing the dative (rarely the genitive, see note 3) and, *vice versa*, [133] collocates verbs that do not contain the idea of movement with prepositions governing the accusative. These constructions arose from summarizing two moments of an action or from the merging of two ideas, whereby next to the moment of movement also the moment of rest that logically follows it or, conversely, next to the moment of rest simultaneously the moment of preceding or resulting movement was conceived and expressed. We call this type of construction *pregnant*. The semantic force and picturesque shortness of this construction go without saying. It serves to present our minds with two images when we view either the movement and the subsequent state of rest together or the state of rest (πίπτειν ἐν κοινήσιν) and the preceding or following movement (λίς ἐφάνη εἰς ὁδόν) together.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> E. Schwyzer / A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmans griechischer Grammatik*, Bd. II (München: C.H. Beck, 1950), 461.

<sup>4</sup> R. Kühner / B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache: II. Satzlehre*, Bd. 1 (Hannover und Leipzig: Hahn, 1898<sup>3</sup>), §447.

That is a bit overstated. It is clear that the viewpoint of rest or movement could shift, but that it served a stylistic purpose is less probable.

Mayser remarks with respect to earlier Koine that the different viewpoint of rest or movement led to a change between ἐν and εἰς in one sentence.<sup>5</sup> His examples are few and limited to certain expressions, especially γράφειν, ἀνα-, ἐγγράφειν ἐν or εἰς. Sometimes ἐν is used with a perfect tense, e.g. προσεπέπτωκεν ἡμῖν ἀπῆχθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει φυλακῇ. This example is very understandable because of the meaning of the Greek perfect. Also the examples of εἰς for ἐν can be understood readily with the help of the notion of movement, e.g. προσορμῆσαι εἰς Μέμφιν, παρεῖναι εἰς (373). As is obvious, ἐν and εἰς are not freely interchanged, rather the question of either rest or movement comes in, as Mayser acknowledges. But in a footnote he points to the merging of εἰς and ἐν in general and refers to Hatzidakis' *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (1892) and similar works that treat this question. The majority of their material concerns late texts [134] where εἰς is already clearly used for ἐν. In this context, Mayser mentions Johannessohn's *Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta*, which shows that in reality he did not clearly distinguish the two issues of ἐν or εἰς on the one hand and the focus on rest or movement on the other hand. The phenomenon he is discussing lies outside the scope of the literature he quotes.

With respect to the New Testament, Blass – Debrunner - Rehkopf treat this question very clearly.<sup>6</sup> The merging of ἐν and εἰς begins to make itself felt where εἰς stands for ἐν in a local sense, albeit only in Mark, Luke-Acts, rarely in John. The Letters and even Revelation show the correct distinction of ἐν and εἰς in a local sense. Most of the examples are convincing, e.g. John 1:18 ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς. The interpretation of ἐν for εἰς as a hypercorrect ἐν is probably unsubstantiated. Most of the examples of ἐν instead of εἰς can be explained as a different focus on either rest or movement. It is mentioned that also classical writers could use ἐν with τιθέναι and ἰστάναι, and διδόναι ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τινος is compared with it. Some examples could be explained otherwise, e.g. Luke 4:1 ἦγετο ... ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ “he was led around in the desert.” But it is clear that in the NT, partly, εἰς seems to be used for ἐν, also in those cases where rest is in focus. It is not clear whether ἐν is used in the sense of εἰς or if the focus is on rest instead of movement in these cases. This question will be discussed below. That Blass – Debrunner – Rehkopf refer to Johannessohn and Mayser indiscriminately suggests that in the NT on the one hand, and in the LXX and the Ptolemaic papyri on the other we are dealing with basically

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<sup>5</sup> E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*, Bd. II, 2, 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1934), 371.

<sup>6</sup> F. Blass / A. Debrunner / F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 167, 177-178.

the same phenomenon. As said above, Mayser expresses himself clearly on the subject of movement and rest, although in a footnote he refers to later usage without mentioning that crucial distinction. Johannessohn expresses himself very vaguely, “ἐν is often used for εἰς with verbs of movement.”<sup>7</sup> But about εἰς for ἐν he says, “Conversely, εἰς sometimes answers the question “where?” The word “conversely” suggests that he explains the cases of ἐν with verbs of movement in the same vein. I will return to Johannessohn’s examples later. [135] All in all, it looks as if none of the authors explicitly distinguished between the questions whether εἰς is simply used for ἐν or whether the focus is on movement or rest.

