

# ESSAYS

CHIEFLY ON

## THE ORIGINAL TEXTS

OF THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

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## P R E F A C E.

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## THE MASSORETIC TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.



Is the Received Text of the Old Testament more sound or less sound than that of the New? The question is no new one; it was raised as soon as the critical study of the Greek Testament showed what a vast number of various readings was found in the Greek mss. It was not without a struggle that the existence of these was admitted. When it could no longer be questioned, the battleground was changed to the text of the Hebrew Bible. Here, at least, it was said (as it is sometimes said even now), there cannot be any errors: first, because of the great care taken of the sacred books by the Jews, and secondly, because as a matter of fact the mss. (it was alleged) all agreed. Some, indeed, went farther, and taking "the high priori road," asserted that all copies wherever made must necessarily agree, since it would be inconsistent with the Divine goodness to allow errors to enter into books which contain the Divine revelation. This was a consideration which might have had weight as long as the variations in the text of the Gospels and Epistles were unknown, but which one would think would commend itself to few who held the New Testament to be quite as important as the Old, and who saw how many variations were exhibited in Mill's edition of the former.

The other reasons sounded more plausible, but they also had to give way to facts. For as soon as the mss. were examined it appeared that Jewish scribes were no more infallible than Greeks or Romans. Mistakes of letters similar in form or in sound, repetitions, omissions, occur frequently. Indeed the first kind of error from confusion of letters similar in form is, from the peculiarity of the alphabet, more common in Hebrew than in Greek or Latin.

To take the example of one or two mss. The ms. which Kennicott numbers 5 contains a note by Rabbi Leon Modena, dated 1628, in which he states that after careful examination he has found it faithfully transcribed. He assigns it to the year 1304. Yet this "faithful transcript" omits nine words in Gen. xix. 30 (from homœoteleuton, *i.e.* the same word recurring), and in Exod. viii. omits two entire verses (10 and 11).

From another ms. characterized as good and ancient (Kennicott's 1) we note the following: Gen. xxix. 10, three words omitted ("from the well's mouth"); *ib.* 15, "my brother" omitted; *ib.* 34, "a son" omitted; Gen. xxxi. 52, ten words omitted (from "this heap" to "this heap"); xxxiii. 18, "when he came from Padan-Aram" omitted; xxxiv. 24, from "gate of his city" to "gate of his city" omitted; Exod. xxvii. 12, written twice; Levit. xix. 3, three words repeated; Levit. v. 9, this ms. (not alone) inserts "[of the] congregation" after "sin-offering;" Levit. xxiii. 29, it adds three words, "[that soul] shall be cut off from [the midst of] his people."

Another ms. has in 1 Sam. xxiii. 10 two letters inserted from the line below; the scribe discovered his error before completing the word, but has not erased the letters. In 2 Sam. v. 2, the same scribe has similarly inserted, after the word "said," the first four letters of "Israel" from the line above, and has left them unerased. Again in 2 Kings v. 9, the same scribe has inserted "and stood" a second time before the word "of-Elisha."

Let us take a different point of view, and glance at the variations of different mss. in a single passage, *ex. gr.* 1 Chron. xi. In this one chapter we find that one ms. has twenty-two

variations from the printed text. Amongst these are the omission of five words in *v.* 6, of eleven words in *v.* 18, six words in *v.* 23, and 3 in *v.* 30, all from homœoteleuton. A second MS. has seventeen deviations, including the same omission of eleven words in *v.* 18. Another has thirteen deviations, and again another twenty-eight, including an interpolation of three words in *v.* 2.

The frequency of omissions from homœoteleuton deserves particular notice in view of the fact that there are good reasons for suspecting such omissions in our present text of some of the sacred books. No rules can make scribes infallible. But were not faulty copies destroyed? The answer to this is the fact that faulty copies exist in hundreds; nay, that no copy, even the most esteemed, is without faults.

But if such errors as the above have occurred whilst the scribes have been supposed to be subject to strict rules, and since the compilation of the Massorah, what may not have occurred before? For, be it observed, this care came too late to save the text from many corruptions. With what precision has the Textus Receptus of the Greek Testament been reproduced since the age of printing! Is there any reason to suppose that the Books of Samuel, or any particular Psalms, were regarded for two or three centuries after their first publication with as much reverence as the early Christians felt for the Gospels and Epistles? It is to a period far earlier than any of our existing authorities that we owe such errors as may exist in the Hebrew text. Critics speak of ancient and very ancient mss. But what is implied in the word "ancient?" Antiquity is relative. The true antiquity of a MS., from a critical point of view, consists, *not in its distance from us, but in its nearness to the author.* A twelfth-century MS. of a work written in the eleventh century would be justly called very ancient: not so a twelfth-century MS. of the Gospels. Of these again we possess mss. not more than three or four centuries removed from the authors, and these we rightly call very ancient. A copy of Isaiah or of the older Psalms of the same relative antiquity, would date several centuries before Christ. Now, the Revisers' Preface has made

every reader acquainted with the fact that the oldest certainly dated MS. of *any part* of the Hebrew Bible is a copy of the Prophets written A.D. 916 (now in Odessa).<sup>1</sup> In other words, the true antiquity of our copies of the older Prophets for example, is not greater than that of a copy of the New Testament written in the seventeenth century. If all Greek mss. older than the fifteenth century had perished, we should be in a better position as to the text of the New Testament than we are at present as to that of the Old Testament.

But not only are our Hebrew mss. thus comparatively recent, but the Hebrew text has gone through more perilous vicissitudes than the Greek; and we can point to more than one period in which the channel of transmission became contracted in a very serious manner. First in order we may notice the change of the characters in which the text was written. The older Hebrew character, as is now well known, was similar to that exhibited on the Moabite stone and in the Siloam inscription. According to ancient Jewish writers the change to the characters now employed, called the square or Assyrian character, was made by Ezra, a man worthy, as they say, to have had the Law given by him, but who had at least the honour of altering the writing of it. As Jewish tradition, however, ascribes to Ezra everything that cannot be ascribed to Moses, it deserves little attention. In the present case, indeed, there is some plausibility in the suggestion. The change points to a time when the people had ceased to be familiar with the ancient—that is, the Hebrew—character, and employed the Aramaic. This corresponds with the period of the Babylonian captivity, when the Hebrew tongue itself probably fell into disuse except partially for literary purposes. It would not,

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<sup>1</sup> The subscription in the Odessa Pentateuch stating that this book was corrected 1300 years after the Captivity, *i.e.* A.D. 580 (Smith's *Dict. Bibl.* ii. p. 604, col. 2), has been proved to be a forgery (Strack, *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1876). Of the Firkowitsch Collection of mss. (now in St. Petersburg) Strack remarks that the whole collection does not contain a single certainly-dated epigraph; and in particular all dates towards the end of the twelfth century are unquestionably falsified (*ibid.* p. 544).



then, be unreasonable to suppose that the copy of the Law which Ezra brought with him to Palestine was in the new character, and that this became the archetype of the recension thereafter current. For there appears no reason to think that copies were more numerous in Palestine amongst the poor left behind in the land than in the days of Josiah, when the finding of a copy in the Temple created so much interest. Certainly the intervening period had not been favourable to the multiplication of copies. The transference of the other books into the new character was probably gradual. Considering the history of the times, we can hardly suppose that there would be a demand for copies for private reading. Nor is it to be assumed that all the books of our canon were regarded as sacred at that time. Of some we know certainly that they were not then canonical.

Whether the change of the written character was begun by Ezra or, as is generally thought, at a later period, is of no consequence, but it is important to note that the change largely increased the chances of errors from the resemblance of letters. Hence in the critical study of the text we have to take into account the possible confusion of letters in the older alphabet as well as in the later.

It may naturally be supposed that after the transference of the ancient books into the new character the older copies would be carefully if not superstitiously preserved. The age of a ms. would be marked by the nature of its writing more decisively than the age of an uncial ms. of the New Testament. The supposition is falsified by the facts. Indeed, it became a rule that books written in the Hebrew character were not sacred. This was no doubt partly owing to the circumstance that the hated Samaritans still preserved the old letters, even in writing their own dialect, and thus the new writing made an additional distinction between them and the Jews. Thus it was said that the Samaritans wrote their Aramaic books in the Hebrew character, while the Jews wrote their Hebrew books in the Aramaic character. Even at a much later period, however, the Jews showed their reverence for ancient copies of sacred books in a

fashion very different from ours. We carefully treasure such old books as the Vatican and Alexandrian; the Jews would have buried them. What happened to the copies in the older Hebrew character we do not know, but, as above suggested, they were probably extremely few. Certain it is that no such copies existed within the memory or knowledge of any ancient writer known to us.

Another change was the introduction of the vowel-letters (not to be confounded with that of the vowels). The books as originally written had few, if any, indications of vowel sounds. In later times it became more and more necessary to fix the pronunciation in ambiguous cases, and the vowel-letters, or *matres lectionis*, were inserted. The process was gradual, and we may observe two things about it: first, the absence of that reverence for the letter of the sacred text which prevailed at a later period, and which would have effectually barred any such meddling with it; and, secondly, the complete disappearance of the older mss. The vowel-letters were regarded by the Massoretes as part of the original text, and they exhibit no knowledge of any mss. in which they were not found. There are many instances in which it is important for purposes of criticism to bear in mind that the vowel-letters are not part of the original text.<sup>1</sup>

Now, such a change could not be introduced into many copies independently without much more variation than we actually find. We may, therefore, not unreasonably conjecture that at this epoch the channel of transmission was limited to a very few, perhaps one or two, codices. The addition of the vowel-points marks another stage in the history of the text, on which, however, we need not dwell, as these are universally admitted to be comparatively recent; that is, not earlier than the seventh century.

In addition to these internal changes we may notice at least three periods of peril from without. First, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the Temple was burnt and his soldiers destroyed every copy of the Law on which they could

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<sup>1</sup> On this subject see Chwolson's Essay *On the Quiescentes in Old Hebrew Orthography*, translated in *Hebraica*, March and April, 1890.



lay hands, and doubtless showed no consideration for other books, since to them all Hebrew books would look pretty much the same. Again at the destruction of Jerusalem, and, lastly, half a century later, in the time of Hadrian, at Bethur, where the Jews made their final stand, and where it is said that thousands of scholars and their books were cast into the flames. After making all allowance for exaggeration, there remains enough to show that there was a very large destruction of copies of the Scriptures.

In these successive catastrophes, the like of which has never occurred to the New Testament, the accuracy of a copy would give it no greater chance of preservation. "The survival of the fittest" would not be the law which governed this. On the contrary, the more public copies, which we may suppose would be also the most correct, would be the most certain to be found and destroyed. The copy of the Law brought to Rome by Titus was doubtless the standard Temple copy.

Mention of the Temple copy leads us to remark that, while the Pentateuch was usually copied by men acquainted with the Law, the other books were in the hands of a class of copyists who made this their special business, in addition to being employed as elementary teachers and public readers. These were generally poor, and many of them thought only of speed in their work. It was said of them that their poverty was a judgment on them for their neglect in copying, of which, indeed, we have already given some instances. One old writer, enumerating those for whom Gehenna is prepared, includes these copyists. The best of them, however, devoted much labour and intelligence to the verbal study of the Scriptures. To these we owe the vowel-points, introduced at first in order to assist in teaching the young. To them also we owe the beginnings of the Massorah. This may be summarily described as a mass of grammatical, lexicographical, and concordantial notices. These are not, indeed, what the modern reader might expect from this description, for they do not contain comments or explanations of the peculiarities noted, but merely catalogue the facts as in an index. A short extract will give a better

idea of the Massorah as it appears in the Rabbinic Bible than any description. We take the extract from Exodus ii. :—

Ver. 1. “ ‘ And there went a man of the house of :’ twice, thus connected, and the references are ‘ And there went a man of the house of Levi ;’ ‘ of the house of Lehem [*i.e.* of Bethlehem] Judah.’

Ver. 2. “ ‘ And she hid him :’ not again. ‘ Three months :’ ‘ months’ four times. ‘ And hid him three months ;’ ‘ for the precious things of the growth of’ [the moons, Deut. xxxiii. 14] ; ‘ Canst thou number the months that they fulfil’ [Job. xxxix. 2].

Ver. 3. “ ‘ And [when] she could not :’ twice ; ‘ hide-him :’ not again. ‘ Papyrus :’ thrice : ‘ and she took for him an ark of ;’ ‘ and in vessels of papyrus upon the waters’ [Is. xviii. 2] ; ‘ can the papyrus grow’ [Job. viii. 11]. Also once ‘ and-papyrus :’ ‘ grass with seeds and-papyrus’ [Is. xxxv. 7] : ‘ and-daubed-it :’ one of fifteen words in which the final *He* is not marked with mappik [as it might be expected to be since it stands for the suffix ‘ it’], and which are likely to mislead. [These are enumerated in the ‘ Great Massorah’ at the end of the Rabbinic Bible, to which the more lengthy notices were relegated by the editor. There is a note here to that effect.]

Ver. 5. “ ‘ At the river :’ five times [which are enumerated].”

The word here rendered “river” is not the equivalent of “flumen,” but is a word appropriated to the Nile and its channels. The Massorah does not mention this, but simply gives references to the places where it occurs.

Sometimes a *memoria technica* is given, as, for example, with reference to the irregularity of “all the days was,” instead of “were,” in the case of Enoch, Lamech, and Noah (doubtless a mere clerical error) ; the *memoria technica* is made up of the initials of these three names. Some Massoretes give only two of these instances, and many mss. read “were.” Sometimes, again, a slightly different reading is mentioned either as Qerê (of which more presently) or as conjecture, but no information is given either as to ms. authority or as to signification. The nearest approach to this is when a word is said *e.g.* to occur twice “in two significations.”<sup>1</sup>

Much of the contents of the Massorah finds its nearest

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<sup>1</sup> A notable instance is Is. xxxviii. 13, where the Massorah states that כְּאֶרֶב occurs twice in two significations, the other passage being Ps. xxii. 15.

modern analogy in the marginal notes in Alford's Greek Testament which inform us by means of symbols whether certain words, phrases, or constructions are unique, or, if they occur only two or three times, give us references to these occurrences. If instead of chapter and verse these references were by a few words of the context, the resemblance would be at once manifest; but the Massoretes did not possess the convenience of numbered chapters and verses. These notices are the result of the observations of many generations of scholars; they are not the work of an authoritative college of revisers or editors. Moreover these scholars presuppose a received text; they did not constitute it.

There is one part of the Massorah which appears in every printed edition—namely, the marginal readings, to which is prefixed the initial letter of “Qerê,” “read” (= *lectum*, or rather *legendum*, not = *lege*), the textual reading being called “Kethibh” or “written.”<sup>1</sup> It is important to ascertain the nature and source of these readings. In the first place, when a coarse expression occurs in the text a more decent word is substituted; secondly, grammatical forms supposed to be incorrect are corrected in the margin; and, thirdly, letters supposed to be wrongly written are corrected, so that the sense is different. In a few cases either a word written in the text is omitted or a word omitted in the text is supplied. There are some words of frequent occurrence which are always altered by the reader, and in the case of these there is no marginal note, the vowels in the text being sufficient to remind the reader of the necessary substitution. Each of these is called a *Qeré perpetuum*.

It would be a mistake to suppose that we owe all these marginal readings to the Massoretes. Some of them at least we know to be much older, and possibly all may be so. Now, the question arises, Are these Qerês various readings from mss. or not? Here we observe in the first place that some at least are certainly not so (those, namely, which substitute a more

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<sup>1</sup> קרי is the correct punctuation. See Kautzsch, *Gram. des Bibl. Aram.*, p. 81, note.

decent for a coarse expression), and that there is no difference in the way in which these and the others are introduced. This is already against the supposition that the latter are ms. readings. But again we are not without information as to the way in which various readings were dealt with by the early pre-Massoretic critics. It is related in the Talmud that once upon a time three copies of the Law were found in the Temple, each of which had one reading different from the other two. In each instance the reading of the two was adopted, and that of the one rejected. Most likely there were other differences, and one is mentioned merely as a specimen. This method of deciding between two readings by numbering mss. without weighing them is characteristic of the infancy of criticism, especially in the present case, where one of the readings was not even Hebrew, but a Greek word adopted into Aramaic (the word *ζητηται*). Yet the ms. which exhibited this obviously corrupt text was treated as of equal authority with the others. We learn from this narrative not only that corrupt readings were known to have crept into mss., but that even the standard mss. were not free from them, and that no attempt was made to discriminate between the good and the bad copies. But we learn further that the reading believed to be correct was put in the text. This may seem so inevitable as to make the statement superfluous. But those who regard the Qerês as readings gathered from mss. must tacitly suppose the reverse. For there is no uncertainty about the Qerê; it is not introduced with "perhaps thus" or "some read thus," but with an implicit direction to read so and so. The text is only "written," the margin is "read." Nay the Massorettes who supplied the vowel points have done their best to put it out of the power of the reader to read the text as written. If it is a word that is to be omitted, they give it no vowels; if a word is to be added, the vowels stand in their place without the consonants; if one word is to be substituted for another, the vowels of the word "read" appear in the text, and cannot be read with the "written" consonants without impropriety, sometimes not without producing a grammatical monstrosity. There is no doubt, then,



about the preference given to the Qerê. But what should we think of critics who, having compared mss. and judged one of two readings to be better supported than the other, place the wrong reading in the text and banish the correct one to the margin? There is no analogy to the case of an editor of a printed text who may retain a reading which he thinks not the best supported. A printed text is in occupation of the field in a way that no ms. can be, for it means the same identical text in the hands of thousands of persons, and moreover carries with it the *præjudicium* that its editor, with possibly the same materials, regarded its text as the best supported. Yet even the editor of a printed text, when he does not venture on emendation, does not hesitate to correct obvious misprints. Suppose we found in a printed book "By the side of the wav," margin, "read way;" "alein," margin, "read alien;" "thoart," margin, "read throat;" "the broad . . .," margin, "read broad road;" "the length five five cubits," margin, "omit the second five:" should we think that the editor was giving the result of a collation of mss.? Should we not rather conclude with certainty that he was giving in his text an exact reproduction of a single ms.? Now there are amongst the Qerê's exact parallels to each of these hypothetical instances.<sup>1</sup> We infer, then, with equally

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the following: 1 Sam. iv. 13, Eli sat on the seat, יָדָרָךְ where יך is no more a word than "wav." The Qerê is יך. Possibly the true reading is לִיד הַדָּרָךְ. See Driver on Samuel, p. 38. For transposition ep. 1 Chron. iii. 24 הַדְּוִיָּהוּ (a proper name) corrected to הוֹדוּיָהוּ. Ezra viii. 17 אֹצֶה to אֲצוּהָ. Psalm lxxiii. 2 נָטִי corrected to נָטִי. For an omission corrected ep. Judg. xx. 13 בְּנִימָן .. לֹא אָבוּ where the Qerê supplies בְּנִי before בְּנִימָן. It was lost owing to the repetition of the same letters. "Five five cubits" actually occurs, Ezek. xlviii. 16. For instances of a letter accidentally added in the text, see 2 Sam. xxiii. 21, where אִשֶּׁר is written for אִישׁ (= אִישׁ); 2 Kings xix. 23 בָּרַכְבּ for בָּרַב; Josh. viii. 12 עִיר for עֵי; Prov. xv. 14 פָּנִי for פִּי. For a letter omitted ep. 1 Kings ix. 18 תַּמֹּר for תַּדְמוֹר (Tadmor) 2 Sam. xxiii. 20 חֵי for חֵיל; Amos viii. 8 נִשְׁקָה for נִשְׁקָעָה. In 2 Chron. xi. 18 Rehoboam, according to the text, (Kethibh), married a

good reason, that these are not various readings collected from mss., but critical emendations of a text judged to be corrupt. They attest, not the presence, but the absence of ms. authority, and it is this alone that explains the fact that the reading believed to be genuine was not put in the text. It also explains why the changes are so small, not always as to sense, but as to the letters: just such as a cautious and reverent critic would limit himself to. They are sufficient to show that these ancient critics thought that the text needed correction; they rarely give help where more than a single letter is astray.

It is no objection to this that some mss. in certain cases exhibit the Qerê in the text and the Kethibh in the margin. Some copyists would naturally on the authority of the Massoretes insert the Qerê in the text; others, not inquiring into the original intention, would regard these as various readings. And in the same way some of the later Qerês may really have been various readings. The translators of the English Bible appear to have thought themselves at liberty to choose between the Qerê and the Kethibh as of equal authority. But if any of the Qerês are really various readings, not conjectural, we have no means of distinguishing them from the rest. There is another class of marginal readings which openly profess to be conjectures, "Sebirim." These are not without importance, but for our purpose it is sufficient to mention the fact of their existence.<sup>1</sup>

The scantiness of ms. resources thus indicated is only what we might have expected from the history of the text as sketched above. Indeed, it would hardly be matter of astonishment should we find that all existing copies were derived from a single one, or even that at more than one epoch only one copy—we do not say existed, but—served as archetype to our present text.

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"son" of Jerimoth. The Qerê substitutes **בת** for **בן**. (Compare Gen. xxxvi. 2, where the Hebrew text (not the Samaritan) has "daughter" in error for son, Anah being a man (ver. 24). As the error here was not self-evident it is not corrected.)

<sup>1</sup> Graetz considers that these are really various readings from mss. (*Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen*, p. 115, f.).

If this had been actually the fact, how should we be able to discover it? Mere uniformity of reading might support a conjecture, but would be insufficient for proof of a common source, since the coincident readings might possibly be original. Even an ingenious conjecture might be borrowed by one copyist from another. If, however, there is reason to suppose some of these coincident readings not to be genuine, then we have advanced a step towards the proof that the agreeing mss. are derived from a common source. This might only mean that they represent a single critical recension. In general this inference as to the genuineness of particular readings can only reach probability in a higher or lower degree; but in one class of readings, if we may call them so, it reaches certainty: we mean in the case of palpable errors. If two or more mss., for instance, agree very frequently in their errors of omission or repetition or of transcription of single words, this can only be explained on the hypothesis of a common origin, not in this case from one critical recension, but from one uncorrected copy.

Now, let us see whether traces of this kind are to be found in our Hebrew text. We have seen already that omissions (chiefly from homœoteleuton) are not unusual in existing copies. We shall find evidence of the like omissions in the Massoretic text. The first we shall notice is Joshua xxi. 36, 37 (the names of the four cities of refuge in the tribe of Reuben). These verses are, indeed, in many printed texts and in many mss., but we have the authority of the Massorah for the statement that they were absent from all "correct" copies. The omission was so obvious and important and so easily corrected from 1 Chron. vi. 78, 79, that many copyists and editors thought fit to supply the missing words either in the margin or in the text.

Other omissions equally certain were not so obtrusive, and have consequently not been corrected by the copyists. As one example let us take Gen. xxxvi. 11. Here we read: "The sons of Eliphaz were Teman, Omar, Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz, And Timna [was concubine to Eliphaz, Esau's son, and she bare to Eliphaz] Amalek." Now, in 1 Chron. i. 36 the

bracketed words are omitted ("and," which is then obviously necessary, being inserted before "Amalek"). The omitted words constituted exactly one line of the usual length. By the omission Timna is made to be a son of Eliphaz instead of his concubine.

Another instance. In 2 Sam. xxiii. 9-12 we read:—

"After him was Eleazar the son of Dodo the Ahohite, one of the three mighty men with David, when they defied the Philistines that were gathered together to battle [and the men of Israel were gone away. He arose, and smote the Philistines until his hand was weary, and his hand clave unto the sword: and the Lord wrought a great victory that day; and the people returned after him only to spoil. And after him was Shammah the son of Agee the Hararite. And the Philistines were gathered together into a troop], where was a piece of ground full of lentiles ('barley,' *Chron.*); and the people fled from the Philistines. But he ('they,' *Chron.*) stood in the midst of the ground, and defended it, and slew the Philistines; and the Lord wrought a great victory."

In 1 Chron. xi. 13 all the words in brackets are omitted, thus leaving out entirely the exploit of one of the three and the name of the next, by which the exploit of the third is wrongly attributed to the second.<sup>1</sup>

1 Chron. iv. 3: "These were the father of Etam." Either "father" is a mistake for "sons" (which the Sept. and Vulg. have), or "sons of" is omitted before "father." Some modern copyists have adopted one or other of these corrections.

Again, 1 Chron. vi. 13 (E. V. 28), the Hebrew text reads: "The sons of Samuel, the first-born and second and Abiah." The first-born was Joel (1 Sam. viii. 2). His name being omitted, "and second" is treated as his name, and the word "and" inserted before Abiah. In the previous verse the name of Samuel as son of Elkanah is omitted.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the text stands in Samuel the omission would not be accounted for by homœoteleuton, but a slight difference in the original text of Chronicles would make it intelligible.

<sup>2</sup> There is also an error in v. 11 (E. V. 26): "Elkanah his son, Elkanah." Here בְּנֵי of the text is corrected to אֲבִי in the Qerê (which the E. V. translates). This is another instance of a Qerê which is a correction of a manifest blunder. The error lay deeper, but this change made it possible to construe the text.



Repetitions are generally due to eye-error of the same kind as that which produces omissions. One or two examples may be cited. 2 Sam. vi. 3, 4:—

“ And they set the ark of God upon a new cart [Heb. a cart a new] and brought it out of the house of Abinadab that was in Gibeah; and Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, drave the *new* cart [Heb. the cart a *new*] and brought it out of the house of Abinadab that was in Gibeah with the ark of God.”

The italicized words are a repetition occasioned by the eye of the scribe going back about two lines from the second “cart” to the first. The A. V. makes some slight changes, but the Hebrew words are identical with those preceeding. The repetition causes a solecism, since the adjective ought to have the article when it is joined with a noun having the article.

Prov. x. 10: “But a prating fool shall fall” is repeated from v. 8. This repetition displaces the genuine conclusion of v. 10 (quoted later on).

Ezek. xvi. 6, four words are repeated.

A very remarkable repetition is that of 1 Chron. viii. 29–38 in the following chapter ix. 35–44, a repetition occasioned doubtless by the occurrence of the words “dwelt in Jerusalem” in both places. A comparison shows us further an omission of “and Ahaz” in ix. 41; of “and Ner” in viii. 30; and of “and Mikloth” in viii. 31; probably also of “Jehiel” in viii. 29; besides other minor differences.

We may be permitted to direct attention to two instances of repetition (as it seems to us) which have not been generally recognized. The first is in Levit. xx. 10:—

“ A man that commits adultery with the wife of  
a man that commits adultery with the wife of  
his neighbour.”

Here the punctuators have endeavoured to make sense of the repetition by placing a stop after the second “man.” But “the wife of a man” for “the wife of another man” or “of his neighbour” is a strange expression if even possible.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Geiger (*Urschrift*, p. 241), while finding the text corrupt, misses the simple explanation, being strangely trammelled by the accents.

The other instance is Exod. xxx. 6: "Thou shalt put it [the altar of incense] before the vail that is by the ark of the testimony [before the mercy seat that is over the testimony]." "Over" is the same word as "by," and the word for "mercy seat" differs from that for "vail" only in the order of the letters.<sup>1</sup> The repetition makes the verse somewhat difficult, and it is absent from both the Samaritan text and the LXX.

Another kind of error we said to be common in modern Hebrew mss., viz. the slipping in of a word from a line above or below. Of this also we have undoubted instances in the Massoretic text. Thus 2 Sam. xvii. 28: "flour and parched and beans and lentiles and parched." In 1 Chron. xx. 5 we read: "And slew Elhanan the son of Jair eth-Lahmi, the brother of Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a beam of the weavers." In 2 Sam. xxi. 19 the parallel passage reads: "And slew Elhanan the son of Jaare weavers [*oregim*] beth haLahmi eth-Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a beam of the weavers." Here it is obvious that the word "weavers" [*oregim*] has slipped in after the name of Jair from the next line. With lines of the normal Hebrew length the word stood just below, as it does in the edition of the Bible Society. The word "brother of" [*achi*] has been misread as the sign of the accusative "eth," and then in harmony with this "eth-Lahmi" has been supposed to stand for "beth ha lahmi" = "the Bethlehemite," or more probably it was first read as "beth lahmi," and then by way of grammatical correction the article was inserted. However, if anyone prefers to give a different account of the corruption it is the same for our purpose. One of the texts, at least, is corrupt, if not both.<sup>2</sup>

Another notable instance occurs in the history of David's mighty men. In 1 Chron. xi. 11 we read of the exploit of Jashobeam, the son of Hachmoni. In 2 Sam. xxiii. 7, 8, we read as follows: "Shall be utterly burned with fire in the seat [A. V. 'in the same place']. These be the names of the

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<sup>1</sup> פרכת = vail ; כפרת = mercy seat.    <sup>2</sup> See Driver on Samuel, p. 272.

mighty men whom David had : Josheb in the seat Tahchmoni." Here, again, according to the regular length of the line of the ancient scribes, the second "in the seat" is just under the first. And there can be no doubt that it slipped in by an error of eye. The consonants of "Josheb" are the same as the first three of "Jashobeam," and the present vocalization, which makes it mean "sitting," is of course due to the words "in the seat" which now follow. There is reason to believe that "Jashobeam" is not the original form of the name; but this does not now concern us.<sup>1</sup> It is to our purpose, however, to observe that there is another error in the latter part of the same verse, which reads thus (according to the Qerê, which the A. V. follows): "He [was] Adino the Eznite against eight hundred." The parallel in Chronicles has "he lifted up his spear against three hundred." Not to dwell on the difference in the number, it is manifest that "Adino the Eznite" must stand for some words meaning "lifted up his spear." A slight alteration in the letters of the text gives two words which, interpreted from the Arabic, yield this sense.<sup>2</sup> The A. V. supplies (from Chronicles) the words "he lift up his spear," just as in 2 Sam. xxi. 19 it adds "brother of," both additions being in fact conjectural emendations of the Hebrew text. Readers are so accustomed to these and a few other emendations in the A. V. that they forget their real significance.<sup>3</sup> Or do they think that the right of critical emendation belonged to Jewish scribes in early times and to English scholars up to 1611, and then was lost?

A third example we take from 1 Kings vi. 8: "The door of the middle chamber [was] in the right side of the house, and they went up with winding stairs into the middle, and out

<sup>1</sup> The LXX have here 'Ιεβοσθε (*i.e.* Ishbosheth, ε for σ), or in Lucian's recension 'Ιεσβααλ (=Ishbaal), and in Chron. 'Ιεσβαδα = Ishbaal (Δ=Α), in Lucian's text 'Ιεσεβααλ. The original name, therefore, was Ishbaal, altered to Ishbosheth, as explained in the following essay.

<sup>2</sup> This is Gesenius' suggestion: (פ) הָעֶצֶן הוּא יַעֲרֵנוּ (Lex. s. v. עֶרֶן).

<sup>3</sup> See other instances: Josh. xxii. 34; 2 Sam. iii. 7; v. 8; Ps. xxxiv. 17.

of the middle into the third." Here the first "middle" has slipped in from the line below instead of "lowest" (compare verse 6).

Nor can we doubt that the same explanation is to be given of the difference between Psalm xviii. 4 and 2 Sam. xxii. 5: "The sorrows [Heb. cords] of death compassed me, and the floods of ungodly men made me afraid." The text in Samuel has "the billows of death compassed me," which agrees well with the parallelism, and "cords" may easily have slipped in from the following verse.

Transposition of lines or verses arises probably from a line or verse being in the first instance omitted, and then supplied in the margin and inserted in the wrong place. An example of such transposition is found in Isaiah xxxviii. 21, 24: "And Isaiah said, Let them take a lump of figs," &c. "And Hezekiah said, What is the sign that I shall go up to the house of the Lord?" The A. V. renders the verbs as pluperfect, which is in fact not grammatically admissible. When they are correctly rendered the inversion is obvious. The parallel passage in 2 Kings xx. 7, 8 has the verses in the right order. No doubt verse 22 was at first omitted, the eye of the scribe passing from "the house of the Lord" in verse 20 to the same words in the following verse.

An undoubted transposition of two words occurs in Psalm xxxv. 7: "Without cause have they hid for me a pit; their net without cause have they digged for my soul." Punctuators, commentators, and translators (not excepting the Revised Version) have variously attempted to make sense out of the words in their present order. What is required is simply to transpose the words "a pit" and "their net."

The letters D and R were similar in the older writing, but much more so in the later. In fact, in many texts it requires close attention to distinguish them. Where the confusion only turns Hadadezer into Hadarezer, or Benhadad into Benhadar, it is a slight matter; but when it changes Edom into Syria (Aram), or *vice versâ*, it is serious. Now, this happens, for example, in 2 Sam. viii. 12, 13, compared with 1 Chron. xviii.

11, 12. In the latter of these two verses we read: in Samuel, "David gat him a name [or made him a monument] when he returned from smiting Syria in the valley of salt eighteen thousand men." In Chronicles, we have: "Moreover, Abishai the son of Zeruiah smote Edom in the valley of salt eighteen thousand men." In the superscription of Psalm lx. we read that, after David's war with Syria, "Joab returned and smote Edom in the valley of salt eighteen thousand men." It is probable, indeed, that there is omission in Samuel of some words such as "and he smote Edom" (which some versions have); as, with the change only of Aram to Edom, the mention of this great victory is strangely indirect. A similar correction of Edom for Aram is made by the Massorah itself (Qerê in 2 Kings xvi. 6).

A notable instance of the confusion of D and R is in Joshua ix. 4, where it is said that the Gibeonites "went and made-as-if-they-were-ambassadors," &c. This is an ingenious interpretation of a word not elsewhere found; it is open to the objection that they were really ambassadors, not merely in pretence. A substitution of D for R gives us the same word that occurs in verse 12, "gat them provision." A few mss. have this reading, which the Versions support.<sup>1</sup>

In 2 Sam. xxii. 11 we read: "And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly, and was seen on the wings of the wind." That the Almighty was "seen" on the wind is not a poetical but an extravagant idea, and the last that would occur to a Hebrew poet. The text of the Psalm (xviii. 11) supplies the correct rendering, "came flying," the difference being only that between D and R.<sup>2</sup> The verb being rarer than the verb to "see," the mistake easily occurred. In this case, however, a large number of mss. in Samuel have the reading of the Psalm (probably taken from it), whilst a few in the Psalms have the reading of the Book of Samuel.

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<sup>1</sup> יצטירו for יצטידו. ציר occurs="messenger": the verb is nowhere found.

<sup>2</sup> וַיֵּרָא for וַיֵּרָא.



The same confusion and in the same root has given rise to a doublet in Deut. xiv. 13 (compare Levit. xi. 14). Amongst the birds that may not be eaten the latter book enumerates two of the hawk kind: the *daah* and *ayah*. The Book of Deut. has instead, the *raah* and the *ayah* and the *dayah*. Not only is the *raah* an entirely unknown bird, but it is unreasonable to suppose an addition to the list of forbidden birds. It is, on the contrary, very reasonable to suppose a mistake of D for R. But how has the third word got in? Perhaps it was a marginal correction for *raah*, and has crept into the text as marginal emendations often do, and its form may be due to an error of assimilation to the preceding word, or it may be a genuine alternative form of the name *daah*.<sup>1</sup>

In 2 Chron. xxii. 10, we read (in the Massoretic text) that Athaliah "arose and spake all the seed royal." Probably no advocate of the received Hebrew text will defend this. Part of the error is the mistake of D for R, the remainder is probably due to the oscitancy of the scribe. A few MSS. read "destroyed," but in such a case this is almost certainly a correction from recollection of the parallel in the Book of Kings.<sup>2</sup>

There is another remarkable error partly of ear and partly of eye which we must not omit to mention. It is in 2 Sam. vi. 5, where we read that "David and all the house of Israel rejoiced before Jehovah with all [manner of instruments made of] firwood" (or cypress). "Manner of" may fairly be added by a translator, but hardly "instruments of." The literal rendering is "with all kinds of sticks of firtrees, and on harps," &c. Their music was doubtless what we should consider rude, but scarcely so rude as this would make it. The Book of Chronicles (1 Chron. xiii. 8) gives us what is no doubt the true reading, "with all their might and with singing."

<sup>1</sup> Or we might suppose that *dayah* got into the text first by this error of assimilation, and that there was a marginal correction *daah* which was mis-read *raah*, and in this form entered the text. But it is more likely that the order of the names was the same in both places.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xi. 1 ותאבד Chron. has ותדבר.

The difference in the Hebrew letters is inconsiderable, the chief being that between two sibilants, easily confounded.<sup>1</sup>

There are many instances in which according to the Masorah itself, prepositions, &c., of similar sound but different significations are confounded.<sup>2</sup> These errors do not appear in the A. V., which in such cases gives the correct sense.

We mention another instance in which the confusion of D and R is combined with a transposition of letters. Isa. viii. 12, 13: "Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify Jehovah of Hosts Himself, and let Him be your fear, and let Him be your dread." By the changes mentioned we substitute for "a confederacy," a "holy thing."<sup>3</sup> "Call not that holy which this people call holy, neither fear ye their fear," &c. Thus the two clauses of this verse correspond to the clauses of verse 13.

A few other palpable errors in the Massoretic text are:—

1 Sam. xiii. 1: "Saul was a year old when he began to reign." So the Hebrew, as the Revisers correctly state in their margin.

2 Sam. iii. 7: the name of "Ishbosheth" omitted (suggested by Versions).

2 Chron. iii. 4: the height of the porch "an hundred and twenty cubits" (the height of the house being thirty, 1 Kgs. vi. 2).

2 Chron. xxii. 6: "to be healed in Jezreel because of the wounds." The English "because of" is as incorrect as a translation as would be a similar translation of the Greek ὅτι. The Revisers very properly note the error of the Hebrew text in their margin, and follow in their text the parallel passage and the Versions.

Jer. xxvii. 1: "Jehoiakim" instead of "Zedekiah."

Josh. xxii. 34: "And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad called the altar . . . for it is a witness between us." The name of the altar (no doubt "Ed" = "witness," as in the Syriac) has fallen out.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel: בבל עזי ברושים. Chron.: בבל עז ובשרים.

<sup>2</sup> As על and אל.

<sup>3</sup> Reading קדש for קשר.

