

Ἐξαγωγή or Ἔξοδος -- What Changed and Why?

H.B. Swete discusses the nomenclature used for the titles of the various books in the Septuagint. His thorough review¹ demonstrates that all manuscripts coming from the Christian context used Ἔξοδος as the title for the second book of the Pentateuch.² He hypothesizes that “the Greek titles are probably of Alexandrian origin and pre-Christian use.”³ However, he does not provide any pre-Christian example of ἔξοδος as the name for the second book in the Pentateuch. He does note that Philo “calls Exodus ἡ Ἐξαγωγή”⁴ but does offer any explanation. The Greek title is not related to the title normally used in Hebrew ואלה שמות (and “these are the names”). Many Greek manuscripts use ἔξοδος (B M) or ἔξοδος Αἰγύπτου (A) as the superscription. This term passed into the English Bible tradition via the Vulgate. Origen transliterated the Hebrew title ואלה שמות as Ούελε σμώθ.⁵

If Philo used ἡ Ἐξαγωγή as the title for this book and the earliest Christian references use ἡ Ἔξοδος, does this mean that the title for the book changed during this intervening time? What in fact was the title used in Alexandria in the second century B.C.E. for the second book of Moses? This article will review the evidence for the Greek nomenclature for Exodus and propose some suggestions as to why variation occurred.

The term ἔξοδος occurs twice in the Old Greek translation of the Exodus narrative. At 19:1 it describes Israel’s arrival at Sinai “in the third month of the departure (ἔξοδος) of the sons of Israel from the land of Egypt”. The other occurrence describes “the end (ἔπ’ ἔξοδον) of the year” when a “feast of completion” was to be celebrated (23:16). The Old Greek translations at Numbers 33:38; Psalm 104:38; 113:1 and III Reigns 6:1 also used ἔξοδος to describe the story of Israel’s exit from Egypt.

Hatch and Redpath list no use of the noun ἔξαγωγή in the Greek Old Testament.⁶ However, the cognate verb ἐξάγω occurs 31x in Greek Exodus (Exod) and is the preferred

¹H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (New York: KTAV Publishing House Inc., 1968):197-230.

²In the description of papyrus texts cited by John Wevers, *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum vol. II, 1 Exodus* (Göttingen; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991): 14-15, no material remains for the beginning of Exodus where a title might be expected to occur.

³Ibid., 215.

⁴Ibid., 215.

⁵Nahum Sarna in the “Book of Exodus” (*Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Volume 2, page 690) says that “This name [The Departure from Egypt], descriptive of the main theme of the book, reflects an ancient Hebrew title current among the Jews of Palestine and Alexandria: *seper yesi’at misrayim*, “The Book of the Departure from Egypt. This title is still preserved in the 10th century C.E. Ben-Asher MT.”

⁶Twice in Plutarch and once in Strabo ἔξαγωγή is used in the sense of ‘export’ of figs, dogs or slaves.

choice of the translator to describe the movement of Israel out of Egypt. This pattern is repeated in the remaining books of the Pentateuch, as well as other portions of the Septuagint. God is defined as ὁ ἑξαγαγών, i.e. the one who leads out (Exod. 6:7). Eupolemus⁷ in a fragment quoted by Clement of Alexandria⁸ says that “Moses led out [ἐξήγαγε] the Jews from Egypt.”⁹

It is probably this dominant rendering in Exod that caused Ezekiel the Tragedian to choose ἑξαγωγή as the title for his epic poem that described Israel’s departure from Egypt. Various fragments survive of his poetic retelling of Exodus 1-15 and the wording indicates knowledge of the Old Greek translation. Based upon the fact that his work is quoted by Alexander Polyhistor, Ezekiel and his work are dated no later than mid-first century B.C.E., but could be as early as the end of the third century B.C.E. Holladay¹⁰ considers a late second century B.C.E. dating as most compelling.