### *’Εν for εἰς in the Septuagint?*

In Hebrew, the preposition כּ in a local sense can answer the questions “where” and “where to.” Therefore it can be rendered as ἐν or εἰς according to the context. But the Hebrew prepositions לְ and לַ are also used very frequently in the sense of “into,” and are then rendered as εἰς, naturally enough. Generally speaking, the meaning “where” is the most common meaning of כּ. Thus one could expect mechanical renderings כּ → ἐν, especially when the verb is farther removed. It shall be our task to investigate how far the use of ἐν goes in those cases where we would expect εἰς. We shall pay special attention to the question of whether or not this usage is limited to expressions of a certain kind, and what the boundaries of this usage are. We shall also investigate if εἰς can have the meaning “where.”

For the LXX, I surveyed all the data for the Pentateuch, the oldest part of the LXX and representative of the earliest phase. For the rest, I had to limit myself to the examples of Johannessohn and other authors.

In the Pentateuch, ἐν is quite often used in cases where we would expect εἰς. Not infrequently we find the same expression joined with εἰς in some cases, with ἐν in others. Most cases belong to the category where already classical usage could vary between a focus on rest or movement. This is preeminent for τιθέναι:

וַיִּתֵּן אֱלֹהִים	καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	Gen 1:17
בְּרִקְיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם		
	καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ	Gen 2:15 <sup>8</sup>
	καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ	Gen 40:3
	καὶ ἔθηκεν τὰ βρώματα ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν	Gen 41:48

<sup>7</sup> M. Johannessohn, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta* (MSU III, 3; Berlin: Weidmann, 1926), 330-332.

<sup>8</sup> If possible, I omit the Hebrew text. If a preposition other than כּ is being rendered, this is duly indicated.

οὐδὲ λίθον σκοπὸν θήσετε ἐν τῇ γῆ ὑμῶν

Lev 26:1<sup>9</sup>

That these cases cannot have been prompted by Hebrew [136] is confirmed by the fact that in Gen 42:17 ἐν appears as a rendering of לָקַח, too (ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ).

En is also joined to verbs other than τίθεναι, that have a similar meaning:

ἀποτιθέναι	καὶ ἀπέθηκεν Μωυσῆς τὰς ράβδους ἔναντι κυρίου ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου	Num 17:22
διδόναι	ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν τοῖς μαρσίπποις ὑμῶν ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστήμην ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἔδωκέν τις τὴν κοίτην αὐτοῦ ἐν σοὶ	Gen 43:23 Exod 36:2 Num 5:20 <sup>10</sup>
λαμβάνειν	λάβετε ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις ὑμῶν	Gen 43:11
ιστάναί	στήσετε τοὺς λίθους τούτους, οὓς ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι σήμερον, ἐν ὄρει Γαιβάλ	Deut 27:4

Other passages that belong here:

Διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ ἀποστραφέν ἐν τοῖς μαρσίπποις ἡμῶν	Gen 43:18
κατεπόντισεν ἐν ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ	Exod 15:4
ὣν ἐὰν σπείρης ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ σου	Exod 23:16
ὅτι ἐν σκηναῖς κατώκισα τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ	Lev 23:43
βάψει ἐν ἐλαίῳ τὸν πόδα αὐτοῦ	Deut 33:24
ἔθαιπεν Ἀβραὰμ Σάρραν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐν (לָקַח) τῷ σπηλαίῳ	Gen 23:19
θάψατέ με μετὰ τῶν πατέρων μου ἐν (לָקַח) τῷ σπηλαίῳ	Gen 49:29

Γράφειν ἐν / εἰς belongs to the examples adduced by Kühner-Gerth and Mayser. The examples below are somewhat similar to that usage.