The textual errors which obtrude themselves most on the English reader are those in numerical statements detected by the aid of parallel passages: such as the "eight hundred" in 1 Chron. xi. 11, against "three hundred" in Samuel; "seven thousand" in 1 Chron. xix. 18, against "seven hundred" in 2 Sam. x. 18; "seven thousand" in 1 Chron. xviii. 4, against "seven hundred" in 2 Sam. viii. 4 (if we adopt the word "chariots" conjecturally supplied from Chronicles by the English Version, otherwise "seventeen hundred"); Solomon's "forty thousand" stalls for his horses, 1 Kings iv. 26, against "four thousand" in 2 Chron. ix. 25; the "forty-two years" of Ahaziah when he began to reign, 2 Chron. xxii. 12, against "twenty-two" in 2 Kings viii. 26, and the fact that his father was only forty at his death; with very many others. The point of view from which these are usually looked at, is that of discrepancies to be reconciled, and the reconciliation is effected by showing how easily a scribe might mistake one numerical letter for another, or, after a numeration founded on the Arabic was adopted, add a cipher. Very good; but let us understand all that is involved in this explanation. As an explanation of such errors in a single ms. it is perfect; when it is applied to the phenomenon of all or nearly all mss. agreeing in the same errors, it means that they are all derived from one copy in which these errors existed. To suppose that several copyists, or even two, should fall into the same series of errors in the same places, all copying correctly in one place and all committing just the same error in the same context in another place: this is to suppose something utterly beyond belief.

The evidence thus furnished that our mss. are all derived from one copy, and that a copy far from being faultless, is so decisive that it scarcely needs further support. But further evidence there is, and of a very curious kind.

There are several words which have one or all their letters dotted. These dots are of great antiquity, much older than the Massoretes; they are mentioned by Jerome, and discussed in the Talmud and Midrashim, where some rather farfetched



explanations are given. For instance in the account of the meeting of Esau and Jacob (Gen. xxxiii. 4), the word "and-kissed-him," has every letter dotted. This, says one, is to show that the kiss was sincere. Nay, but to show that it was insincere, says another. It indicates, says a third, that Esau really meant to bite Jacob, but the neck of the latter was miraculously turned to marble: the dots are the teeth of Esau. Such absurdities have a value as indications that the dots had been handed down with the text for so long a time, that their meaning was forgotten. But their true significance was understood by some of the Rabbinical authorities, nor is it far to seek. Everyone who has studied mss. knows that it is the custom of scribes when they have written a word or letter erroneously to mark the error by dots. In some beautifully-written mss. these dots are within the letter, not above. Thus while the attentive reader is admonished and the character of the scribe saved, the beauty of his ms. is not spoiled as it would be had he drawn his pen through the erroneous letters or erased them. Not only is this the case with Greek and Latin scribes, but also in our Hebrew mss. there are instances of the same practice. And that this was the true account of these ancient dots was well understood by an ancient Jewish authority, who attributes the dots to Ezra. When Ezra, says he, was asked why he dotted these letters, he replied: "When Elijah comes, if he asks me why I have written so-and-so, I shall answer I have already dotted it [*i.e.* 'expunged' it], but if he asks me why I have dotted the letters, then I will erase the dots." One has heard of students at an examination, who, when uncertain whether what they have written is correct, draw the pen lightly through it, trusting that if it is right the examiner will give them credit for it, and that if it is wrong he will give them credit for the erasure. They are probably not aware that the device, if not as old as Ezra, is at least as old as the Rabbi who relates the story.

In Numbers iii. 39, the word "and-Aaron," is dotted because, as the Midrash rightly remarks, Aaron did not join Moses in the numbering. "Moses and Aaron" was so frequent a

combination that the scribe erroneously wrote it here, and detecting his error, marked the latter word with the sign of deletion.

In Numbers xxi. 30, the last letter of *'shr*="which" is dotted, *i.e.* deleted, leaving the word *'sh*="fire," viz. "with fire." So the Septuagint reads: "We have laid them waste even unto Nophah, with fire even unto Medeba."

Psalm xxvii. 13 reads, in the A. V., "*I had fainted* unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living." "I had fainted" is rather too strong an ellipsis.<sup>1</sup> But the word "unless" is dotted.<sup>2</sup> Probably in this case the dots are only partially right. Taking the consonants alone they yield the two words *lô*="to him" and *lo'*="not": forms often confounded. It is possible that the former word was first written, then the scribe, observing his error, dotted it and wrote the correct form. On this supposition we obtain the excellent sense "I did not believe that I should see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living." Some critics, retaining the first *lô*, connect it with the previous verse, translating verse 13 in the same way. The LXX seem to have done this. In following the dots we are following a far more ancient authority than the Massoretes, who vocalize the consonants so as to make the sense "unless." In this, as in most of the instances which have been adduced, the Revisers have left the Authorized Version unchanged.

In Isaiah xlv. 9 the first "they" is dotted, and the Revisers, following this indication, have omitted it. It is in fact an erroneous repetition of the preceding syllable. (The second "they" is included in the verb.)

Further, when a passage had been written in a wrong place it was enclosed in square brackets. These brackets having the shape of the Hebrew letter Nun inverted, were called "inverted

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<sup>1</sup> We have heard a preacher dwell with emphasis on this "very forcible expression of the Psalmist." Yet without being a Hebrew scholar he needed only to look at the Bible Version to see that the expression is not the Psalmist's but the translators'.

<sup>2</sup> לֹא־לֵא.

Nuns," and fanciful meanings were assigned to them by some. But the more learned Rabbis knew their true meaning. An example is Numbers x. 35, 36, which, according to some authorities, were thus marked as constituting a book of themselves, thus dividing the Pentateuch into seven books. These verses, it may be remarked, are placed in the LXX before verse 34, which is probably where the corrector intended them to stand.

There are many other peculiarities affecting single letters which are faithfully reproduced in all correct copies, and the antiquity and supposed authority of which are attested (as of those just mentioned) by the Massorah and the Talmud as well as other authorities. These were all faithfully copied, recorded, and commented on, because they were regarded as part of the sacred text. The ancient Rabbinical authorities know nothing of a difference in this respect between different copies. But that even two scribes should make the same slips and the same corrections in the same places, and in these only, is an incredible supposition. The conclusion is inevitable, that the traditional text was derived from a single copy in which these peculiarities existed. These remarkable coincidences have one advantage over those previously discussed : they carry us back to a period centuries earlier than the Massorah itself. It appears, then, that the Revisers have not been too bold when they asserted that all our copies are derived from one recension.

In this state of things what is our resource? Not in MSS. The utmost that these can do is to enable us to restore the text of, say, the seventh century.

Nothing remains but the Versions, and of these the oldest, and for this purpose the most important, is that of the LXX. What! some one may exclaim; employ a version to emend the original? Would you correct the text of Shakespeare, for example, from a German translation? No, we reply; we do not propose to emend the original text, but to restore it. The word "original" tends to impose on the reader. The text in the original tongue is frequently not the original text. If it would be absurd to use a translation of Shakespeare to correct our copies, it is because we possess the identical copy which the

translator must have used, since for critical purposes all copies of the same printed edition may be considered identical. But if all the English copies older than the nineteenth century had perished (with all critical commentaries) a translation executed in the sixteenth century would be very valuable. We might have to learn from it that, *e.g.*, “’a babbled o’ green fields” was not the original text. No doubt, indeed, the suggestion that this happy touch of nature was not Shakespeare’s, but was due to a prosy commentator, would be rejected with ridicule. Again, if the Septuagint and the Old Latin versions of the Psalms had been lost, the English Prayer-Book version would often enable us to recover them. Thus, “Bring unto the Lord, O ye mighty, bring young rams unto the Lord,” would reveal the fact that the later Greek copies contained side by side two versions of the same Hebrew words, and critical sagacity might succeed even in ascertaining what the original words were. If, in addition, we had the Bible version, those Hebrew words could be restored with certainty.

An objection often made to the critical use of the LXX is that the translators were often ignorant, made great mistakes, or paraphrased the text rather than translated it, so that it is often impossible to say what the text before them actually was. These objections, however plausible, are really fallacious. Let us illustrate the case by that of mss. If two mss. are offered to us, one of which is distinctly and, as regards orthography, correctly written, and perfect, while the other is mutilated, full of such blunders in spelling as ignorant scribes are wont to make, and sometimes quite illegible, the ordinary reader would have no hesitation in preferring the former. But the critic may have good reason for preferring the other. If he does not, it will be for reasons of a quite different kind. He knows that the corruptions most difficult to deal with are those that are purposely introduced by learned and ingenious copyists. Mistakes in spelling and the like he can allow for, but intentional emendations cannot be removed without the help of other codices. It is just the same with translations. The more unskilful a translator is and the more negligent he is of the



difference of idiom in the two languages, the more easy it is to restore the original. As to paraphrase, the fact is that in some parts of the Old Testament the translator is painfully literal. The translator who writes (2 Sam. xxiv. 3) προσθείη Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὥσπερ αὐτούς has indeed translated badly, but he has enabled us to retranslate his text with infallible certainty. We are not, however, required to retranslate the Greek text into its original Hebrew; the problem is a much simpler one. It is whether the Greek can be reconciled with our present Hebrew consonants, and, if not, whether the difference can be accounted for by error, on one side or the other, of the kind usual with scribes? This is frequently very easy to do. A somewhat extreme illustration of this is furnished by the passage in Judges xii. 6. This passage stands alone in this respect, that not only could we not reproduce the Hebrew from the Septuagint Version, but that from no possible Greek version could this be done. For the point of it lies in the difference between two sounds, which a Greek-speaking Jew could no more distinguish than a German Jew could distinguish English *th* from *t*, or the Hebrew word which we call Mikraoth from Mikraos. Such a translator might attempt to write the Hebrew word in Greek characters, and then he would have to say that the Ephraimites were to'd to say "Sibboleth" and said "Sibboleth," or he might translate the word, or, thirdly, seeing the absurdity of this, he might simply say that the men were asked to say some password. We have specimens of the last two attempts at translation; and, notwithstanding the insuperable difficulty in the way of the Greek translators, no reader can fail to see that they had our present text before them.

But what we wish particularly to impress on the reader is that the difficulty of ascertaining the translator's Hebrew text has nothing whatever to do with the value of it when ascertained. It is just as in the case of the illegible ms. of which we spoke. There are valuable mss., the reading of which in some passages is very uncertain, and which different critics read in different ways; but no one ever thought that this

lessens the importance of those readings about which there is no doubt.

What should we not give for a Hebrew ms. of the Psalms or the Prophets dating from A.D. 1, even if it were an almost illegible palimpsest! Now, the version of the LXX is to us exactly what such a ms. badly written and sometimes illegible would be; but then this ms. is a thousand years older than any known Hebrew ms. We have spoken of it as if it were one, but it is not to be forgotten that the versions of the different parts of the Hebrew Bible were actually made at different times and by different persons, some of whom were more skilled, some more closely literal, than others. Does it not seem rather inconsistent to maintain that Jewish copyists were so scrupulously exact that the text of the sacred books was transmitted accurately for more than a thousand, or in some cases nearly two thousand, years, and yet that of the whole series of translators not one was able to obtain a correct text? to say nothing of the later Syriac and Greek translators, who must have been equally unfortunate. These translators were indeed much later, and in that respect of less value; but this circumstance rather adds to the weight of their agreement with the LXX when they happen to be opposed to the Massoretic text. Then we have Jerome, too late, indeed, to give traces of the early state of the text, but whose critical study of it and his constant intercourse with his Jewish teachers place him as a witness far above any single contemporary ms., if such existed. And he, be it remembered, is much older than the Massorah. When the LXX and Syriac agree, their combined weight is very great, though not equally so in all the books. When Jerome and the older translators agree, the external evidence for their reading is preponderating. When a commentator rejects a reading thus supported on the ground that "not a single Hebrew ms." reads so, it is as reasonable as if a reading of **Σ** A B C in the Greek Testament were rejected because not found in a single copy later than the sixteenth century.

The prestige attaching to numbers is so natural that a few lines may be well devoted to showing how ill-founded it is.

Perhaps the fallacy is fostered by the habit of calling mss. "witnesses." The copies made immediately from the original are indeed direct witnesses to its reading, but all others are so only very indirectly. In the case of these first copies the reading of a majority would certainly have a presumption in its favour, and yet it is pretty certain that sometimes the minority would be right. Let us suppose that there were five of these first copies; each of these would probably become the source of one or more. But their fecundity would be unequal, and would depend on extraneous circumstances. One might be the parent of five, another of three, a third perhaps of one or none. It is not only possible, but probable, that in the second stage the produce of two copies should be more numerous than that of the other three, and thus already some readings which had a majority in their favour in the first stage would now be found only in a minority. At every stage the same kind of thing would happen, and the presumption in favour of the majority of so-called witnesses would rapidly diminish. The vast majority of mss. would not improbably be the descendants of a few early copies which happened to be in a locality where the demand was greatest. Some early copies might disappear without leaving any successors, and yet these might have been the only witnesses to some genuine readings.

So far we have supposed the first copies to be all of equal value, and those in the next stage to be faithfully copied from them. Of course neither supposition is correct. The second copies would introduce errors of their own, not only in new places, but sometimes where there was already variation. The first copies themselves would not be equally correct, and it would be a mere chance whether the most correct or the least correct would become the source of the greatest number of copies. This would depend on wholly different circumstances of local convenience and local demand. It would not be until copies began to be pretty numerous in the same place that scribes would have the opportunity of comparing different copies, or that any distinction would be made between the better and the worse. When the epoch of comparison arrived

corrections might be made, of which we can only say that they would be made on principles which at the present day we should not consider sound. Thereafter some corrected copy might obtain reputation from the name of the reviser, or for other reasons, and would influence by its readings many others not directly taken from it. Thus there are some Hebrew codices of great repute referred to by name in the margin of many existing mss.<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that after this epoch of correction, if not long before, the presumption that the reading of a majority of mss. was the reading of a majority of the first copies, the true "witnesses," would have ceased to exist, and *a fortiori* the presumption that it was the reading of the original.

It follows that all readings known to be equally ancient are so far entitled to equal consideration. In the case of comparatively recent mss., such as the Hebrew, when it is a question whether a particular reading is a mistake or invention of a recent scribe, number is of importance, and the same consideration applies to older authorities, though in a less degree in proportion as they approach nearer to the original. Nothing is required to give a reading a *locus standi* except the proof that it actually existed in the earliest period to which we can trace the history of the text. Now, a single early ms. or a single version might prove this as effectively as a hundred late copies.

There are a few instances in which the genuine reading is preserved by a minority, sometimes a small minority, of existing mss. Thus, in Joshua ix. 4, already mentioned, about six mss. have the correct reading. (The Revisers give it in the margin.) This, however, may be a correction suggested by v. 12, perhaps also by the Targum, or the scribe may have mistaken the R in the text before him for D, and hit on the right reading only by accident. In Jeremiah xlix. 23, "they are faint-hearted; there is sorrow on the sea; it cannot be quiet," the correct reading is probably "with unrest like that

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<sup>1</sup> These codices were not older than the seventh century.



of the sea which cannot be quiet," which is the reading of several mss.<sup>1</sup>

Zechariah xiv. 5: "The Lord my God shall come, and all the holy ones with thee." Many mss. (with the Versions) read "with him," which the sense requires.

Psalm xvi. 2: "Thou hast said unto the Lord," where the English Version supplies "O my soul." Twenty-two mss. have "I have said," which is certainly the true reading, and is moreover that of the Versions. It is adopted by the Revised Version.

Psalm lix. 9: "His strength I will wait upon thee." A. V. prefixes "because of," but even this fails to make a reasonable sense. Ten mss. with the Versions read: "Upon thee, O my strength, will I wait." The Revisers have rightly adopted this also.

Isaiah xxvii. 2: "Sing ye unto her, A vineyard of red-wine." Read with some mss. (as in the Revisers' margin), "A vineyard of pleasure." The difference is that between D and R before referred to.

Jeremiah v. 7: "Fed them to the full," Authorized Version, is an emendation. The Massoretic text has "made them to swear."<sup>2</sup>

Other instances might be given, but when the number of mss. is small, there must always be a doubt whether the reading has not been suggested by some of the Versions, especially the Targums, or by a parallel passage where it exists.

There is one element of the Massoretic text which is admittedly of no authority, namely, all that belongs to the vocalization, punctuation (or accentuation), and division of words. As a system no doubt the vocalization rests on a sound tradition, but this fact does not warrant us in assuming its correctness in any individual instance. The vowels and accents, in short,

<sup>1</sup> כים for בים. The confusion of ב and כ is noted several times thus by the Massorah: 2 Kings iii. 24; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 16; Ezra viii. 14; Neh. iii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Text ואשבע; read ואשבע.

embody the exegesis as well as the pronunciation of the punctuators. If we possessed a commentary by the ablest Hebraist of the seventh century we should yield to his opinions just that respect which his learning and sagacity commanded; no one would dream of rejecting a well-supported interpretation simply because it was opposed to the views of this learned Rabbi, or even of many such Rabbis. Yet we frequently find commentators alleging as a serious objection to some rendering that it violates the vowel-points or the accents. One fact alone is sufficient to destroy the authority of the accentuation. It is that the superscription of some of the Psalms is treated as part of the first verse (see, for example, Psalms xxiii., xxiv., ciii., cix., cxxxix.; "and he said" in Ps. xviii. begins the second verse). Thus the chant in Ps. xxiv. would run: "To David a psalm, to Jehovah the earth and its fulness: the round world and they that dwell therein." The word "selah," also, is closely connected with the words preceding, as in Psalms ix. 20; xx. 3, "And thy burnt sacrifice, accept selah;" xxi. 2, "And the request of his lips, thou hast not withholden selah."

We might adduce many instances in which modern exegesis departs from that indicated by the accents. One may suffice: Isaiah ix. 6 (5 in the Hebrew text) reads, according to the pointing and accents, as follows: "The Wonderful Counsellor the Mighty God shall call his name, Everlasting Father Prince of Peace."

The maxim of Aben Ezra, quoted apparently with approval by some moderns, that no interpretation is to be listened to which violates the accents, is not a whit less irrational than it would be to say that no interpretation of the Greek Testament should be listened to which violates the punctuation of Stephens' text.

One or two wrong divisions of words may be mentioned:—

Genesis xlix. 19, 20 reads thus in the Revised Version: "Gad, a troop shall press upon him: but he shall press upon [their] heel. Out of Asher his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties." The word "their" ought to be in italics; it is not in the original. But it is indispensable to the

sense, and the single letter which is required to express it is found at the beginning of verse 20, where it not only interferes with the uniformity of arrangement by which the name of each tribe stands first in the blessing, but, what is worse, confuses the sense. By simply attaching the letter to the last word of verse 19 everything is made correct. The LXX is right.

Another instance which we regard as certain occurs in Jeremiah xxiii. 33: "When this people, or the prophet, or a priest, shall ask thee, saying, What is the burden of Jehovah? then shalt thou say unto them, What burden? and I will cast you off, saith Jehovah." A simple change in the division of words makes this read: "Then shalt thou say unto them, Ye are the burden, and I will cast you off," a play on the two senses of the word "burden," such as occurs again in verse 36.<sup>1</sup> Not only do we thus get a better sense, but, in fact, the existing text is ungrammatical. The Septuagint and Vulgate are right.

Psalm lxxiii. 4 reads thus in Authorized Version (and in Revised Version): "For there are no bands in their death: but their strength is firm." A change even slighter than the last—namely, dividing one word into two—gives us the sense: "They have no tortures: perfect and firm is their strength."<sup>2</sup>

It is scarcely necessary to recall to the mind of the reader Ps. xlii. 5, 6, where the only question is whether the word "my God," which certainly belongs to the end of verse 5, has merely dropped out before the same word in verse 6, or belongs to verse 5 only. The latter view is adopted by most commentators, and has the support of the Septuagint, Syriac, and Vulgate, besides a few Hebrew mss., which perhaps some may think more important. The reader who is unacquainted with Hebrew may require to be told that "his countenance" consists of the same letters as "my countenance and." Even if the Versions were silent, the emendation would be certain.

<sup>1</sup> אֶת-מֶה-מִשָּׂא instead of אֲתָם הַמִּשָּׂא.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. instead of לְמוֹתָם read לְמוֹתָם. This emendation was first proposed by Moerlius in 1737.

In Amos vi. 12 we read: "Shall horses run upon the rock? Will one plow [there] with oxen?" The word "there" is an insertion of the translators. A separation of what is now one word into two gives us "Will one plow the sea with oxen?"<sup>1</sup>

There are several instances in which the division of words in the text is corrected by the Qerê.<sup>2</sup>

Of errors in the vowel-points we shall now give a few specimens:—

1 Kings xiii. 12: "And their father said unto them, What way went he? For his sons had seen what way the man of God went which came from Judah. And he said unto his sons, Saddle me the ass." As the text stands, nothing is said of the answer to the question, while a perfectly superfluous remark appears instead. What is worse, the rules of Hebrew syntax are violated by the present text. A change in the vowels gives us, "And his sons showed him what way," &c. This is also the reading of the LXX, the Syriac, and Vulgate. It is in the Revisers' margin.<sup>3</sup>

Isaiah xvi. 4: "Let mine outcasts dwell with thee, Moab." The context shows that the outcasts of Moab are spoken of: "Let the outcasts of Moab dwell with thee." So the Sept., Syriac, and Targum.

Job xxxiv. 17, 18, 19, reads in the Authorized Version: "Wilt thou condemn him that is most just? *Is it fit* to say to a king, *Thou art wicked?* and to Princes, *Ye are ungodly?* *How much less to him that accepteth not the person of princes,*" &c. A text which requires to be supplemented in this fashion is probably wrong. Now a change of points gives us in verse 18, "That saith to a king, Wicked! and to princes, Ungodly!" (as in margin of Revised Version). Thus the whole passage is coherent, and no supplement is required to complete the sense.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* for בִּבְקָרִים read בִּבְקָר יִם.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. 1 Sam. ix. 1; 2 Sam. v. 2; xxi. 12; 1 Chron. xxvii. 12; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6; Ps. x. 10; lv. 16; Lam. iv. 3, 16; Ezek. xlii. 9.

<sup>3</sup> וַיִּרְאֵהוּ for וַיִּרְאֵהוּ.

In Job iii. 6 the Authorized Version departs from the vowel points, reading "Let it not be joined unto the days of the year," the Massoretic text being "Let it not rejoice among the days." Opinions may differ as to the correctness of this emendation. The Revised Version follows the Massoretic text.

As we have already given illustrations of the help to be obtained from the Versions in confirming emendations otherwise suggested, we shall give a few instances in which omissions, &c., in the Hebrew text are supplied by the Versions.

Proverbs x. 10 has been referred to as an example of erroneous repetition in the second clause. The Sept. and Syriac supply the genuine second clause: "He that winketh with the eye causeth sorrow; but he that rebuketh boldly bringeth peace." (So the margin of Revised Version.)

Proverbs xi. 16: "A gracious woman obtaineth (*or* retaineth) honour, and the violent obtain (*or* retain) riches." The word here rendered "violent" is rendered by the A. V. "strong," but is not used in a good sense. The LXX enable us to restore the text thus: "A gracious woman obtaineth honour: but a seat of shame is a woman that hateth righteousness. Indolence will lack wealth, but the diligent retain riches."

These are no inventions of the translator, nor is the following (2 Sam. xvii. 3). The A. V. reads: "And I will bring back all the people unto thee: the man whom thou seekest is as if all returned (literally: as the return of all the man whom thou seekest): so all the people shall be in peace." The LXX gives: "I will bring back all the people unto thee as a bride returneth to her husband; thou shalt seek only the life of one man, and all the people shall be in peace." The omission in the Hebrew is easily accounted for by homœoteleuton.<sup>1</sup> Nor can the following be an invention, 1 Sam. xiv. 41. The A. V. reads: "Saul said unto the Lord God of Israel, Give a perfect *lot*." Revised Version has: "Show the right." The LXX (confirmed by the Vulgate) reads: "Saul said, O Lord God of

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Driver on Samuel, p. 249.



Israel, Wherefore hast thou not answered thy servant this day? If the iniquity be in me or in Jonathan my son, O Lord God of Israel, give Urim, and if it be in thy people Israel, give Thummim." The letters of "give Thummim" are the same as of the words rendered "give a perfect *lot*." The omission is easily accounted for by homœoteleuton (Israel . . . Israel); whereas the interpolation of the words would be inexplicable, as the Massoretic text nowhere gives a hint of this distinction between the responses of Urim and Thummim. Moreover the translator of the Books of Samuel is so averse from conjecture that frequently when the word before him was obscure he has simply reproduced it in Greek letters.

Job xxiii. 12 reads in the Hebrew: "I have hidden the words of his mouth more than my law." The A. V. renders this: "I have esteemed the words of his mouth more than my necessary *food*." The Revised Version merely substitutes "treasured up" for "esteemed," and in the margin suggests for the last three words "my own law." None of these renderings can be considered satisfactory. Now, the consonants of "law" and "bosom" are the same, and by simply reading B for M as the prefix preposition the LXX and Vulgate give the excellent sense: "I have hidden in my bosom the words of his mouth."

Job xxvii. 18: "He buildeth his house as a moth, and as a booth which the keeper maketh." The moth does not build houses. A letter has dropped out and the true reading is "spider," which has the support of the LXX and the Syriac.<sup>1</sup>

Psalms xxxvi. 1 is translated as follows in the A. V.: "The transgression of the wicked saith within my heart *that there is* no fear of God before his eyes." The word rendered "saith" means "an oracle," "effatum." The literal rendering is "An oracle of transgression to the wicked within my heart," &c. This is, to say the least, impossible. The Syriac and Jerome give "his heart." The correction is the slightest possible, the difference between "his" and "my" being only that between

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<sup>1</sup> כַּעֲרֵשׁ for כְּעַרְבֵשׁ.



Vav and Yod, and the confusion between these two letters being extremely frequent. Three mss. also read "his," but the number is too small to be attributed to a correct tradition, accidental confusion of these letters being so frequent.<sup>1</sup>

The last we shall note is Micah i. 5: "What is the transgression of Jacob? *is it* not Samaria? and what the high places of Judah? *are they* not Jerusalem?" The Septuagint, Syriac, and Targum read for "high places" "sin," as the sense obviously requires.<sup>2</sup> These three witnesses are decisive.

We have said nothing of the use of the Septuagint by the writers of the New Testament. Yet in the minds of many it is not unimportant that St. James appeals to the Greek version of Amos ix. 12, which differs considerably from the Hebrew in sense ("that the residue of men may seek after the Lord" instead of "that they may possess the remnant of Edom"). It is easy to restore the Hebrew text corresponding to the former version, and it differs very slightly in letters from the received."<sup>3</sup>

St. Paul also (Gal. iii. 10) cites Deut. xxvi. 27, with the important word "all," which is not in the Massoretic text, although it is in the English Version.

It is singular that some writers who refuse to accept the versions as evidence for a reading, yet lay stress on their renderings as evidence of the meaning of the original. This is the same thing as refusing to admit a witness's testimony to a fact and accepting his opinion as evidence.

In connexion with our English Version it is worth while remembering that the only truly Authorized Version of the Psalms, the Prayer-book version, is lineally descended from the LXX, and that, too, in an unrevised text. Thus in the 14th Psalm several verses are added which not only are not in the Hebrew, but form no part of the genuine text of the LXX. In another very important particular the Authorized Version

<sup>1</sup> The verse probably requires further correction.

<sup>2</sup> בטאת for הטאת.

<sup>3</sup> יִרְשׁוּ אֶת שְׂאֲרֵית אֲדָם for יִדְרְשׁוּ אֶת־י שְׂאֲרֵית אֲדָם.

follows the LXX, viz. in the order of the books. If the Revisers had returned to the order of the Hebrew, and placed the Hagiographa with a separate title after the other books, the rearrangement would have led the intelligent reader to make some interesting inquiries.

It may be conceded that the LXX make more mistakes in single letters, such as D and R, than the Massoretic text. Probably the ms. they used was sometimes difficult to read. It has already been remarked that there are differences in the character of the LXX version of different books. The Massoretic text also is more correct in some books than in others. In the Book of Samuel, for instance, it is very incorrect, not only in particular readings, but in consequence of omissions and interpolations. In the Book of Jeremiah also there are frequent interpolations. It must be remembered that the books composing the Old Testament must have been separately copied, some of them frequently, before they made part of the larger collection. Most even of our modern mss. contain only the Pentateuch, or the Prophets ("earlier" or "later"), or the Hagiographa. It must have been more rare in earlier times to find these parts united in one volume. And before these smaller collections were made, each of their components must have been copied separately. The several Psalms were doubtless copied more than once before their collection into the five books which subsequently were again combined in one volume. Thus the text of some Psalms has clearly become more corrupt than that of others. But we must not dwell further on this.

We have not aimed at bringing forward new suggestions: it was more proper for our purpose to adduce only that which was certain or nearly so. The general conclusion is that the Massoretic text contains errors as many and various as might have been expected in a text with such a history. And we infer that the exegete need have no hesitation in correcting palpable errors. The duty of a translator is somewhat different; but when a reading in itself preferable has the support of the Versions the translator also is justified in adopting it, if not indeed rather bound to do so.

## II.

### THE HEBREW TEXT BEFORE THE MASSORETES.

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CRITICS of a former generation not unfrequently brought against the Jews the charge of wilfully corrupting the Hebrew text from polemical motives. It has generally been acknowledged by their successors that the charge of corruption from dishonest motives cannot be sustained. But this admission does not exclude the possibility of alterations having been made from motives not dishonest. There was a time when the letter of the sacred books was thought of less importance than the spirit, a time when, in fact, with the exception of the Books of the Law, the very words of the Scriptures were not regarded as sacred things which it would be sacrilege to alter, and this even after the books had been received into the Canon, not much less than before. If, then, an expression seemed likely to occasion misconception or sounded irreverent, there was no hesitation about altering it. Even when the text as a whole was regarded as sacred, it doubtless seemed to these editors—if we may so call them—that its sacredness was better secured and preserved by removing from it these offending expressions than by a superstitious regard for the mere letter. The modern feeling is different, yet, as we shall presently see, we are even now, to some extent, under the influence of the older one. Sometimes, indeed, nothing was required except a change in the older

pronunciation. As the original writing was without vowels, it might well be thought that the reader was at perfect liberty to adopt whatever pronunciation appeared most suitable, all things considered. And this, of course, was true, always supposing that the grammar and connexion of the passage were allowed full weight.

Amongst the expressions which caused offence in this way were those which savoured of Anthropomorphism. The desire to avoid these appears very clearly in the versions, and, what is important for us to note, also in the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch. The Samaritan Pentateuch, it must be borne in mind, is simply another recension of the Hebrew text, older than that represented by the Massoretic text, and written in the ancient character. Although it sometimes preserves a more correct reading than the latter, on the other hand it retains traces of the more free treatment of the text, from the motives just mentioned, where the careful editing of the Jewish critics has given us the uncorrupted reading. We refer to these merely as illustrations of the fact that the sacredness of the books did not prevent tampering with the text.

An interesting instance of the influence of motives of reverence on the pronunciation (that is, on the vowel points) is in the phrase often occurring in the English Bible, "appear before God" (see Exod. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 20, 23; Deut. xvi. 16; Isaiah i. 12; Ps. xlii. 2, &c.). Now, if the text of any of these places were presented to a Hebrew grammarian (*i.e.* the consonants without the vowels), he would have no hesitation in reading, "see my face," "see the face of God." Not only is the form of expression exactly the same that, in every case where the name of God does not occur, is translated thus, but the word "face" is sometimes definitely marked as the object, and there is no word equivalent to "before." In fact, our text and translation are almost as ungrammatical as if, on finding in a Latin ms. "vider faciem," we should complete the verb thus, "videri," and translate "appear before." The reason why in reading the Hebrew text the construction does not strike us at once as impossible, is simply that as the phrase

often occurs and the same vocalization is everywhere adopted, grammarians have invented a rule to suit this expression. But if the vocalization is ungrammatical, why was it ever adopted? The answer is that the expression "see the face of God," seemed inconsistent with Exod. xxxiii. 20, "Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live." The pronunciation was no doubt adopted *bonâ fide*, those who first introduced it being persuaded by the verse just quoted that the verb could not be in the active voice. In one place the correct vocalization remains. It is Exod. xxiv. 10, 11, where it is said that Moses and the elders "saw the God of Israel," "and they beheld God, and did eat and drink." But here the text was explicit, and could not be affected by any change in pronunciation. Translators, however, felt themselves at liberty to modify the text, and accordingly we find in the Septuagint εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰσπήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, and in verse 11 ὠφθησαν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. The Targum has "saw the glory of God," the Arabic "saw the angel of God."

But the reader may think that he has detected a flaw in our reasoning when he calls to mind Ps. xvii. 15, "I will behold thy face"; Ps. lxiii. 2, "So as I have seen thee in the sanctuary"; Job xix. 26, "I shall see God." Why, he will ask, were these passages not altered? Now, in all these cases the verb employed is a different one, and is the same that occurs in Exod. xxiv. 11, just referred to, and the change could not be made. The two passages from the Psalms strongly confirm the correctness of the construction "see the face of God," while the treatment of the passages by the versions confirms what has been said of the unwillingness of Jewish readers to accept it. In the two passages in the Psalms the LXX render by the passive (ὀφθῆσομαι, ὠφθην), in Job they have a different reading, possibly correct ("these" for "God").

In Gen. xxii. 14, there seems to be a similar change of the verb "see." "Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen [provided R. V.]" We are led to expect in the second clause of the verse some allusion to the name in the



first clause, but the allusion as the text stands is very feeble, half the name only being referred to. But on looking at the original text, and disregarding the vowels, we observe that the words "of the Lord it shall be seen [or provided]" are exactly the same as "Jehovah-jireh" in the preceding clause. The words read, "Abraham called the name of that place IHVH IR'H: as it is said to this day, In the mount IHVH IR'H." Can there be any doubt that the pronunciation is intended to be the same in both clauses? "As it is said to this day, In the mount Jehovah-jireh." The most natural supposition is that the verb in both places should be passive ("ieraeh"), *i.e.* "Jehovah is seen." If this were the older reading we can easily understand why the verb should be changed to the active in the first clause, while in the second the same end was attained by separating "Jehovah" from the verb and joining it to the substantive "mount." This would also agree perfectly with the name Moriah, "vision of Jah." Yet the words of Abraham in verse 8, "God will provide" (Elohim jireh), may be thought to favour the hypothesis that the original form of the verb in both clauses of verse 14 was active (as the Vulgate renders). But then the change to the passive in the second clause, and in that only, would be unaccountable. It would seem, then, that on this hypothesis we should suppose an intermediate stage, in which both verbs were read in the passive, and this reading, if not original, might have been suggested by the meaning of "Moriah." The LXX read in the same way as the Massoretes, only joining the words differently, "ἐν τῇ ὄρει κύριος ὥφθη."

To the sacred writers themselves and their earlier readers the expression "see the face of God" presented no difficulty. To see the face of anyone was to come into his presence; and "to see the face of God" was to come into the tabernacle or temple.

But admitting that a departure from the original pronunciation might be adopted without hesitation from motives of reverence, is there any reason to suppose that a change in the consonants, that is, in the actual text, would be ventured on?



To this question Jewish tradition itself helps us to give an affirmative answer. We refer in particular to the "Corrections of the Scribes" or "Tiqqunê Sôpherim." Although these are frequently alluded to, it is not easy for the English reader to obtain definite information about them; it will therefore not be out of place to give some details. There are several different lists of these "corrections" in different authorities: some in early Jewish commentaries, and some in the Massorah. One list contains seven, another (said to be the earliest) eleven, others eighteen. The Massorah expressly affirms that the number is eighteen, but its enumeration differs from that in the Tanchuma (ancient commentary on Exodus), and indeed the Massoretic lists differ in different manuscripts. Probably the lists were not originally intended to be exhaustive; certainly we have reason to think that they were not actually so. The references in these lists are usually concise, and even reserved, the original reading not being always stated, nor even the word in which the variation was supposed to exist. Some later writers, unwilling to admit that there had been any change in the text, explained the tradition as meaning that the original author would naturally have written so-and-so, but from a feeling of reverence adopted the less suitable existing reading. Some modern scholars again have supposed that the tradition merely expresses a vague reminiscence that a different reading once existed.

A few specimens will make the nature of these "corrections" more intelligible: Gen. xviii. 22, "Abraham stood yet before Jehovah." Tradition says that the reading was "Jehovah stood yet before Abraham"; and the verse is quoted in the Talmud in support of the statement that God Himself set the example of standing before the grey head (!). Job xxxii. 3, "Also against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they had found no answer, and yet had condemned Job." The tradition alleges that the original reading for "Job" was "God," the sense being "and thus had imputed guilt to God." This seems to suit the context better than the actual reading; but, assuming it to be correct, we might

account for the variation by the similarity between the letters of "Elohim" and "Elihu," which might have led to the accidental omission of the former, the name "Job" being subsequently inserted to complete the sense. However, the explanation suggested by the tradition obviously is that the change was made in order to avoid the apparent irreverence of the expression.

In the same book, chap. vii. 20, where we now read, "Why hast thou set me as a mark against thee [for thee R. V.], so that I am a burden to myself?" we are told that the original reading was "so that I am a burden upon thee." And so the Septuagint reads, which is some confirmation of the tradition. Again, in Numbers xi. 15, in the supplication of Moses, we read, "Kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness" (or "my evil"). This is a correction for "thine evil"—*i.e.* "the evil thou bringest on this people," the connexion of the word "evil" with the pronoun referring to God having given offence.

A very noticeable instance is 1 Sam. iii. 13, where we read in the A. V. of Eli's sons, "his sons made themselves vile."<sup>1</sup> This rendering is certainly erroneous, as the verb does not mean "to make vile," but "to treat as vile," "to curse" or "revile." The R. V. adopts the rendering "did bring a curse on themselves." This is also Gesenius' rendering, but although better lexically than the A. V. it also involves giving the verb an unexampled sense and an unexampled construction. The idea "to bring a curse on oneself" is expressed in Genesis xxvii. 12 in a different form and one exactly corresponding to the English. It is not easy to see how in the Hebrew language the word used in the passage before us could have this signification. Besides, it does not give a suitable sense. According to this reading Eli is punished because his sons were punished. In these circumstances a critic who should propose to read instead of LHM, "on them," 'LHM (=Elohim),

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כִּי-מַקְלִים לָהֶם בָּנָיו <sup>1</sup>

“God,” would be thought to have made a brilliant conjecture, satisfying grammar, lexicon, and connexion. Now, this is what the tradition suggests to have been the original reading, and in this it is confirmed by the Septuagint.<sup>1</sup> Whether the existing reading arose accidentally or not, the preference for it was probably due to the reluctance to utter or write such an expression as “cursed or reviled God.” There was indeed an additional reason for the reluctance in this case—namely, the unwillingness to attribute so great a sin to the sons of the high priest. We have indications in the Talmud of a desire to mitigate their offences. The Septuagint translators on the other hand had no difficulty in retaining *θεόν*, because they were able to soften the verb, thus: *κακολογοῦντες τὸν θεόν*.