In Fragment fourteen (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Book 9.29.13) Ezekiel apparently defines Israel’s departure from Egypt: καὶ τοῦδε μηνὸς ἑξοδον διδοῖ θεός (“And in this month God will provide their Exodus”¹¹). The parallel in Exod reads ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐξάγω τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.¹² So Ezekiel knew the term ἑξοδος, a common word in Hellenistic Greek, but did not select it as the title for his epic. When he describes the commission given to Moses by God, however, Ezekiel says that God is sending him to Israel and Pharaoh “so that you might lead my people forth (ἐξάγοις) from the land.”¹³

Fragments of the works of Aristobulus, probably a pre-Christian Alexandrian Jewish writer,¹⁴ are preserved in various Christian writers. Fragment one preserved in the *Pascal Canons of Anatolius* mentions κατὰ τὴν ἑξοδον but this probably represents the influence of Anatolius, rather than being attributable to Aristobulus because Aristobulus is discussed in the third

⁷ Carl Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors Volume I: Historians* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983), 93 says that he “was a Greek-speaking Jewish historian who flourished in Palestine in the mid-2nd century B.C.E.”

⁸ *Stromata* 1.21.141.4-5.

⁹ Artapanus, another Hellenistic Historian, probably Jewish, narrates much of Moses’ experience in Egypt. Holladay (op.cit., pages 189-190) suggests a second century B.C.E. date. Despite a considerable piece of his narrative quoted in Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.27.1-37 Artapanus does not use either the verb ἐξάγειν or the noun ἑξοδος to describe Israel’s deliverance from Egypt. Rather he uses the verb ἀπολύειν to describe their liberation.

¹⁰ Carl Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume II: Poets* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1989): 310-311.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 385.

¹² 12:17 “For on this day I will bring your host out of the land of Egypt” (NETS).

¹³ Carl Holladay, 371. ὅπως σὺ λαὸν τὸν ἐμὸν ἐξάγοις χθονός.

¹⁴ Carl Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors Volume III Aristobulus* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 74-75, dates Aristobulus to the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145 B.C.E).

person.¹⁵ However, we also have fragments quoted in Eusebius. Fragment three quotes explicitly from Aristobulus and in this segment Aristobulus says that “before Demetrius of Phalerum, before the dominion of Alexander and the Persians, others had translated accounts of the events surrounding the exodus from Egypt [τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξαγωγήν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῶν Ἑβραίων] of the Hebrew,…”¹⁶ In Fragment three(a), again found in Eusebius, there is another direct quotation and it says that before Demetrius of Phalerum many had translated “accounts of the events surrounding the exodus from Egypt [τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγωγήν τῶν Ἑβραίων] of the Hebrews.”¹⁷ What is intriguing is that the terminology is exactly the same.

Wisdom of Solomon 19:2 describes Pharaoh as “permitting their [Israelites] departure”.¹⁸ A little later in the same chapter the author says that God divided the Red Sea so that Israel might have “an unimpeded way out of the Red Sea.”¹⁹ However, the author never names the Greek narrative from which he mines his material, nor does he use ἔξοδος to describe Israel’s departure from Egypt. Rather, the noun occurs at 3:2 but defines the death of the righteous and similarly at 7:6 (“for all have one entry into life and a like departure”, μία δε πάντων εἴσοδος εἰς τὸν βίον ἔξοδος τε ἴση). *Wisdom of Solomon* uses the verb ἐξάγω once (19:10) to retell how “the earth brought forth gnats”.

Jubilees 1.1 sets its narrative “in the first year of the exodus”, but we have no Greek exemplar for this material and so do not know what Greek term the author used for the exodus in this pseudepigraphon. The Hebrew fragments (4Q216) read “[Go up] to the top of the moun[tain. In the first year] of the so[ns of Israel] leaving [Egypt, in the] thir[d month...].” and there does not seem to be a specific mention of the term ‘exodus’. The *Assumption of Moses 1.4* also refers to the time when “the people had gone forth after the Exodus”. However, this material is only extant in Latin and so again we can have no certainty as to what a Greek translation would have read.

Philo consistently (probably three times) describes this second book of the Greek Pentateuch²⁰ by the title Ἐξαγωγή, commenting that “the name thus found was appropriate to

¹⁵ Ibid., 130-131.