Κατάγραψον τοῦτο ... ἐν βιβλίῳ	Exod 17:14
καὶ ἐντομίδας ἐπὶ ψυχῇ οὐ ποιήσετε ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν	Lev 19:28
ὅσα ἐγὼ λαλῶ ἐν τοῖς ὤσιν ὑμῶν	Deut 5:1

A special group are the numerous renderings with יָד → ἐν χειρὶ (ἐν ταῖς χερσίν) or εἰς τὰς χεῖρας respectively. Ἐν is also used with verbs of movement:

πάντα τὰ τέρατα, ἃ ἔδωκα ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου	Exod 4:21
καὶ τὴν ράβδον ... λαβὲ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου	Exod 17:5
καὶ ἐλάβον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς γῆς	Deut 1:25

<sup>9</sup> Similar cases are Gen 30:38, 41; 41:10; Exod 30:36; 40:26 (24); Deut 14:28.

<sup>10</sup> Other cases with δίδοναι are Lev 14:34; Deut 18:18.

The last two examples could be explained as *ἐν instrumenti*, although this was not intended. As expected, εἰς also occurs, e.g. Exod 5:21, δοῦναι ῥομφαίαν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ.<sup>11</sup> When χεῖρ is not used in its concrete sense but in the sense of “in someone’s power,” the LXX Pentateuch uses εἰς all the time:

καὶ παραδώσω εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐγκαθημένους ἐν τῇ γῆ	Exod 23:31
καὶ παραδώσει τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν	Deut 7:24 <sup>12</sup>

In the other books of the LXX, especially Judges, [137] ἐν τῇ χειρὶ also occurs with παραδιδόναι.<sup>13</sup> In Judges, ἐν (τῇ) χειρὶ occurs 22 times with (παρα-/ ἀπο-)διδόναι and another 5 times with τιθέναι and λαμβάνειν. But εἰς τὰς χεῖρας occurs only 3 times in both the A and B texts. Hebrew כ clearly led to the outcome of this statistic.

Ἐν μέσῳ is used both for “where” and “where to” in the NT, whereas εἰς μέσον + genitive does not occur (perhaps Mat 10:16 B).<sup>14</sup> In the LXX, εἰς μέσον + gen. is relatively common. As could be expected, τίθεναι also occurs with ἐν μέσῳ, e.g. 2 Chr 6:13; Ezek 5:5; 37: 1, 26.<sup>15</sup> It remains uncertain whether we should understand Zech 5:8, καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτήν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ μέτρου, in the same vein or whether the translator imagined that the woman, personifying evil, was thrown somewhere within the ephah. 2 Esd 6:10 συναχθῶμεν εἰς οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ would have to be explained thus that first the focus was on entering the temple, and then on gathering in the sanctuary. A clearer case of ἐν μέσῳ instead of εἰς μέσον can hardly be found, with the exception of Judg 7:17 (see below). That Blass – Debrunner – Rehkopf refer to p. 325f. of Johannesson is probably because he only treats the renderings of בתוך and בקרב as ἐν (μέσῳ), but doesn’t mention cases with εἰς μέσον. In his index, εἰς μέσον, frequent enough according to Hatch & Redpath and Sollamo, is absent. It is logical that εἰς μέσον is much rarer than ἐν μέσῳ in the LXX because contexts with בתוך and בקרב focus more on rest than on movement. With ביד the opposite is the case.

Significantly, almost all cases of ἐν where we would expect εἰς correspond closely to τιθέναι ἐν or γράφειν ἐν. It is no easy matter to draw a boundary between verbs of movement that use ἐν and those that do not. Negatively speaking, in the Pentateuch ἐν is

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Gen 27:27; 40:13; Deut 24:1, 3.

<sup>12</sup> Further cases occur in Lev 26:25, Num 21:34, Deut 1:27; 2:24, 30; 3:2, 3; 7:24; 19:12; 20:13; 21:10. Note the use of παραδιδόναι for נתן, by the way.

<sup>13</sup> R. Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint* (AASF 19; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1979), 161.

<sup>14</sup> Blass / Debrunner / Rehkopf, *Grammatik des ntl. Griechisch*, 161.