An instance of a “correction” adopted in order to avoid anthropomorphism occurs in Zech. ii. 8, “He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye.” The correction consists in the substitution of “his eye” for “mine eye,” which is obviously the reading required by the connexion.

The last we shall mention is Hab. i. 12: “Art not thou from everlasting, O Jehovah my God, mine Holy One? We shall not die.” Here the original reading, according to the tradition was, “Thou canst not die,” or “thou diest not.” Reverence suggested the change as if to mention dying in connexion with God, even to deny it, gave offence.

The Massorah, as we have said, states that the number of “corrections” is eighteen; but in their enumeration they refer to only sixteen verses. In this apparent discrepancy some theologians have discovered a mare’s-nest. It is clear, say they, that there were two other passages which they were unwilling to mention, and there can be no doubt that these two were Psalm xxii. 16: “They pierced my hands and my feet,” or “as a lion my hands and my feet”; and Zech. xii. 10: “They shall look on him whom they pierced,” or “on me whom they pierced.” The allegation is made by Bishop Pearson in his exposition of the Creed, and has been repeated

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<sup>1</sup> The Tanchuma indeed gives as the original, “LI,” “me.”

by other writers. It is, however, absolutely groundless. If the Massoretes wished to suppress the fact of a "tiqqun" why need they include it in their reckoning? As we have seen, there was considerable variation as to the number, so that there could be no idea of any obligation to mention just eighteen. Further, if they had thought fit, they could have made up the eighteen from passages mentioned by other authorities. As to the passage in Psalm xxii., the Massoretes in their note say (as Pearson himself notices) that the word in question occurs twice "in two significations." The other passage is Isa. xxxviii. 13, where it certainly means "as a lion." This is, therefore, a positive statement, as express as the Massorah ever is, that this is not the sense in the Psalm. They could not, therefore, suppose that the reading had been adopted in order to secure this meaning.<sup>1</sup> In the passage in Zechariah there is still less ground for supposing an "intentional change," for the very good reason that the reading "me," which Pearson supposes to have been rejected, is actually the reading of the vulgar text, and moreover does not agree with the context as well as the reading "him."

The simple explanation of the apparent discrepancy between the sixteen verses referred to and the eighteen stated to be the number of corrections, is that in two verses there are four corrections, the same change being made in each case. One of these is 2 Sam. xx. 1, where we read, "Every man to his tents, O Israel"; and we are told that the older reading was "Every man to his gods," a reading which differs from the former only in the order of two letters.<sup>2</sup> The same "correction" occurs in 1 Kings xii. 16, and 2 Chron. x. 16. In these instances few will doubt that the present text is the genuine one, the other being due to the disposition of the Jews after idolatry had been extinguished to regard all the movements in the northern tribes

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<sup>1</sup> A Jewish authority, however (R. Moses Hadarshan), is referred to as reckoning כרו here as a Tiqqûn Sôpherim (Davidson, *Critical Revision of the Hebrew Text*).

<sup>2</sup> לאהלין and לאלהיו.

as a going after strange gods. We may infer from this that the allegation of a "tiqqun sôpherim" did not always rest on authentic tradition, but may even have arisen in some instances from mere conjecture. Still they show that such alterations were not considered inconsistent with the reverence due to the sacred text.

Further illustration of this is supplied by an instance (not numbered among the "corrections") in which we can see a change growing up, as we might say, under our very eyes. In Judges xviii. 30, we read that "Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh," was priest to the graven image in Dan. In the printed Hebrew Bibles, as in the most approved manuscripts, the name of Manasseh is written somewhat thus, M<sup>N</sup>SH, the N being, as it is called, "suspended." If it be neglected the word reads Mosheh = Moses, and this, which the Revisers have followed, is beyond all question the true reading. Not only so, but it was known to be so by the Jewish scholars. But it was thought too shocking a thing that a grandson of Moses should figure in such a connexion. Rashi himself says, "for the honour of Moses N is written, but it is written suspended to indicate that it was not Manasseh but Moses." To change the name directly would be too flagrant, so they simply placed the letter N in such a position that it seemed to plead for admission into the text, and that the unlearned reader might think it actually had a right there. Accordingly the translators, all with the exception of Jerome, read Manasseh. Copyists were also misled, and the latter name is written in the ordinary way in many manuscripts.

We have seen in the example from 1 Sam. iii. 13 how by a slight change, not seriously altering the sense of the passage, the conjunction of a word of cursing with the Divine Name was avoided. But this could not always be effected so easily. In certain other places "bless" was euphemistically substituted for "curse" or "blaspheme," where the name of God followed. This is the case in 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13, and Job ii. 9. There is no reasonable doubt that "bless" in these places is a euphemism, and is not used in the sense of "bid farewell to," as



has sometimes been suggested. The question with respect to which critics are not agreed is whether the euphemism is due to the original author or to a subsequent editor. As it is only in immediate connexion with the name of God that the euphemism occurs, it is in either case an example of the feeling of which we are speaking. The view that it is due to the author is strenuously and learnedly defended by Consul Wetzstein in an excursus appended to Delitzsch's *Commentary on the Psalms*. Many of his illustrations are very curious. Thus in Damascus, if one asks after an invalid and receives the answer, "He is well, may thy head be safe!" this means "he is dead." A dangerous illness is called "an act of grace" (namely, of God). In an Arabic geographical lexicon it is said, "one bitten by the snake is called safe for the sake of good omen," and accordingly in an Arabic account of a certain town it is said: "There are there many venomous scorpions; he who is safe from them is incurable"—*i.e.* he who is bitten by them. Tell a Syrian that his enemy is prospering, he uncovers his head, raises his arm to heaven, and cries, "O God, make his good fortune perfect"—that is, "destroy him," because when a man has reached the summit of prosperity he begins to fall. None of these euphemisms seem parallel to those now in question. The last, according to Wetzstein's own explanation, is not a euphemism "per antiphrasin" at all; the others appear to be adopted in order to avoid using an expression of ill omen or giving offence to invisible powers. We do not, however, insist on this, and we are willing for the sake of argument to admit that such euphemisms as are supposed in the passages quoted, would be used by a modern Arabic writer or speaker. Yet, notwithstanding what is called the unchangeableness of Oriental peoples, we must not hastily argue from the speech of Arabs of to-day to that of Hebrews some thousands of years ago. If indeed we found it customary with the Old Testament writers to use "bless" where "curse" was meant, then the Arabic usage would come in usefully to illustrate this, and to prevent our lexicographers from giving the significations of the verb quite barely as "1, to bless; 2, to curse."

But when we inquire into the practice of Biblical writers do we find either on their part or on that of the persons of the narrative any reluctance to use words of cursing or any disposition to soften them? We think the answer must be, Not in the least. We have only to look at the words for cursing, &c., in a Hebrew concordance, or even (discounting the three passages in question) an English concordance, to be satisfied of this. Even when the name of God is the object, it is only when it stands next the verb that the expression becomes a stumbling-block. The English reader may perhaps call to mind the words, "Wherefore should the wicked blaspheme God?" (Ps. x. 13, P. B. V., "contemn" A. V.), and ask why the word "blaspheme" was retained here. The fact is that in the Hebrew it does not stand next the name of God, the order being "Wherefore blasphemeth the wicked man, God?" And surely the most unlikely of all places in which to introduce an exceptional euphemism would be the indictment for blasphemy brought against Naboth. On the other hand, the facts adduced by Wetzstein are valuable as illustrating the alleged disposition of scribes of a later date. The change, first made in reading, would easily be adopted in writing, and the rarity of it under such circumstances would require no explanation.

The reason that we have dwelt upon this point is that the conclusion throws light on a difficult passage in Ps. x. 3, "The wicked . . . blesseth the covetous, whom the Lord abhorreth," A. V. The words run smoothly enough in the A. V., although not making very good sense, since the covetous are not usually blessed, except by themselves. But the words in the original do not run smoothly. In the first place the order is, "The covetous blesseth abhorreth the Lord." It is not too much to say that this order could not be adopted by a writer wishing to convey the sense expressed in the A. V. But secondly, the word rendered "abhorreth" has not that sense; it is the same word that is rendered in verse 13 (14 P. B. V.), "contemn" ("blasphemeth" P. B. V.). Hupfeld renders the clause, "blesseth the covetous, blasphemeth Jehovah." Hengstenberg translates, "the covetous blesseth, scorneth Jehovah," *i.e.* indifferently

blessees or scorns. Delitzsch gives "berek" the sense "blasphemeth," and renders, "the covetous blasphemeth, scorneth Jehovah." The Revisers have similarly, "the covetous renounceth, yea contemneth the Lord." This seems to involve an inexplicable combination of euphemism and the opposite. If "berek" is used for "blaspheme" it could only be from an unwillingness to utter the word "nieç," or the like, which is the proper word for blasphemy. But here "nieç" itself would immediately follow. This fact seems directly to refute the notion of a "euphemistic antiphrasis" on the part of the author.

The true solution, as it appears to us (by whom first suggested we do not know), is that this is a case of "doublet" or "conflate reading." The original text had only one of the two words—*i.e.* that which now stands second, "blasphemeth"; then the euphemism "blesseth" was introduced. Probably this was written in the text with the intention that it should be read instead of the following word. This would be thought quite as justifiable as the substitution in another class of cases of decorous for coarse expressions, a substitution which the Hebrew margin expressly prescribes. Or else "berek" may have slipped in from the margin. The later scholars who supplied the accents, but who never ventured to alter the text, have inserted a separating line (called Paseq) to insure a pause being made between the utterance of the word "nieç" and that of the name of God.

There was still another way of escaping the objectionable juxtaposition, and this we find adopted in 2 Sam. xii. 14, "Thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme."<sup>4</sup> The verb here is the same as in the last passage ("blaspheming, thou hast blasphemed"), and although the translators have extracted a meaning out of the words, or rather put it into them, it is at the expense of violence done to the signification of the verb. No doubt grammarians will give us instances of verbs putting on a causative sense; we have

instances of the kind in English also, but the cases adduced are not analogous to this. If they can give an instance in which "to slay the man" is used to mean "to cause the man to slay," or "to accuse the man" to mean "to cause the man to accuse," then indeed we should have an analogy to the change assumed in the present passage. Nothing short of this would be parallel. The text should read, "Thou hast greatly blasphemed the Lord."

We have an example of a similar interpolation for a different reason in 1 Sam. xxv. 22, where David swears to destroy all the men of Nabal's house. But, instead of invoking evil on himself in case of failure to carry out his threat (as in Ruth i. 17; 1 Sam. xx. 13; 2 Sam. iii. 9, 35, xix. 13, &c.), he invokes evil on his enemies—that is, good to himself—"So, and more also, do God unto the enemies of David, if," &c. What would be the force of a threat so expressed, or where is there a parallel? The Septuagint have not the words "the enemies of." This reading (noted in the margin of R. V.) is unquestionably correct. But why should it be altered? Simply because David did not carry out his threat, but yielded to the entreaties of Abigail. The genuine text then seemed to make David imprecate evil on himself, subject to a condition which he actually fulfilled. This was enough to induce the scribe to interpose "the enemies of," which no doubt he would have put in square brackets, as we do with words not belonging to the text, if square brackets had been in use for such purpose. We may observe that it is customary in the Talmud and elsewhere, when imprecations on Israel are spoken of or quoted, to interpolate the words "the enemies of." May it not be that in 1 Sam. xiv. 44, we have an omission occasioned by a similar motive—"God do so, and more also, for thou shalt surely die, Jonathan"? Saul having been turned from his purpose, there was an unwillingness to record the imprecation on himself.

Readers who may be disposed to protest against such ways of dealing with the written text may well be reminded that our English translators, including the latest Revisers, have given their sanction to a similar proceeding by adopting in their text

a reading which has not even made its way into the Hebrew text, but has been traditionally substituted by Jewish readers for the genuine text. We refer, of course, to their expulsion (all but complete) of the name Jehovah from the text, and substitution of "the Lord." It is worth our while to dwell on this at some length.

The name Jehovah (or Yahveh), as the distinctive name of the true God, known only to the people of Israel, was very early regarded with peculiar reverence, which gradually led to the avoidance of its use in ordinary discourse, and later to a reluctance to utter it even when it occurred in the reading of the Scriptures. Traces of the indisposition to use it freely are found in the actual text of some of the Psalms, especially in the second book (xlii. to lxxii.). This book, no doubt (as well as the others), formed at one time a separate collection, and was separately copied. Now, the fifty-third Psalm is another copy or edition of the fourteenth, and the reader will find that the word Elohim is substituted in it for Jehovah. So also Psalm lxx. is another copy of the last five verses of Psalm xl. In it Jehovah is twice replaced by Elohim. True, the former name occurs twice, but in one of these passages many manuscripts read Elohim. Again, Psalm lvii. 7-11, is the same as Psalm cviii. 1-6, but in verse 9 we have Adonai in place of Jehovah. The latter is clearly alone suitable. "I will praise thee, O Jehovah, among the nations." Again, in several instances we have the phrase, "God, our God," "God, my God," "God, the God of Israel" (xlv. 7; lxiii. 1; lxvii. 6; lxviii. 8). It is probable, nay, morally certain, that in all these the first word was originally Jehovah. For the addition "the God of Israel," for example, would be inappropriate if what preceded was only the unexclusive appellation Elohim. And, indeed, the verse lxviii. 8 is part of a quotation from the song of Deborah, in which in both clauses, as well as in the verse preceding, the name Jehovah is read. The first verse of this Psalm also is a quotation of Numbers x. 35, "Let Jehovah arise, and let his enemies be scattered," but here again with Elohim substituted much less appropriately. There is no probability



that the author of the Psalm made these alterations. Bearing this in mind, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the word "Adonai," in verses 11, 17, 21, 26, 32, replaces an original "Jehovah." In all these places the latter would be much more appropriate. There are obvious reasons why the Psalms should have been more liable to such changes than the other books. As they do not occur in the first book (Psalms i. to xli.) we may, perhaps, conclude that it was after the reception of that book into the Canon, and while the second book was not yet admitted, but was in familiar use, that the feeling to which the change was due sprang up.

The practice of substituting "Adonai" for "Jehovah" (or Yahveh) in reading the text of the sacred books appears to be as old as the Septuagint, which always uses *Kύριος* to represent IHVH. The Jews of Palestine, however, did not at first adopt this practice, which probably seemed to them an improper altering of the text, or else they regarded the name Adonai as itself too sacred to be thus used. Accordingly, they substituted the word "hashshêm," "the name." This had the advantage that the hearer knew what the reader had before him. And to this day the Samaritans in reading the Law, whenever they meet with the name IHVH, simply read "the name." It is customary also with modern writers of Hebrew, as it was with the older writers, when they quote a passage of Scripture in which the name occurs, to write simply H, the initial letter of "hashshêm." Doubtless we have in Levit. xxiv. 11, an instance of this substitution: "The son of the Israelitish woman blasphemed the name and cursed." Nowhere else in Scripture is "the name" used thus absolutely, and the juxtaposition of the word "blasphemed," a strong word in the original,<sup>1</sup> suggests a sufficient motive for the change here.<sup>2</sup> The LXX throughout the narrative replace the word "blaspheme" by *ὀνομάζειν*. In the actual law given in verse 16, of course the

<sup>1</sup> It is the word used as "curse" in Num. xxiii. 8, 25 (נקב).

<sup>2</sup> It may be some confirmation of this that in the second clause of verse 16 "shêm" has not the article.

name itself could not be left out. Here the LXX reads, "Whoever names the name of the Lord shall die." The Chaldee and Syriac Versions similarly have for "blaspheme," "express the name." It was easy to justify this rendering, since the verb does not primarily signify "blaspheme" or "curse," but "pierce," and one of its secondary senses is "to specify by name." If it were not for verse 16, we might suppose that in verse 11 it had this sense. But in verse 16 "and curseth" is not added, so that we must here give the verb the sense which it often has, of cursing (*e.g.* Num. xxiii. 8, 25). The official Jewish interpretation agreed with the LXX and Targum, only understanding that in verse 16 cursing was implied. Hence, in administering this law, it was held by the Jewish authorities that it was necessary to prove that the accused person had distinctly uttered the most sacred name and cursed. The witnesses were obliged, therefore, to repeat the precise words heard. We see from this also why it was impossible to read "Adonai" here as in other cases. The only possible way of avoiding a collocation of words which would shock the ear was that adopted of substituting "the name." And if the substitution had been limited to the text as read aloud, it would have been, we think, laudable. Doubtless the interpretation above mentioned confirmed, if it did not rather give rise to, the prohibition of the utterance of the name.

At a somewhat later period the orthodox party amongst the Jews seem to have looked on this avoidance of the name as connected with heretical notions, and vindicated the use of it even in salutations, appealing to the example of Boaz, in Ruth ii. 4. But the feeling was too strong for them, and later on we find a Rabbi declaring that whoever utters the name shall have no part in the world to come. It thus came to pass (the vowels not being written) that the true pronunciation was lost, and this circumstance again gave rise to the idea that it involved a deep mystery and possessed miraculous power. It was said that when the High Priest pronounced the name it was heard as far as to Jericho, yet that those present immediately forgot it. Other traditions say that he uttered it in a low voice, or

absorbed the name into the preceding word. Certain later stories, not denying the miracles of Jesus, but rather exaggerating them to absurdity, attribute His wonder-working power to the utterance of the sacred name, of His learning which they give a monstrous account.

When the vowel points were introduced, then, in accordance with the rule observed of supplying the points of the word to be read, not those of the word written, the letters IHVH were provided with the vowels belonging to Adonai, "Lord," except when that word occurred in immediate connexion, in which case the vowels of Elohim were written. The form "Jehovah" adopted in the English version is due to the utterance of these vowels with the consonants of the text, to which they do not belong, and is comparatively modern. We are not, however, without means of judging with probability what the original pronunciation was. Besides the etymological record in Exodus, we have the testimony of some early Christian writers, as Epiphanius and Theodoret. These give the pronunciation as 'Iaβé (the latter ascribing it to the Samaritans). The fact that Theodoret gives this as the Samaritan, not the Jewish, pronunciation is of no consequence, since it is clear that he could not learn the Jewish pronunciation. 'Iaó, which he gives as Jewish, is really a contraction of the name, formed by the first three letters. With the later Greek sound of β, 'Iaβé is exactly = Jahveh. It is perhaps unnecessary to remind the reader that the sound which we give to the initial J of Jehovah, as well as to J generally, whether in Hebrew or Latin, is a mere blunder, that letter having been adopted to represent the consonant sound of I (=Y). We retain the true sound in the word Hallelujah.

The Jews of a later period adopted other devices in order to avoid writing the name. By merely omitting the left-hand stroke of the Hebrew letter H it became D. Thus they wrote IDVH, or IHVD, or IDVD. Another familiar Rabbinical device was to write two *yods* only, or three—thus, יי—a device in which some Christian controversialists saw a hidden reference to the Trinity. This aversion to write the sacred name went

even further. The short form which appears in our English Version as *Jah* consists simply of the two letters *IH*. In the Hebrew system of numeration, in which *I* = 10 and *H* = 5, the normal way of writing 15 would be *IH*. But this was objectionable as being a form of the Divine name, therefore 15 was written  $\Theta V = 9, 6$ , and for a similar reason 16 was written, not *IV*, but  $\Theta Z = 9, 7$ .

This aversion to uttering the Divine name afterwards extended to *Elohim*, and hence we occasionally find in Jewish writers *Eloqim* substituted. It is an analogous feeling of reverence that has led to the substitution of "*bleu*" for "*Dieu*" in the oaths of the French.<sup>1</sup> The Irish in like manner have mitigated the profanity of their oaths by changes which give them an unmeaning instead of a profane sound. The Americans of the United States often do the same. In the case of oaths, indeed, one can only be glad of such a mitigation; but the Jewish practice, when adopted in reading the Scriptures, is merely superstition—a superstition, too, founded on the baseless notion that *IHVH* is in some sense the essential "proper name" of God. To the ancient Israelite, indeed, surrounded by worshippers of false gods with many names, it served in a sense the purpose of a proper name to distinguish the true God in a way in which the word "God" would not serve. But to us the notion of a "proper name" of God, distinct from the name "God" itself, is unmeaning, and only suggestive of polytheism, or of merely national religion. It is, we venture to think, matter of very great regret that the Revisers did not emancipate themselves from this Jewish superstition. It is not a case of incorrect translation, but of actual alteration of the text. Nor is the alteration insignificant; on the contrary, it takes away the point and force of many passages in which the name is expressly emphasized. Take, for example, the whole of Psalm xvi.: "*Jehovah* is great, and greatly to be praised: he is to be feared above all

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<sup>1</sup> A curious analogy is the practice of some copyists of the Latin Gospels to write "*zabulus*" for "*diabolus*."



gods. For all the gods of the nations are idols: but Jehovah made the heavens. . . . Say among the heathen that Jehovah reigneth." Or Psalm xcix. : "Exalt ye Jehovah our God, and worship at his holy hill." Or Psalm c. : "Know that Jehovah, he is God." The word "Lord" being a mere appellative which might be applied by any people to its God, we lose altogether the expression of pious patriotism and rightful pride in the consciousness that the God of Israel was the true God, Maker of heaven and earth. "Blessed is the nation whose God is Jehovah, and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance" (Psalm xxxiii. 12); "Jehovah hath chosen Jacob for himself, and Israel for his peculiar treasure" (Psalm cxxxv.); "For I know that Jehovah is great, and our Lord is above all gods" (*ibid.* 6); "Jehovah, thy name endureth for ever" (*ibid.* 13); "Blessed be Jehovah out of Zion, which dwelleth at Jerusalem." It is only of Jehovah as the God of Israel that this can be said. In Psalm cxli. 8, the word God stands for Jehovah: "Mine eyes are unto thee, O Jehovah, Lord" (or, as probably should be read, changing a vowel, "my Lord"). But the illustrations that might be taken from the Psalms are endless. How the stirring history of the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal is spoiled by the loss of the opposition between the name Baal and the name Jehovah (1 Kings xviii.): "If Jehovah be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him." Elijah prays: "Jehovah, God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, . . . that this people may know that thou, Jehovah, art God" (not "that thou art the Lord God").<sup>1</sup> The people exclaim, "Jehovah, he is God."

Everywhere that the expressions "Jehovah, the God of your fathers," "Jehovah, the God of Israel," occur, the point is lost by the mistranslation "the Lord God of your fathers," "the Lord God of Israel." Moses goes to Pharaoh with a message from "Jehovah, the God of Israel," and Pharaoh replies, "Who is Jehovah? . . . I know not Jehovah" (Exodus

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<sup>1</sup> So 2 Kings xix. 19, "that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou, Jehovah, art God, thou only." Also Joel ii. 27, "Ye shall know that I, Jehovah, am your God, and none else."



v. 1, 2, 3; vii. 16, &c.). Pharaoh afterwards asks Moses to entreat Jehovah for him, declaring that he has sinned "against Jehovah, your God." The Egyptians speak of Jehovah as fighting against them. But throughout Pharaoh and his people only regard Jehovah as the God of the Hebrews, not as "*the* Lord God." The English Version gives a false impression of the whole matter. We may refer in connexion with these passages to the introduction to the first commandment—"I am Jehovah, thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt"; and especially to the third commandment—"the name of Jehovah, thy God." Again, when Joshua says, "If it seem evil to you to serve Jehovah, choose you this day whom ye will serve; . . . but as for me and my house we will serve Jehovah," and (not to quote the whole answer of the people) they reply, "We will serve Jehovah, for he is our God," the passage loses much by the departure from the text. Once more, when Cyrus declares that Jehovah, the God of Heaven, has given him the kingdoms, the significance is lost in our version. Compare also Judges xi. 24: "Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh, thy God, giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever Jehovah our God hath dispossessed from before us, that will we possess." And 2 Kings xviii. 25, where Rabshakeh pretends that Jehovah had sent him against Jerusalem; and *ibid.* 35: "Who are they among the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that Jehovah should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?" Even in Exodus iii. 15, where "Jehovah" is expressly called the name of the God of Abraham, the name does not appear in the English Version or R. V. Moses had asked what answer he should give when asked what was the name of the God of their fathers, and he is told to say, "Jehovah, the God of your fathers, . . . hath sent me unto you; this is my name for ever." This; what? The name is suppressed in our version, and the question remains unanswered. So again, in Exodus xxxiv. 5, 6, where the "name of Jehovah" is proclaimed; in Deut. xxviii. 58, "that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, Jehovah thy God;" in Isaiah xlii. 8, "I am Jehovah, that is

my name," no name at all appears in the English Version, Authorised or Revised.

As examples of passages where for IHVH Elohim was substituted we may refer to 2 Sam. vii. 28, "And now Jehovah, O Lord, thou art God" (*ibid.* 18, 19, 20, 29); Isa. xxviii. 16, "Thus saith the Lord Jehovah" (*ibid.* 22, xxx. 15, xlix. 22); l. 4, 5, 7, 9, "The Lord Jehovah hath given me the tongue of the learned," &c.; Jeremiah xxxii. 17, 25, Ezekiel ii. 4, iv. 14, &c.—indeed very frequently in Ezekiel, the word Adonai being, in all probability, inserted in order to be read instead of Jehovah. Yet surely to us the most sacred of all names is the name of God, and no one will allege that a greater sacredness is to be ascribed to a name which, whatever its etymology in the Hebrew tongue, to us merely designates God, as the God of Israel.

This, we repeat, is not a question of mere propriety of translation, it is one of actual departure from the text. The word "Lord" or "God" is adopted, not because it has any pretence to represent "Jehovah" in meaning or otherwise, but because it is the rendering of the word which Jewish superstition substituted for it. When this is done by the best scholars of our own day, have we any right to find fault with the Jewish scribes, readers, or copyists of ancient times who made greater changes? We cannot imagine any sound reason for this adherence to an admitted corruption of the text. Two reasons, indeed, have been suggested. The first, that we do not possess the exact pronunciation of the name. As if the exact pronunciation were a matter of anything but secondary consequence and antiquarian interest. Of what names do we retain the correct pronunciation? Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, James and John, have but a remote resemblance to the Hebrew or Greek pronunciation. Even the name Jesus has not in our mouths the sound it had in those of His contemporaries. In this case, as in the others mentioned, we know enough to approximate pretty closely to the correct pronunciation, yet who would think it desirable to make the change? Jehovah is the recognized English form of the name IHVH, and the Revisers have

themselves admitted this by retaining it in one or two places, so that they could not themselves consistently adopt this objection. If any have a scruple about the utterance of the name, the fact that it is so altered from the original pronunciation may be to them a ground of satisfaction. The other alleged reason is that in the case of quotations from the Old Testament in the New the adoption of the name in the former would introduce a difference which would be undesirable. But unless it is proposed that the quotations in the New Testament should in all cases be assimilated to the original Hebrew, we cannot see any force in this. On the contrary, there are cases in which much would be gained by the reader being able to recognize that the word "Lord" in the New Testament represented the word "Jehovah" in the passage quoted from the Old.

There is another way in which this change may have left traces in the present Hebrew text. We have seen that when the Massoretes wish to direct the reader to substitute Adonai for Jehovah, they do so by placing the vowel points of the former under the letters in the text. But before the introduction of the points what help could be given? We can answer this question as far as it concerns single letters thought to be erroneous. The right letter was written while the wrong one remained. This is the case in Exod. xxv. 31, where the consonants of "thou shalt make" and "he shall make" are in the text side by side, as if we should write "faciest"; and this is believed with probability to be the true explanation of several grammatical anomalies. Now it was conjectured long ago by Kennicott that the combination Jehovah Elohim in Genesis was to be accounted for in this way, and some recent critics, *e.g.* Wellhausen, have adopted the same view.

It is easy to understand how a scribe accustomed to read Adonai where the letters of IHVH met his eye should sometimes confound the words in writing; and accordingly we find a considerable variety in manuscripts in this particular.

The word Hallelujah supplies another curious instance of

the reverential avoidance of the sacred name. Everyone knows that Hallelujah, though written as one word, is really two; and in the Bible version of the Psalms it is regularly translated "Praise the Lord." How does it come to be retained in its original form, but written as one word, in the Prayer-book? The Prayer-book Version, as is well known, has descended to us from the Septuagint, which writes the word Ἀλληλοῦια, and of course the Latin translators retained it. The word was a puzzle to the Fathers, who were ignorant of Hebrew. We find such explanations of it as the following:—"al=salvum; le=me; lu=fac; ia=Domine." Or, "alle=pater; lu=filius; ia=spiritus sanctus." Or, "alle=lux; lu=vita; ia=salus." Or, again, "al[tissimus]; le[vatus in cruce]; lu[gebant apostoli]; ia[m resurrexit]." Now the question is natural, why did the LXX retain the Hebrew word, or rather words? Light is thrown on this by passages in the Talmud, *e.g.* Sôpherim 5, 10, which raise the question whether Hallelujah is one word or two. The answer is that it is one, but the reason given is singularly illogical. It was the rule that if the name of God had been written by mistake it must not be erased. Now it is said that in Hallelujah it is lawful to erase the final syllable; therefore it is not the name of God. We are not concerned with the validity of the reasoning, but with the illustration it furnishes of one device for avoiding the irreverent utterance of the name of God, viz. attaching it so closely to the preceding word that it should seem part of it. This, of course, was only possible with the monosyllable form of the name. It must be observed that this was not the work of the Massoretes; on the contrary, they have done their best to restore the correct pronunciation, and to secure a distinct utterance, not only separating the words, but placing a "mappik" in the final H. Hallelujah is not the only pair of words in which this device was adopted in olden times. Thus, in Ps. cxviii. 5, the final IAH is in some copies joined to the preceding word, and it was so treated by the LXX and Syriac. Editions generally separate the words, and mark the H with "mappik." In the former clause of the same verse the Massoretes have "dageshed" the *yod* of IAH,

this being an additional precaution against absorption, thought necessary on account of the preceding word ending with the same letter; so also in v. 18.

In Exod. xvi. 2, "My strength and my song is IAH," and in Psalm cxviii. 14, and Isa. xii. 2, where these words are quoted, although the Massoretic text correctly separates the last two words, it retains traces of the earlier absorption, the *yod* which ought to terminate the preceding word ("zimrath") having disappeared. We might reasonably think this a mere slip of the scribe, due to the fact that the succeeding letter was the same, but for the fact that in the other two passages the same thing occurs. Moreover, in Exodus the Samaritan text reads the two words as one, and the LXX has done the same. In the other passage, Isa. xii. 2, there is probably another trace of the ancient absorption of IAH, in the addition of the fuller name IHVH, inserted, perhaps, in order to restore the sense. The Septuagint, Syriac, and Vulgate express the name only once, and some Hebrew mss. also omit IHVH.

There is another class of cases in which a substitution somewhat analogous to that of Adonai for Jehovah was made at a still earlier period, not indeed in the text, but before the histories were written; we refer to the substitution of "bosheth" = "shame" for "Baal." When we find the same person called "shame's man" (Ish-bosheth) and "Baal's man" (Esh-baal, 1 Chron. ix. 39), we see at once that the latter was his real name, and that it was changed as an expression of contempt for Baal. It is, indeed, incredible that Saul or any other king should name his son "man of shame." In Chronicles the name Baal remaining in the text, the signification "Baal's man" is avoided by pronouncing Esh-baal instead of Ish-baal. A later Ishbosheth or Ishbaal has been referred to in the preceding essay, p. 17. Another instance of the same kind is "Mephibosheth," whose real name was "Merib-baal" (1 Chron. ix. 40). The change of R into P may have been due to a clerical error or to a different etymologising of the name. The name of Jerubbaal again becomes, in 2 Sam. xi. 21, Jerubbesheth. This is an interesting example, being the only



instance in which this particular name was changed. Moreover, in this case the change has not touched the LXX, which has Ἰερουβάαλ. What preserved "Jerubbaal" from change when the other names were changed was doubtless its etymology as explained in Judges vi. 32, which removed all motive for alteration. When "Baal" was at the beginning of the name, as in that of a son of David, called "Baaljada" = "Baal knows" (1 Chron. xiv. 7), a different means of getting rid of the offensive word was adopted. Either the pronunciation was changed so that, in the place referred to, our text is printed "Beeljada," or Baal was altered to "El," so that the same person is in 1 Chron. iii. 8, and in 2 Sam. v. 16, called "Eliada."

But perhaps the reader will exclaim, Are we asked to suppose that Saul, for example, who is not charged with idolatry, and who called his son "Jonathan" = "Jehovah gives," called another son after the false deity Baal? or that Jonathan himself did the like in the case of his son Merib-baal? Not at all; the true inference is, that at that time the word "baal" had not become specialized as the name of a false deity, but was used simply in its sense of "Lord" (which is its proper and familiar signification in Hebrew), and in that sense was used of the true God.<sup>1</sup> One of David's men is even called Bealjah, *i.e.* "Jah is Lord" (1 Chron. xii. 5). Of this use we have distinct mention in Hosea ii. 16, "It shall be at that day, saith Jehovah, that thou shalt call me Ishi; and shalt call me no more Baali." And in making the changes referred to, the people acted in literal accordance with the following verse: "I will take away the names of Baalim out of her mouth," so that in consequence of its association with the name of the false deity it should no more be applied to God in its sense of "Lord."

The substitution of "Bosheth," "Shame," for "Baal" was probably suggested by the words of Hosea in ch. ix. 10, "they went to Baalpeor, and separated themselves to the Shame."

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<sup>1</sup> A grand-uncle of Saul bore the name of "Baal" simply (1 Chron. viii. 30).

Jeremiah also suggests it in ch. xi. 13, "Ye have set up altars to the Shame, even altars to burn incense unto Baal."<sup>1</sup> The reader will remember Hosea's change of "Bethel" to "Beth-aven," "House of God" to "House of Nothingness" or "of idols" (iv. 15; x. 5). Although the name Baal has not been displaced from the Hebrew text, the version of the LXX gives reason to suppose that sometimes, at least, the reader substituted "Bosheth." In 1 Kings xviii. 19, 25, the LXX have for "Baal" ἡ αἰσχύνη. The text known as ἡ κοινὴ compromises by writing ἡ βάαλ. And this (as Dillmann has pointed out) is the true explanation of the use of the feminine article with βάαλ, a usage most consistently carried out in the Book of Jeremiah, and which commentators have unsuccessfully tried to explain in other ways, as, for instance, that Baal was an androgynous deity, or that the feminine was used by way of contempt.

It is clear from what we have shown that the Massoretes deserve the credit of an honest determination to present a correct text, and moreover of skill and sagacity in carrying out this determination so far as their resources enabled them to do so. It was from want of manuscript authority that they were unable to grapple with the many corruptions of the only text they possessed, or even to suspect their existence. But we see also that there were earlier scribes who were less skilful and less careful of the integrity of the text.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Hosea iv. 7, where the correct reading is: "They have exchanged their Glory for Shame." "Their Glory" is used to signify Jehovah also in Jer. ii. 11.

### III.

## NEW TESTAMENT LEXICOGRAPHY.



A CONTEMPORARY scholar, who has devoted a considerable part of his life to the collection and editing of fragments of the Greek comic poets, has included in his collection a portion of the sublime words of St. Paul in 2 Tim. iv. 6, "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my ——" Here his extract ends. He finds that the first four words would make half an iambic tetrameter, and makes the remark that although they are "*ipsa nocte obscuriora*," they are manifestly the remnant of an iambic tetrameter, extracted (*viz.* by the grammarian in whom he finds them) from a comedy! This may serve as an illustration of the strangeness of the vocabulary of the Greek Testament to a purely classical scholar, although no doubt in this case it was not so much the word *σπένδομαι* itself as the figure involved, that proved such a stumbling-block. Hence the ordinary lexicons are entirely inadequate—it would hardly be too much to say, useless—to the student of the New Testament. Indeed, until recently they were of little use even to the student of Aristotle. There is a great gap between the vocabulary of Aristotle, and that, not merely of the dramatists, but even of Plato. But between Aristotle and St. Paul there is an interval of four centuries, as great as between Cicero and Jerome, or between Chaucer and Johnson. Besides the

distance in time, which of itself would account for great difference in vocabulary, there is the difference in the circumstances of place and society to be taken into account. Connected with this is, of course, the influence of Hebrew habits of thought. This is, as far as the language is concerned, less than is sometimes supposed. Expressions characterized as Hebraisms may in not a few instances be paralleled in classical writers, the difference being in their frequency. As these Hebraisms, however, affect the phraseology more than the vocabulary, we shall not dwell on them.

There is another circumstance which must not be omitted. The writers of the New Testament were for the most part not literary persons, or authors by profession. St. Paul, indeed, had literary culture, but all his writings are letters written clearly without regard to literary form. Indeed, the Epistle to the Hebrews is the only piece of what may be called literary work in the whole volume. What should we have thought of some of even Cicero's Letters if they had dated from A.D. 300, and if Plautus had not survived to show that what appears novel is merely colloquial? We have no similar monument of colloquial Greek, and it is very curious that Cicero himself sometimes uses in his Letters a Greek expression which must have been familiar, and yet which we do not find in any classical Greek author. By the labours of many scholars the Greek of the New Testament has attained its proper recognition as a legitimate form of Hellenic speech, with a style and character and dignity of its own, perfectly adapted to its own purpose, and governed essentially by the same principles as other Hellenic speech. Commentators of our own day have shown that we gain rather than lose by applying to its interpretation the strictest rules of lexicon and grammar.

The latest and most important labourers in the field of lexicography are Grimm, Cremer, and Thayer, to whom we may add the name of Field, although he has not produced a lexicon. With him, as he says in his preface, "the study of the Greek language and literature, especially in connexion with the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and

New Testaments, has been not so much the *pursuit* as the *passion* of a life protracted far beyond the ordinary limits." His small book, modestly entitled *Otium Norvicense: Pars Tertia*, is full of valuable observations and illustrations from the less read and later Greek authors.

Cremer's Lexicon does not aim at completeness. It is, as its title professes, a *Biblico-Theological Lexicon*, and is particularly full and useful on theological terms. Grimm's Lexicon aims at completeness. It first appeared as a revised edition of Wilke's *Clavis*, in which, however, little of the original Wilke remained. Its value has been long known to students, and in Professor Thayer's translation this value is very much enhanced. Everywhere the Professor has supplied new matter of a most useful kind, including additional references to ancient authors, as well as to the most recent English and foreign works in which fresh light may be looked for. The readings of Westcott and Hort are carefully noted. Some articles have received large additions, *e.g.* αἰών. In its present form the book is simply indispensable to the student of the Greek Testament.