¹⁶ Ibid., 152-155. *Praeparatio Evangelica 12.1*

¹⁷ Ibid., 158-161. *Praeparatio Evangelica 9.6*. It is also quoted in Clement of Alexandria’s *Stromateis 1.22.150* with the same wording. Clement is writing over a hundred years before Eusebius.

¹⁸ *Wisdom of Solomon 19:2* ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῦ ἀπιέναι.

¹⁹ *Wisdom of Solomon 19:7* ἐξ ἔρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ὁδὸς ἀνεμπόδιστος. This is the closest we come in this essay to the term ἔξοδος used to describe the Israelite’s departure from Egypt. The noun occurs at 3:2 but defines the death of the righteous and similarly at 7:6 (“for all have one entry into life and a like departure”, μία δε πάντων εἴσοδος εἰς τὸν βίον ἔξοδος τε ἴση).

²⁰ Philo, *De Migratione Abraham 14* πανκάλως γὰρ ὁ ἱεροφάντης μίαν τῆς νομοθεσίας ὅλην ἱερὰν βίβλον Ἐξαγωγήν ἀνέγραψεν.

the oracles contained in it.”²¹ The cognate verb ἐξάγω occurs twenty-five times in his writings. Virtually all of these occurrences reflect direct quotations from the Greek Old Testament (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers and Deuteronomy) where this verb is used, or commentary that arises from his discussion of these quotations and thus is directly dependent upon them. Thus Philo’s use of this verb is dependent upon the Septuagint usage. In four of these cases he uses the language from Exod to describe Moses’ leadership of Israel out of Egypt.²² In other cases he discourses upon the earth bringing forth living soul (Genesis 1), God’s instruction to Abraham to consider the stars (Genesis 15), Moses’ appointment of Joshua as the new shepherd leader for Israel (Numbers 27), the miraculous bringing forth of water from the rock (Deuteronomy 8), and parents bringing forth abusive children for judgment (Deuteronomy 21). He uses these narratives to illustrate allegorically his understanding of pious wisdom that enables the divine-seeking mind to master the bodily passions.

He does employ ἔξοδος to describe the banishment of Cain²³, the immigration of Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees to Canaan²⁴, the departure of Jacob after Isaac’s blessing²⁵, Israel’s exit from Egypt²⁶, Pharaoh’s attempt to chastise the Israelites for leaving Egypt²⁷, Balaam’s journey to curse Israel²⁸, and Moses’ death²⁹. However, Philo never uses this term as a title for the second book of Moses, even though he will use it to describe the actual event of Israel’s departure.

In the New Testament only Hebrews 11:22 refers to this event: περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, when talking about Joseph. The other two uses of this noun in the New Testament describe a person’s death (Jesus’ death in Luke 9:11 and Peter’s death in 2 Peter 1:15). More commonly the New Testament writers use the verb ἐξάγω to describe Israel’s deliverance. Twice there is a quotation from the Greek Old Testament (Acts 7:40 = Exodus 32:1; Hebrews 8:9

²¹ Philo, *De Migratione Abraham* 14. In *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres* 251 Philo refers to a specific story in this narrative by the phrase ἐν Ἐξαγωγῇ and then proceeds to quote from the Greek text of Exodus 19:18. He is using this noun as a title for the book. The same phrase is used in *De Somniis* I, 17 to locate a statement in Exodus 10:23.

²² *De Posteritate Caini* 155, *De Mutatione Nominum* 207 (*Exodus* 6:26) (and probably 209), *De Somniis* 1,71 (*Exodus* 19:17), *De Vita Mosis* 1, 171 (*Exodus* 14:11 or 16:3)..

²³ *De Posteritate Caini* 9.

²⁴ *Hypothetica* 6:1.

²⁵ *De Ebrietate* 9.

²⁶ *De Vita Mosis* 1:105,122, *Hypothetica* 6:2,5.

²⁷ *De Vita Mosis* 2:248

²⁸ *De Vita Mosis* 1:268.

²⁹ *De Virtutibus* 77. Philo also uses this term to describe the physical exits of the human body particularly in reference to anthropomorphisms, the departure of the mind-soul from the evil sensations of the body, the departure of evil when virtue arrives, Abraham’s departure from the Chaldean religious system, and the practice of the Alexandrian Governor Flaccus to be escorted on his daily processions.