<sup>15</sup> Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions*, 254.

not joined to intransitive verbs of movement in the sense of “into.” But of course ἐν is used with intransitive verbs of movement in the sense of “moving within certain boundaries.” That is how Lev 19:33, [138] Ἐὰν δέ τις προσέλθῃ προσήλυτος ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ γῆ ὑμῶν, should be understood. It is equally natural to say, as in Exod 15:10, ἔδυσαν ὡσεὶ μόλιβος ἐν ὕδατι σφοδρῶ. It is also natural that with intransitive περιβάλλειν both ἐν and εἰς are used. In fact, they are used promiscuously in the list of campsites in Num 33. In Exod 7:28 there is a case where the translator apparently forgot how he began his sentence. He started with εἰς but continued with ἐν,

καὶ ἐξερεύξεται ὁ ποταμὸς βατράχους, καὶ ἀναβάντες εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τοὺς οἴκους σου καὶ εἰς τὰ ταμιεῖα τῶν κοιτῶνων σου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κλινῶν σου καὶ εἰς τοὺς οἴκους τῶν θεραπόντων σου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ ἐν τοῖς φυράμασίν σου καὶ ἐν τοῖς κλιβάνοις σου.

The rest of the LXX cannot be too different from the Pentateuch. I must limit myself to a survey of the cases with ἐν χειρὶ – εἰς χεῖρας and ἐν μέσῳ – εἰς μέσον. An intransitive verb is very rare with ביד, and logically so. An expression like ביד לנפ → (ἐμ)πίπτειν εἰς χεῖρας occurs only rarely, and I found no instances of ἐν in these cases. Ἐν μέσῳ does occur with intransitive verbs of movement, but not in the sense of “into the middle of.” In Judg 18:20,

וַיָּבֹא בְּקִרְבֹּתָם וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה  
καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ

the Hebrew text presupposes the sense of “he went into the middle of the people,” but the LXX rendering should be understood as “he went in the middle of, i.e. together with, the people.” This meaning is also present, and clearly suggested in Hebrew, in the two following examples.

נִקְחָה אֵלֵינוּ מִשְׁלָה אֶת־אֲרוֹן בְּרִית יְהוָה וַיָּבֹא בְּקִרְבָּנוּ	λάβωμεν τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐκ Σηλώμ, καὶ ἐξελεθῆτω ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν	1 Kgdms 4:3
וַיֵּצֵא בְּנֵי־אִשָּׁה יִשְׂרָאֵלִית וְהוּא בְּנֵי־אִישׁ מִצְרַיִם בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν υἱὸς γυναικὸς Ἰσραηλίτιδος καὶ οὗτος ἦν υἱὸς Αἰγυπτίου ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ	Lev 24:10

I did an additional survey of Judges, because there one could expect mechanical renderings כ → ἐν. Jdg is an extremely literal translation and deviates from the rest of the LXX in this respect. Effectively, כ is rendered as ἐν nearly always, and the most awkward Hebraisms are related to this phenomenon (e.g. πολεμεῖν, παρατάσσεσθαι ἐν). But with intransitive verbs of movement εἰς is mostly used. Otherwise, εἰς is sometimes used for כ with a transitive verb of movement, or for ל or ל or ה *locale*. However, in Judg 7:11, 17, 19, all instances [139] close together, we find ἐν (μέσῳ) with καταβαίνειν and

εἰσπορεύεσθαι. In 7:13 κυλιομένη ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ can be understood as “rolling in the camp.” Similarly natural expressions are also ἐπορεύθη Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (11:16) and διήλθεν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (11:18). In 7:11, 17, 19 ἐν is used mechanically, and the same holds true for 1 Kgdms 9:25 καὶ κατέβη ἐκ τῆς Βαμὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει, which is Johannessohn’s only example of ἐν with an intransitive verb of movement.

So it is very probable that what I said about the Pentateuch also holds true for the rest of the LXX. In principle, the use of ἐν with intransitive verbs of movement could have been possible in the same way as with transitive verbs. But this seems to have been a boundary for the LXX translators and probably also for earlier Koine in general. That such a boundary exists is proven by the fact that the clear semantical distinction between ἐν and εἰς was still preserved, and that we are dealing with a different focus on either rest or movement.