Some interesting studies in lexicography will be found in the second of Dr. Hatch's most interesting and valuable *Essays in Biblical Greek*. We shall have occasion presently to refer critically to some of his conclusions.<sup>1</sup>

The amount of the influence of the Septuagint Version on the language of the New Testament is very often exaggerated. It must be remembered that it was a translation for the most part very literal, although in some books frequently giving the sense rather than the literal rendering. The occurrence, therefore, of peculiarities in the use either of words or of phrases which result from the literal rendering of the Hebrew is no evidence of usage, nor does it, except in special cases, create a usage. Perhaps the best illustration of this is furnished by

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<sup>1</sup> It is proper to observe that the present article had actually been passed for press before the unexpected and lamented death of Dr. Hatch. It is believed that the Concordance to the Septuagint in which he was engaged is in a state sufficiently advanced to admit readily of completion and publication.



the English Bible itself, which, however, is by no means so literal as the Septuagint Version, and has exercised a far greater influence on the English language generally than the Greek Version is known to have exercised on any Greek dialect. Take, for example, the word "peculiar" in "peculiar people." The Biblical use of the word has in no wise affected its significance; on the contrary, its ordinary sense has obscured its Biblical meaning, so that even professional theologians have frequently been misled by it to the perversion of the apostolic words; yet these theologians are supposed to have the original text at hand, and to be able to consult it, not to speak of the multitude of secondary aids which they possess. A similar remark applies to the word "offend," "giving offence," *i.e.* occasion of stumbling. This, which is almost exclusively the usage in the New Testament, never occurs in modern writers.

So with regard to phrases. "Accept persons," so common in the New Testament, is never used, although it has no exact equivalent. Rarely indeed have we met even professed students of theology who had any idea of the meaning of the words "led captivity captive," although the occurrence of the phrase in the Song of Deborah might have taught them that it simply meant "led captive a body of captives." The false interpretation suggested by the English idiom is even embodied in a hymn by Dr. Haweis, sung by many a congregation with a good meaning of its own no doubt, but without the slightest inkling of its Biblical meaning.

"Shadow of death" is another phrase to which we shall presently have to refer, adopted indeed from the Bible, but not in its Biblical signification. It is universally employed in the sense which it would have had if framed by our English authors. Similarly, "to take God's name in vain" has become a current phrase, but the meaning it has in the Old Testament is entirely lost, even theologians often ignoring it. It means, we need hardly say, "to swear falsely."

Again, "to see eye to eye" is a phrase borrowed from the Bible (Is. lii. 8), but applied by the most intelligent borrowers in a sense which is neither Biblical nor natural.

Nor has the English Bible been able to preserve either words or significations once current from disappearing. A notable example is "quick" in the sense of "living," although it is not only in the Bible but in the Creed. "Hell" and "damn" are other important examples; the number of those less important is very great. For our part, when we read the Septuagint what strikes us is its unlikeness to the language of the New Testament. Taking as one example the 51st Psalm, which must have been very familiar, and noting only words which might easily have found a place in the New Testament, we have ἀνόμημα, ἀκουτίζω, ἀνταναιρέω, ἀγαθύνω, εὐδοκέω with an accusative (not in the New Testament, except in a quotation from this psalm), ἐγκαινίζω in the sense "renew," while in the New Testament it has only the sense "consecrate" or "inaugurate." Glancing at the preceding psalm (50), we find in one verse (19) περιπλέκω, δολιότης, and the verb πλεονάζω, "to increase," a signification which it has not in the New Testament. Similar instances are furnished by nearly every page. Then as to phrases: ποιεῖν ῥῆμα is common in the LXX, but never occurs in the New Testament; εἶναι εἰς with accusative, instead of εἶναι with the nominative, is a common LXX construction, but is found in the New Testament only in quotations. λαμβάνειν πρόσωπον is a phrase which has got into use from the LXX, but not in the LXX signification. In the Old Testament it means simply "to show favour"; in the New "to show partiality." The phrase was adopted from the Septuagint, but not the meaning, which was apparently determined by the influence of the common Greek use of πρόσωπον as a character assumed.

Amongst the very useful tables appended to Professor Thayer's Lexicon is a list of post-Aristotelian words in the New Testament. This list does not include the words which first made their appearance between B.C. 150 and B.C. 100. It contains 318 words, of which only fifteen are found in the Septuagint (or Apocrypha), and none are confined to these. Another list is of "Biblical Words." This includes words which first appeared in secular authors between B.C. 150 and

B.C. 100, as well as those which first appeared between A.D. 50 and A.D. 100 (these [76] are also in the former list). This list includes 767 words, of which only 191, just one-fourth, are found in the Septuagint; but about half of these are in other writers also, as the body of the Lexicon shows. A third table is of "Biblical Significations." The total number is 375, of which only 160, or less than half, occur in the Septuagint (including the Apocrypha, which furnishes 20). Several of these instances, moreover, are only quotations from the Septuagint. On the other hand, if we examine the vocabulary of the New Testament we find numerous words and significations not included in these lists, and not found in the Septuagint. For example, βασιάζω, found twenty-seven times in the New Testament, occurs twice in the Apocrypha, and once only in the version of canonical books. The same is the case with βέβαιος. Βαρέω is not either in Septuagint or Apocrypha, nor βραδύς, βραδύνω, or βραδυτής. Ἀίδιος occurs once in the Apocrypha, not elsewhere; αἰδίως never.

Ἀγάπη is worth dwelling on for a moment. This is a peculiarly Biblical word, not found in profane authors (except once in Philo), although they use the verb ἀγαπάω, from which we may infer that the substantive must have been at one time in use. However, the substantive in actual use was the verbal derivative ἀγάπησις. Ἀγάπη is specially appropriated in the New Testament to what Aristotle calls φιλία ἄνευ πάθους καὶ τοῦ στέργειν,<sup>1</sup> and accordingly is applied to the love of God and to God, as well as to the love to one another which is a duty but does not include affection. There is no trace of this in the Septuagint. The word occurs there in all fifteen times, of which two are in Ecclesiastes (ix. 1, 6) and eleven in Canticles. Of the remaining passages one is 2 Sam. xiii. 15 (Amnon and Tamar), where it applies to sexual love, and the other Jer. ii. 2. The classical word ἀγάπησις occurs in about six places, and in four of these it expresses what in the New Testament is ἀγάπη. *Ex.gr.* Jer. xxxi. 3, "I have loved thee with an everlasting love;" Hosea xi. 4, "I drew them

<sup>1</sup> *Eth. Nic.* iv. vi. 5.

with bands of love;" also Zeph. iii. 17, and Ps. cix. 5. In the fifth passage (1 Sam. i. 26) it occurs twice, "Thy love for me was wonderful, passing the love of women." Now if the Septuagint usage had been the guide, ἀγάπησις, and not ἀγάπη, would have been the word adopted. The verb ἀγαπάω, it may be observed, is used of sexual love in the Septuagint, as well as occasionally in later writers. Professor Thayer, correcting Grimm, who says it cannot be so used, refers (under φιλέω) to two passages in Plutarch where it is so used, but has not observed that it also occurs in the Septuagint, *ex.gr.* 1 Kings xi. 2; Hosea iii. 1; Is. lvii. 8; Ezek. xvi. 37. A third word for love, φιλία, is found six times in the Book of Proverbs (in two of which it is sexual love), and only once in the New Testament (James iv. 4, "friendship of the world"). The word ὑπομονή, again, so familiar as the name of a Christian virtue, although occurring in the Septuagint, has there an entirely different meaning, viz. "expectation." Ἀφεσις, a regular term in the New Testament for "remission" of sins, never has that sense in the Septuagint. It means "release, dismissal," a sense which in the New Testament it has only in a quotation.

Again, the technical sense of κοινός, "common or unclean," is one which might be supposed to have been peculiarly Hellenistic. But it is not found in the canonical books, where, indeed, the word itself occurs but twice, and with the signification "in common." The New Testament sense appears, indeed, twice in the First Book of the Maccabees. The verb κοινόω does not occur at all. Κατακρίνω, again, occurs once only in the canonical books, viz. in Esther. But we need not multiply these illustrations. The instances we have selected are of words which there was occasion for using.

Such facts as these show that the influence of the Septuagint version on the vocabulary of the New Testament was not predominant, and that to make the usage of the former determine the interpretation of the latter, except in the case of terms of Hebrew theology, is quite out of the question.

It will be seen from what we have said that we cannot



agree with Dr. Hatch that the fact of the Septuagint or other Greek translators rendering a Hebrew word generally or even uniformly by a certain Greek word is a proof that the meaning of the latter is the same as that of the former. He lays down as canons "almost self-evident" :—" (1) A word which is used uniformly or with few and intelligible exceptions, as the translation of the same Hebrew word, must be held to have in Biblical Greek the same meaning as that Hebrew word ; (2) words which are used interchangeably as translations of the same Hebrew word, or group of cognate words, must be held to have in Biblical Greek an allied or virtually identical meaning." However apparently self-evident these canons may be they are really fallacious. An example or two will best show the grounds for our hesitation. The first we take is the word *ὑποκριτής*. This is used by Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion as a rendering of the Hebrew word *פִּנְיָן*, which means "impious," and which the Septuagint translators had rendered by *ἀσεβής*, or the like. Dr. Hatch thinks that "these facts seem to show that early in the second century, and among Greek-speaking Jews, *ὑποκριτής* had come to mean more than merely 'the actor of a false part in life.' It connoted positive badness." And he proceeds to say that this sense seems more appropriate than any other in certain passages of the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. xxiv. 51 ; xxiii. 28 ; Mark xii. 15). But Jerome also renders the Hebrew word by "hypocrita" as the Authorized Version does by "hypocrite," yet it would hardly be said that these words must therefore be synonymous with the Hebrew. The explanation is simply this: in the later Hebrew the word did mean "hypocrite," and this meaning passed even into Hebrew lexicons, in some of which it appears to the present day.<sup>1</sup> And this accounts for the fact that the Hexapla translators thought proper to substitute for the Septuagint rendering *ἀσεβής* another which seemed to them, not a synonymous word, but the true meaning of the Hebrew. As to the New Testa-

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<sup>1</sup> It is the word given for "hypocrite" in Joseph's English-Hebrew Lexicon.



ment, surely in Matt. xxiii. it is not simply badness or impiety of the Pharisees that is denounced, but the inconsistency of their punctilious observance of small matters and neglect of the more essential. In fact the verses describe the very type of hypocrisy. And in Mark xii. 15, "knowing their hypocrisy," the parallels *πανουργία* in Luke and *πονηρία* in Matthew do not prove that *ὑπόκρισις* has lost its special meaning. The question referred to was essentially hypocritical. St. Luke's *πανουργία*, which is rather "knavishness" than "malice," indicates the same thing; but though the three words were all applicable, they are not synonymous. The question being hypocritically put, the conduct of the questioners might be called more generally knavishness, and still more generally wickedness.

Not very dissimilar is the case of *δικαιοσύνη*. According to Dr. Hatch, while the classical meaning of this word is found both in the Septuagint and in the New Testament, there is intertwined with it another meaning which is peculiar to Hellenistic Greek, viz. kindness, *ἐλεημοσύνη*. In fact "the meanings of the two words *δικαιοσύνη* and *ἐλεημοσύνη* had interpenetrated each other." This inference is based on the fact that the word for "kindness" (דְּחִי) usually (*i.e.* more than one hundred times) rendered by *ἔλεος* or the like, is nine times rendered by *δικαιοσύνη* and once by *δίκαιος*, while the word דְּרִשָּׁה, "justice," usually (about one hundred and twenty-eight times) rendered by *δικαιοσύνη*, is nine times translated *ἐλεημοσύνη* and three times *ἔλεος*.<sup>1</sup> Here again it is in the Hebrew that we find the explanation of the facts. In the later Hebrew דְּרִשָּׁה means "almsgiving." Thus it is said, "He that doeth righteousness [*i.e.* giveth alms] in secret is greater than Moses." The transition of meaning is analogous to that of our own word "charity." What the Septuagint translation proves is, not that the Greek word *ἐλεημοσύνη* had changed its meaning, but that this special notion was attached to the Hebrew word even in their day. Indeed, some interpreters have thought that it

<sup>1</sup> The masculine form דְּרִישׁ is rendered *δικαιοσύνη* 82 times.

was used in the sense of "liberality" or "kindness" in the Hebrew text itself, *e.g.* Prov. x. 2; xi. 5.

As to the rendering of the word **חֶסֶד**, it is to be observed that this word means not only "kindness," but "piety" or "godliness." The adjective connected with it is the regular word for "saints." In Isaiah lvii. 1, "men of 'chesed'" is actually synonymous with "righteous." "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart, and 'men of piety' are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come." Here the LXX have *δίκαιος* three times, quite correctly as to sense. The English Version has "merciful men," but the last clause makes it evident that the meaning is "righteous" (Revised Version, margin, "godly"). In Hosea vi. 5 we have a similar use of the word: "O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? O Judah, what shall I do unto thee? for your 'goodness' is as a morning cloud, and as the early dew it goeth away." Here the LXX wrongly have *ἐλεος*. (Compare Prov. xxi. 21.) In 2 Chron. vi. 42, xxxii. 32, the good deeds of David and Hezekiah are called by the same word. In Ps. ci. 1 the Psalmist says he will sing of "chesed" and judgment. Now he sings of righteousness and judgment; there is not a word of "mercy." In Prov. xx. 28 it is said that the king's throne is upholden by "chesed," and, in the former part of the verse, that he is preserved by "chesed" and truth. Elsewhere often it is said that the king's throne is established by righteousness (as in Prov. xxv. 5).

These examples show that the rendering occasionally adopted by the LXX can be accounted for by the connotation of the Hebrew word, without having recourse to the supposition that the Greek word had put on a new meaning. This is confirmed by the fact that the subsequent Greek translators give no hint of such a meaning of the Greek. This circumstance has, indeed, induced Dr. Hatch to suggest that it was a local peculiarity.

There is one passage in the New Testament in which Dr. Hatch thinks the above-mentioned meaning of *δικαιοσύνη* "is so clear that scribes who were unaware of its existence altered

the text"—viz. Matt. vi. 1, where the genuine reading is *δικαιοσύνη*. It appears to us much better, with Fritzsche and Meyer, to suppose that ver. 1 gives a general precept, which is then applied in particular to almsgiving (ver. 2), to prayer (ver. 5), and to fasting (ver. 16). Copyists, not seeing this, thought that ver. 1 was equivalent to ver. 2, and changed the word.

Dr. Hatch on similar grounds interprets the adjective *δίκαιος* in Matt. i. 19 as "kindly"—"Joseph being a kindly man." Now there is still less reason for supposing such a transition of meaning in the adjective than in the substantive; but Dr. Hatch is so far right in his conclusion that *δίκαιος* is not to be taken as meaning "severely just." It is often "fair, good." Of this we have instances in classical writers, who use it of a good physician, a good chariot, good land, &c.<sup>1</sup> In the New Testament (1 John i. 9) *πιστὸς καὶ δίκαιος*, "faithful and just," it certainly does not mean "exacting what justice requires," nor even "giving what has been deserved." In Matt. v. 45 "the just and the unjust" = "the evil and the good." In Matt. xiii. 4, 7 it is "whatever is fair ye shall receive." Joseph of Arimathea, also, is said to have been "just and good." In Rom. v. 7 it seems to be used synonymously with *ἀγαθός*, as in the passage of St. Matthew just quoted—"Hardly for a righteous man will one die, [hardly, I say,] for perhaps for such a man one might die." The attempts to make a contrast here have not succeeded. *Δίκαιος* nowhere appears as contrasted with *ἀγαθός*.<sup>2</sup> This also illustrates Rom. iii. 26.

Dr. Hatch endeavours to prove that *ἀρετὴ* had in the LXX the meaning "praise," and he regards this as the most appropriate sense in Phil. iv. 8: "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable . . . just . . . pure . . . lovely . . . of good report (rather, 'gracious'); if there

<sup>1</sup> δ. *ἱητρος*, Hippocr. p. 19, 22; δῶμα, *id.* ἄρμα, Xen. Cyr. 2, 2, 26; ἵππος, *id.* Mem. 4, 4, 5; ἡ τὴν γνάθον, Pollux 1, 196; γῆδιον, Xen. Cyr. 8, 3, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Plato supplies an admirable illustration of this: δ δίκαιος ἡμῶν ἀναπέφανται ὡν ἀγαθός τε καὶ σοφός (*Rep.* 350 c). This might be taken as a definition.

be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." His inference is founded on the fact that the word is used in the Septuagint four times (in Isaiah) where the Hebrew has "praises (*tehillôth*) of God," and twice similarly for "glory." So far as this usage can be said to exist, it is classical, not Hellenistic. There are several passages in Plato where ἀρετὴ is co-ordinated with δόξα. *Ex.gr. Symp.* 208: ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ τοιαύτης δόξης εὐκλειοῦς πάντες πάντα ποιοῦσιν. Thucydides has: φέρουσα ἐς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετὴν (i. 32). Sophocles, again: (having gone through labour) ἀθάνατον ἀρετὴν ἔσχον (*Philoct.* 1406). In these, and other instances, interpreters have given the word the signification "fame" or the like. Rost and Palm's Lexicon rightly dissents from this, saying that the word means "moral greatness and the recognition of it." It is, indeed, a grave fault in a lexicographer or interpreter to assume that because a word has a modified meaning when used in a particular connexion, therefore it may *per se* bear the same. As to ἀρετὴ there is, in fact, much less ground for assigning it the meaning "praise" in the LXX than in Plato or Thucydides. In the four passages referred to (Is. xlii. 8, 12; xliii. 21; lxiii. 7), where ἀρετὴ = *tehillôth*, it is the praises of God that are spoken of; and in three of them the publication of these. In Is. lxiii. 7, "I will make mention of the loving-kindness of the Lord and the praises of the Lord . . . and the great goodness . . . which he hath bestowed," all the modern commentators whom we have at hand, including Bredenkamp, Cheyne, Delitzsch, and Knobel, interpret the Hebrew word as = "deeds of renown" or the like. Gesenius recognizes as one of the meanings of *tehillâh* "object of praise." This is the natural, and indeed necessary, interpretation wherever the declaration or showing forth of God's "praises" is mentioned, as in Is. xliii. 21, "My people whom I acquired to relate my praises." What are we to understand by the expression in the Song of Moses, "Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises (*θαυμαστός ἐν δόξαις*), doing wonders?" (Exod. xv. 11). Surely the "praises" of God here are his glorious perfections. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the



translator of Isaiah used the word *ἀρετῇ* to express this; and does he not show his discrimination by using the word only in this connexion? And would not the translator of Ps. ix. 14 have done better had he used *ἀρετῇ* instead of *αἰνεσις*, which Schleusner finds himself there compelled to interpret as = "laudes, h. e. facta insignia ac laude digna."<sup>1</sup> Truly the translator's fate was hard! If he adheres to the literal rendering of the Hebrew, it is intimated that he is stupidly literal; if with tolerable correctness he departs from the literal rendering and gives the sense, he gets no credit; he is assumed to have intended to be literal and to have hit on a suitable word only because he did not know its meaning.

In Hab. iii. 3, where *ἀρετῇ* = "glory" (E. V.), we have a glowing poetical description of the manifestation of the Divine Majesty, "God came from Teman, and the Holy One from Mount Paran. His glory (*ἀρετῇ*) covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise" (*αἰνεσις*). Here it is surely not "praise" but manifested glory that covered the heavens. Here *αἰνεσις* is not well chosen. The translator of Isaiah would probably have given us *δόξα* and *ἀρετῇ*. That *ἀρετῇ* was not = "praise" is shown by the fact that it is not used for "praise" simply (where *αἰνεσις*, for example, would be better), but only for the praise of God. The later translators wishing to adhere more closely to the Hebrew, substituted the more literal renderings, *ὑμνησις*, *ἔπαινος*, &c. And it may be added that the passage in Philippians would lose rather than gain by Dr. Hatch's interpretation. St. Paul exhorts his converts to think on or take account of whatever is noble, honourable, gracious. What a descent to tell them to make fame and praise their object! How thoroughly unapostolic! Rather does *ἀρετῇ* determine the meaning of *ἔπαινος* here to be, according to a usual figure, like the Latin "laus," "deserving of praise." 1 Pet. ii. 9 is different, but then this is an actual quotation from the LXX. In 2 Pet. i. 3 *σοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς* (or *ιδίᾳ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ*), it is not easy to see what

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ps. lxx. 1: *δοτε δόξαν τῇ αἰνέσει αὐτοῦ* = "majestati ejus" (Schleusner).



interpretation Dr. Hatch can have had in his mind which would make the rendering "praise" even possible.

There are other suggestions of Dr. Hatch which impress us more favourably: for example, his interpretation of *πειρασμός* as = "trial," *i.e.* "tribulation, affliction," a signification which is, indeed, recognized once in the Authorized Version (1 Pet. iv. 12), and oftener in the Revised (Acts xx. 19, text; Rev. iii. 10, text; Jas. i. 2, margin; 1 Pet. i. 6, margin), and which might well have been adopted also in St. Luke viii. 13. Dr. Hatch would adopt this sense also in the Lord's Prayer, and a similar sense for the verb in Heb. iv. 15, as well as in St. Matt. iv. 1 and the parallels. In all this, however, he has been anticipated by Bretschneider.

A group of words discussed by Dr. Hatch in illustration of his principles is *πένης*, *πραῦς*, *πτωχός*, and *ταπεινός*. These words, he says, "are in the LXX so constantly interchanged as to exclude the possibility of any sharp distinction between them." We shall not controvert this as regards *πένης* and *πτωχός*, but the fact only supplies another instance of the difference between the vocabulary of the LXX and that of the New Testament; for *πένης* does not enter the latter at all (its one occurrence being in a quotation), and *πτωχός* retains its distinctive signification.

The word which interests us, however, is *πραῦς*, which, according to Dr. Hatch, is used "interchangeably" with the other three to render the Hebrew words *ʾānī*, "afflicted," and *ʾānāv*, "meek." Such interchange would seem rather to prove that the translators did not properly distinguish the Hebrew words than that they confounded the Greek. But in fact it is not possible to draw such a sharp distinction between these two Hebrew words except on the assumption that we are free to alter the Hebrew text in accordance with it—an assumption which, however admissible in itself, would be fatal to Dr. Hatch's inference, which requires that the LXX should have had the same reading that we have. The ordinary lexicons assign both meanings to both words, and with the present text this is unavoidable. Indeed, Böttcher regards the words as

identical, *‘ánáv* being only an archaic and poetic form. However, the graphical difference between the words is so slight that they are very liable to be confounded, and, in fact, the Massorah indicates several places in which they have been mistaken one for the other. It is curious that Dr. Hatch cites indifferently the textual and marginal readings of such passages. Thus he states that *‘ánáv* is rendered *πτωχός* in Prov. xiv. 21, and *ταπεινός* in Prov. iii. 34, whereas in both passages the text has *‘áni*. Again, he states that *‘áni* is rendered *πραῦς* in Job xxiv. 4, *πένης* in Ps. ix. 19, and *ταπεινός* in Is. xxxii. 7, in all which cases the textual reading is *‘ánáv*. On the other hand, in Ps. ix. 13 (quoted for *‘áni* = *πένης*) the marginal reading is *‘ánáv*.<sup>1</sup>

These notes of the Massorah show that in very early times the words were believed to have been sometimes confounded; and either their meanings were interchanged or this confusion occurred in other instances not mentioned in the Massorah. The former supposition is expressly adopted by some lexicographers, *ex.gr.* Fürst, but the latter is perhaps preferable. One such passage is Zech. ix. 9: "Behold, thy King cometh unto thee . . . lowly and riding upon an ass." Here the text has *‘áni*, without any marginal correction, but the sense is doubtless that given in the Authorized Version and retained in the Revised. The Targum, moreover, renders "lowly" here, as also in Zeph. iii. 12 and Is. xlix. 13. Another instance in which the same sense is required is Is. lxvi. 2: "To this man will I look, even to him that is lowly and of a contrite spirit." Here again the Targum has "lowly" (E. V. "poor," LXX *ταπεινός*). On the other hand, in several instances where *‘ánáv* is read "poor" suits the connexion better than "meek," *ex.gr.* Is. lxi. 1. In Ps. x. 17 several manuscripts actually read *‘áni*. In these circumstances it seems clear that no inference can be drawn as to the signification attached to the Greek words by the trans-

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<sup>1</sup> In Amos ii. 7, cited as an instance of *‘áni* = *ταπεινός*, the word in the text is *‘ánáv*, with no marginal variation. Dr. Hatch has probably been misled by Trommius, as Trommius was by Kircher. Another instance of the confusion of the two words.

lators who used them to render either Hebrew word. But at least before drawing such an inference we ought to examine the passages more closely, in order to see whether the LXX may not have had some good reason for varying their rendering.

Now as to *πραῦς*. There are just three passages alleged by Dr. Hatch in which it is used to translate *‘āni* (properly = “afflicted,” “poor”), viz. Job xxiv. 4, Zech. ix. 9, and Is. xxvi. 6. In the first of these, as we have just mentioned, the reading of even our present text is not *‘āni*; in the second translators and lexicographers agree with the interpretation of the LXX. Either the translator of Zechariah read *‘ānāv*, or, like the moderns, he judged that *‘āni* was here used in the sense of *‘ānāv*. The agreement of the Targum would of itself put out of the question the supposition of a peculiarly Greek mistake; but indeed the appropriateness of the rendering proves that the Greek translator did not choose *πραῦς* at random or confound it with *πένης*. There remains one passage in which *‘āni* is rendered *πραῦς* when *πένης* would have been better. Even if this were an undeniable error, still the fact that out of eighty occurrences of *‘āni* it is once by an indifferent translator wrongly rendered would be but a slender basis on which to build a theory as to the accepted signification of the Greek word, or its use in the New Testament. But, as we have seen, the rendering is defensible, and, what is more, the Targum actually agrees with the rendering *πραῦς*. Thus of Dr. Hatch’s three passages one is not a case of *‘āni* at all, in the second *πραῦς* has beyond question its usual meaning and is the correct rendering, and in the third all that can be said is that it is not the best translation. Surely the fact that of the many translators whom we group as the LXX one only falls into this error (if it be one) is decisive proof that the distinction between *πένης* and *πραῦς* was in no degree obscured.<sup>1</sup>

As to the instances in which *πένης* or *πτωχός* is used to translate *‘ānāv*, an examination will show that these words have

<sup>1</sup> It deserves to be noticed that in this place, as well as in Is. lxvi. 2, where Aquila has *πραῦν*, which the sense requires, in Ps. xviii. 28, where Symmachus has *πρᾶον*, which agrees with the parallel clause, and in

not been chosen at random, or because they were not distinguished from *πρᾶν*—for example, Ps. xxi. 27, “The poor shall eat and shall be satisfied.” In Is. xxix. 19 the parallel clause has *’ebhjôn*, “needy.” Again, in Is. lxi. 1, “To preach good tidings to the poor.” In these places “poor” suits the sense better than “meek.” We may add Ps. x. 17, where, as already remarked, several MSS. read *’âni*, and Ps. lxix. 33. In all these places the rendering is at least quite suitable, and if the true reading is not *’âni*, then *’ânâv* means “oppressed, afflicted.” Indeed, Gesenius assigns this as the first meaning of the word, duly remarking that the accessory notion of humility or weakness is always included. He gives the simple meaning “meek” to the word in one passage only, viz. Numb. xii. 3. In Prov. xiv. 21, where the sense requires “poor” (“he that hath pity on the poor”) and the text has *’âni*, the margin substitutes *’ânâv*, showing that the ancient Sôpherim did not make a very sharp distinction between the words, if indeed they regarded them as more than different forms of the same word. As to *ταπεινός*, this is used by classical writers, both with reference to condition and to character, and not always with a suggestion of moral disparagement.<sup>1</sup> The translators, therefore, were perfectly justified in employing it for either Hebrew word (and for other similar words) if they saw fit. The translator of the Psalms was doubtless right in using it for *’âni* in Ps. xviii. 27, where the antithetic parallelism has “high looks,” as was also the translator of Isaiah in lxvi. 2, where the word is coupled with “a contrite spirit.”

That the same class of persons is designated, in the latter books at least, by *’âni*, *’ânâv*, and *’ebhjôn*, is probable; but we see no reason for believing, with Dr. Hatch, that this class was “the peasantry or *fellahin* who then, as now, for the most part

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Zech. ix. 9, *’âni* is singular. Now *’ânâv* occurs in the singular once only, and there it is altered by the margin. Either the singular went out of use and *’âni* was used instead of it, or it was strange to the copyists, who substituted *’âni*.

<sup>1</sup> For example, Plato, *Legg.* 716 A, and Demosthenes in *Midiam*, § 186. In the latter passage it appears from the context to be = *μέτριος*.



lived quiet and religious lives, but who were the victims of constant ill-treatment and plunder at the hands not only of tyrannical rulers, but also of powerful and lawless neighbours." The conjecture of Graetz is more probable that they were the poor pious Levites, who, from their dependent position, when religion decayed or idolatry prevailed, would be liable to be brought to poverty by their faithfulness and piety.

Dr. Hatch, again, infers a close similarity of meaning between *θυσία* and *δῶρον*, from the fact that both words are used to render the Hebrew *minchah*. But the Hebrew word is used both of offerings to God and of gifts or tribute to men, and the Greek translators very properly varied their rendering accordingly, as the English translators have also done, sometimes translating the word "gift" and sometimes "offering." Is this evidence that the translators in either case ignored the distinction between the words they used? Does Dr. Hatch really think that the Greek translators would have shown a more exact appreciation of the meaning of the Greek words if they had used *θυσία* where a gift to men was spoken of, or *δῶρον* where an offering to God was in question? Surely in order to obtain any useful result in such inquiries we must have some regard to the possible varieties of meaning of the Hebrew word.

Another thing which we must take into account is that we are not dealing with the work of a single translator, but with a work executed by different persons at different times. This is illustrated by another of Dr. Hatch's examples, the pair of words *παραβολή* and *παροιμία*, the former properly "a similitude," the latter "a proverbial illustration." Having referred to the passages in which these words occur, he says, "These facts, that *παραβολή* and *παροιμία* are used by the LXX to translate the same Hebrew word, and that the other translators and revisers frequently substitute the one for the other, show that between the two words there existed a close relationship, and that the sharp distinction which has been sometimes drawn between them does not hold in the Greek versions of the O.T.," or, as he expresses it afterwards, "that they were convertible



terms, or at least that their meanings were so closely allied that one could be substituted for the other." Now if it were the case that these words were used indifferently by the same translator as the rendering of the Hebrew word (*máshál*) in the same sense, then there might be some ground for the inference, assuming (a pretty strong assumption) that the translator was a master of his art. But let us look into the facts. The word *máshál* has more than one meaning. Gesenius gives it the following significations:—“(1) A similitude, parable; (2) a sententious saying, γνώμη, or apophthegm; (3) a proverb, παροιμία; (4) a poem, song, verse,” especially of prophecy, or a didactic discourse or poem, comparing the Arabic *mathal*, “parable,” “fable,” “sentence,” but in the plural “verses.” Hence the word might, according to circumstances, be rendered παραβολή, παροιμία, ᾠδή, θρῆνος. But it is characteristic of second-rate translators that instead of correctly representing the varying significations, or rather shades of meaning, of a word like this, they adhere to a stereotyped rendering. The English translators, notwithstanding their love of variety, illustrate this in the case of this very word. They vary indeed between “parable” and “proverb,” but they use both words where they are not suitable. Indeed, they may be fairly said to use them “interchangeably,” since “take up a proverb” in Is. xiv. 4, Hab. ii. 6 is equivalent to “take up a parable” in Micah ii. 4. Moreover, they adopt the rendering “byword” twice, and once in the margin “taunting speech” (Hab. ii. 6). Yet it would be an error to conclude that the English words “parable,” “proverb,” “byword” are synonymous.

Now the LXX translators of all the books except Isaiah, Job, and Proverbs, adhere almost invariably to the rendering παραβολή. Indeed, the only exceptions are two instances in which “to become a proverb” is paraphrased (ἀφανισμός). The word *máshál* occurs only once in Isaiah, and is there rendered θρῆνος. On the other hand the translator of Proverbs uses παροιμία once certainly, perhaps twice (the reading being doubtful), and once παιδεία; once also παραβολή. In Job the translator read *máshál* five times, since in xxv. 2, where

our text vocalizes the word as a verb, he reads it as a noun. Thrice he renders *προοίμιον*. It is tempting, no doubt, to correct this into *παροιμία*, but the conjecture cannot really be considered probable. We should have to suppose that the mistake was made in all three places—that is, always in Job, and in no other book. Moreover in two of them the article would make the mistake less easy; and, in fact, *προοίμιον* is not more unsuitable, rather less so, than *παροιμία*. We may abide, therefore, by the received text. In the fourth passage the translator has *θρόλλημα* (xvii. 6). In the fifth (xiii. 12), in which Dr. Hatch thinks the Greek “is so far from the Hebrew as to afford no evidence,” the translator took *māshāl* in the sense of “likeness.”<sup>1</sup> Thus he never uses either *παραβολή* or *παροιμία*. When Dr. Hatch says that “it will be seen in a majority of the cases in which *παραβολή* was not used to translate *māshāl* *παροιμία* was used instead of it,” his majority consists of exactly three passages, two of which he has obtained by the conjectural alteration of *προοίμιον* to *παροιμία*. The acceptance of this alteration makes no practical difference, since the case would then be that some translators use one word and some the other, just as one English translator might use “proverb” and another “parable.” Dr. Hatch’s evidence, however, for the equivalence of the two words is not founded on the LXX alone, but on the instances in which the Hexapla revisers substitute *παροιμία* for *παραβολή*. At first sight one would say that when a reviser alters the existing translation it is because he thinks it not accurate, and therefore such substitution is evidence that the words were not synonymous. In the present case, closer examination, we think, only confirms this view. The older translators, adhering to *παραβολή*, had employed it often where it was unsuitable. In the following passages, for instance, we have clear examples of “proverbs”:

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<sup>1</sup> The English Version has here, “Your remembrances are like unto ashes.” The Greek translator rendered the former word *γαυρίαμα*, “Your glorying shall be like unto ashes,” *ἴσα σποδῶ*. The true rendering is probably, “Your maxims are proverbs of ashes.”

1 Sam. x. 12, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" *ibid.* xxiv. 14, "Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked;" Ezek. xviii. 2, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." In all these cases later translators have most properly substituted *παροιμία*. In Ps. lxxviii. 2, where the Psalmist clearly identifies his *māshāl* with "dark sayings of old," Symmachus, not without reason, gave *παροιμία*, as the English translators have given "proverb." And in Eccles. xii. 9, where the many "proverbs" of the preacher are mentioned, Aquila very naturally thought *παροιμία* more suitable than *παραβολή*. On what principle we are to infer from these judicious alterations that the revisers made no sharp distinction between the two words it is impossible to discern. We should not hesitate to adduce them as proofs of the contrary. In Prov. xxv. 1 Aquila and Theodotion have *παραβολή* where the LXX had a different rendering.<sup>1</sup>

The nature of the "proverbs" in these chapters sufficiently explains the alteration. They are all "similitudes," and *παραβολή* was the more suitable word. This is a striking example of clear discernment of the distinction between this word and *παροιμία*, and the same may be said of Symmachus' similar reading in xxvi. 7.

We may compare the treatment of *māshāl* by the Greek translators to that of *διαθήκη* in the English Bible. In the first printed Bible the word was in a few instances rendered "covenant," but more often "testament" (especially throughout the Epistle to the Hebrews). Subsequent revisers substituted "covenant" for "testament" in several instances; Dr. Hatch himself would always render the word "covenant." On his principles, as just exemplified in *παραβολή* and *παροιμία*, these facts prove that there is no sharp distinction between the English words "covenant" and "testament."

The English Version would supply many other instructive

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<sup>1</sup> The reading of the LXX here is uncertain. It was probably *παιδεία*. Some manuscripts have *παροιμία*, but according to the Syro-hexaplar this was the reading of Symmachus.

analogies, one or two of which we may mention. Thus, by Dr. Hatch's method, we should conclude that "Comforter" and "Advocate" were synonymous, the word *παράκλητος*, which they both represent, having unquestionably the same meaning in all its occurrences. Apart from difference of judgment as to the rendering of a word, there are very few translators whose work can be safely taken as a standard of the usage of their own language. The English Version stands high in this respect, yet we find words incorrectly used in it: for example, "soul," where "life" is meant. We are not, however, to infer that "soul," "life," "appetite," "person," "creature," are synonymous because they translate the same word, *nephesh*, which has indeed a dozen other renderings in the English Bible.<sup>1</sup> Yet the English Version is much more homogeneous than the Septuagint, which is really a collection of versions made by a series of independent translators, differing both in their knowledge of Hebrew and in their command of Greek.

The foregoing discussion of a few of Dr. Hatch's own examples is, in our judgment, sufficient to show the unsoundness of his method of determining the meaning of New Testament Greek, and makes it unnecessary to enter on any more abstract discussion of the principles which he formulates. When we have made allowance, first for legitimate diversity in the interpretation of the Hebrew, and secondly for want of skill in the translator, who may either fail to seize the precise

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<sup>1</sup> We have seen more than once special attention drawn to the marked contrast between the term "living creature" applied to the lower animals in Gen. i. and "living soul" applied to man—the fact being, as our readers know, that the original is the same. But the authors who comment on the supposed contrast make the same supposition regarding the English Version that Dr. Hatch makes with regard to the Septuagint—that the translators accurately represent the original; only, knowing that the English words are not synonymous, they assume that the original words are different. If they knew the Hebrew they ought, on Dr. Hatch's principles, to infer that the translators (and the recent revisers) made no sharp distinction between "creature" and "soul."



meaning of the Hebrew or to select the appropriate Greek word, little occasion will remain for the extreme supposition of a dialectic confusion between distinct Greek words.