= Jeremiah 38:32 (=Hebrew text at 32:1)). Stephen describes Moses as “this man who led them out.”³⁰ However, there is no context where the second book of Moses is given a title. Rather, the New Testament will more generally speak of the Law or reference Moses directly when quoting from the Pentateuch.

Josephus never refers specifically to the second book of Moses and so we do not know what title he would have used for it. Thirteen times he uses ἔξοδος when describing Israel’s departure from Egypt.³¹ When he retells Joshua’s speech to Israel at Shiloh, he refers to the Israelites’ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου.³² As well, Josephus uses this noun to describe city exits³³, a journey, excursions or departures generally³⁴, the outcome of a battle³⁵, an expedition or battle campaign³⁶, and death³⁷.

He uses the noun ἐξαγωγή once³⁸ to describe a law introduced by Herod that required thieves to be ‘deported’ from his kingdom. However, this has no relationship to the Exodus. The cognate verb ἐξάγω does occur in his description of the Exodus four times.³⁹ In one context (*Contra Apionem* 2,15-17) he uses both the verb ἐξάγω and the noun ἔξοδος to describe the departure of Israel from Egypt:

2,15

τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν χρόνων ἐν οἷς φησι τὸν Μωσὴν ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς λεπρῶντας καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ τὰς βάσεις πεπηρωμένους

On the question of the date which he assigns to the exodus of the lepers, the blind and the lame under Moses’ leadership...

2.17

ὁ δὲ... Ἀπίων ὠρίστατο τὴν ἔξοδον ἀκριβῶς κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην Ὀλυμπιάδα....

Apion... precisely dates the exodus in the seventh Olympiad....

The verb defines the activities that constitute the event, while the noun refers to the entire event. In his usage Josephus follows the renderings used in Exod.

³⁰ Acts 7:36 οὗτος ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ.

³¹ He only has reference to this in the *Antiquities* and *Contra Apionem*

³² *A.J.*, 5, 72. Josephus uses this term elsewhere to describe Israel’s exit from Egypt (*A.J.*, 2 321).

³³ *Vita* 53.

³⁴ *Vita* 201, *Antiquities* 8,186, *Antiquities* 2,118. cf. *Psalms of Solomon* 4:14.

³⁵ *Antiquities* 7,76

³⁶ *Antiquities* 4,156; 8,400.

³⁷ *Antiquities* 18,128

³⁸ *A.J.* 16,1

³⁹ Twice in the *Antiquities* (2,269; 6,38) and twice in *Contra Apionem* (1,280; 2,15).

This review of the existing data shows that in no extant pre-Christian Greek literature do we find ἡ Ἐξοδος used as the title of the second book of the Pentateuch.⁴⁰ Rather the evidence indicates that the name used for this book among Greek-speaking Jews in the later Second Temple period was ἡ Ἐξαγωγή. However, Josephus never uses this noun to refer to the exodus of Israel from Egypt nor to the second book of the Pentateuch.

The earliest reference to the second book of Moses by the title ἡ Ἐξοδος that I have discovered is in Justin’s *Dialogue with Trypho*. Three times he names “the book of Exodus”(ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου Ἐξόδου)⁴¹, as the source for God’s appearance to Moses at the Burning Bush.⁴² This writing probably was produced in the mid-second century C.E. Yet we also discern unanimity within later Christian sources that ἡ Ἐξοδος was the name they used for this narrative. Eusebius⁴³ also quotes from a letter sent by Melito to a person named Onesimus and in this letter he lists the five books of Moses, including ἡ Ἐξοδος. Bishop Melito is dated to the period of Marcus Aurelius, c. 170 C.E.