*Eἰς for ἐν in the Septuagint?*

With respect to the use of εἰς for ἐν, Blass – Debrunner – Rehkopf give examples from the NT, but only from Mark, Luke-Acts and John.<sup>16</sup> They refer to examples from the LXX, Diodorus etc. in the works by Johannessohn, Mayser and others.<sup>17</sup> The examples Mayser gives from the older texts are not relevant; they merely illustrate a shift in focus from rest to movement. E.g. *UPZ* 81 II, 6 προσορμῆσαι εἰς Μέμφιν; *P. Zen* 59, 226, 3 ἡμᾶς ἴσθι παρεσομένους εἰς Πτολεμαίδα. One easily gets a false impression from Johannessohn. He claims that εἰς sometimes answers “where” in the LXX, i.e. in the sense of ἐν. The examples he gives are,

καὶ εὗρεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Δωθάειμ	Gen 37:17
ὁ δὲ μικρότερος μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν σήμερον εἰς γῆν Χανάαν	Gen 42:32

and he mentions only later on that the reading is uncertain. Indeed, both are now rightly recognized as later variants for an original ἐν.<sup>18</sup> The same holds true for 1 Macc 3:46. The other examples from Maccabees are not more convincing,

καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρασ εἶδον	1 Macc 9:16
εἰς τὸν τόπον, οὗ τὸ πῦρ ἔκρυψαν ..., τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφάνη	2 Macc 1:33

<sup>16</sup> Blass / Debrunner / Rehkopf, *Grammatik des ntl. Griechisch*, 205.

<sup>17</sup> Namely, A.N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar, Chiefly of the Attic Dialect* (London: Macmillan, 1897); J. Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1960<sup>3</sup>); A. Oepke, articles “εἰς” and “ἐν” in G. Kittel, *Theological Dictionary to the New Testament*, vol. 2 (tr. W. Bromley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964); J. Vogeser, *Zur Sprache der griechischen Heiligenlegenden* (München: Seitz, 1907).

<sup>18</sup> The Göttingen edition of Genesis (ed. Wevers) has ἐν in both cases.

With respect to the third example, Johannessohn acknowledges that *παρεῖναι* is often used with *εἰς* by Polybius.<sup>19</sup> A more convincing example is Gen 31:33,

εἰσελθὼν δὲ Λαβὰν ἠρεύνησεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Λείας, καὶ οὐχ εὔρεν· καὶ [140] ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου Λείας καὶ ἠρεύνησεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν δύο παιδισκῶν.

The verb forms *εἰσελθὼν* and *ἐξῆλθεν* influenced the rendering here. We should further note that *ἠρεύνησεν* has no counterpart in MT. This means that *ⲓ* appears here in the sense of “into.” One can and should not refer to Johannessohn here. Although I do not have the entire LXX material at my fingertips, I have the impression that examples of *εἰς* for *ἐν* are very hard to find, or at best in the latest parts of the Septuagint. In both the LXX and the Ptolemaic papyri, the prepositions in question are used according to the focus on “where” or “where to.” There is no evidence that *εἰς* could answer “where” or *ἐν* could answer “where to.”

In the first centuries CE *εἰς* started to be used for *ἐν*, until it had absorbed its function completely in Modern Greek. Starting with some of the NT books, perhaps a bit earlier, there occur examples of *ἐν* with intransitive verbs of movement. Preisigke mentions several such instances,<sup>20</sup> but all from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. Although it is not in itself impossible that with intransitive verbs of movement the situation of rest is in focus as a result of the movement, it stands more to reason that the expansion of *εἰς* caused uncertainty in the use of *ἐν* as well. To the best of our knowledge, several NT books are the oldest testimonies to this process of merging. That its origin could already be found in the LXX and the Ptolemaic papyri cannot be documented from the examples given by Johannessohn and Mayser.

### *Conclusions*

My aim was to emphasize that from a psycholinguistic point of view there is a crucial difference between synonymy or interchangeability of *εἰς* and *ἐν* on the one hand and a varying focus on rest or movement on the other. For the LXX our discussion has the following implications.

<sup>19</sup> See also Mayser’s example mentioned above on p. [134].

<sup>20</sup> F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschildern usw. aus Ägypten*, Bd. I: A-K, (Berlin: Selbstverlag der Erben, 1925).

- 1) Great caution is needed in the case of ἐν with intransitive verbs of movement if the sense of “moving within certain boundaries” is impossible.
- 2) A similar reserve is in order with respect to readings of εἰς for ἐν if they cannot be explained in the sense of “where to.”
- 3) Johannesson's *Untersuchungen* should be used with due caution.