The number of instances in which the Septuagint alone vouches for the use of particular words, small comparatively as it is, would no doubt be considerably diminished if our knowledge of the current popular language was greater. An illustration of this may be found in the remarkable fact that Cicero frequently employs in his letters Greek words which do not occur elsewhere, yet which, from his use of them, we may infer were tolerably familiar. Even such a technical word as *ὑπομνηματισμός*, in the sense of a decree of the Areopagus, appears not to be found in Greek writers. And the New Testament usage itself receives illustration from Cicero. For example, *σκύλλω*, which occurs in the Gospels in the sense "to annoy," is found in profane Greek writers before the second century only in its literal meaning, "to skin or rend." But Cicero has the substantive *σκυλμός* in the sense of "vexation." Again, *συζήτης* appears to be found only in Cicero and Philo, *ἀθέτης* and *τροποφορέω* in Cicero only. The remarkable word *περπερεύομαι* ("Charity vaunteth not itself") is found outside the New Testament only in the later writer Antoninus. But Cicero has the compound *ἐνεπερπερευσάμην* in nearly the same sense. Telling Atticus of the speech he made in the senate after Pompey's return from the East, "Heavens!" he exclaims, "how I showed myself off before my new hearer Pompey! There were shouts of applause. For my subject was the dignity of our order, the unanimity of Italy, the extinction of the conspiracy, peace and plenty. You know how I can thunder when treating such subjects."<sup>1</sup> It is clear from this that Cicero used the word in the same sense as St. Paul, and that Grimm is mistaken in saying (after Schleusner) that he means "how I extolled Pompey."

It is most interesting to note how often a word or phrase thought to be peculiarly Hellenistic is found in profane, and

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<sup>1</sup> *Ad Att.* i. 14.



even strictly classical writers. For example, *μερισμός* and *διαμερισμός*, both condemned by ancient grammarians, are both found in Plato; *νήθω*, also condemned, is also in Plato; so also is *ψεῦσμα*, and *αἶτημα* in the sense of "request," both mentioned by Planck as only found in later writers. Aristotle again vouches for *ἀσθένημα*, *δεσμεῖν*, *ἔσθῃσις*, and *κνήθειν*, as well as *ἔκτρομα*. *Χάρτης*, reckoned by some as borrowed from the Aramaic, but which was really borrowed by Aramaic from Greek, has been found in Plato Comicus (fifth century B.C.) and Cebes. *Νεόφυτος*, "newly planted," is only known from an ancient grammarian to have been used by Aristophanes. *Οἰκοδεσπότης*, said not to be used by the earlier Greeks (who instead of it used *οἴκου δεσπότης*), is nevertheless found in a comic poet of the fourth century B.C., as testified by Pollux.

An example of Professor Thayer's care in correcting Grimm's references occurs under *ἄντλημα*, which, according to Grimm, was used by Plutarch in the sense of the "act of drawing water;" but Professor Thayer points out, and rightly, that in the passage referred to it has the sense of "bucket," as in the New Testament. What Plutarch there mentions are, in fact, *περίακτα ἀντλήματα*, buckets worked by animals going in a round. There are other words, of which no early classical example exists, the early existence of which may nevertheless be inferred from the use of their derivatives. Such is *σαγήνη* (from which our word "seine" is derived), which occurs first in the Septuagint, and afterwards in Plutarch and Lucian. But the derived verb *σαγήνέω* is found in Herodotus and Plato, and no doubt *σαγήνη* was in familiar use amongst those who employed the thing. It might not be easy to find an example of our word "seine" in our native classics.

We shall now proceed to notice some specially interesting words more in detail. First we take *μυστήριον*. This word has much misled commentators, who frequently try to bring out of it the notion of what in English is "mysteriousness," a notion which does not belong to the word in the New Testament at all. It is well rendered by Liddell and Scott "a revealed secret." It is known of course to everyone that *τὰ*

*μυστήρια* were secrets known only to the initiated, and it may be observed that anyone might be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries—in fact, not to be initiated was rather discreditable. It seems to have been thought by scholars until recently that the singular was found only in the Greek Testament. But, in fact, it occurs in a fragment of Menander, and simply in the sense of “secret”—“Do not tell your *μυστήριον* to your friend.” Similarly Cicero, writing to Atticus, uses the word of a domestic matter known to himself and his correspondent, but which he did not desire to be known to others who might chance to see his letters. And for better concealment he writes about these private matters in Greek, calling them *μυστικώτερα*. The English word “mystery” has another idea attached to it besides that of secrecy, viz. that of being beyond comprehension, or being an unsolved puzzle. This meaning has probably been fostered by confusion with a word of different etymology, namely, “mistry,” meaning an art or profession requiring special training, the secrets of which are “mysteries” to the uninitiated. Now this sense, as we have said, never belongs to *μυστήριον* in the New Testament. The word simply means “a secret revealed,” and except in the Apocalypse is always used of doctrines revealed. St. Paul’s words in Rom. xvi. 25, 26, are almost a definition: “The mystery which hath been kept in silence through times eternal, but is now manifested and . . . made known to all the nations.”

The passage on which interpreters chiefly rely as an instance of the word meaning something unintelligible is 1 Cor. xiv. 2: “he that speaketh in a tongue speaketh not unto men but unto God, for no man understandeth; howbeit [R. V. but] in the spirit he speaketh mysteries.” The last words are usually explained as equivalent to the preceding “no man understandeth.” This would be tautology of the worst kind, repeating in an obscure form what had just been said quite clearly. To make the interpretation even tolerable, οὐδείς γὰρ ἀκούει should follow, not precede. Interpreters have, as it seems, been carried away by the associations of the English word as if that were the most natural meaning to give the Greek. But in truth we

get a much better sense by adhering to the usual signification. The sense is: "No doubt he is unfolding spiritual truths." The qualification is of exactly the same kind as that which St. Paul introduces a few verses later (ver. 17), when he says of the man who gives thanks in an unknown tongue, "thou verily givest thanks well." Instead of stating this as a possibility, he more effectively asserts it categorically. Similarly in Rom. xiv. 6, "He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, and giveth God thanks." The usual interpretation substitutes for this delicate and characteristic qualification of his censure a flat tautology, and to gain this introduces an otherwise unexampled meaning of the word, besides making *πνεύματι* unmeaning.<sup>1</sup>

In the preceding chapter, xiii. 2, "though I understand all mysteries and all knowledge," the sense is obviously the same; also in St. Matt. xiii. 11, "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven"—that is, the teachings or revelations of the Gospel. There is no ground for introducing the notion of "purposes" as Grimm does; "the secret purposes relating to the kingdom of God," nor with Robinson to understand "the mysterious things of the kingdom," neither of which meanings is so suitable as the simple one just mentioned. Nor, again, is there any ground for importing the idea of incomprehensibility as many do into 1 Tim. iii. 9, 16, "the mystery of the faith," "the mystery of godliness," both being equivalent to "the revealed teaching of the Gospel." There was one particular doctrine which, as commentators have noticed, St. Paul spoke of as the mystery of the Gospel for which he was in bonds—namely, the doctrine of the admission of the Gentiles. But there was nothing specially "mysterious" or incomprehensible in this.

What about 1 Cor. ii. 7, where the Apostle says that he speaks "the wisdom of God in a mystery"? Does this mean "in an incomprehensible manner (or matter)"? If the words "in a mystery" were to be joined with the word "hidden,"

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<sup>1</sup> The only commentator, as far as I have seen, who gives the correct interpretation is Dr. Edwards.

this might be so, but the best commentators rightly join them with the preceding words. Now observe that in the following verses St. Paul describes this wisdom as hitherto concealed, but revealed to us. Was he likely to say, "The wisdom (or philosophy) which God has revealed to me I preach in an incomprehensible 'mystery'?" Nay; but "a Divine philosophy consisting in matters taught by revelation." We note, merely in passing, that "philosophy" is the word which seems best to express St. Paul's meaning in these verses. "My speech was not with persuasive words of philosophy . . . howbeit we speak philosophy among those that are mature, not indeed a philosophy of this world, . . . but a Divine philosophy of revelation."

In the Apocalypse we seem to have a modification of this meaning. Thus, in i. 20, "the mystery of the seven stars," *i. e.* as we might say, "the secret of the seven stars"—that is, the hidden thing signified. This agrees with the use of the word in the Septuagint, in Daniel ii. 18, 27-30, where the English Version has "secret," which use is indeed, as we have seen, quite classical. But there is no reason for supposing that *μυστήριον* signifies "a hidden meaning" any more than that the English "secret" does so. The secret of a puzzle is the solution of it, but "secret" is not therefore="solution." And in the passage in question the English word "secret" might be perfectly well substituted: "the secret of the woman;" "the secret of the stars." These being obviously symbolical of something, the secret belonging to them is the thing signified by them; but it is not the word *μυστήριον* that carries with it the notion of "symbol." So when St. Paul says that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to him, *i. e.* the preaching of the Gospel to the uncircumcised, it would be obviously wrong to infer that *εὐαγγέλιον* meant "preaching the gospel."

In both places it may be further noted that it is not the symbol that is called *μυστήριον*, but the thing symbolized. Hence these passages do not justify us in interpreting Eph. v. 32 as "this symbol [*sc.* of the joining of husband and wife

into one flesh] is a great one" (Dr. Hatch). If the expression had been "the *μυστήριον* of this," there might have been more plausibility in the suggestion.

The passage just referred to is somewhat difficult—"This is a great 'mystery,' but I speak concerning Christ and His Church." This rendering is very misleading. It is hard enough for the English reader in any case to keep clear of the association of "mystery" with "mysterious," but the adjective "great," here makes it impossible, and he inevitably takes the words to mean "This is a very mysterious thing." The Revised Version has "this mystery is great," which though more correct, yet suggests the same misconception. Even if *μυστήριον* meant a "mysterious thing," still *τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν* could by no means bear the meaning suggested by the English words. Such a use of "great" is English not Greek. Grimm regards the passage as an example of the meaning "the hidden sense," viz. of the saying quoted in verse 31, "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother," &c. We cannot see how *τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο* could mean this. And surely it is not the hidden sense of this text that is called "great," but the doctrine about Christ and His Church. Indeed, the Apostle goes on to make this clear to his readers by adding *ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, that is, "This teaching is deep; I, however, mean it with reference to Christ and His Church." Then he passes back to the subject of marriage with *πλήν*.

Grimm's explanation of the origin of the phrase *σκία θανάτου*, "shadow of death," is not that adopted by recent Hebrew scholars. The expression thus rendered by the Septuagint, and so intended to be read by the scholars who pointed the Hebrew text, is really a single word having no connexion with "death," but meaning "dense darkness." Indeed, this is necessarily the meaning of the phrase, whatever its origin. Doubtless the association of "death" with the idea "valley of the shadow" is too firmly fixed to be easily dissolved; yet a comparison of the passages in which the phrase occurs ought to have taught even the English reader that the words in Ps.



xxiii. should not be joined "the valley-of-the-shadow of death," but "the valley of the shadow-of-death." Thus, in Job xxviii. 3, the miner is said to search out the shadow of death. In xiii. 22 God is said to bring to light the shadow of death. In xxxiv. 22, "There is no darkness nor shadow of death where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves." Again, in Amos v. 8, "Seek him that . . . turneth the shadow of death into the morning and maketh the day dark with night."

Accordingly in the 23rd Psalm, what is spoken of is the darkness of deep trouble. Has not the misunderstanding of this verse done much to foster the notion that the normal Scriptural view of death is that of a dark and gloomy passage? Doubtless to many it is so, but this is not a view to be encouraged. It is the survivors, indeed, who have often most truly to pass through the valley of the shadow.

Under *εὐτραπελία*, Grimm refers to Aristotle as giving the word a milder sense than St. Paul (*Eth. Nic.* ii. 7, 13); and Professor Thayer quotes the definition given in *Rhet.* ii. 12, 16, *πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις*. But it is worth noticing that in another place (*Eth. Nic.* iv. 8, 4) Aristotle expressly states that the word was commonly applied to the vicious excess properly called *βωμολοχία*. The words are: *ἐπιπολάζοντος δὲ τοῦ γελοίου, καὶ τῶν πλείστων χαιρόντων τῇ παιδιᾷ καὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ, καὶ οἱ βωμολόχοι εὐτράπελοι προσαγορεύονται ὡς χαρίεντες*. Time would naturally confirm this use of the word; so that St. Paul's condemnation of *εὐτραπελία* is fully accounted for even without the supposition of an ethical difference between him and Aristotle.

Grimm draws a questionable distinction between *ἀκούει φωνῆς* and *ἀκούειν φωνήν*. The former, according to him, means "to perceive the distinct words of a voice." Now the most important passages bearing on this distinction are Acts ix. 4, 7 and xxii. 7, 9. In ix. 4 we are told that Saul "heard a voice saying" (acc.); in xxii. 7 he himself says, "I heard a voice saying" (gen.). Here the expressions seem to be synonymous. But now consider what is said of his companions. In ix. 7 they "heard the voice" (gen.), whereas in xxii. 9 they

"heard not the voice" (acc.). We can imagine a writer reconciling these passages by a distinction the reverse of Grimm's. How they can be reconciled with his distinction we do not see. Κατοπτρίζομενοι, in 2 Cor. iii. 18, is explained by Grimm (as by most interpreters) "beholding as in a mirror." It is not easy to see how the verb can have this sense. Κατοπτρίζειν in Plutarch (*De Placitis Phil.* 3, 5, 11) means "mirroring"; not, however, as "showing in a mirror," but "showing by reflection." The passage is about the rainbow, which they say [ἴρην εἶναι] ἀνάκλασιν ἀπὸ νέφους πυκνοῦ τῆς ἡλιακῆς περιφεγγείας, καταντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ κατοπτρίζοντος αὐτὸ ἀστέρος διαπαντὸς ἵστασθαι. Here it will be observed, it is the sun that κατοπτρίζει. The middle voice may mean to "reflect oneself in a mirror," which practically is to look at oneself; but it is the reflection, not the looking, that the verb expresses. Philo uses it somewhat differently, μηδὲ κατοπτρισαίμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν σὴν ἰδέαν ἢ ἐν σοὶ τῷ θεῷ. Here again it is not "behold as in a mirror," but "represent to myself, form an image to myself." In 2 Cor. iii. 18 then the word with the object τὴν δόξαν τοῦ κυρίου may very naturally mean "mirroring in ourselves," "reflecting" (so the Revised Version). The common interpretation "behold as in a mirror" seems to involve a rather violent forcing of the sense of the verb.

As Dr. Hatch's principles, so far as they are new, are in my judgment utterly fallacious, while they have been accepted by some scholars as marking an important advance in N. T. lexicography, I have thought it well to examine every illustration which he has given of the application of these principles. I therefore add the following notes on the remaining words selected by him as examples.

It is unnecessary to notice those words the use of which he illustrates from late secular writers and not from the Septuagint. Such are ἀγγαρεύειν, ἀποστοματίζειν, ἀναγινώσκειν, γλωσσόκομον (on which Dr. Field should also be consulted), οἰκονόμος, παράκλητος. His notes on some of these are valuable and interesting, but they are not exemplifications of the fallacious principles alluded to.

Διάβολος. I have nothing to remark on this. Ἐτοιμάζειν, ἐτοιμασία, ἔτοιμος. The verb, he thinks, came to have some of the special meanings of the Hebrew כָּן "to set upright," "to establish," "to make firm." First because it is used interchangeably with ἀνορθοῦν, θεμελιοῦν, κατορθοῦν, στερεοῦν, as the translation of כָּן. Similarly the substantive and adjective render derivatives of the same verb. On the value of this argument I have already remarked. It ignores the fact that an indifferent translator often adheres to the common rendering of a word where it is not appropriate.

He thinks this strongly confirmed by the fact that the Hexaplar translators replace these words by others "of whose use in the proper sense of כָּן there is no doubt." I cannot fathom the reasoning by which their departure from a rendering is held to prove their approval of it. We might more reasonably infer from the change that they did not consider the Greek word equivalent to the Hebrew. There is more reason in the argument from the next group of facts, viz. that these translators sometimes substituted the words in question for other words used in the Septuagint as translations of כָּן. But taking both facts together is it not more likely that the true solution is that the translators were not always judicious in their rendering? However, what concerns us is the New Testament usage. Dr. Hatch admits that in the majority of passages in which ἐτοιμάζειν, ἔτοιμος occur, their ordinary meanings are sufficient to cover the sense required. But he finds a few passages in which "the secondary meaning" which they bear in the LXX and Hexapla is appropriate if not necessary. All of these are places in which the verb is used with a dative of the person for whom a thing is provided, *ex. gr.* 1 Cor. ii. 9, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. This construction has no resemblance to the supposed parallel from 2 Sam. v. 12, ἔγνω Δαυὶδ ὅτι ἡτοίμασεν αὐτὸν κύριος εἰς βασιλείαν ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ; and the translation he suggests, viz. "destined," is not at all the same as the "secondary meaning" referred to, viz. "establish." There is only one instance of the use of ἐτοιμασία in the N. T., viz. Eph. vi. 15, and here Dr. Hatch thinks the meaning "firm

foundation," "firm footing," most appropriate. "Having your feet shod with the firm footing of the gospel of peace." Surely one does not shoe one's feet with a firm footing; nor do the other expressions in the passage support the idea that *ἐτοιμασία* has any reference to the foot or foundation. For a breastplate—righteousness; for a shield—faith; for a girdle—truth; for a helmet—salvation. Why should we require in the sandals a more rhetorical precision of metaphor?

*θρησκεία*. Dr. Hatch's note on this is quite correct, but contains nothing that has not long been familiar.

It is however not an example of the peculiar use of the Septuagint which Dr. Hatch advocates, for the word occurs there only in the Apocrypha. But it is found in Herodotus and Dionysius Halic. as well as in Philo and Josephus. Thayer gives abundant references.

*ὁμοθυμαδόν*. The word is used in the LXX to translate יַחַד or יַחְדָּם meaning "together." In the N. T. it occurs nine (in some codices ten) times in the Acts, and once in Romans. Dr. Hatch says "in none of these passages is there any reason for assuming that the word has any other meaning than that which it has in the Greek versions of the O. T., viz. 'together.'" But the question is, not whether there is reason to depart from the LXX, but whether there is reason to depart from ordinary Greek usage. The passages referred to include: "Lifted up their voices"; "continued steadfast in prayer"; "rushed upon him"; "rushed into the theatre"; "rose up against Paul"; "that ye may glorify God." So far from agreeing with Dr. Hatch I should say that there is only one place or, at most, two where the meaning "together" is plausible, in Acts v. 12 ("they were all . . . in Solomon's porch"), and perhaps xv. 25, "It seemed good to us." *γενομένοις ὁμοθυμαδόν*. Possibly this was a colloquial use not derived from the LXX, though exemplified by it, for there was no reason why the Hebrew words should suggest this particular rendering. It is remarkable that, with one exception, the word is found only in St. Luke, certainly not the writer most influenced by the LXX.

πονηρός, πονηρία. Dr. Hatch cites from the LXX several passages in which these words are applied to what is not merely passively bad, but actively harmful, such as "bad figs," "evil diseases." But these prove nothing except that, like our word "evil," the words were used pretty comprehensively. In fact, as far as the adjective is concerned, the English translators use the word "evil" in nearly all the passages cited.

There is really no ground for asserting that the word of itself connoted mischief in the LXX, any more than in classical authors. For in these also the word πονηρός is used of harmful things, as of diseases. Still less does the use of the word in the LXX, as a glance at the article in Rost and Palm's Lexicon will show, justify us in importing that idea into it in the N. T., unless the context should require it, which is certainly not the case in the instances Dr. Hatch adduces, except Matt. v. 39, "resist not evil," μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ. Not surely in Matt. v. 11, which he cites with some hesitation: "Happy are ye when men shall say πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν.

As to the other signification of πονηρός, which Dr. Hatch applies to the explanation of Matt. vi. 19; vii. 11; xx. 15, viz. "grudging," it is not from the canonical Septuagint that he supports it, but from the Son of Sirach. It is remarkable that the Hebrew ער עין "an evil eye," is not rendered ὀφθαλμός πονηρός in the Septuagint itself (Prov. xxiii. 6; xxviii. 22). I have, however, nothing to object to in the method of the argument; but both the interpretation and the reference to Sir. are in Grimm.

παράκλητος. Dr. Hatch's inference from Philo's use of this word that it signifies "a helper in general," coincides with Grimm's; and of his six references to Philo five are given by Grimm, whose limits, however, forbade full quotation such as Dr. Hatch gives. The word was discussed by Bishop Pearson, who showed long ago that the meaning "comforter" was untenable.

πίστις. Dr. Hatch's discussion of this important word is full and instructive, chiefly founded on Philo.

ὑπόστασις. This word is variously used in the Septuagint.



Thrice it occurs as the rendering of Hebrew words meaning "hope," "expectation," from which Dr. Hatch gives it the signification "ground of hope," and hence, "by a natural transition," "hope itself." Hence he explains its use in several passages of the N. T. But the meaning which it has in several passages in Polybius, Diodorus, and Josephus, seems to fit these much better, viz. "steadiness," "firmness." Hence "confidence," "assurance." See especially 2 Cor. ix. 4; xi. 17; Heb. xi. 1.

The only word remaining is *συκοφαντεῖν*. On this Dr. Hatch throws valuable light by his quotation of an Egyptian document (papyrus) of 145 B.C.

The conclusion from the whole is that where Dr. Hatch tries to apply to the N. T. a signification peculiar to the LXX, or ascertained according to the maxims he lays down, he is in no one instance successful. Where he illustrates the N. T. from other writers he is often useful and interesting. His full citations and discussions of this kind are so interesting that I should not have made their want of novelty a subject of remark, had it not been that he states on his first page that there is no good lexicon of the language of the N. T. "The language of the N. T.," he remarks, "has not yet attracted the special attention of any considerable scholar. There is no good lexicon. There is no philological commentary. There is no adequate grammar." The discussions of particular words to which I have referred are put forward as new; and indeed one not acquainted with the subject would gather from the essays the impression that nothing had ever been done before to illustrate the Greek Testament from the Septuagint, or from Philo, or Josephus.

Had Dr. Hatch consulted Grimm's articles on *θρησκεία* and *παράκλητος*, for example, before printing his own discussions, he would either have acknowledged that he had been anticipated both in his renderings and his justifying references, or more probably would have cancelled his own articles, as his declared purpose was not to repeat what was already known, but to advance the knowledge of Biblical Greek. I am obliged

to conclude that when he wrote he was not acquainted with the work. This may seem improbable, yet it is not many years since a work of much labour and ability was published on the language of the New Testament, the author of which confessed in his preface that he had only learned the existence of Grimm's Lexicon (or apparently of any later than Schleusner) after he had written his own work, while Winer's admirable Grammar he seems never to have heard of. It is, therefore, not incredible that Dr. Hatch may have been equally unacquainted with the labours of previous scholars. This is at all events more credible than the alternative supposition that he at once disparaged them, and gave as examples of an improved method articles which added nothing to their work.

It is by a fallacy similar to that of Dr. Hatch that some writers vindicate the interpretation of γενεὰ in Matt. xxiv. 34 as="century," namely, on the ground that in the LXX version of Gen. xv. 16 "γενεὰ means a generation." It would be quite as correct to say that the English "generation" or the Latin "generatio" means "a century." These words are used by the respective translators, not because they mean "century," but because they are the usual representatives of the Hebrew *dôr*. We might just as reasonably assert that "brother" may mean "nephew" or even "cousin," because it is used to render the Hebrew word applied to Lot in relation to Abraham, or the Greek word applied to those who are supposed (I do not say rightly supposed) to be cousins of the Lord. Among the Druses a father-in-law is called "father's brother," even when not so. If a writer quoting the words of a Druse should retain this expression, would it be said that in English "father's brother" might mean "father-in-law"?

Had space permitted we should have liked to make some remarks on the Aramaic and Latin words in the New Testament. We shall notice only the word *Hosanna*, which has a special interest. Everyone knows that it is a Hebrew word meaning "save now." But in St. Matt. xxi. 9, 15, it occurs followed by a dative, "*Hosanna to the son of David.*" In order to connect this grammatically with the word *Hosanna*,

Grimm renders the latter "Be propitious." But the Hebrew word does not bear this interpretation any more than would the Greek *σῶσον* by which the Septuagint render it. How, then, is the dative to be explained? The answer that occurs to us is, that the word was one which was familiar to every Jew from the frequency of its use at the feast of tabernacles, which feast was even called by this name, as were also the prayers used during it, and even the boughs of myrtle and willow, but that it came to be used simply as an expression of exultation, the meaning of which was forgotten, perhaps unknown, to the crowd. So the word Hallelujah is used in a hymn of the late Bishop Wordsworth, followed by the dative, "Hallelujah to the Saviour," although it includes its object in itself.

On proper names Grimm's Lexicon is full. Under *Ἡρώδης*, for instance, we have two columns giving a very complete account of the family. Under *Κυρήνιος* Professor Thayer supplies the references which will enable the reader to understand the present state of knowledge.

Both Grimm and his editor accept without hesitation the identification of Alphæus with Clopas. It is, indeed, constantly asserted as if it were open to no objection on the part of Hebrew scholars. We cannot here discuss the philological question, but may mention that the highest authority of our day on Hebrew philology, Franz Delitzsch, declares it impossible that the latter name can be a phonetic variation of the former.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the older lexicographers multiply the significations of words by not keeping in view the distinction between the meaning of a word and its application. In the case of substantives this is the logical distinction between connotation and denotation. In all languages it is common to use a more general word instead of one more definite, where there is no danger of mistake. Thus we may speak of a "weapon" when we mean a "sword," "men" when we mean "soldiers." With a few verbs of very general meaning there is a similar usage.

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<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1876, p. 603.

The English verb "do" is an example. Colloquially it is used to suggest almost any kind of action, the particular kind being indicated by the object of the verb, or having been definitely expressed just before. Thus we speak of "doing" "some sketches," "a message" (Shakespeare), "doing the grand tour," "doing a Greek exercise," "doing a bill," "doing a chop," &c. Or, again, to avoid repetition, we may say, "When you have watered these plants do those outside," "Sweep this room and arrange the flowers and books tidily, and then do the next." Sometimes it is the occupation of the person speaking or spoken to that supplies the necessary limitation. For instance, addressing even an amateur photographer, we might suggest his "doing" a particular building or the like. But these are not different meanings of the verb "do" any more than "quadruped" has different meanings when used of horses, of cows, of rabbits, &c., else we might take Mark Twain's suggestion seriously and abolish half the verbs in the language.

The true test of a technical sense is the occurrence of the word in a phrase which would not be correctly understood without the knowledge of this special meaning; for example, the word "road" = "raid" in "Whither did ye make a road to-day?" "to lead" in printing, "caput," used of citizenship; "discedere," of dividing in the senate.

Dr. Field's book is really a delightful one. It consists of only 155 pages, but every page is full of matter and throws new light on some passage. The reader will, we are sure, thank us for giving a few examples of Dr. Field's results. We cannot, indeed, do much more than give results, as to give his proofs would involve encumbering our pages with Greek quotations. We confine ourselves to lexical matter. *Ἀγωνία* is an important word.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Field shows that its radical idea is "fear more or less intense." Diogenes Laertius defines it as fear of something uncertain. So also the *Etymologicon Magnum* says the word is used of one who is about to enter into a contest or

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<sup>1</sup> St. Luke, xxii. 44.

ἄγων, and hence, of fear simply. Accordingly, we find both the substantive and its verb ἀγωνιᾶν constantly joined with words expressive of fear. Instances are quoted from Demosthenes, Josephus, Plutarch, Chrysostom, and others, to which we might add 2 Macc. iii. 14, 16, 20. Servius on Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 737, tells us that it corresponds to the Latin "trepidatio," "Dum trepidat, i. e. dum turbatur, festinat, quod Græcis ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐστίν." And in the Greek versions of the Old Testament, the verb ἀγωνιάω is used in this sense.

Of course the verb ἀγωνίζω is not derived from ἀγωνία and does not mean "agonize."

Another interesting note is on St. Mark xiv. 72, ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιε, for which Dr. Field adopts the rendering vindicated by Salmasius and Fritzsche, "he covered his head, and wept." The other three renderings, two of which are given in the margin of the A. V., viz. "When he thought thereon he wept," "he wept abundantly," and "he began to weep," are, he remarks, frigid and lifeless (especially the first); they enfeeble the description instead of enlivening it. "The chord was struck, the sluices were opened, when Peter called to mind the word that Jesus had said to him." Then, say St. Matthew and St. Luke, "Peter went out, and wept bitterly." Instead of the epithet, St. Mark introduces an additional action, ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιε, "he *did something* and wept." He might have done many things to show the intensity of his grief. He might have thrown himself on the ground as some persons in Xenophon; he might have turned himself about like Joseph, Gen. xlii. 24; he might have covered his face like David, 2 Sam. xix. 4. Any of these actions would have expressed in a lively manner the ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς of the other Evangelists; and the last may be shown to be supported on linguistic grounds. Dr. Field proceeds to quote illustrations of the custom of covering the head in weeping, showing also that this covering is expressed in various ways, one of which is ἐγκαλυψάμενος. Συγκαλυψάμενος is also used. The question is, would ἐπιβαλὼν be likely to convey the same idea to a Greek reader as either of these words, and this is answered by the fact that it did so to Theo-



phylact, who explains it by ἐπικαλυψάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν. It is no objection to this that ἱμάτιον or the like must be mentally supplied, for there is the same ellipsis in the case of the other two words quoted, and even with the expression περιρρηξάμενος ἔκλατε, which occurs in Chariton Aphrodisiensis.<sup>1</sup> And we know that ἐπιβαλεῖν may be used of putting on apparel. This explanation is not to be summarily rejected as “fanciful”; the word may have been a colloquial one, “such as would have stirred the bile of a Phrynichus or a Thomas Magister, who would have inserted it in their *Index Expurgatorius* with a caution, ’Επιβαλὼν μὴ λέγε ἀλλὰ ἐγκαλυψάμενος ἢ ἐπικαλυψάμενος.”

It seems to us that Dr. Field (with Meyer) has again hit the mark in 1 Cor. iv. 6, in his interpretation of μετασχηματίζω. The verb means “to change the outward appearance of anything, the thing itself remaining the same.” Thus it is used by Symmachus of Saul disguising himself, and similarly by Theodotian of Jeroboam’s wife. So in the present case the Apostle “had been speaking the truth, but, as he now declares, *truth in disguise*.” That is, that, instead of naming the leaders or favourite teachers to whom the several parties attached themselves, or even describing them anonymously, St. Paul gives the names of himself, Apollos, Cephas, and even Christ. Those to whom he wrote knew that he was speaking “by a fiction” from the first; but for the sake of others he here, having accomplished his purpose, throws off the disguise, and declares plainly his object in assuming it. “These things, brethren, I have by a fiction transferred to myself and Apollos for your sakes, that ye might learn in us,” &c. This was the view taken by Chrysostom<sup>2</sup>:—

“As when a sick child kicks and turns away from the food offered by the physicians, the attendants call the father or the tutor and bid them take the food from the physicians’ hands and bring it, so that out of fear towards them he may take it and be quiet; so also Paul, intending to find fault with the Corinthians on behalf of certain other persons (of some as being injured, of others as being honoured above measure), did not set down

<sup>1</sup> Περὶ Χαιρέαν κ.τ.λ. i. 3.

<sup>2</sup> In *Epist. ad Cor. I.* Hom. xi.

the persons themselves, but conducted the argument in his own name and that of Apollo in order that reverencing these they might receive his mode of cure. But *that* once received, he presently makes known in whose behalf he was so expressing himself. Now this was not hypocrisy, but condescension and management."

On Phil. ii. 16, λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες ("holding forth the word of life," A. V. and R. V.), Dr. Field maintains a view which we had not seen elsewhere, interpreting the passage: "Among whom ye appear as lights in the world, being (to it) in the stead of life." The sense of ἐπέχειν required by the common version is not supported by any sound example, and, moreover, the absence of the article is to be noted. The actual phrase λόγον ἐπέχειν occurs not infrequently in later authors, and always in the sense "corresponding to" or "being analogous to." We may quote St. Basil, *Hexaem.* ix.: κακὸν δὲ πᾶν ἀρρωστία ψυχῆς, ἥ δὲ ἀρετὴ λόγον ὑγείας ἐπέχει. This use has been illustrated by Wetstein, and the interpretation, which is that of the older Syriac translator, has been adopted by some other moderns.

On καταβραβεύειν, Col. ii. 18 (μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς καταβραβεύέτω, "Let no man rob you of your reward," R. V.), Dr. Field argues with much reason that the word means "condemn" without any reference to a prize. The single word βραβεύειν, in all the examples we have of it, is used, in the sense of arbitrating or deciding, without the notion of a prize. This view agrees with the definition of καταβραβεύειν given by Phavorinus and with the Syriac versions. The word is found in Eustathius on *Iliad* A. 402 with reference to Briareus, who, in opposition to his father Poseidon, assisted Zeus. The remark of Eustathius is that as amongst men sons are often unlike their father or disagree with him, so the mythical Briareus, here preferring justice to natural affection, opposes his father, and so καταβραβεύει αὐτόν, "as the ancients say." The only example extant in an earlier writer is in Demosthenes (*Adv. Midiam*), where the sense is apparently "to procure a condemnation unfairly." "If any by-sense was in the Apostle's mind in choosing this word in preference to κατακρίνειν, it may possibly

have been that of *assumption* and *officialism*, as it follows *εἰκὴ φησίουμενος*."

Another note, quoted by Dr. Field from Wetstein, is worth mentioning. It refers to St. John xxi. 5, which reads in the A. V., "Children, have ye any meat?" and in R. V., "Have ye aught to eat?" Dr. Field renders, "Have ye taken any fish?" The scholiast on Aristoph. *Nubes*, 731, tells us expressly that the word was commonly used by fishers and fowlers, who say *ἔχεις τι*;

Perhaps we may be permitted to add one more note from Dr. Field, on *παρακύψας*, St. Luke xxiv. 12, St. John xx. 5, 11, "Stooping and looking in," R. V. The idea of stooping down is not in the word, which is used, for example, Gen. xxvi. 8, "looking through the window" (so Prov. vii. 6). In Eccles. xxi. 23 it is rendered in E. V. "peep in"—"A fool will peep in at the door into the house." Casaubon long ago rejected "stooping," remarking that what the word means is stretching out the neck with a slight bending of the body, "*protensionem colli cum modica corporis incurvatione*." This disposes of the argument founded on the use of this word as to the position of the tomb. Compare Jas. i. 25; 1 Pet. i. 12.

Dr. Field undertakes the defence of the old rendering of *δεδιδαμνεστέρους* in Acts xvii. 22 with a slight modification as in the Revised Version, "somewhat superstitious," in opposition to a "distinguished prelate" who rendered it "unusually God-fearing," saying that the Apostle "thus struck the one chord to which their hearts would vibrate." That the latter rendering gives an erroneous idea must be admitted, as "God-fearing" is an expression which not only implies commendation but also reference to the One Supreme God, yet it is nearer the truth than "superstitious." That the word was used in a good sense by classical writers (including Xenophon and Aristotle) is admitted. But Dr. Field shows by quotations from Plutarch (to which we might add others from Polybius) that the general use of the word was *in malam partem* as expressing "the religious feeling carried to excess"; and Theophrastus's well-known description of the *δεδιδαίμων* agrees with this.

Dr. Hatch takes the same view, quoting also Philo, who frequently distinguishes δεισδαιμονία from εὐσέβεια, "piety." It seems to us that it may be fairly said that what is proved by these passages is, not that the word itself implied blame, but that the thing was blamed by the writers; in other words, that persons of whom it might justly be used would not regard it as offensive.<sup>1</sup> An admirable illustration of this is supplied by Polybius (xii. 24, 5) in his comparison of the Roman state with others. It is, he says, in their views about the gods that the Romans are especially distinguished for the better, and the thing to which the Roman state owes its stability is just this, which amongst other men is censured, namely δεισδαιμονία, which has been carried to such an extreme both in private and public matters as cannot be surpassed. He adds, in the spirit of a scoffing unbeliever, that the notions about gods and things of the other world were spread by the ancients as a matter of policy, as it is only by fear of the unknown and such like dramatic fictions that the multitude can be controlled. Now for the consequence. Amongst the Greeks, says he, men who handle public money even to the value of a talent, though they have ten check-clerks and as many seals, and twice as many witnesses, cannot keep faith; but amongst the Romans, men who in magistracies and embassies handle very large sums, are honest from simple regard to their oath. In other nations it is a rare thing to find a man keeping his hand off public property, whereas amongst the Romans it is a rare thing for a man to be found doing anything of the kind. Would a Roman regard it as censure if in such circumstances he was called δεισδαιμονέστερος?

In St. Paul's speech the internal evidence appears to us decisive that no blame was intended. In the first place, this view makes the Apostle commence his address with an offensive expression, a thing quite opposed to his practice. In the next place, what is the ground of this implied censure? The

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the use of the words "Puritan" and "Puritanical." "The Puritan," like ὁ δεισδαίμων, was the subject of a play.



inscription "To a God unknown." Even a less sympathetic missionary than St. Paul, seeing altars to Aphrodite, Zeus, Dionysius, and the rest, would doubtless find in the inscription to an unknown God just the one title that was least open to objection. Is it conceivable that St. Paul should produce just this as a mark of "religious feeling carried to excess" or of "superstition"? Does he proceed to say anything which can be construed into a reason for condemning this instance of superstition? On the contrary, he lays hold of it as just the one sign-post pointing in the right direction, just the one thing in their religion which he could make use of as a help to induce them to listen to the truth. What would be the meaning of saying "Ye carry your religious feeling to excess when in addition to Zeus, &c., ye venerate a God whom ye confess ye do not know. This is mere superstition; therefore I will tell you that this unknown God is the only one to be worshipped at all"?

If no other instance occurred of the word being used without implying censure, this passage would of itself furnish one. But we not only have such instances in Xenophon and Aristotle, but (if these be objected to as too classical) in a later writer, Diodorus Siculus. Speaking of the instructions given to each Egyptian king by the priest, he says, "This he did, urging the king to *δαισιναιμονία* and a God-pleasing life" (i. 70). Again, speaking of the asylum afforded by a temple in Palica to slaves who fled from cruel masters, and who remained there until they received satisfactory pledges, he adds: "No one is related to have ever broken the faith thus pledged to his slaves; for when they have sworn, their *δαισιναιμονία* towards the gods makes them keep faith with their slaves" (xi. 89). Dr. Hatch himself quotes a *senatus consultum* of 38 B.C., preserved in an inscription, in which the word signifies simply "religious observances."