Writer	ἡ Ἐξαγωγή	ἡ Ἐξοδος
Ezekiel the Tragedian (2 B.C.E.)	Title for his Epic poem	
Aristobulus (c. 180-145 B.C.E.)	Formal name for the Exodus	
Philo of Alexandria (Early 1 st C.E.)	Formal title for the narrative	
Justin (mid 2 nd C.E.)		Formal title for the narrative
Melito’s letter (c. 170 C.E.)		Formal title for the narrative

Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that in Rabbinic writings the second book of the Pentateuch was defined with a title similar to that found in the Greek translation – *sēper*

⁴⁰ In the Dead Sea Scrolls there is no specific title used to describe the second book of the Pentateuch when materials are quoted from it. In 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) when introducing material quoted from Exodus 15:17-18 it says “as it is written in the book of [Moses...]”, but the actual name of the book or the person it is attributed to is missing.

⁴¹ M. Marcovich, *Justin Martyr’s Dialogue with Trypho* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1997):172, 200, 288.

⁴² *Dialogue with Trypho* LIX, LXXV, CXXVI.

⁴³ Eusebius, *H E IV, 26, 14*. The Greek text is:

Μωυσέως πέντε, Γένεσις Ἐξοδος Ἀριθμοὶ Λευιτικὸν Δευτερονόμιον, ...
Five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, ...

yěsî āt misrayim, but I can get no sense of a date at which such a title might have been used within Jewish Rabbinic discussions and writings.

The data then suggests that up to the midpoint of the first century C.E., if Philo is any indication, the name used for the second book of Moses in Hellenistic Jewish writers and a frequently used term to describe the events of the Exodus was ἡ Ἐξαγωγή. However, from the mid-second century C.E. onwards the title used in Christian writers was ἡ Ἐξοδος. This development gains credence in that several of the Hellenistic Jewish sources using ἡ Ἐξαγωγή as the title survive only in Christian writings. We get no sense from the data available from this period that the name used in Hebrew language settings changed during this period. It is unfortunate that we have no witness from Hellenistic Jewish writers towards the end of the first century C.E. that provides a specific title for this book in Greek. We might be tempted on the basis of the distribution of the evidence to think that Hellenistic Jewish writers used ἡ Ἐξαγωγή as the usual descriptor for the book and a common descriptor for the event and that Christian authors, at least in the second century C.E. used ἡ Ἐξοδος as a title. But this is probably a simplistic explanation.

The alternatives used in the Greek tradition seem to be based in the usage of Greek-speaking Jews and Christians. Further, since the names used for the second book of the Greek Pentateuch were exegetically based and not translational in origin, presumably we should seek a reason for the emergence of these alternatives similarly in shifting semantic usage. But we also might explore whether any external factors may have encouraged these alternatives. In terms of semantics some of the connotations associated with ἡ Ἐξαγωγή may have made it less attractive over time as a title for the second book of the Pentateuch, particularly in Hellenistic contexts.

Both terms can be used to describe military expeditions. In particular the expression ἔξαγαγεῖν τὴν δύναμιν (*Antiquities* 7.73;9.246;12.426) describes the marshalling of an army for battle. For example, at Exodus 12:17 the translator renders the Hebrew text:

ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐξάξω τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

כִּי בַעֲצֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הוֹצֵאתִי אֶת־צְבֹאוֹתֵיכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:

This is the only context in Exod where this Greek idiom occurs.⁴⁴ This rendering suggests that Israel left Egypt in the form of a military expedition, even though it left in haste. Thus, entitling

⁴⁴ In 7:4 God promises:

καὶ ἐπιβαλῶ τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἐξάξω σὺν δυνάμει μου τὸν λαόν μου τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σὺν ἐκδικήσει μεγάλης.

...and I will lay my hand upon Egypt and I will bring out with my host my people, the sons of Israel, from the land of Egypt with great vengeance. (NETS)

this narrative as ἡ Ἐξαγωγὴ could certainly convey the notion that the story it contained was about a military action.⁴⁵ However, we also find the term ἡ Ἐξαγωγὴ used to describe commercial activity, i.e. exports,⁴⁶ particularly slave exports. As well we have examples of its use to describe the activity of deportation.

This would not appear to be the case with the noun ἔξοδος. While it is used by Herodotus to refer to military expeditions, we do not find it used to describe exports. Rather its general sense seems to be departure of some kind – whether a means of departure (exit), the action of departing (death, expedition), or the outcome of some activity.