It is curious to observe in the case of the word *διαθήκη*, not only the divergence of Dr. Field and Dr. Hatch, but the absolute confidence of each that his own view is the only possible one. The former, on Heb. ix. 16, 17, remarks: "If the



question were put to any person of common intelligence, ‘What document is that which is of no force at all in the lifetime of the person who executed it?’ the answer can only be ‘A man’s *will* or *testament*.’ A covenant is out of the question.” On the other hand, Dr. Hatch with equal confidence affirms: “There can be little doubt that the word must be invariably taken in this sense of ‘covenant’ in the New Testament, and especially in a book which is so impregnated with the language of the LXX as the Epistle to the Hebrews.” There are no doubt great difficulties on both sides: on the latter, the fact that the statements in Heb. ix. 16, 17 are not true of a covenant, but are true of a testament; on the former, that in the Mosaic *διαθήκη* there was no death of the “testator.” May not the solution be that the writer did not distinguish the two senses in his own mind? This seems to be the view taken by Grimm.

We venture to suggest that a similar solution is applicable in some other instances where interpreters find it hard to decide which of two senses to assign to an ambiguous expression in the original. One important example occurs to us: *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, in Rom. i. 17, which may either be righteousness as an attribute of God (as seems to be required by the antithesis of *ὁργὴ θεοῦ* in the next verse) or righteousness “flowing from God and acceptable to Him,” as subsequent developments suggest. In fact, the expression preserved its vagueness to the writer himself until, in the course of his argument, he found it needful to separate the two ideas, which he does in iii. 26, “that He might Himself be just and the Justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus.” A consideration of the whole passage must convince us that *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* cannot have an entirely different sense in i. 17 and in iii. 26, since iii. 21 resumes the subject of i. 17, which had been interrupted by a digression.

We have referred to the Tables appended to Professor Thayer’s Lexicon. In addition to those already mentioned, there are lists of words peculiar to the respective New Testament writers. As showing the completeness of these lists, it may be stated that while Dr. Schaff, in his valuable *Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version*, reckons 71 words

peculiar to St. Matthew, and 45 to St. Mark, Professor Thayer's number for the former is 137, and for the latter 102; or, leaving out words of which the reading is doubtful, 116 and 70 respectively. St. Luke's Gospel furnishes no less than 312, besides 61 which are found also in the Acts, but there only. This leads us to observe that in discussing New Testament usage we must not lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with writings of at least ten different authors of different degrees of education and knowledge of Greek. It may well be that one of these writers may, for example, carefully distinguish synonyms which another confounds, or may in other respects be more exact in his use of words. Of course the best commentators do take note of this, but there is a great tendency to forget it.

One thing will, we think, be clear from what we have said in these pages: namely, that while there has been really splendid work done in the department of New Testament lexicography, the field has by no means been exhausted, and there still remains much scope for the energy of fresh labourers.

#### IV.

### HAS ΠΟΙΕΙΝ IN THE NEW TESTAMENT A SACRIFICIAL MEANING?

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THE opinion that ποιεῖν has a special sacrificial meaning has obtained in recent times a wide acceptance, on what seem to me entirely inadequate grounds. I propose to examine these grounds on strictly philological principles. The opinion is usually supported by the statement that in the LXX ποιεῖν has such a sense, sometimes it is said "constantly," or "ordinarily"; sometimes, "forty or fifty times." The statement is, as I shall show, erroneous. But even if it were correct, a different impression would doubtless be produced if the same alleged facts were put in the form that once in fifty times it has this sense; for ποιεῖν, it must be remembered, occurs in the LXX about two thousand five hundred times. The reader would then see that even in the LXX we should not be justified in assuming a sacrificial meaning of the verb as the most likely one, prior to an examination of the context.

The assertion that ποιεῖν has a sacrificial sense must mean that the word of itself, *i.e.* apart from considerations of the context, does at least suggest this sense. Now let us see first what is the usage of the verb in classical Greek. Here it includes, first, nearly all the senses of the English "make," "cause," etc.; secondly, many of those of the English "do";

besides, thirdly, some additional senses, such as "do to," "do with." It is, in fact, the most general word for "doing." There are two or three of its uses which for the present purpose require to be particularly mentioned, because they are paralleled by the Hebrew  $\text{פָּעַל}$ , and are found in the LXX:

1. "To do to, or with," ἀργύριον τὠυτό τοῦτο ἐποίηε, "he did this same thing with the silver," Herod. iv. 166; ἃ ἐποίησε τῶν Ἀμφιπολιτῶν τοὺς παραδόντας, Demosth. *Olynth.* i. 5. So εἶ, κακῶς, κακά, ἀγαθά, καλὰ ποιεῖν τινα (*passim*).

2. "To keep (a feast)," ἱσθμια ποιεῖν, Demosth.; ἑορτὴν ποιεῖν, a quite classical phrase.

3. "To perform (sacred rites or sacrifices)," ἱρὰ ποιεῖν, Herod.; θυσίαν ποιεῖσθαι, Plato, *Sympos.* 174 c., also in Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vi. 2, 6. The verb is also used even without θυσίαν when followed by the name of a deity, τῇ Γῇ, etc., like the Latin *facere* in the sense of sacrifice; ἔθυσαν τῷ Διὶ . . . ἔπειτα τῇ Ἡλίῳ . . . ἔπειτα Γῇ σφάζαντες ὡς ἐξηγήσαντο οἱ μάγοι, ἐποίησαν, Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3, 24.

4. It is used as a substitute for a more special verb, to avoid repetition where the special verb has already occurred or has been indirectly implied. For example, in Herod. v. 97, "If he was unable to impose on Cleomenes alone, but did this [to] (τοῦτο ἐποίησε) thirty thousand of the Athenians." Similarly Xenoph., ταῦτὰ ἐποίησαν τοὺς ταῖς βώλοις βάλλοντας (*i.e.* struck them on the neck and back), *Cyrop.* ii. 3, 18.

This is a very common use of the English "do," especially where the action is not expressed by a single verb: thus, "If you correct this sheet and verify the references, I will do the other"; "When I have painted and varnished this panel, I will do that one." (Compare p. 101, *ante*.)

The Hebrew verb which corresponds generally in its range of application with ποιεῖν, including the signification of "do," "make," "cause," etc., is  $\text{פָּעַל}$ , which occurs about two thousand five hundred times. Hence, as was inevitable, the Greek translators almost always rendered it by ποιεῖν, *i.e.* in about ninety-two per cent of its occurrences, and very rarely did they use ποιεῖν to render any other word. It follows that in the

LXX we find ποιεῖν used not only in its classical senses, but in others.

Thus it is used of "trimming" (the beard), 2 Sam. xix. 24; for "provide" (singing men), Eccl. ii. 8; "provide for" (my own house), Gen. xxx. 30; "prepare" (horses and chariots), 2 Sam. xv. 1; "produce" (fruit) (classical), Isa. v. 2, 4; "keep" (a feast) (classical), often, as Deut. xvi. 1, 2 Chron. xxx. 13, 21; "dress, cook, prepare (food)" (classical),<sup>1</sup> with "food," Gen. xxvii. 4, 7, 9, etc., 2 Sam. xiii. 5, 7, 10; Ezek. iv. 15; with "meal and oil," 1 Kings xvii. 12, 13; with "sheep," 1 Sam. xxv. 18; with "lamb," 2 Sam. xii. 4; "calf," Gen. xviii. 7, 8. It is "do with," or "deal with" oxen and sheep, Exod. xxii. 30; a vineyard, Exod. xxiii. 11; an ass, Deut. xxii. 3; "do for" (a hundred talents), 2 Chron. xxv. 9; "do with or about," Josh. vii. 9; "offer" (sacrifice), of which presently.

These, indeed, would be more properly called different applications than distinct meanings. However, it is to be observed that this extension of range does not make the verb more definite, but less so. It becomes even more necessary than before to look to the connexion. Monsignor Patterson's statement, which has been largely followed, is that "ποιεῖν when joined with a noun signifying anything capable of being offered to God constantly has this [sacrificial] meaning."<sup>2</sup> Let us now examine the passages by which this signification is supposed to be established.

In the first place we have those in which the connexion is ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα. Now it is capable of distinct proof that this means "keep the feast of the passover," not "offer, or sacrifice the passover." First, πάσχα, although it sometimes is used for the lamb, is frequently (and indeed more properly) the feast. Thus we have "the morrow of the passover," Num. xxxiii. 3,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 5, 1; viii. 5, 5; *Lac.* vi. 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Certain Sacrificial words used by St. Paul" in "Essays on Religion and Literature, by various writers, edited by Archbishop Manning." Second Series, London, 1867.



Josh. v. 11 [codd.]; "in the fourteenth day ye shall have the passover, a feast of seven days," Ezek. xlv. 21; "such a passover was not kept, οὐκ ἐγενήθη τὸ πάσχα τοῦτο," 2 Kings xxiii. 22, and 23 ἐγενήθη τὸ πάσχα.

The usage of the New Testament confirms this. There *πάσχα* generally means the feast. A few instances will suffice : μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας τὸ πάσχα γίνεται, Matt. xxvi. 2; ἦν τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας, Mark xiv. 1; ἡγγιζε ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἁζύμων ἡ λεγομένη πάσχα, Luke xxii. 1; ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ πάσχα, John ii. 13, vi. 4, xi. 55; ἐν τῷ πάσχα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, ii. 23; πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα, xi. 55; ἀπολύσω ἐν τῷ πάσχα, xviii. 39; μετὰ τὸ πάσχα, Acts xii. 4.

Secondly, *ποιεῖν* is regularly used of "keeping" a feast. This, as we have seen, was a classical usage; it is also found in the LXX. *ποιεῖν ἑορτήν* occurs Exod. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22, and in at least a dozen other places; sometimes *ποιεῖν τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἁζύμων*, as Ezra vi. 22; *ποιεῖν σάββατον* also occurs Exod. xxxi. 16 and 1 Sam. xvii. 18 [codd.].

Add that the passover is seldom said to be sacrificed, and never to be offered,<sup>1</sup> and we have sufficient reason to conclude that *ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα*, "to perform, or do the passover," means "to keep the feast of the passover." But any possible doubt is excluded by the use of the phrase where it can mean nothing else. Thus Exod. xii. 48, where the stranger sojourning with an Israelite is said *ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα*; also 2 Chron. xxxv. 17, 18, 19, "The children of Israel that were present kept the passover and the feast of unleavened bread (ἐποίησαν τὸ φασέκ καὶ τὴν ἑορτήν). And there was no passover like to that 'kept' (ἐγένετο) in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet, neither did all the kings of Israel keep such a passover as Josiah kept (οὐκ ἐποίησαν τὸ φασέκ ὃ ἐποίησεν Ἰωσίας, καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς . . . τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Ἰωσίου ἐποιήθη τὸ φασέκ τοῦτο)." Here it is clear that *φασέκ* is the feast, and *ποιεῖν τὸ φασέκ* = "to keep the feast." So in 2 Chron. xxx. *ποιῆσαι τὸ φασέκ* in verse 2 and verse 5 is obviously the same as *ποιῆσαι*

<sup>1</sup> Offering a gift at the Passover is mentioned Num. ix. 7, 13, *προσενέγκαι τὸ δῶρον*.

τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων in verses 13 and 21. Here again we may make use of the New Testament. Our Lord speaks of ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα in a private room, where the paschal lamb certainly could not be sacrificed or offered. Accordingly ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα in Matt. xxvi. 18 is represented by φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα in Mark xiv. 14 and Luke xxii. 11. There is nothing to set against this; for this signification is applicable wherever the phrase occurs. There is not a shadow of a reason for supposing that ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα can mean "offer the passover," although it is true that the ceremonial killing was a part of the keeping.

Another class of cases consists of those in which the object of ποιεῖν is a word which itself means sacrifice. As the verb is used of "doing" anything, it is natural that when the thing done is sacrifice this verb should still be used, although not itself having any sacrificial force. Thus we have ποιεῖν θυσίαν, ὀλοκαύτωμα, κάρπωμα. These are, indeed, notable examples of "things capable of being offered."

These and the like are simply instances of the adoption of an indefinite verb where the definition is supplied by the object, a usage not peculiar to Hebrew or Greek. In English we use "do" thus with many different objects, even with "sacrifice." The circumstance that the thing done is sacrifice gives no reason to attribute to the verb ποιεῖν a specific sacrificial meaning. That it may be convenient to translate it "offer" is nothing to the point.

A similar remark applies to the phrase ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, which may be illustrated by the English phrase "do in the oven," and the like. All that these instances prove is, that a word meaning "make" or "do" may be joined with a word meaning "offering" or "sacrifice," and the two words will mean "make an offering" or "do sacrifice,"—not a very important proposition, except for those who write Greek exercises. Is it supposed that we must always say "offer an offering," "sacrifice a sacrifice," or substitute a synonymous verb? Even in English we can speak of "doing sacrifice," "bringing an offering," without its being supposed that "do" or "bring" have put on any special meaning.

The last class of passages consists of those in which *ποιεῖν* is used in the familiar way to avoid the repetition of a specific word or complex description contained in the preceding context. These, which are but few, are the only passages that give any plausibility to the suggestion that the verb means "offer"; but it is, after all, only a superficial plausibility.

For example, in Lev. iv. detailed directions are given as to what is to be done with the bullock for a sin-offering; directions occupying several verses. These are partially repeated with respect to the sin-offering for the congregation, and in verse 20 occurs the more concise direction, "he shall do with the bullock as he did with the bullock for a sin-offering, so shall he do with this," καὶ ποιήσει τὸν μόσχον ὃν τρόπον ἐποίησε τὸν μόσχον τὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας οὕτω ποιηθήσεται. This is rightly translated "he shall do with the bullock, etc."; indeed, colloquial English would admit "do the bullock." In Exod. xxix. 39, τὸν ἁμνὸν τὸν ἕνα ποιήσεις τὸ πρῶτ' κ.τ.λ., the sort of *ποιεῖν* is understood from the preceding verse, ποιήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, and there is merely an ellipsis of these three words, an ellipsis precisely parallel to that which is so familiar with the English verb "do." Psalm lxv. 15 (E. V. lxvi. 15) is similar: ὀλοκαυτώματα . . . ἀνοίσω σοι μετὰ θυμιάματος . . . ποιήσω σοι βόας μετὰ χιμάρων. The poetical parallelism makes the brevity of expression less harsh. Possibly the expression *ποιεῖν* μόσχον for "do to" may seem strange to some readers, but it is precisely parallel to the usage quoted above from classical writers as well as from the LXX, and to the colloquial English use of "do."

In 1 Kings xviii. 23, 25 we have another instance of *ποιεῖν* used to replace the description of a complex action. "Let them choose one bullock for themselves, and cut it in pieces and lay it on the wood, and put no fire under; and I will dress (*ποιήσω*) the other bullock, and lay it on the wood, and put no fire under"; "choose you one bullock for yourselves, and dress it first (*ποιήσατε* πρῶτοι)." "And they took the bullock, and they dressed it (*ἐποίησαν*)." I do not include these verses amongst those which give even a superficial plausibility to the

meaning "offer," for offering is not even part of the action specified. This is simply the preparing for the sacrifice, the killing and cutting in pieces, as well as in 25, 26 the laying on wood. This may well be included even in verse 23, although specially added in consequence of the important stipulation to put no fire under. Colloquial English would allow the use of the word "do" in this passage.

There are other passages in which ποιεῖν, although used in connexion with sacrifice, yet clearly excludes the sense "offer."

Lev. ii. 7, "If thy oblation be a meat-offering of the frying-pan it shall be made of fine flour with oil," *σεμίδαλις ἐν ἐλαίῳ ποιηθήσεται, καὶ προσοίσει τὴν θυσίαν ἣν ἂν ποιήσῃ ἐκ τούτων τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ προσοίσει πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα*, followed in verse 9 by the offering on the altar. Lev. ii. 11, *πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἣν ἂν προσφέρητε κυρίῳ οὐ ποιήσετε ζυμωτόν*. Num. xv. 8, 11, 12, 13, *ἐὰν ποιῇτε ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν εἰς ὀλοκαύτωςιν ἢ εἰς θυσίαν μεγαλῦναι εὐχὴν, . . . οὕτω ποιήσεις τῷ μόσχῳ τῷ ἐνὶ . . . κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὧν ἐὰν ποιήσητε οὕτως ποιήσετε τῷ ἐνὶ . . . πᾶς ὁ αὐτόχθων ποιήσει οὕτως*. Also in Ezek. xlv. 22, 23; xlv. 12, etc., where the prince is said to "prepare" the offerings. Thus in xlv. 17 it is said to be the prince's part to "give" the offerings (*διὰ τοῦ ἀφηγουμένου ἔσται*), and then he is said ποιεῖν the several offerings. The prince, however, was not to perform the office of the priest. Some Jewish expositors, indeed, supposed the "prince" here to mean the high-priest. In that case ποιεῖν might be taken as = "offer," but this meaning must be determined solely by the fact that the doer was the priest, and that the whole discourse was about sacrifice.

Perhaps we may add to this Lev. vi. 21, 22. In 21 ποιεῖν is certainly "make," *ἐπὶ τηγάνου ἐν ἐλαίῳ ποιηθήσεται*. In the following verse the Hebrew word certainly means "offer," but apparently the LXX did not so understand the word. For in the last clause of the verse, instead of "it shall be wholly burnt to the Lord," they have *ἅπαν ἐπιτελεσθήσεται*. This would agree with the view that ποιεῖν in the beginning of the verse was taken in the same sense as in verse 21. But it must be observed that the subject of the verb is ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ χριστός. It

is this subject and the following context that determine the meaning of the verb in the Hebrew. No inference, then, can be drawn from the use of ποιῆν here to its use where no such elements of determination exist. Indeed, apart from any particular context, the whole book of Leviticus is sacrificial, as is the above quoted section of Ezekiel. If we met the word "operate" in a treatise on surgery we should interpret it of surgical operations; if in a book on the stock exchange, of stock-dealing operations. The word "work" would have one meaning as used by students, another as used by ladies, and again another in the mouth of an artist.<sup>1</sup>

Instead of saying that ποιῆν joined with one of the objects capable of being offered means "offer," it would be more correct to say that it may be used of an object capable of being "made," "offered," "cooked for food," "prepared," "done [something] to," etc., instead of any more definite verb, provided that the definition is supplied by the object or by the preceding context. And it is important, further, to note that in every case of the signification "offer" not only is the connexion sacrificial, but the object is a thing familiarly offered.

But before we reckon even this limited application to offering as belonging to the Hellenistic idiom we must consult the Hebrew. For it is possible that the translators, instead of selecting ποιῆν as the most suitable word in the particular connexion, adopted it simply because it was the literal and usual equivalent of the Hebrew word. How can this be decided? Obviously by examining whether ποιῆν is used to render Hebrew words which properly signify "offer," or occurs in connexion with "offering" only where the original has עָשָׂה ('*ásáh*). If it really had to a Hellenistic writer the special sense "offer," it would, of course, be sometimes used to render the special Hebrew words. It is not. It never renders

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<sup>1</sup> "Lex tota sacrificiis frequentissimis instituendis comparata est, unde non mirum fuerit, si interdum concise et omitta aliqua dictione brevitatis causa loqueretur de rebus quibus usque adeo lectorum mentes implet." Gusssetius, *Commentarii Linguae Ebraicae*, Amst. 1702, p. 651b.



הִקְרִיב (*hikrīb*), which is rendered by προσφέρω, etc., eighty times;<sup>1</sup> and it but once represents the hiphil of הִלַּע, which also is rendered by προσφέρω, ἀναφέρω, etc., about eighty times. In this one instance, moreover (Job xlii. 8), the object is κάρπωμα. That is to say, that while ποιεῖν was often suggested to the translators by the word 'āsāh, as was natural, it was practically never suggested by the idea of "offering." This is absolutely decisive. Actually a stronger case could be made for a sacrificial meaning of the English "do," which is used four times with sacrifice where neither 'āsāh nor ποιεῖν is found in the original, viz. Exod. v. 17; viii. 8; 2 Kings x. 19; Acts xiv. 13.

In two places 'āsāh is used without an object in the sense "offer"; but in these the LXX understand it differently. One is Hosea ii. 8, ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ ἐποίησε τῇ Βάαλ (R. V. "used for Baal," marg. "made into the image of Baal"); the other is 2 Kings xvii. 32, ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἐν οἴκῳ τῶν ὑψηλῶν.

But if ποιεῖν had no special sacrificial meaning in the idiom used by the LXX translators, is it not possible that the frequent

<sup>1</sup> Levit. xvii. 4 is not an exception. The current text of the LXX there is as follows:—καὶ ὅς ἂν σφάξῃ ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου μὴ ἐνέγκῃ [ὥστε ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα ἢ σωτήριον Κυρίῳ δεκτὸν εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας καὶ ὃς ἂν σφάξῃ ἔξω καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου μὴ ἐνέγκῃ] αὐτὸ, ὥστε προσενέγκαι δῶρον τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀπέναντι τῆς σκηνῆς Κυρίου.

The whole of the clauses in brackets has nothing corresponding to it in the Hebrew. It frequently happens that we have in the received text two different translations of the Hebrew in juxtaposition. In the present case the two clauses cannot be translations of the same Hebrew text, which has nothing that could be rendered ὀλοκαύτωμα, or σωτήριον, or δεκτὸν, or ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας, or that even by a possible change of consonants could be so rendered. Unless we are prepared to show that these words are a rendering of *qorbān* (which would be absurd), we have no right to assume that ποιῆσαι is a rendering of *hikrīb*. Either the Greek text is a combination of the translations of two different Hebrew texts, or it is a translation of a Hebrew text in which the two readings were already combined. And in fact, the Samaritan edition of the Hebrew text does present the Hebrew original of both, and in it 'āsāh corresponds to ποιῆσαι. An unknown translator renders *hikrīb* once by ποιεῖν, Num. xxviii. 27, where the LXX has προσάγετε. There, also, the object is a word for sacrifice, ὀλοκαύτωμα.

use of the word in connexion with sacrifice may have given it a sacrificial meaning in the minds of the writers of the New Testament, who were familiar with that version? It is indeed often assumed, and not least in reference to the present question, that the LXX usage exercises a predominant influence over that of the New Testament. The assumption is by no means borne out by facts.<sup>1</sup>

In the first place, many of the ideas in reference to which we should most of all expect the Septuagint vocabulary to influence that of the New Testament are differently expressed. "To confess" is in the LXX *ἐξαγορεύω* or (once) *ἐξηγοῦμαι*, neither of which occurs in the N. T. *ἐξομολογοῦμαι* often in the N. T. = "confess," has in the LXX only the meaning "praise." "Forgiveness" of sins is in the LXX *ἰλασμός*, but in the N. T. *ἄφεσις*. The latter word never has this sense in the LXX, although the verb occurs in the sense "forgive."

"To divorce" is in the LXX *ἐξαποστέλλειν*, but in the N. T., even where the reference is to the O. T., it is *ἀπολύειν*. "Persecute" is in the LXX usually *καταδιώκειν*, but in the N. T. *διώκειν*. The former word occurs once in the N. T., but means "follow" (Mark i. 36). "To condemn (judicially)" is in the N. T. *κατακρίνω*, which occurs in LXX once only (Esther ii. 1).

Again, words common to both Testaments have frequently entirely different meanings, and this is true even of semi-technical terms. Thus *κοινός*, which in the N. T. has the technical sense "common or unclean," is found in the canonical books of the O. T. only twice, and then with the meaning "in common." The verb *κοινώω* is not in the LXX. *Ἀγάπη* has not in the LXX the meaning given to it in the N. T.; on the contrary, it is used of sexual love in 2 Sam. xiii. 15 and in Canticles. *Ὑπομονή* in the LXX means "expectation," not "steadfastness." In the LXX *ἀνίημι* and *λύω* are both used in the sense "forgive," which they never have in the N. T. *ὁμολογία* in the LXX means "free-will offering" or "vow."

<sup>1</sup> See p. 67.

The verb *ὁμολογέω* also means "swear," "vow," "admit"; in the Apocrypha it occurs = "confess." *Κρίμα* in the sense "justice," "ordinance," is common in the LXX, but never occurs in this sense in the N. T.

These examples might be multiplied if it were worth the trouble. But it will, perhaps, be more useful to take a section of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the writer of which is sometimes said to be impregnated with the language of the LXX. His familiarity with it is indeed shown by his abundant use of it in the way of quotations interwoven with his text; all the more striking is it to find how independent his own vocabulary is. The section I have taken (pretty much at haphazard) is chap. v. 11 to vi. 20 (twenty-four verses). Here we find the following words which do not occur in the canonical Septuagint at all: *δυσερμήνευτος* (the verb *ἐρμηνεύω* occurs once, but = "translate"); *στοιχεῖα* (but in Wisdom); *γυμνάζω* (in Macc., but = "harass"); *διδαχή* (only in the title of Psalm lix.); *δωρεά* (in Wisdom and received text of Daniel); *ἀμετάθετος*; *μιμητής* (the verb occurs in Wisdom); *μεσιτεύω*; *ἄγκυρα*; *βέβαιος* (Wisdom); *μεταλαμβάνω* (only in Apocrypha). Of course I do not reckon *ἀνασταυρόω*.

Of words used in a different sense<sup>1</sup> we may enumerate: *αἰσθητήρια* ("the walls of my heart"); *ἕξις* ("body"); *στερεός*; *καταβάλλω* ("cast down"); *ἐπίθεις* ("deceit," etc.); *διάκρισις* ("separation" [of the clouds] Job xxxvii. 16); *ἄδοκιμος* (only with *ἄργυρον*); *νωθρός* (found in Prov. xxii. 29 only, but twice in Ecclus.); *μακροθυμέω* (once only, but = "not soon angry," Prov. xix. 11), so *μακροθυμία*; *πρόδρομος* (LXX = "first-fruits"); *ἐπιδείκνυμι*; *ἐνδείκνυμι*; *βεβαίωσις*; *παραδειγματίζω*.

This is a considerable gleaning for so short a passage, and that from a writer who is supposed to be peculiarly imbued with the language of the LXX. The coincidences with the Book of Wisdom deserve notice; had this been one of the books from which the writer so freely quotes, these would

<sup>1</sup> The Septuagint meaning is given in brackets.

doubtless be thought to bear out the hypothesis of his dependence on the vocabulary of the LXX; as it is, they only indicate that the two writers used the same form of Greek.

It follows, I think, clearly that the existence of a particular usage in the LXX gives of itself no ground for expecting to find the same in the New Testament, even if it be not a Hebraism, and *a fortiori* if it is. How does the case stand with the verb in question, ποιεῖν? It occurs nearly six hundred times in the N. T., but never in any of the peculiar senses which the LXX imitated from the Hebrew *ʾāsāh*. Even the obvious and simple phrase ποιεῖν θυσίαν never occurs; ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην only in St. John (Epist.); ποιεῖν κρίμα, frequent in the LXX in the sense "do justice," is also foreign to the N. T., the usage of which, in fact, hardly differs from the classical, except as the more familiar use might be expected to differ from the literary; ποιεῖν κάρπον, as already observed, is classical, and occurs in Aristotle.

It must be borne in mind also that on the most liberal calculation, it is only in a small minority of cases of "offering" that ποιεῖν occurs in the LXX.

The phrase, however, with which we have to do is τοῦτο ποιεῖτε. To understand this to mean "offer" would be to go far beyond any usage of ποιεῖν in the LXX. It need hardly be remarked that it is never safe to argue from the meaning which a word has only in a special connexion to its meaning in another connexion quite different. It is more than unsafe when such a special meaning is introduced into a connexion in which a different meaning is familiar. Now, since ποιεῖν means "do" in the widest sense, it is natural that τοῦτο ποιεῖν should be as familiar to a Greek as "do this" is to an English speaking person. And so in fact we find it was. The phrase occurs frequently in classical Greek, and always = "do this." It also occurs frequently in the LXX, and always in this sense. Lastly it frequently occurs in the N. T. (about twenty times), and everywhere in the same sense. No writer or speaker wishing to be intelligible would use τοῦτο ποιεῖτε for "offer this," nor could any hearer so understand the words. On the

other hand, "do this" could not be expressed in any other way.

The general conclusion so far is—

1. That in the LXX ποιεῖν = "offer" only where the object of the verb, or at least the preceding context, defines the "doing" as sacrificial.

2. That so far as this usage of the LXX goes beyond that of classical writers it is not a Hellenistic idiom, but a Hebraism, due to literalness of translation, which there is no reason to suppose would pass into the New Testament.

3. That the limitations of this usage, even in the LXX, are such as to exclude such a combination as τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

Hence, whatever be the meaning of the words εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε cannot possibly mean anything but "do this."

It is, however, asserted that ἀνάμνησις is a specially sacrificial word, and that so decidedly that it must determine the meaning of ποιεῖν to be "offer." The assertion is in fact entirely without foundation. It has, indeed, been said that ἀνάμνησις occurs frequently in the LXX, and always in connexion with sacrifice. By some inscrutable mistake the frequency has been made out by an enumeration of passages in which the word is not found at all. In fact, in the text of the LXX (*i.e.* apart from Psalm-titles) it occurs just twice, and twice only, viz. Lev. xxiv. 7 and Num. x. 10. These require to be considered separately. The latter passage runs thus in the Revised Version: "Also in the day of your gladness, and in your set feasts, and in the beginnings of your months, ye shall blow with your trumpets over your burnt-offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace-offerings; and they shall be to you for a memorial before your God." This rendering certainly seems to represent the sacrifices as a memorial. Even if it were so, this would not help to prove that ἀνάμνησις had a sacrificial meaning. As well might we consider that because a scholarship in college is said to be *in memoriam*, therefore "memoriam" means scholarship. But, first, the Hebrew word, זָכָרֹן, does not mean a memorial sacrifice. Secondly,



the Greek version has the singular ἔσται: σαλπιεῖτε ταῖς σάλπιγξιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀλοκαυτώμασι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τῶν σωτηρίων ὑμῶν· καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν ἀνάμνησις ἔναντι τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν. The subject of ἔσται here cannot be the sacrifices τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ αἱ θυσίαι, but must be the action of blowing with the trumpets. Not only is this necessarily the sense of the Greek, but it is probably the meaning of the original also, for it agrees well with the preceding context, "When ye go to war in your land against the adversary that oppresseth you, then ye shall sound an alarm with the trumpets; and ye shall be remembered before the Lord your God, and ye shall be saved from your enemies." It is clear that the blowing did not constitute the sacrifices a memorial, as our version seems to imply; but in both verses the blowing is regarded as a sort of reminder to the Almighty to bring his people to his mind.

The other passage is Lev. xxiv. 7, of the shewbread: "Thou shalt put pure frankincense upon each row, that it may be to the bread for a memorial, even an offering made by fire unto the Lord." The Greek is, καὶ ἐπιθήσετε ἐπὶ τὸ θέμα λίβανον καθαρὸν καὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ἄρτους εἰς ἀνάμνησιν προκείμενα τῷ Κυρίῳ. Here the Hebrew word rendered by ἀνάμνησις is זָכָרָה (*azkârah*). Now, everywhere else this word is rendered uniformly μνημόσυνον. Why did the LXX depart from this rendering here? Not without reason; but to understand this we must call to mind what the *azkârah* was. It was that portion of a meal offering which was consumed by fire, thus sanctifying the whole as an offering.<sup>1</sup> Hence it was called the *azkârah*, or "memorial" thereof. It was in fact a "reminder," something that brought to remembrance; viz. it brought the offering and the offerer to remembrance before God. It is important to notice that no offering is called by this name merely as an offering, but as in relation to a whole of which it is a part; and further, that the English word "memorial" tends to mislead, for the name has no reference to "memory" of a thing past or absent.

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<sup>1</sup> See Lev. ii. 2, 9, 16.

Now, in the case of the shewbread no part of the cakes was burned, but the frankincense which was placed on them (probably on trays, not on the bread itself) was burned, and served as an *azkârâh* to the bread. The LXX misses this by reading  $\text{סֶמֶן}$  without the article. Instead of  $\tau\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omega$  or  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  they render  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ . Having done this, they necessarily missed the sense of *azkârâh*, and this at once explains their departure from the usual rendering  $\mu\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ . The Greek words  $\xi\sigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\upsilon\eta\sigma\iota\nu$  cannot mean "shall serve to the bread as an *án.*," but must mean "shall serve as bread for *ánámnyctc*," i.e. the bread itself was  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\upsilon\eta\sigma\iota\nu$ . The translators knew well enough what an *azkârâh* was, and knew that the cakes which were not burned could not be that. This is made still clearer by the fact that  $\text{הָשֵׁן}$  at the end of the verse is not rendered by the usual  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\omega\mu\alpha$ , but by  $\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ ; or, perhaps it is more correct to say that they omit  $\text{הָשֵׁן}$ , and insert  $\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$  to complete the sense. This word is used of the table of shewbread in Num. iv. 7, and in Exod. xxxix. 36 of the shewbread,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\varsigma\ \pi\rho\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ . This places beyond all doubt the explanation above given. The passage then is so far from proving that *ánámnyctc* was used as equivalent for *azkârâh* in its ordinary sense, that it goes to prove the contrary: *ánámnyctc* is here used just because *azkârâh* is not taken in its sacrificial sense; if indeed the translator read the Hebrew text so.<sup>1</sup>

Before discussing the Psalm-titles I will refer to the usage of the Hexaplar translators and of the writers of the Apocryphal books, which is as important as that of the LXX as evidence of the meaning of the Greek word. Now, Symmachus has *ánámnyctc* in Ps. vi. 5 ("in death there is no remembrance of thee"); an unnamed translator (perhaps Symmachus) has it in Ps. cxxxv. 13 ("thy memorial [endureth] throughout all generations"); and in the Book

<sup>1</sup> I leave it undecided whether the LXX may not have read the Hebrew word a little differently (viz.:  $\text{הֹזֵכֶר}$  (=  $\text{הַזִּכִּיר}$ ) for  $\text{אֹזֶכֶר}$  (=  $\text{אֹזְכָרָה}$ )) according to the primitive orthography.

of Wisdom, xvi. 6, it is found in the connexion εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἐντολῆς νόμου σου.

It would be too little to say that ἀνάμνησις has been proved not to be sacrificial ; in fact, there is not a shadow of reason for the contrary assertion.

I now come to the two Psalm-titles in which ἀνάμνησις occurs, and in which the Hebrew is הִזְכִּיר (*hizkír*). Some recent commentators have adopted the view that this means “at the offering of the *azkárâh*,” or “of incense”; basing the interpretation on Isaiah lxvi. 3, where, however, the verb is followed by the word “incense.” (“He that burneth frankincense,” R. V.) I am not, however, going to discuss the soundness of this view ; I am content for argument’s sake to admit that it is correct.

Admitting this, however, this use of הִזְכִּיר is at best rare, and the literal meaning of the word is that which it has elsewhere, viz. “to bring to remembrance.”<sup>1</sup> The Greek εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, then, corresponds with the literal sense of the Hebrew, and this being so, surely no philologist would think himself justified in seeking farther or inferring an otherwise unexampled meaning of the Greek to correspond with the rare meaning of the Hebrew. Nothing short of verbal inspiration of the Greek could justify such an inference. Preposterous as such an argument would be in any case, in that of the Psalm-titles it is utterly irrational. A few examples will make this clear :—

To the Precentor is,	εἰς τὸ τέλος.
On Shoshannim (to the tune	ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων.
“Lilies”).	
On “Lily of the Testimony,”	ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων ἔτι.
To a Gittite march or tune,	ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν.
To ‘Alamoth (virgin voices),	ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων.
To the accompaniment of flutes,	ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομούσης.
On stringed instruments,	ἐν ὕμνοις.

<sup>1</sup> הִזְכִּיר is rendered τοῦ ἀναμνήσαι more than once ; מִזְכִּיר is δ ἀναμνήσκων.

Is it not obvious that in rendering the titles the translator was absolutely at sea, and in obscure cases went by guesswork? In Ps. liii. he even gave up in despair, and wrote *μαελέθ*. There is, I think, not one title not of obvious meaning which he renders correctly according to modern views. He is invariably either strictly literal or utterly wrong. Will anyone seriously contend that we are to assign a perfectly novel meaning to a Greek word on the assumption that in one case this translator's rendering, while apparently literal, was in reality profoundly and subtilely correct, when nearly everyone else went astray?

It may be worth while to add that in Ps. lxx. Aquila substitutes *τοῦ ἀναμυνήσκειν* obviously in order to represent more closely the grammatical form of the Hebrew, but showing that he had no idea of the supposed sense of *ἀνάμνησις*.

The case is analogous to that of deciding between two suggested causes of a given effect in natural philosophy. Here we take for each cause its antecedent probability, and multiply this by the chance that if it existed it would produce the effect; and a comparison of the results gives the relative probability of the two causes. Now here we have on one side the probability that the translator took *הזכיר* in its literal sense, a very high probability indeed when estimated from the other titles, multiplied by the probability that in that case he would render the word *ἀνάμνησις*, which is also pretty high, as *ἀναμυνήσκειν* is frequently used for this verb. On the other side we have to place the probability that he would discern the subtile and elsewhere unknown sense of *הזכיר*, a minute chance, indeed evanescent, multiplied by the chance that he would think *ἀνάμνησις* a suitable word to express this meaning, a chance too small to be measured, seeing the word is never found in this sense. If the passage in Isaiah referred to above supports the suggestion as to the meaning of the Hebrew word, it certainly gives no support to this view of the Greek word, which is not used there, for the rendering is *ὁ διδοὺς λίβανον εἰς μνημόσυνον*.

In the N. T. *ἀνάμνησις* occurs, Heb. x. 3, "In those sacri-

fices there is a remembrance made of sins year by year." But the circumstance that a sacrifice calls sins to mind does not go to prove that whatever calls a thing to mind is a sacrifice.

We are now in a position to estimate the value of the assertion that in the LXX ποιεῖν when joined with an object capable of being offered has frequently or constantly the meaning "offer"; and, secondly, that therefore this may be assumed to be its meaning in the N. T. when so joined.

First, we have seen that it has this meaning only under these conditions: first, that the object be not only capable of being offered, but in fact habitually spoken of as offered: and, secondly, that the connexion be unmistakably sacrificial.

Secondly, the usage of the LXX does not determine that of the N. T., and there is nothing to show that even this limited usage would be admitted in the dialect of the N. T. writers.

Thirdly, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε or τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ποιεῖτε in the sense "offer this" or "offer this cup," has no analogy in the LXX, and may be pronounced impossible.

Fourthly, εἰς ἀνάμνησιν nowhere and never had any sacrificial signification at all.

To assume then that in the N. T. ποιεῖν means "offer" when neither of the above conditions is fulfilled is philologically unjustifiable.

I may add that I do not know any theory of the Eucharist which would make it correct to speak of it as an *azkārâh*. Possibly some writers may have been misled by the associations of the English word "memorial." But from what was said above it is plain that the *azkārâh* had nothing to do with "memorial" in the sense of remembrance of a past event; it was a present calling to mind of the worshipper before God.

The preceding reasoning is to my mind so entirely conclusive that I am unwilling to add considerations of another kind. Nevertheless there is one such consideration which seems to me worthy of notice; but I wish it to be regarded quite independently of what precedes.

When τοῦτο or "this" is used of an action, whether shown or not, it usually is general; that is, it means an action "such



as this": "this gesture," "this movement," &c. But if the word is defined by an actual object shown and presented, then it means this actual object only. Hence, if it were possible to understand τοῦτο as τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον it would mean this actual cup, not a cup thus consecrated. No doubt after the institution became established the case would be different, and "this cup" would mean "the cup of this ceremony."

This may be illustrated as follows. Suppose the sovereign to present a sword to a successful warrior, saying, "Wear this sword for my sake," "this" would mean this individual sword. But if an order of knighthood were thus instituted a subsequent knight might speak of "this sword" meaning a sword thus appropriated. It is thus that St. Paul speaks of "this cup," "this bread," not defining by showing or presenting the object, but by reference to the institution spoken of. Such usage, however, is obviously quite different from that in the passage in question, connected with the first institution. There "this" must mean "this actual cup," and the words would therefore refer only to a present action. This would of course be inconsistent with ὅσακις ἂν πίνητε, not to speak of other obvious objections; objections, too, which will at once suggest themselves even to the understanding ποιεῖτε of a present offering at all of "this my blood," or "this my body," which if τοῦτο means "this object" it must certainly include.

It would seem as if those who adopt this interpretation unconsciously combine two interpretations of τοῦτο ποιεῖτε: 1, offer this cup; 2, repeat this action.

## TO WHAT EXTENT WAS GREEK THE LANGUAGE OF GALILEE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST ?<sup>1</sup>



It is frequently taken for granted that Jesus Christ and his apostles must have spoken Aramaic only, and that the original records on which the Gospels were founded must also have been in Aramaic. I have chosen the above heading for this paper in order to emphasize the fact that even those scholars who maintain that the Galileans spoke Aramaic only, yet admit that sometimes, at least, uneducated Galileans did speak Greek, and that fluently. This may seem to involve a contradiction, but the contradiction is not mine.

On such questions *a priori* arguments are of little value ; we must examine the facts.

The crucial passage is in Acts ii. 5 ff., where we are told that devout Jews "out of every nation under heaven" heard the Apostles address them in their own tongue. Some of these men were from various parts of Asia Minor, "Cappadocia,

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<sup>1</sup> In the following I refer chiefly to "*The Language of Palestine in the Age of Christ and his Apostles*, by De Rossi and Pfannkuche ; translated by Thorl G. Repp" (Clark's Biblical Cabinet), 1833, and Dr. Neubauer's essay in *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885. Dr. Roberts' work, "*Greek the Language of Christ and His Apostles*" was published in 1888. His earlier work was entitled "*Discussions on the Gospels*."

Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia"; others from Egypt, Cyrene, Crete, and Rome. "All these Jews," says Dr. Neubauer, "far away from Palestine spoke only Greek, with the exception of the few who learnt Hebrew in the schools of Jerusalem, like St. Paul, or others who were but recent immigrants from Palestine." Hence it is clear that these men, at least, must have been addressed in Greek; and so Dr. Neubauer, as I understand him, admits. This being so, it matters little whether Peter's speech was in Greek or not. That, however, is no reason for allowing it to be assumed, without proof, that it was not. Dr. Neubauer asks, "Would anyone venture seriously to maintain that St. Peter spoke Greek when he addresses himself to the 'men of Judea and all that dwell at Jerusalem'?" The implied argument is, no doubt, that expressed in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, that these hearers being called *κατοικοῦντες*, were permanent dwellers at Jerusalem, and therefore not Greek-speaking, being thus contrasted with the Cappadocians, &c., of verses 9, 10. This strangely overlooks the fact that the description in verse 14 is precisely the same as in verse 5, "There were dwelling (*κατοικοῦντες*) in Jerusalem Jews out of every nation under heaven." "Ye men of Judea (ye Jews), and all ye that dwell in Jerusalem." The identity of his audience with the varied multitude of the preceding verses is made as clear as possible. If he spoke in Aramaic, then, he would be unintelligible to at least a large part of his audience. But to which part of the multitude would he be most likely to address himself? Or which part might he be most hopeful of influencing? The Jews of Jerusalem, on whom the discourses and works of Jesus himself had produced but little effect, or these immigrants, these pious men, whose hearts might be supposed to be open to conviction, but whose knowledge of Jesus had hitherto been comparatively slight? Can there be a doubt? Then consider the vast number added to the Church on that one day—three thousand! Is it credible that these were for the most part Jews of Jerusalem? Surely not. I conclude, therefore, with many scholars (amongst whom I may name Dean Stanley, Canon

Cook, and Dr. Salmon), that Peter's speech was in Greek. Every indication in the text is in favour of this conclusion and nothing against it. However, as this is disputed, I will not insist on it, as for my purpose it is sufficient that some of the apostles did unquestionably speak Greek.

It was this incident of the Day of Pentecost which was used by Paulus to prove that Greek was the vernacular of the Galileans.<sup>1</sup> De Sacy, in reply, appealed to the astonishment of the "Cappadocians," &c., at hearing Galileans speak in their tongue, and inferred that Galileans were ignorant of Greek. How, then, did he account for their speaking it? Simply by a miracle. And this is obviously the only alternative. Some subsequent writers, however, adopt De Sacy's argument from the surprise of the Cappadocians, and speak of him as having conclusively refuted Paulus, while they reject the hypothesis of a miracle which alone made his "refutation" possible. They seem to see no difficulty in holding at one and the same time two contradictory propositions: The Galileans understood Aramaic only, and were able without a miracle to discourse in Greek.

The argument from the surprise of the Cappadocians is singularly weak unless we suppose that the Parthians, Medes, and Elamites were also addressed in Greek. For there is not a syllable in the text to limit the surprise to the Greek-speaking portion of the audience, or to indicate that it was caused by the Apostles speaking Greek. This was a pure assumption on the part of De Sacy, in which, however, he has been unquestioningly followed. But even granting both assumptions, I, for my part, should not attach more weight to the opinion of the Cappadocians about Galilee than to that of an average Englishman about the language spoken in Connaught; and this, I need not say, would be valueless. On this I happen to be able

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<sup>1</sup> Paulus' work, "*Verosimilia de Judaeis Palaestinensibus, Jesu atque etiam Apostolis non Aramaea dialecto sola sed Graeca quoque Aramaizante locutis*," Jenae, 1803, is known to me, as also to Dr. Neubauer and Dr. Roberts, only through De Sacy's review in Millin's *Magazin Encyclopédique*, 1805, tom i.

to give documentary evidence. In a respectable educational work recently issued I find it stated that in Connaught "the native language of Erse is still chiefly spoken." In works of a more ambitious character, such as Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, it is stated that Irish is still spoken commonly by the rural classes and native land-owners in Connaught, Munster, and the south of Leinster,<sup>1</sup> while a third authority informs us that in the south and west the native Irish is "giving way" to English. The facts are that at the last census (1881) less than half the population of Connaught were able to speak Irish at all, while all but four per cent. could speak English; or in other words more than half were ignorant of Irish, while only one twenty-fifth were ignorant of English. In Munster only one-third were able to speak Irish, while only one and a-half per cent. were ignorant of English. At the former census (1871) the proportion of those able to speak Irish was even smaller, although that of persons ignorant of English was larger. As to Leinster, there were in 1881 only fifty persons in the whole province who spoke Irish only. More than three hundred years ago Stanihurst<sup>2</sup> (speaking of the English Pale) complained that Englishmen were greatly astonished when they conversed with an Irishman who confessed that he was ignorant of Irish, whereas within the Pale the language was extinct; and you might even find toothless old men who hardly understood one or two words of Irish, a fact, by the way, which pushes back the time at which English began to predominate two or three generations, for the parents of these old men cannot have been ignorant of English. Is there any reason to think that even educated Cappadocians were better informed in such matters than professed scholars and teachers, in these days of carefully ascertained and published statistics, are about similar matters in their own country?

But possibly the surprise, whether it were of the Cappadocians or the Parthians, was not at the languages spoken, but at

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<sup>1</sup> This is not in the new edition.

<sup>2</sup> Stanihurst *de Rebus Hibernicis*, 1584, p. 29.



the manner in which they were uttered. On this point, also, my own experience supplies an incident strikingly parallel. I once heard some members of a Middlesex congregation, who had just been listening to a clergyman from the West of Ireland, express their surprise that they "could understand every word he said." Yet they had not expected that he would speak any language but English, or supposed that he usually spoke any other tongue; but knowing how hard it often is for a southern Englishman to understand a northern, for example, they expected to find a still greater difficulty in understanding one whom they supposed to be a Connaughtman. This incident, trivial in itself, supplies a complete answer to the question put by sundry scholars, Why should the Cappadocians, &c., express surprise at the apostles speaking Greek if that was their usual language? In short, the argument, as we have seen, rests on three assumptions, all but feebly justified, or not at all—1, that the surprise was on the part of the Greek-speaking hearers only; 2, that it was at the fact that the language they heard was not Aramaic but Greek; and 3, that these strangers must have had an exact knowledge of the extent to which Greek was or was not known to Galileans. Whatever their opinion may have been it cannot set aside the fact that the apostles did actually speak Greek. Now to address an assembly supposes a considerable familiarity with the language used. As the apostles were ordinary Galilean peasants, of the same class from which the audiences of our Lord were formed, this is a demonstration that to some (or rather, many) of those composing these audiences Greek was familiar.<sup>1</sup>

It is not easy to see how this is to be reconciled with the opinion as stated by Schürer, for example, that "the sole popular language was Aramaic." Mr. Neubauer asks, also, "Why should the chief captain [Acts xxi. 37] wonder that St. Paul could speak Greek if the Jews were generally known to be familiar with it?" The question is answered by the next words of the chief captain, "Art thou not that

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Edersheim admits that Greek was generally known.

Egyptian?" If the question then proves anything, it must be that the Egyptians did not speak Greek. But Dr. Neubauer holds that they did. The fact is that he has taken the argument from Pfannkuche, who, consistently enough, uses it to prove that the Egyptian Jews spoke Hebrew. As Dr. Neubauer rightly rejects this view, the question of the chief captain only illustrates what has just been said as to the weakness of arguments founded on such expressions of surprise.

Schürer considers the opinion above quoted to be proved by the Aramaic words found in the New Testament and by the Aramaic names. Pfannkuche used the same argument which, in his opinion, amounted to "intuitive demonstration," and more recent writers have adopted it as conclusive. Now with respect to these Aramaic words I think a distinction should be made between those used by Jesus himself on two or three occasions, and others which seem to have been words in common use. But as Schürer and others have made no distinction I shall first consider all those to which they refer in common. First, indeed, we might fairly ask to be informed in what the *vis consequentiae* is supposed to consist? It cannot be meant that writers and speakers in one language never use words borrowed from another (as the Scots, for example, borrow "dour, douce, bien, fash," from the French). This would be too obviously absurd. And in fact Pfannkuche (p. 65) speaks expressly of the Aramaic borrowing words from Greek and Latin, adding that such borrowing is admitted by every nation that does not live quite isolated. If Aramaic from Greek, why not Greek in one district from Aramaic? But perhaps what is meant is that if in any country one language has wholly or partially given way to another, no words of the former will be retained by those who speak the latter. This is equally false.

If the conclusion is that Aramaic was not extinct, then there is a complete *ignoratio elenchi*, for it is not asserted that it was so. But even if it were, the assumption that no Aramaic words would remain in the local dialect of Greek is demonstrably false. I shall take the most striking instance I know,

being a living one, that of Ireland. Suppose a thousand years hence a writer should argue thus: "Taking up any story of Irish life I find in the conversations related numerous Celtic words." The following, for example, is a possible narrative:—"With a pipe in his caubeen and a stout pair of brôgs he was driving a couple of boneens down the boreen, leading a garran with a kish of turf when he caught sight of his colleen bawn coming to meet him, and said: 'Cead mile failte, avourneen.' 'Come in, mo bouchal,' said she, 'and I will give you some brochan and a sup of usquebaugh.' 'Ah, budh ahusth acushla machree,' said he, 'do you take me for an omadhaun?'" This, the supposed critic might say, proves that the sole popular language was Celtic. And this, he would add, "is confirmed by the remarkable fact, that the names given to dwellings, &c., even near the metropolis, were frequently pure Celtic. For instance, in a single suburb I find such names as Corruie-na-Greina, Rarc-an-ilan, Inniseorrig, and many more. In the heart of the city itself was a cwm, and its park was called Fionn-uisge. Nicknames of individuals too were Celtic, such as Rossa."

Now what are the facts as we contemporaries know them? That not twenty per cent. of the population of Ireland can speak Irish at all, and in the whole province of Leinster not three per cent. Yet all the Celtic words above used, and many more are perfectly familiar, even in regions where the Celtic has been extinct for centuries. They simply form part of the local English vocabulary. When we look a little more closely at the list of Aramaic words given by Pfannkuche and others, we are struck still more with the baselessness of their inference. Setting aside the words used by Jesus on three occasions they fall into two classes: either they are not Aramaic words at all, or they are words which can be actually proved to have formed part of the vocabulary of all Greek-speaking Jews. The reader may think it hardly credible that a series of writers capable at least of consulting Greek Lexicons should one after another enumerate as Aramaic purely Greek or Latin words. Yet, such are *χάρτης*, *σουδάριον*, *σπεκουλάτωρ*,

κολωνία, λεγεών. Χάρτης is a pure Greek word occurring in Plato Comicus, Cebes, Dioscorides, and inscriptions. The Aramaic borrowed it from the Greek, but with a different meaning, viz. "a royal law." Σουδάριον, originally Latin, was early borrowed by Greek writers; it occurs in the Doric form σωδάριον in a writer of the fifth century B.C. It is the exact transliteration of the Latin word, not of the Aramaic ܟܠܢܝܐ. Σπεκουλάτωρ, again, is Latin, and is the exact transliteration of the Latin, not of the Aramaic, which, indeed, would not tolerate such a spelling.<sup>1</sup> But were it otherwise, what can be more irrational than to assume, that unless a Palestinian writer spoke Aramaic, he could not borrow a Latin word? The case of κολωνία is even worse. It occurs, Acts xvi. 12, used not by a Palestinian, but by a writer who was probably not even a Jew, who certainly was a master of Greek, and who had for some time been residing in the city which he thus designates. Because a Greek traveller uses the correct Latin designation of the city in which he was residing, he must have borrowed the name from some speakers of Aramaic, and therefore the Palestinians spoke Aramaic only! I confess I am unable to fathom this reasoning. Am I not right in saying that writers on the subject have not taken the requisite trouble to examine the facts which they adduce? I must except Mr. Neubauer, who has been more discriminating, and has omitted from his list these Latin words. I may add that κολωνία, like the previous words, is a transcription of the Latin and not of the Aramaic.

The second class of words includes those which had been retained by the LXX translators, and which therefore were part of the vocabulary of every Greek-speaking Jew. Such words are πᾶσχα, σίκερα (which indeed only occurs in a quotation from the LXX), σατανᾶς, γέννα (Joshua xviii. 16). Others, though not in the LXX, must have been familiar. Of this class is κορβάν, which as a legal term of constant use was

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<sup>1</sup> The Aramaic interposes a vowel between the π and the κ, סבּקלָטוּר or סבּוקלָטוּר, or prefixes א; אסבּקלָטוּר.



as familiar to Greek-speaking Jews as *habeas corpus* is to us, *Μεσσίας*, *ῥαββί*, &c. Others are proper names, Bethesda<sup>1</sup> (Bethzatha, or Bethsaida), Gabbatha, Golgotha. Names of places are very persistent, and the fact that the old names remain proves nothing. Pfannkuche, again, lays stress on the significant geographical names, such as those compounded with Beth, Capher, and En (Ain).

Ireland is full of names unaltered from the Celtic form, in which the etymology is obvious, especially of names compounded with Kill, Clon, Rath, Tober, &c., and that where Irish has not been spoken for centuries. Nor is there any tendency in such names to disappear. Indeed, the way in which St. John introduces the first two names referred to is exactly like the way in which writers and speakers in places where Irish is little, if at all, known, mention disused Celtic names. Thus we may see "Dublin, called in Irish Baile-ath-liath," although in Dublin itself the latter name is unknown. In a seaside place, where no Irish is spoken, a visitor is informed about a particular pool "that is called in Irish Poll-a-cappull."

As to the names of which Bar makes a part, Irish habits illustrate this phenomenon also by the use of Mac. Thus an Irish priest characterized a lately appointed and energetic Protestant clergyman as "this Mac-Luther." The English language did not admit of so terse a designation. Nor did the Greek. Other forms of by-names are in familiar use in Irish to distinguish persons who bear the same Christian and family names, and are used where the Irish language is but little spoken. An example is "Rossa" in the well-known name O'Donovan Rossa, whom English writers mistakenly call Mr. Rossa.

Some of the names referred to deserve special notice, for example, "Bartimæus, the son of Timæus." If the writer had said "Bartimai, the son of Timæus," we might regard the latter words as a translation of the former; but this is

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Edersheim suggests that the second part of this name may be a Greek word Aramaized.



excluded by the form *Βαριμαῖος*, which treats the word as a substantive name. The writer was clearly not thinking of analyzing the name, and adds "son of Timaeus" as a fresh particular. Moreover, Timaeus is Greek. Again, Nathanael is called Bartholomew (we may assume the identity), but the two names do not occur together. The latter is used by all the Synoptic evangelists as a sufficient proper name. Again, Joseph, who was surnamed Barsabas, was also surnamed Justus, a Latin name.

Although these names then were given by persons who knew Aramaic, their use in the Gospels and Acts tends to indicate that they did not always carry with them a sense of their meaning.

Of other names I shall have something to say presently.

'Αββὰ ὁ πατήρ does not seem to me to support the theory that Aramaic was the language used. If Jesus used the word "Abba" only, why should any Greek historian add ὁ πατήρ? It would never occur, I suppose, to a modern translator having πατήρ before him to write, Pater, Father. On the other hand on the bilingual theory it is easy to understand that Abba being in use not merely in the sense of πατήρ, but as a title of reverence, should be adopted by Greek-speaking Jews also, and combined with ὁ πατήρ, just as we might say "Hallelujah, praise the Lord." That 'Αββὰ ὁ πατήρ was actually thus used by Greek-speaking Christians we know from Rom. viii. 15, and Gal. iv. 6. On Hosanna, see p. 100.

The most noteworthy expression under this head is certainly Maranatha, and to this some importance has been attached, as it is said that it must have passed to the Greek-speaking Christians of Asia Minor from the Palestinian Christians. In fact, however, there is nothing to show that it ever passed to the Christians of Asia Minor at all. St. Paul, who alone uses it, was indeed a native of that country, but he had little intercourse with Palestinian Christians, and was himself familiar with Aramaic. As it is to the Corinthians he uses the phrase we may conclude that they had heard it from him. Doubtless, had it occurred in a letter to a Jewish Church it

would have been regarded as a decisive proof that the persons addressed spoke Aramaic, if not that the epistle itself was originally composed in that tongue. If I am challenged to say whence St. Paul obtained the phrase, I reply, that not improbably he was himself the first to use it. But I am not really concerned to deny that it may have come from Palestinian Christians, since I do not contend for the exclusive use of Greek.

Again, it is asked (*Studia Biblica*, p. 55), "What language did Jesus speak when he said, 'Whosoever shall say to his brother *raca* shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say *moreh* (*sic*) shall be in danger of hell fire,' but the popular dialect in which *raca* (*rega*) was a weaker expression than *moreh*, for it is no unusual phenomenon for a foreign word to have a stronger meaning than a native one?" Dr. Neubauer adds that "*moreh* in the Midrash became a standing expression for 'fool,'" and refers to his letter in the *Athenæum* on the subject (1881, vol. ii., p. 779). "Not unusual"; but the argument requires that the foreign word should be always, or almost always, the stronger, unless it can be shown to have been actually so with these words. On the contrary, I believe the reverse is generally true, viz. that the native word is the more forcible. In English such native words as "fool," "liar," "scoundrel," are the strongest that can be employed, and this is equally so amongst the English-speaking Irish.

As to the particular word *μωρέ*, no evidence is adduced to show that it was to a Hebrew-speaking Jew stronger than *rega*, if indeed such Jews used it at all. There is, in fact, evidence to the contrary. It is true the Greek word does occur in the Midrash, but whether as an adopted word the reader will form his own judgment from the passages quoted in Levy's *Neuhebraisches Lexicon*, to which Dr. Neubauer refers. They are as follow:—The first is on Num. xx. 10, "Hear now ye rebels," where the Hebrew for rebels is *mórim* (מורים), "What means the word מורה? R. Reuben said: As in the Greek tongue they call the fool *μωρός*." Another interpreter (on the

same passage), enumerating four possible senses of the word, says, "so in the towns of the sea (*i.e.* Greece) they call fools." Again, of the feminine מוראה in Zeph. iii. 1 (which means "rebellious"), Rabbi Reuben said, "in the Greek tongue they call folly *mórá* (מורא)." Finally on Ps. ix. 21 (where we translate "fear," this being the only place where the Hebrew for "fear" is spelled with final ה instead of ש) the Midrash says, "'bring folly upon these,' for in Greek they call folly *mórá*." These passages are far from indicating that the word was in use as stronger than *rega*; on the contrary, they show decisively that the word was not in use at all; for it is only cited in connexion with a Hebrew word of similar sound to suggest a possible (or fanciful) meaning for the latter; and in the first two passages, probably in order to avoid the severe reproach "rebel." The expression, "in Greek they call," shows that it was referred to as a word not in use amongst Hebrew-speaking Jews. Suppose we found Greek commentators on Matth. v. 22, explaining *μωρέ*, as some moderns have done, by reference to the Hebrew for "rebel," would any one infer that the Hebrew word was in familiar use amongst Greek writers or speakers? (These Midrashim, it may be remarked, are comparatively modern.) Dr. Neubauer himself (p. 74) cites a passage in which the Greek pronoun *σέ* is applied in the very same way in illustration of Gen. xxii. 7, 8, "God will provide himself a lamb (*seh*, *i.e.* *σέ*);" and another from the Talmud in which הן in Job xxviii. 28 is explained from the Greek *ἐν*, "Behold (הן *i.e.* *ἐν*) the fear of the Lord," that is, "the fear of the Lord is the one thing." I may add another instance from a Talmudical comment on 1 Kings xxii. 36, "There went a cry through the host (הרנה, *i.e.* *εὐρηνή*)." His inference, as expressed in his letter to the *Athenæum*, is certainly sound, viz. that *μωρέ* was as current among the Greek-speaking Jews in Palestine (who, he adds, were not a few) as the word שוטה, "fool," was in the mouth of the Hebrew-speaking Jews.

On the other hand *raca*, or *rega*, is just the sort of word that would be sure to become current among Greek-speaking

Jews of Palestine, just as Irish terms of similar import are current amongst English-speaking Irish folk. It follows, then, that if Jesus was speaking in Aramaic, *μωρè* is a translation. Why then did the Evangelist not translate *raca* also? To Dr. Neubauer's question then: "What language did Jesus speak on this occasion?" the reply is, "obviously Greek."

Let us see how the whole account stands with respect to Aramaic words. Omitting names and the words used by Jesus himself, there are in the Gospels about thirteen words reckoned by Dr. Neubauer. Four of these are actually found in the LXX. Five others we know to have been in such common use that there can be no doubt that every Greek-speaking Jew would be familiar with them, viz. Corban, Hosanna, Rabbi, Messias, Pharisaïos. There remain four. Abba and Raca have been already discussed; Rabboni will be referred to presently. The remaining word is Mammona.

The word Mammon is common in Aramaic in the sense of "riches," "gain," "money." Its occurrence here rather favours the view that the sayings in which it appears (Matthew vi. 24; Luke xvi. 9, 11, 13) were originally Greek. Otherwise, why should it be left untranslated, and that only here? But it will be observed that it is applied here in a contemptuous manner—"unrighteous mammon"; and in the first and last cited verses (which are parallel) with a semi-personification. Now a word familiar in an indifferent sense is, I think, less likely to be applied in this way than one which being foreign, or for some other reason less familiar, can be appropriated to such a use. Thus we ourselves use "lucre" contemptuously, or "*£ s. d.*"; and it would be more natural for an English speaker to personify either of these, or the French word "*l'argent*," than the familiar words "gold" or "money."

I do not, however, lay any stress on this; but I must ask the reader to remember that while the Aramaic words not taken from the Septuagint are so few, there are in the Gospels at least as many purely Latin words, including "*modius*," "*linteum*," "*semicinctium*." Surely it is as easy to account

for a Greek-speaking Jew using an Aramaic as a Latin word. In my judgment the books would look more like translations if no Aramaic words appeared in them, such as must certainly have been in use amongst Greek-speaking Jews. And it deserves to be noticed that in St. Luke's Gospel only one such word is found (besides *Mammona*), and that only in the first chapter (which with the second stands on a different ground from the rest of the Gospel), and in what is practically a quotation from the LXX.

I now come to the phrases used by Jesus himself, "*Talitha cumi*," "*Ephphatha*," and the words uttered on the cross, from the 22nd Psalm. These require to be treated separately because they are not, like the preceding, instances of words in familiar use. To take the last first. This is considered by Schürer and others as very decisive. These words were spoken, it is said, under circumstances of exhaustion and pain, when a person would naturally make use of his mother tongue. True; but admitting this, it only proves that the vernacular, or language of his early years, was Aramaic. It would by no means prove that he did not often, or even most frequently, use Greek. But I need not dwell on this since the argument is deprived of all weight by the fact that the words are a quotation. The assumption that a dying and suffering man quoting a Psalm would be sure to quote it in his vernacular, is disproved by history. How many holy men of Christian times have died with the words of a Latin Psalm on their lips! One historical instance is sufficient for my purpose. It is a very well known one, that of St. Francis Xavier. As he lay on the sea-shore in a burning fever, he uttered the words, "*In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in aeternum.*" It must also be observed that the bystanders did not understand the exclamation. They caught the word *Eli*, *Eli*, and said that Jesus was calling for *Elias*. These bystanders were clearly Jews of Jerusalem. Nor should I omit to notice that these were not the only words spoken on the cross.

There remain the two phrases, "*Talitha cumi*" and "*Ephphatha*," which it may be admitted prove that Jesus sometimes spoke



Aramaic. But it is not to be forgotten that there are here two facts to be accounted for, one the occurrence of the Aramaic words in the records, the other that these are the only sayings in that language. If he always spoke Aramaic, and the historians have translated all his sayings except these three words, why did they not translate these? It is not because of their importance. The "It is finished" on the cross was more important; so also were the words at the last supper, and many others. The explanations of this fact attempted by Pfannkuche and others are, I venture to say, ludicrously inadequate. Pfannkuche thinks the words were retained accidentally from inadvertence! (*Transl.* p. 46, note); and I suppose it was by a further inadvertence that the translation was added! His translator sensibly rejects the explanation, saying that, on the contrary, there seems to be a design to make us acquainted with the very sounds uttered by the Saviour when performing these miracles; and adding, that although he agrees with Pfannkuche's general position, he thinks this argument from Christ's speeches excessively weak. The words now under consideration were, as he observes, not *directly* addressed to the common people (he ought to have said not at all); and whether they understood them or not was of no moment. The rational explanation is that the use of Aramaic on these occasions was exceptional.

I am not bound to account for Aramaic being used exceptionally on these two occasions; but as to one of them an obvious reason does suggest itself. If Galilee was bilingual, there would be some families more especially attached to the older vernacular. The family of the ruler of the synagogue is just the one in which we might expect such attachment to be found; and in that family a child would be the least likely to be familiar with Greek. In the case of the deaf stammerer in Decapolis there may have been a local or personal reason. Indeed, it is not difficult to suggest such a reason. A man labouring under such a defect, doubtless congenital, would be behind his compatriots in intelligence, and would know only the language of the least instructed of them. In the Irish-speaking parts of

Ireland we should naturally expect a half-witted or half-mute person to use Irish only. But the whole argument is not only excessively weak, as Mr. Repp, with his usual candour, remarks, but is entirely worthless. Palestine is known and admitted to have been to some extent, at least, a bilingual country; yet because a religious teacher on two occasions addressing single individuals uses Aramaic, therefore it is inferred that he never spoke any other language. Let us test the argument again by a concrete analogy from Ireland. The late Bishop of Cork (Dr. Gregg) when relating on Dublin platforms incidents of his own or others' visits to Irish-speaking districts, would often quote a terse Irish phrase. I have myself heard him at a meeting in Dublin interrupt his speech in order to address questions in Irish to teachers present from the West (who nevertheless would have understood him had he spoken English). If his speeches and narratives had been put into a volume, some future Pfannkuche or Schürer would argue that he must have always spoken Irish, and more than that, that the audiences he addressed in Dublin and elsewhere were predominantly Irish-speaking. If these scholars of the future should learn further that when he made an excursion to some district in the far south-west, he was able to attract crowded congregations to listen to his eloquent addresses in Irish, they would entertain no doubt of the truth of these conclusions. Yet the fact was, that with rare exceptions, he always spoke, taught, and preached in English, which was strictly his own vernacular, and to hearers who understood nothing else. The argument in question then is not merely inconclusive, it is absolutely devoid of force. Yet this is the palmary argument of Schürer and others.

It is worth while to consider for a moment from what source St. Mark may have derived these words which he alone records. It cannot reasonably be supposed that he derived them from an Aramaic record which he translated into Greek, retaining these two expressions alone in the original. And the same remark would apply to any supposed earlier writer or narrator founding on an Aramaic authority. The only solu-

tion seems to me to be that the two incidents in question were related by an earwitness who told his story in Greek. Such a one in telling the story would very naturally repeat the actual words which were followed by the wonderful result. In one of the two cases besides the parents of the child only Peter, James, and John were present. If we accept the truth of the tradition that Peter was Mark's informant, we have another proof that this apostle spoke Greek. But for my purpose it does not matter which of the three apostles told the story in Greek.

It is curious to observe the tendency of writers on the subject to magnify the number of these sayings. One speaks of them as "fragments of speeches." Another calls them "numerous sayings." A third says "there are several Aramaic words used in the N. T., especially by Christ. They are almost all of them utterances employed on some solemn occasion." Even if we include the quotation used on the cross there are only three sayings in Aramaic. If ancient writers had spoken in such terms as these might it not have been plausibly argued that the Gospels they used were not the same as ours? Apart from a quotation, it might be said, only one of our Gospels contains Aramaic sayings of Christ, and this has only two; and no one would call three words "numerous sayings," or speak of almost all of two.

The extreme feebleness of the argument is shown even more conclusively by the consideration that Jesus was not an ordinary Galilean, but one who consciously entered on a great religious mission, and this not before thirty years of age. Now put the most extreme supposition (one which I do not allege as probable), that in his early years Greek was his only language, while he knew that some, even though few, of his countrymen were ignorant of it, wholly or partially. Is it likely, is it even credible, that he would neglect to acquire the power of communicating with this minority? We have just seen an instance of a religious teacher in Ireland, without any special mission before him, and in the midst of other occupations mastering the Irish tongue.

Can we imagine that Jesus, even in the extreme case supposed, would have rested content during all those years of silent preparation with ignorance of the tongue spoken by even a small section of his countrymen? To me this is wholly incredible. Yet Schürer and others, who use the argument referred to, ask us to accept it as something too evident to require statement. Twice, say they, he addressed individuals in Aramaic, therefore he never spoke in any other tongue!

Following the same line of thought may we not say that since some of the most familiar friends of Jesus were acquainted with Greek, and since further there was at least in Jerusalem a colony of Greek-speaking Jews, it is beyond all question certain that he would qualify himself to be understood by these latter, and would at least not be behind his apostles in the power of addressing them? It follows, I think, with certainty that Jesus sometimes at least spoke Greek, and spoke it as well as Peter, or James, or John.

Pfannkuche mentions further in support of his view Paul's relation, that he "in an ecstasy was addressed by Jesus in the modern Hebrew or Palestinian language." Dr. Neubauer adopts the argument, saying, "It is a weak argument to say that had Jesus always spoken in the popular dialect, viz. the Galileo-Aramean, there would have been no occasion for the author of the Acts to state that he spoke to St. Paul in Hebrew; and yet this is one of the chief arguments of writers on the other side." I cannot discover any ground for this last statement; certainly there is nothing to justify it in Dr. Roberts' book, and least of all in the page to which Dr. Neubauer refers us, which contains nothing relating to it. It is the supporters of the opposite view, like De Rossi and Pfannkuche, who appeal to the statement, and Dr. Roberts only refers to it in order to answer the objection it suggests; and, secondarily, to show that the escort did not understand Hebrew, and therefore must have carried on their intercourse with the Jews in Greek. But in his last edition this is, I believe, omitted. It is Mr. Repp, the candid translator of Pfannkuche, who, although on the whole agreeing with his



opinion, makes the observation quoted by Dr. Neubauer; his inference, however, being that Paul on this occasion was addressed in ancient Hebrew. It is, indeed, easy to conceive a reason for Greek not being used on this occasion, as the words were intended for Paul alone, and accordingly, although apparently heard, were not understood by the others.<sup>1</sup>

But most singular is Dr. Neubauer's comment: "The author of the Acts not remembering the Hebrew words spoken to St. Paul, or not being able to supply them from his own knowledge of Hebrew, was obliged, in order to be believed, to state that Jesus spoke to St. Paul in Hebrew." Surely it is neither necessary nor usual for a historian, on pain of being discredited, to specify what language was used on each occasion. What then about Peter's speeches which Luke does not say were in Hebrew? Still more curious appears the comment, when we remember that it is not the author of the Acts that makes the statement; it is Paul himself in his speech before Festus who does so, and certainly not for the reason suggested.

I come now to another argument of Pfannkuche and Dr. Neubauer. The latter states it thus (p. 68):—"If we are not mistaken, it is now generally admitted that the earliest writings of the Christians in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, where they took refuge after the destruction of Jerusalem, were uniformly in a vernacular Hebrew, and not in Greek. Had a majority of the Jews (he adds) spoken this language, some of these records must have been composed in Greek." No doubt, and so they were. Any statement to the contrary is made not only without proof, but in the teeth of the clearest evidence attainable. As to the "general admission" I need hardly say that he is mistaken. His only reference is to a treatise by M. Michel Nicolas.<sup>2</sup>

As Pfannkuche is more definite I shall examine his statement first. He says:—"This position [that Greek even for

<sup>1</sup> ἀκούοντες τῆς φωνῆς (Acts ix. 7); τὴν δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λαλοῦντος (xxii. 9).

<sup>2</sup> *Études sur les Évangiles Apocryphes*, Paris, 1866.



several centuries after the fall of Jerusalem did not meet with much favour among the Palestinians] is farther confirmed by the Apocrypha, really or supposedly written in Palestine; by the very ancient gospels of the Nazarenes and Hebrews; by the more modern gospels of Barnabas, Bartholomew, and the Nativity of Mary; by Christ's letter to Abgar; by Mary's letter to the women of Messina; by Abdias' History of the Apostles, &c.; all of which works either really existed in the Aramaic or Hebrew tongues, or at least according to the pretence of those who put them into circulation, were translated from one or other of these languages." Pfannkuche gives very exact references to Fabricius for all these documents, so that we have the advantage of being able to test his statements by the actual authority on which he founded them. Most readers would of course be satisfied with the fact that he does refer to that author, and would take for granted that what he says is borne out by Fabricius. Of the gospels of the Nazarenes and the Hebrews, which are not two but one, I shall speak presently. As to Barnabas, what Fabricius says is that Casaubon states that Barnabas is said by some to have translated Matthew's Gospel into Greek, but on what authority Fabricius declares he does not know. He thinks, however, that the opinion may have arisen from the tradition that Barnabas' body was found with Matthew's Gospel on it written by Barnabas' own hand. M. Nicolas takes a further step. He says (p. 139) that "the Gospel of Barnabas" seems to have been only one of the numerous Greek translations which were early made of this same (Hebrew) Gospel; and adds that Casaubon has maintained this opinion not without some appearance of reason; thus leading the reader to suppose that that learned author had adduced arguments and facts in support of it. M. Nicolas' statement is pure fiction. Casaubon has done nothing of the kind. He is speaking of our Greek Gospel, and says: "*Auctorem textus Graeci fuisse Jacobum fratrem Domini Athanasius gravis auctor memoriae prodidit. Johannem evangelistam alii dicunt ut legitur in vita Matthaei et apud Theophylactum. Sunt qui Barnabae apostolo, sunt*

qui Lucae et Paulo id ipsum attribuunt.”<sup>1</sup> A writer who can graft his own imagination in such a way on a simple reference, and ascribe it to an author to whose work he refers without ever having seen it, is wholly untrustworthy; and no statement or seeming quotation of his can be accepted without scrutiny, which indeed in such a case is generally not worth the labour.

Here is a pretty genealogy of modern tradition. Casaubon quotes a conjecture about the Greek St. Matthew; Fabricius thinks he is referring to some ancient authority; Pfannkuche evolves a “gospel of Barnabas”; and Nicolas affirms that the learned Casaubon (who had said nothing about a “gospel of Barnabas”) has maintained a certain opinion about it. If this is what happened in the nineteenth century, what may have happened in the second or third? Were there no MM. Nicolas then?

The Gospel of Bartholomew is equally mythical. He is said simply to have brought Matthew’s Gospel to India. The Nativity of Mary is mentioned in a forged letter pretending to be from Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerome asking him to translate the Hebrew of Matthew, which he was said to have found. There is a reply from the pseudo-Jerome, which I need not quote, as it is admitted by M. Nicolas that this Latin narration is not older than the middle of the fifth century. Naturally such forgeries usually profess to come from some obscure source; and the most obvious thing to say was that it had been found existing in Hebrew. Next we have Christ’s letter to Abgar, which as a reply to a letter of a Syrian prince, was of course forged in Syriac. This very small production is the only one of those cited by Pfannkuche which “really

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<sup>1</sup> Casaubon, *Exercitationes Contra Baronium Exerc.* xv., § 12, p. 388, ed. 1614. M. Nicolas took the reference from Fabricius, but by way of improving on it he expands “Exerc. xv.” (which meant the 15th Exercitatio) into “Exercitationes xv.” He has only succeeded in showing that he never saw the book, and that no assertion of his can be trusted. This system of giving second-hand references without stating that they are borrowed and without verification is very common, but not the less deserving of strong reprobation.

existed in the Aramaic tongue." Mary's letter is, according to Fabricius (and, indeed, obviously), a ridiculous Latin forgery of modern times, although of course pretending to be from the Hebrew. Abdias' History of the Apostles is a Latin forgery later than Rufinus. What can be more preposterous than to use these late forgeries as tending to prove anything about the language of Palestine in the first century! If Pfannkuche's "etc." includes anything feebler it is a marvel.