We do know that there was an increasingly anti-semitic climate in the first century in certain parts of the Roman empire and giving the title ἡ Ἐξαγωγὴ to a writing could allow it to be twisted in slanderous ways, implying that the narrative was about slave exports or deportation. We also know from various writers that such slanderous suggestions were made by various non-Jewish Hellenistic writers about Israel’s liberation from Egypt. In contrast a title such as ἡ Ἐξοδος presumably would not carry such connotations. Further this word has the additional advantage of being incorporated within the Greek translation of the narrative. It might well be that such factors encouraged the adoption of a different title for the Greek translation.

Additional impetus to such a change might have arisen because of the changing political scene in the last half of the first century C.E., particularly in terms of Palestine’s place in the Roman context. The results of the Jewish War, ending with the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, would be particularly significant. Josephus knows the word ἡ Ἐξαγωγὴ but chooses not to use it to describe Israel’s departure from Egypt. Perhaps the military overtones were too

וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־יָדִי עַל־מִצְרַיִם וְהוֹצֵאתִי אֶת־צִבְאוֹתַי אֶת־עַמִּי בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִחֶרֶם מִצְרַיִם
בְּשִׁפְטִים גְּדוֹלִים

...and I will lay my hand upon Egypt and bring my people the Israelites, company by company, out of the land of Egypt by great acts of judgment. (NRSV)

However, the rendering of וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־יָדִי as σὺν δυνάμει μου does not replicate the normal Greek idiom for a military expedition. Although the Hebrew might permit ἐξάξω τὴν δύνάμιν μου the translator avoids this, perhaps thrown by the repeated וְ and choosing to render the first as the preposition and the second as the direct object marker. In fact the normal idiom in Exod, reflecting the Hebrew formation, is ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸν λαὸν μου (cf. Exod. 3:11,12).

Similar expressions (ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σὺν δυνάμει αὐτῶν) occur at 6:26 and 12:51.

⁴⁵ A. Le Boulluec and P. Sandevour, *La Bible D’Alexandrie. L’Exode* (Paris: Éditions Du Cerf, 1989): 26 comment that the title ἡ Ἐξαγωγὴ perhaps is related to the use of the verb ἐξάγειν with God as subject “et peut faire allusion plus précisément que *exodus* à l’action tutélaire et libératrice de Dieu.”

⁴⁶ Slave exports can be described with this term. J.H.Moulton and G.Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, repr. 1972): 220. P. Lille I.29¹⁴ (iii/B.C.) μηθενὶ ἐξέστω σώματα πωλεῖν [ἐπ’] Ἐξαγωγῆι “that no one be permitted to sell slaves for exportation,”...

sensitive in the light of the Jewish revolt and Roman reprisals. The second book of the Pentateuch tells a remarkable story about a subject people gaining its freedom by divine intervention from a powerful empire, Egypt. Was this story used by Jewish nationalist to fuel resistance against Rome? If so, some Jewish leaders in post-70 Judaism may have sought to deter such usage by promoting the name "Ἐξοδος" as a less overtly militaristic term.

Christianity, while emerging within Judaism in the middle of the first century did not begin producing its own literature until the fifties and sixties. This material uses the terminology we find in other Jewish materials originating in Palestine to refer to the Exodus materials as part of the books of Moses or "the Law", without differentiation. Like Josephus the New Testament materials will refer to Israel's departure from Egypt as ἡ ἔξοδος, but does not use this term as a title for the second book of the Pentateuch.

What should we tentatively conclude from this data? While we must be careful not to base conclusions on arguments from silence, there is some evidence that the title for the second book of the Pentateuch changed from ἡ Ἐξαγωγή to ἡ Ἐξοδος sometime in the later first century C.E. The factors that led to this change, however, remain speculative. Whether it was influenced by practice within Palestine or the Diaspora remains unclear. However, between the time when Philo was writing in Alexandria and the written account of Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* (probably composed in Rome) it seems that ἡ Ἐξοδος became the preferred title. We find no case where a writer alternatively used now one, now the other. Nor is there any discussion about this change and what reasons might have contributed to its occurrence. I am not aware that such a name change in Greek for any of the other books of the Pentateuch occurred.

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