I come now to M. Nicolas, to whom Dr. Neubauer refers in support of the statement above quoted. First we take the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Let us see then on what grounds M. Nicolas holds this to be older than our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew. One example is Matth. vi. 11, "*panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie*," where Jerome says that the Gospel according to the Hebrews had the word *מחר*, meaning "of the morrow." This M. Nicolas thinks the original reading apparently, because *ἐπιούσιος* is obscure; and he suggests that the Greek translator adopted the latter word from some false spiritual view, namely, because of the saying that man doth not live by bread alone, he made the prayer be one for spiritual "supersubstantial" bread. He is quite easy in the belief that *ἐπιούσιος* means "supersubstantialis," and that this means "spiritual." Comment on scholarship like this is unnecessary. *Ἐπιούσιος* is by many interpreters held to mean "for the morrow," and was therefore rightly, or at any rate fairly, rendered in the Hebrew Gospel. But no Greek translator would be likely to select this Greek word as a translation of the simple Hebrew. "Supersubstantialis" was of course simply invented in imitation of the supposed etymology of *ἐπιούσιος*, the meaning of which was obscure to the translator. His next instance is the substitution of "son of Jehoiada" for "son of Barachias" in Matth. xxiii. 35. This again is a case where for elementary critical reasons the latter must be (and by all critics is) considered the older reading.

Two passages he cites where the same facts are related as in our St. Matthew, but with a balance of verisimilitude on the side of the apocryphal Gospel. The first corresponds to Matth.

xviii. 21, 22: "If thy brother sin against thee in word and give thee satisfaction, forgive him (*suscipe eum*) seven times a-day. Simon his disciple said to him, Seven times a-day? The Lord answered and said to him, Yea, I say to thee, even seventy times seven." Yet M. Nicolas cannot help admitting that although this "a certainement plus de vivacité et de naturel," yet it has less elevation than the precept in the canonical Gospel, and he proposes to remedy this by leaving out as later additions "in word" and "give thee satisfaction."

The other is a longer narrative—too long to quote in full—corresponding to Matth. xix. 16-24, the story of the rich man who asked what he should do to inherit eternal life. Two extracts will suffice.

On hearing the Lord's answer, "*coepit dives scalpere caput suum.*" This betrays not the liveliness of an eyewitness, but the coarse touch of a vulgar manipulator. Indeed it is a little too coarse for M. Nicolas, and he translates it "*le riche se mit à se frapper la tête.*"<sup>1</sup> In the same passage he finds a trait of gentleness in harmony with the character of Jesus, and in contrast with the rudeness of his words as recorded in St. Matthew, inasmuch as the apocryphal Gospel states that he turned and said "in a sort of aside," to Simon, who sat by him, "Simon, son of John, it is easier for a camel to enter through the eye of a needle than a rich man into the kingdom of heaven." He has not observed that in St. Matthew it is not till after the departure of the rich man that Jesus said this to his disciples; so that any appearance of rudeness certainly does not belong to the canonical narrative. As to the rest of the conversation, also, the balance of gentleness is not on the side of the apocryphal Gospel, in which, for example, Jesus says, "Thy house is full of good things, and nothing ever goes out of it to thy brethren who are dying of hunger." This also bears the stamp of a later hand.

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<sup>1</sup> See the whole passage, with others, in Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament*, 4th ed., p. 180. He well remarks that the story impresses him "as on a level with the versions of the New Testament stories which good ladies sometimes publish for the use of children," p. 184.



The legend in the Gospel of the Hebrews of the interview of the risen Jesus with James, "goes back incontestably to the earliest period of Christianity."<sup>1</sup> Why? Because it appears from St. Paul that it was universally admitted by the Christians of his day that the Lord appeared to James before showing Himself to the Apostles. So that because the simple fact is stated by St. Paul, he and his contemporaries must have been acquainted with the decorative details! In other words, a legend must be as old as its simplest nucleus!

Again, we find in this Gospel, says M. Nicolas, the information that Barabbas had been condemned for sedition and homicide. He dwells on the value and interest of this information in ignorance of the fact that it is found in St. Luke's Gospel. If it had really been found in the Gospel of the Hebrews it would have helped to prove it later than St. Luke's. But it was not. What Jerome says on Barabbas is: "*Hoc nomen evangelium juxta Hebraeos filius patris ('magistri,' Nicolas) eorum interpretatur: qui propter seditionem et homicidium ('homicidam,' Nicolas) fuerat condemnatus.*" It is clear that the interpretation alone is quoted from the Gospel in question, the rest being Jerome's own remark taken from St. Luke.

The account of the baptism is clearly a later development. "Behold, the mother and the brethren of the Lord said to him, John the Baptist baptizeth for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him. But he said to them, Wherein have I sinned that I should go and be baptized by him, except perchance this very thing that I have said is ignorance?"

M. Nicolas has a pretty long discussion of Justin Martyr's relation that Jesus was born in a cave near Bethlehem. This addition to the canonical Gospels proves, he thinks, that Justin derived his information from other sources; and all doubts disappear when we see that ancient documents, which he certainly knew, relate the facts on which he deviates from the canonical Gospels "exactly as he himself recounts them."

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<sup>1</sup> For the legend see Salmon's *Introduction*, ed. 4, p. 178.



These books are the Judaizing Gospels, and in particular the Gospel of the Apostles, *i.e.* the same Gospel of which we have been speaking. But we do not possess the passage of this Gospel which relates to the Nativity; we only know that the legend of the cave does appear in the later Gospels of the Nativity; and "as it could not have been formed in the anti-Judaizing party, nor yet in the middle party (whose story is in St. Matthew and St. Luke), therefore it must have been in the Gospel of the Hebrews." But why might not Justin have obtained the addition of the "cave" from an oral expansion of the genuine story? "What puts it beyond doubt that he was using a written Gospel different from ours is that we find a story exactly agreeing with his in a written document which he had read." When we say that we find nothing of the kind, and ask to be shown the passage, we are told that it does not indeed exist, but it must have been there, and it must have "exactly" agreed with Justin because he must have been using a written document! Surely if Justin had half the imagination of M. Nicolas he would have added the cave himself.<sup>1</sup>

I have dwelt at some length on this apocryphal Gospel because, according to M. Nicolas, it was in fact the basis of many others; and if it was later than the canonical Gospel of Matthew, then not only is the statement that all the earliest writings of Palestinian Christians were in Aramaic disproved, but there is no ground for affirming that even one of them was so. That some early narratives existed in Aramaic is not improbable, but there is no trace of them. Most of the Gospels of the Infancy, says M. Nicolas (p. 199), were at first written in Syriac. But whether this was so we need not inquire, for these were certainly later, as were also the rest. And I have

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<sup>1</sup> Another instance of Nicolas' habit of translating conjecture into positive assertion occurs with reference to the "Gospel of Peter." This, he assures us, calls the brethren of Jesus children of Joseph by a former marriage. It is Origen, he says, who informs us of this. Happily in this instance he quotes his authority. What Origen says is, that some say this, deriving it either from the tradition of the Gospel entitled Peter's, or from the Book of James, thus admitting his ignorance of the source.

given more space to M. Nicolas than his arguments deserve, because he furnishes such a striking illustration of the importance of the golden rule, "Verify your references." Here we have a learned writer, on the authority of M. Nicolas, assuming that a certain statement is proved; and on referring to M. Nicolas we find that his quotations are untrustworthy, his judgment uncritical, and his scholarship unsound.

Having thus cleared the ground we can turn the tables completely under this head of argument. The earliest Christian writings, so far as we have any positive knowledge whatever, were written in Greek, even those written by and for Palestinian Jews. Probably the earliest book in the New Testament is the Epistle of James, written in Greek, and showing a considerable mastery of the language. I am aware that it has been conjectured that this was written in Aramaic, but there is no proof of that, and I am dealing only with facts. The first Epistle of Peter is addressed to the Greek-speaking dispersion of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. The Epistle of Jude is also Palestinian. The Epistle to the Hebrews is especially remarkable as being addressed (in all probability) to Palestinian Jews, and beyond question written in Greek, since the author argues from the LXX where it differs from the Hebrew. The writings of John are also Greek.

The Gospel of St. Matthew deserves a little attention, in consequence of the prevalent opinion that it was written originally in Aramaic. I can have no objection to admit this if there is sufficient evidence, since I do not suggest that Greek had wholly superseded Aramaic. If Palestine was bilingual, it is likely enough that one Evangelist at least would write in that language. But when it is said that we have the unanimous "testimony" of antiquity to the Aramaic original of the first Gospel, and that if we accept the "testimony" to the authorship we must accept that to the original language, I protest, and maintain that the word "testimony" is misapplied. The statement of a writer about the contents or language of a book which he himself had read is testimony; the general reception of a book as the work of a certain author by those

amongst whom it first circulated is (apart from mystification and forgery) strong evidence of authorship, since a book would be likely to have the author's name attached—I do not mean necessarily in writing—and would carry this with it as it circulated. Where the circumstances are such that a divergent opinion, if it existed, would be known to us, this also is an important consideration. But a writer's statement as to the contents or authorship of a book which circulates in another country, and which he has never seen, is certainly not testimony; and if many such writers repeat the opinion which one has expressed, the number adds nothing to their weight. Of what value would be the statement of a Londoner as to the author, say, of the translation of the Gospels used by Irish-speaking persons in Connaught? Would anyone call such a statement "testimony," or think that the unanimity of London writers on this point made any difference?

Now it is pretty much the same with those writers who say that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew. They had not seen the Hebrew book. Most of them could not have read it if they had. Origen, who repeats the tradition, and who had taken such pains to compare the LXX with the Hebrew, yet, when he mentions questions about texts in the Gospels, never refers to the supposed Hebrew of Matthew. He mentions the strangeness of *ἐπιούσιος*, which he thinks was invented by the evangelists (plural), viz. Matthew and Luke, but does not mention the Hebrew. So in other instances. Credner, whose conclusion on the matter is "non liquet," throws out the suggestion that the Hebrew Matthew did not exist in Origen's day. This disappearance would certainly not be likely if it had many readers. But then, if Origen had tried to get a copy and failed, he would doubtless have said so. He must have attached little weight to the tradition, and have been satisfied that the Greek Gospel was authoritative. He is certainly not a "witness"; he knew the Gospel of the Hebrews, but did not suppose this to be Matthew's. Where Origen was ignorant or unprovided, no subsequent writer before Jerome was likely to be better off; and, indeed, as a rule these writers were

ignorant of Hebrew. What we want is a writer who had seen the supposed Gospel and could form a critical judgment. Such a writer we have in Jerome. He tells us that the book existed in the library at Caesarea, and that the Nazarenes of Beroa, in Syria, allowed him to make a copy of it. Ultimately he translated it into both Greek and Latin. The book turns out to have been the same as the Gospel of the Hebrews, and as Jerome became better acquainted with it, he expressed himself with more reserve, describing it as the Gospel used by the Nazarenes, "according to the apostles, or, as most persons think, according to Matthew," just the way in which a writer might express himself who had reluctantly abandoned an opinion that was generally received, and which he himself had accepted on the authority of tradition. It is not too much indeed to regard this as a complete surrender of the traditional opinion. So that instead of the unanimous "testimony" of the ancients, what we find is, that the first author who actually read the book found himself obliged to give up the traditional opinion, which, for all that we can see, was nothing but a repetition of what one writer (Papias) had said. And Jerome's identification of the book with the Gospel according to the Hebrews explains the whole thing. This Gospel was evidently founded on St. Matthew's work, with such additions and alterations as we have just had specimens of. Thus it got the name of Matthew; the sectaries who used it naturally claimed it as the original, and those who heard of the claim and had no means of judging simply repeated the assertion. A very parallel case is the claim made by the Venetians to the possession of "the original Latin" of St. Mark's Gospel.

It may be asked, moreover, If Matthew's original Gospel was in Aramaic, or if the Epistle of St. James was originally in Aramaic, what became of these originals? Be it remembered that Syrian Christians existed from the first, and that the Syriac New Testament dates from a very early period. How came they to accept translations instead of the originals, so that among Syrian writers no trace remained of these supposed Syriac books? However, I repeat that my present argument



by no means requires me to deny the existence of a Syriac Gospel or Epistle.

That our canonical Matthew's Gospel is not a translation is not only pretty evident from its language generally, but is put beyond question by the striking difference in the treatment of quotations from the Old Testament, occurring as part of the history, and in the comments of the evangelist respectively, which was pointed out by Credner. The former, which, except in one instance in the history of the Temptation, are all by the Lord himself, with few exceptions agree with the text of the LXX, either exactly or with slight variation. These variations can hardly be accounted for by the use of the Hebrew text. Matth. xxii. 37, for example, has *καρδία* with the Hebrew where the LXX have *διανοία*, but then it has *διανοία* in the third place where the LXX, agreeing with the Hebrew, has *δύναμις*.<sup>1</sup>

The cases that look most like approximation to the Hebrew are Matth. xxvi. 31, "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered;" where the common text of the LXX has *ἐκσπάσατε*, but several MSS. have *διασκορπισθήσονται*, which may have been an early correction of the LXX. In Matth. xi. 10, from Mal. iii. 1 (where the LXX has *ἐπιβλέψεται ὁδὸν πρὸ προσώπου μου*), the evangelist has *κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου*. *Κατασκευάσει* is an improvement on *ἐπιβλέψεται*, but *τὴν ὁδὸν σου* and *ἔμπροσθέν σου* do not agree with the Hebrew. The variation resembles that in Matth. xxii. 43, 44, which agrees exactly with the LXX, except in having *ὑποκάτω* for *ὑποπόδιον*. But the latter is the exact rendering of the Hebrew. Perhaps the most striking instance of agreement with the Hebrew against the LXX is not in a quotation, but an adaptation, "Ye shall find rest to your souls." The LXX has *ἀγνισμόν*.

With the quotations of the Evangelist himself it is entirely different. These never agree exactly with the LXX, and their

<sup>1</sup> In the parallels (Mark xii. 29, 30, Luke x. 27) Mark and Luke agree with the Hebrew, but with the addition of *διανοία*; they have, however, the LXX preposition *ἐξ* (Westcott and Hort give *ἐξ* once only in Luke).



variations sometimes are clear approximations to the Hebrew. See, for example, the quotation from Is. liii. 4, in ch. viii. 17 : αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν, where the LXX has οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὁδυνᾷται. Compare also the quotation from Is. xlii. 1-4, in ch. xii. 17-21, where in the whole of the first three verses the evangelist, while, with one exception, closely following the Hebrew, has scarcely a word the same as the LXX. The one exception is εἰς νῆκος, where the LXX, agreeing with the Hebrew, has εἰς ἀληθείαν. In the last verse indeed he agrees with the LXX against the Hebrew in having τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, where the Hebrew has "his law."

Such a distinction as this cannot be due to a translator.

Accordingly, it is, I think, admitted by the best critics that the canonical Gospel is not a translation. With reference to the whole question of early Christian writings I quote Renan's statement, which, it will be observed, is precisely the contrary of Dr. Neubauer's: "It is certain that all the primitive monuments of Christianity which remain to us, even the Gospel of St. Matthew, notwithstanding the opinion formerly generally accepted, were written in Greek. Were not these various compositions preceded by a protevangelium written in Syro-Chaldaic? This is a point which it is very hard to decide" (*Histoire*, p. 224).

I have already alluded to the argument from personal names adduced by Pfannkuche and others. I proceed to show that an argument of an entirely different kind may be founded on the names of Palestinian Jews occurring in the New Testament. These names may be divided into four classes. First, there are purely Hebrew names, such as Gamaliel, Joseph, Mariam, Chuza, Nathanael; secondly, Hebrew names, with a Greek termination only, as Ἰάκωβος, Σαῦλος, Ζεβεδαῖος; thirdly, names originally Hebrew but Hellenized, *i.e.* with a modification due to frequent use by speakers of Greek, such as Ἰωάννης (three), Ἰωσῆς (two), Ἀννας; and fourthly, names purely Greek (or Latin). Of these are Nicodemus, Philippus (two besides Herod's brother), Stephanus, with his

six fellow-deacons, Andreas, Cleopas, Clopas (not = Alphaeus),<sup>1</sup> Alexander, Magdalene, Marcus, Rhoda, Silvanus, Simon, Maria. The last two approximate to the previous class.

Now as to the first class, the Hebrew names clearly prove nothing. Hebrews have always been conservative in the matter of names, and averse to giving those which have not been in their family already (compare Luke i. 61). Accordingly Jews to the present day retain such names as these. All the more weight is to be attached to the exceptions. It is not credible that Jewish parents would call their sons Philippus, Andreas, or Stephanus, unless they spoke some Greek themselves, and wished their sons to be Greek-speaking. It does not follow that the persons so named in the New Testament were necessarily the first in their families to bear these names; but the farther these go back the longer the time gained for the spread of the language. The names Simon and Maria were clearly adopted on account of their similarity in sound to the names Mariam and Simeon respectively. There is a similar phenomenon in Ireland where, for example, the Irish name Eoghain has been turned into Eugenius and Eugene. In the case of Simon and Maria it is to be noted that these names exist in the New Testament side by side with Simeon and Mariam. Thus while the Virgin<sup>2</sup> and the sister of Lazarus are called Mariam, Mary of Clopas is called Maria. This shows that the change is not due to a Greek translator, but that the two names were simultaneously used, some persons bearing the Greek form of the name, and some the Hebrew. Similarly, Simon Peter is always called Simon, except by St. James at the Council in Jerusalem (Acts xv. 14); while the devout man of Luke ii. 25 is Simeon, as is also the prophet in Antioch (Συμεών). Some persons, again, besides a Hebrew, had a Greek or Latin name, as Petrus, Didymus, Simeon Niger, John Mark, Joseph Justus. As to such names as Ἰωάννης for Johanan, these are names which have become modified through use

<sup>1</sup> See p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Except twice in a few of the best MSS. (Westcott and Hort). Mary Magdalene varies.

by Greek-speaking people. Indeed as to this particular name John, we know that it had been so modified in Palestine long before the Gospels were written. It may indeed be suggested that these forms, otherwise familiar, were substituted for their Hebrew equivalents by the historians; but this would be pure conjecture; and what concerns us is the fact that they were in familiar use. It deserves to be remarked further that the father of Andreas and Simon was sometimes called John.<sup>1</sup> Ἰσκαριώτης is a Graecised name which must have been formed by persons ignorant of the meaning of the first syllable.

Dr. Neubauer alludes (p. 66) to the Graecised names mentioned by Josephus (he might have added, and in 1 Maccabees), such as Alkimos, Jason, Antigonos, which, he says, "do not indicate more than that some of the Jews affected Greek manners and customs; they prove nothing as to the bulk of the nation." But he has not observed that the same phenomenon is found as above mentioned among the fishermen of Galilee. Two purely Greek names, and three Graecised (not counting terminations), amongst the twelve Apostles, is no small proportion; and we may add the double names, Petrus and Didymus. As to those which are only modified by having a Greek termination, it may be thought a very simple explanation to say that this termination is due to the Greek writer. This hypothesis, however, is open to the objection that it is only some names, and indeed only names of certain persons, that are thus treated. Why, for instance, have we four Jacobs called Jacobus, while the patriarch and the father of Joseph are still Jacob? Why, again, are this Joseph and Joseph of Arimathaea never called Josephus?

Now let us return to the history itself, and see whether what we find there bears out or contradicts our inferences. We have already found Peter on the day of Pentecost addressing the multitude in Greek; we also find him addressing Cornelius and his friends, who were not Jews at all, in Greek;

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<sup>1</sup> So called in the fourth Gospel, but Jonah in the first.

so that we have from him two speeches and a letter in Greek (I say nothing of the doubtful second Epistle).

James's knowledge of Greek and even his use of the Septuagint shown in his Epistle are confirmed by the report of his speech in the Council at Jerusalem, where he founds an argument on the Greek version of Amos, where it differs from the Hebrew. The reading of the LXX is likely enough to be correct, but there is good reason to believe that our Hebrew text is substantially the same that was in use in James's day.

Stephen's speech before the Council was in Greek, for he uses the Septuagint. It may be said that he was a Hellenistic Jew; but it is to be observed that he was understood apparently by a considerable audience.

We find Zacharias in his song apparently borrowing from the LXX not the Hebrew, where he says, "Whereby the dayspring from on high hath visited us," using the word ἀνατολή, which is the word used by the LXX in Jer. xxiii. 5, and Zech. iii. 8 (9 LXX) and vi. 12 for "Branch."<sup>1</sup> But he uses it in the sense "sunrising," for he adds, "to give light," &c. Whether this is a play on the word ἀνατολή or not it could obviously have been suggested only by the Greek.<sup>2</sup> In the same section of St. Luke's Gospel we find a reminiscence of the Septuagint (ch. i. 15) in the words of the angel to Zacharias.

Ἐπιούσιος has already been mentioned as a word very unlikely to have been invented by the Greek evangelists, who are not given to inventing words; indeed, if the original had been a word so simple as קָדֵם, we may assume it is certain that no translator would render it by ἐπιούσιος.

Of the use of Greek by Jesus himself the narrative in John xxi. supplies evidence. Whatever the difference between φιλεῖν and ἀγαπᾶν, it is manifest that a difference is intended.

<sup>1</sup> Ἴδὸν ἐγὼ ἄγω τὸν δοῦλόν μου Ἀνατολήν (iii. 9); Ἴδὸν ἀνὴρ, Ἀνατολή ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (vi. 12).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Edersheim feels obliged to give ἀνατολή the meaning "branch" here, but, of course, without thinking of any such inference as that in the text.

and commentators have often pointed out how the marked contrast between the word at first used by the Lord and that used by Peter, as well as the final adoption of the latter by Jesus, are lost in our version. But they are equally lost in the Syriac Peshitto version and in Delitzsch's Hebrew.<sup>1</sup> It is true the Philoxenian attempts to reproduce the difference; but this was, doubtless, after attention had been drawn to it.

In the same narrative there is a distinction between the two words for "feed"<sup>2</sup> lost in the Authorized Version, but imitated in the Revised ("feed," "tend"). Delitzsch imitates it in his Hebrew N. T., but his attempt is, I think, unsuccessful: certainly the word he uses<sup>3</sup> does not mean ποιμαίνειν, "tend," it means to lead a flock (our "drive"). He must have felt this himself, since in other passages such as Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet v. 2, he renders this verb by the word he uses here for βόσκειν. The Syriac Peshitto and Philoxenian both fail to make any distinction. We may fairly conclude that the distinction was not an Aramaic one, nor can we suppose that this any more than the former was introduced by the translators, for it is necessary to the climax. Another less significant distinction is that between οἶδας, first used by Peter, and γινώσκεις, which is the word in his last reply, and to which Dr. Edersheim draws attention as meaning "perceivest." Whether he thought that on this particular occasion Jesus spoke Greek I do not know, but Aramaic does not admit the distinction. If the question is asked then: What language did Jesus use in this familiar conversation with his Apostles, the answer must be—"Unquestionably Greek."

In Matt. xix. 5, there is certainly *prima facie* appearance of the use of the LXX, "they twain shall be one flesh; so then they are no more twain but one flesh." Here the words in the latter clause, "they are no more twain," seem to imply that the word "twain," οἱ δύο, had occurred in the previous quotation

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch thought that our Lord and his Apostles thought and spoke for the most part in Hebrew.

<sup>2</sup> Βόσκε and Ποίμαινε.

<sup>3</sup> נהג.



as it does in the Greek text. But there is nothing corresponding to it in the Hebrew.

There is another occasion in which ἰβραϊστὶ occurs, although not in the Textus Receptus, namely, in John xx. 16. Mary, having spoken to Jesus, supposing him to be the gardener, Jesus saith to her, "Mariam." She turned and "saith to him" in Hebrew, "Rabboni." This certainly seems to indicate that the previous words addressed to Jesus, when supposed to be the gardener, were not spoken in Hebrew. This conclusion, I may add, was drawn by Röhr, in his "Description of Palestine" (quoted also in the translation of Pfannkuche, p. 90), who holds it to be highly probable that Jesus understood and spoke Greek as well as Aramaic.

Pfannkuche further appeals to the fact that Paul addressed the Jews of Jerusalem who were excited against him in Hebrew (Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2). The attentive silence with which he was heard, and the favourable impression which his acquaintance with the Aramaic language made, prove, he thinks, "that this language was predominant at Jerusalem, and that no man was considered an orthodox Jew who was unable to express himself with ease and fluency in that language." The first part of his inference is not unreasonable; the latter certainly extracts too much meaning from the quietness of the hearers. But what I wish to notice is, that although the crowd were pleased to hear Paul address them in Hebrew, it is plain that they did not expect him to do so, and yet that they did expect to understand him.<sup>1</sup> This is exactly parallel to what we should

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. Stapfer admits this. Having said that "all that the most cultivated men could do was to read with tolerable ease the Greek exergue (!) of the coins," he adds, "it is possible that this language was more widely diffused than is generally supposed. Paul might have been able in the discourse just referred to express himself in Greek. It seems, according to the text, that this was what he was expected to do, and that if he had done so, a large part of his hearers would have understood him." It would seem that in the former statement Prof. Stapfer was simply repeating received opinion, and in this began to exercise his own judgment (*Palestine in the Time of Christ*, p. 136).

find in a bilingual district of Ireland. The life of Bishop Gregg, already referred to, supplies an illustration of this. On one occasion, when he was present at a meeting in which there was a public discussion between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic champion, we are told that when there was any approach to a disturbance, a few words from him in Irish "acted as oil on the troubled waters." The people were listening to English speeches, but the Irish touched their hearts more nearly. And this is only a typical instance. A man will get a hearing in Irish in such places more easily than in English. The Jerusalem audience then in this case, as well as that of Stephen, understood Greek. But we are concerned chiefly with Galilee, and it was in Galilee and Persia more especially, according to Röhr, that Greek had become generally known and current, vast numbers of Greeks residing amongst the Jews.

Dr. Neubauer quotes from the Talmud a story containing two passages which he thinks may be "original Aramaic words in the New Testament." The story is about a "philosopher," *i. e.* a Christian doctor, who had the reputation of being above receiving bribes, so in order to have a laugh at him Rabban Gamaliel and his sister refer to him a question as to the right of a daughter to inherit with a son. Being bribed by the daughter with a golden candlestick he decides in her favour, saying it is written in the Evangelion, "The son and the daughter shall inherit alike." Next day Gamaliel bribes him with a Libyan ass. He then says that on reading to the end of the book he found it written, "I am not come to take away the Law of Moses, but (or according to another reading, nor) to add to it. And in it is written, 'Where there is a son a daughter shall not inherit'" (which passage Gamaliel had cited to him on the previous day). It must have been an extraordinary ass which was worth more than a golden candlestick. Güdemann understands not "an ass of gold" but a "bushel of gold." A somewhat expensive joke! Why the story if genuine should be supposed to imply a written Aramaic gospel I fail to see. Is it because the story is told in Aramaic? That is surely a very insufficient reason. Is it assumed that

the "philosopher" must have been incapable of reading a Greek Gospel? Or is it because his quotation is not found in our Greek Gospels? The words "I am not come to take away from the Law of Moses," &c., have a resemblance to those in Matt. v. 17. We possess the Law of Moses and know that it contains no such passage as that cited by R. Gamaliel. The writer of the story also had the Law of Moses before him. Is it his absolute unfaithfulness in quoting from a book which he knew that induces Güdemann and Dr. Neubauer to attribute to him exactness in quoting from a book that he had not seen? and must the corrupt judge who misquotes the Law be supposed to be verbally exact when he quotes the Gospel? In order to justify Dr. Neubauer's suggestion both the philosopher and the narrator must have been verbally accurate.

As to the sentence, "The son and daughter shall inherit alike," though short, it is long enough to condemn any story which attributes it to Jesus. It reminds one of the forged begging letters that one sometimes receives, and which the writing and spelling of a single syllable at once proclaim to be forgeries. If the Gospels give anything like a fair picture of Jesus at all, the notion of his pronouncing a decision on a question of Jewish law is inconceivable. Dr. Güdemann indeed compares this saying with the words in St. Luke xii. 13 addressed to the man ( $\tau\iota\varsigma$ ) who asked Jesus to bid his brother divide the inheritance with him, to whom Jesus replied, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you,"<sup>1</sup> following up with a parable against covetousness. It does indeed remind us of it, but by contrast. The two stories are utterly irreconcilable, not because of a mere apparent contradiction, but because the spheres of thought to which the sayings belong are irreconcilable. Supposing the story to be historically true, why might not the unprincipled philosopher have invented the decision? But must we suppose it to have any historical basis at all?

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<sup>1</sup> From what Dr. Neubauer says, I infer that Dr. Güdemann suggests that  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  may have been a woman, though addressed as  $\alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\epsilon$ , so as to make the case more like that in the Talmud.

Hebrew scholars have a singular tendency to set the Talmud and other Hebrew writings above all canons of historical criticism. Here is a story, the object of which is to raise a laugh against the professors of a hostile religion, written, we know not by whom, centuries after the supposed conversation took place, recording that a Christian not named, found in a book not named, a saying of Jesus Christ entirely irreconcilable with his known habits as a teacher; and because it is in the Talmud it must be accurate, and we must on its authority suppose the existence of a book in which the saying was found, and suppose that it was in the language of the story, and seriously discuss whether it is from the Logia or the Gospel of the Hebrews, and whether the Logia ended with this saying, because the philosopher found it on reading to the end of his book! Imagine an anecdote about an Oxford Professor and a Jesuit, in the time of Elizabeth, designed to cast ridicule on the Jesuits, handed down orally in the University, and first written in our day, would any sane scholar assume that the conversation was related with verbal accuracy, and if part of it professed to be a quotation from a known author, but not found in his works, and not even like them in tone, would he go on to suggest that this was from a work now lost, which, moreover, must have been in English because the story was told in English? The supposition is ludicrously absurd. Once it was thought that whatever errors Greek or Latin copyists might make, Jewish copyists of the Scriptures never made a mistake; now it seems to be thought that Jewish story-tellers are infallible, and can transmit a story orally for generations without variation. We know now that these copyists are as fallible as others even when dealing with the sacred text, and I venture to think that the story-tellers are not infallible even when relating jokes against theological opponents.

If the Jews of Palestine knew Greek it is natural that they should use the Septuagint Version to some extent at least, as we find the New Testament writers doing. This we are told they cannot have done, since "it is said in the Talmud that when the Greek translation of the Seventy appeared, there came



darkness upon the earth, and the day was as unfortunate for Israel as that on which the golden calf was made." Now such statements are found in later Hebrew writings;<sup>1</sup> but is it legitimate to argue from these to the feeling of the Palestinians in A. D. 30? The early Christian apologists in their controversy with the Jews appealed to the Septuagint, the only Bible they knew, often where it differed from the Hebrew; and when it was pointed out that the Hebrew text ran otherwise, they naturally enough did not hesitate to charge the Jews with corrupting the latter. The necessary consequence was that the Septuagint was disparaged. Other translations too were made, and by-and-by such stories were invented as that a fast was instituted on account of the profanation involved in the translation of the sacred books.<sup>2</sup>

Is it not highly uncritical to take the opinions of writers of the third or fourth or eighth century as representing the views of the people in the first century? The Babylonian Talmud indeed represents the LXX as actually inspired; and (not to mention Philo, who was an Alexandrian, and treated the LXX as if it were the original text) Josephus, although acquainted with Hebrew, largely, and in the judgment of some scholars predominantly, uses the Greek text. In such a question the evidence of the New Testament itself cannot be ignored, and in it we find writings by and for Palestinians using the LXX; in particular, the writer to the Hebrews appears to be entirely unacquainted with Hebrew, and therefore wholly dependent on the LXX, with the language of which he is thoroughly impregnated.

The author of the First Book of the Maccabees, too, was

<sup>1</sup> *Ex. gr.*, in the tract *Sopherim*, which is a later addition to the Talmudical treatises, dating, perhaps, from the eighth or ninth century.

<sup>2</sup> Some later writers accepting the story of the fast, suggested that the wise men chosen for the purpose of the translation appointed a fast, as Esther did when going to the king, and Philo when going to Cæsar on behalf of his people, and that darkness covered the face of the Jews from fear lest their ambassadors should be confounded by shame, &c. See Hody, *De Textibus Originalibus*, &c., p. 222.



influenced by it, and the Son of Sirach speaks with no disrespect of it. There is not wanting evidence that the Jewish Haggada itself was influenced by the Greek version. A notable instance is the saying that the witch of Endor recognised Saul by seeing Samuel come up on his feet, not on his head, as spirits did to ordinary inquirers. Whence was such a strange notion derived? The answer is, from the LXX, which, mistaking  $\text{קַי}$  for  $\text{קַיִ}$ , rendered  $\delta\rho\theta\iota\omicron\nu$ .

It deserves to be noticed that for the vast majority of the Palestinians the Greek Bible was the only one accessible. The knowledge of the ancient Hebrew was confined to a few scholars, in addition to which the Hebrew books were extremely expensive. Written Targums most probably did not exist; hence if the Apostles and other uneducated Galileans did not use the Greek Bible, they had none at all. That the Greek Bible was used by them is proved by the New Testament; that it was used even by those who could consult the Hebrew is proved by Josephus.

Too much labour has been spent by some writers in trying to account for the deviations of the N. T. writers from the Greek of the LXX or from the Hebrew. It surely cannot be supposed that the writer of a letter or a narrative would have beside him the several volumes constituting a Hebrew Bible, and when he wanted to quote a text would stop to look it up. In the first place there were no concordances, and even with such helps, looking up would then have been no easy matter. The text was not divided into numbered chapters and verses; there were no headings, no breaks or capitals to catch the eye. Nay, the very words were probably often at least run together. The absence of vowels added to the difficulty. We recognise a word imperfectly seen or read, a portion of the letters with their arrangement being sufficient often to suggest the rest; but where the vowels were unwritten and the words not sharply marked off, such speedy recognition was impossible. Add to this, that in fact in consequence of this absence of vowels only persons specially trained could read the Hebrew Bible at all. It is quite possible that it may sometimes have been quoted

from recollection of what had been heard in the Synagogues, and to this extent there may be a foundation for the suggestion that some of the quotations in the Gospels were from a "traditional and unwritten Targum." But this will not account for the coincidences with the Septuagint which do exist. Indeed the difficulties just mentioned would help to encourage the study of the Greek Bible. There was no written translation in the vernacular Aramaic to be had; the original Hebrew was to the vast majority a sealed book, besides being difficult and expensive to procure; the Greek was easily procured, easily read, and its language perfectly intelligible to multitudes. Yet we cannot suppose either the original writers looking up every quotation, or a translator of a (supposed) Aramaic original hunting in his Greek Bible, in order to give the Septuagint rendering of a text. Memory must have played a considerable part. On the other hand, when we find a verbal coincidence with the Septuagint, it is for a similar reason more likely to be due to the original author than to a translator.

Let us see now what indications history gives us. In 2 Maccabees iv. 13, we find the passion for Greek customs in the second century B. C. described.<sup>1</sup> Paulus argued that this must have extended to the language; an inference which, considering the many reasons for preferring Greek, cannot be thought unfounded. De Sacy's reply was, that there was sufficient time afterwards for the Hebrew again to displace Greek before the time of Christ.

Similarly, Dr. Neubauer (p. 66) says that "even if we were to adopt the idea that under the friendly treatment which they received at the hands of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors, the Jews, in order to please their benefactors,

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<sup>1</sup> "Such was the height of Greek fashions and increase of heathenish manners through the exceeding profaneness of Jason, that ungodly wretch and no high priest, that the priests had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but despising the temple and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to be partakers of the unlawful allowance in the place of exercise after the game of Discus called them forth; not setting by the honours of their fathers, but liking the glory of the Grecians best of all."

endeavoured like the other conquered tribes to assimilate themselves to Greeks, the current in this direction would certainly have ceased with their persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes." I do not suppose that it was altogether or chiefly in order to please their benefactors that the Jews learned Greek, but rather because they found an acquaintance with it advantageous to themselves.

Böhl<sup>1</sup> also, to whose judgment Dr. Neubauer more than once appeals, considers that under Antigonus of Sokho a tide of Greek wisdom flowed in, as a result of which the LXX was firmly established in Palestine. This remained after the tide fell, and the popular Bible was in his opinion a translation of it into Aramaic, a view not generally adopted.

Passing on now to the middle of the second century A. D., it seems to be admitted that by that time Greek had practically superseded Aramaic; for we find R. Juda saying, "Of what use is Syriac in the land of Israel? Let us use either the holy language or Greek." If Syriac was in use to any considerable extent, he could not ask such a question. This is strongly confirmed by what we know of Justin Martyr. He was born and brought up near Sichem, early in the second century. According to M. Nicolas, his quotations from the Gospels were derived from Syriac documents circulating in his neighbourhood. Now, we know from his writings that he was wholly ignorant of Hebrew;<sup>2</sup> nor is it easy to suppose that he had any knowledge of Aramaic who thought the difference between Abram and Abraham consisted in the double *a* (Ἀβραάμ). He was absolutely dependent on the Septuagint version. We may take it for granted then that by that time (A. D. 150) Greek had practically superseded Aramaic.

Dr. Neubauer accounts for this in the following way:—"The Galilean Rabbis were no longer able to pronounce

<sup>1</sup> Böhl's work is entitled, "*Forschungen nach einer Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu.*" Wien, 1873.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, he derives "Israel" from "Isra," a man, and "el" God. Had he no friend who knew better?

against the study of Greek, having seen and heard from travellers such as R. Aqiba and R. Meir, how important and how widely spread the Greek language was amongst the Jews in Asia Minor. Moreover, the Greek Jews undoubtedly contributed to the support of the Rabbis and their schools in Palestine, for the Jews here were by no means rich."

These causes seem entirely inadequate. Has any people ever taken to speaking a language because travellers reported that it was important and widely-spread? And surely the Palestinians had not to wait for R. Aqiba and R. Meir to give them this information, when they were frequently meeting crowds of Greek-speaking Jews "from every nation under heaven." The wish not to offend their Greek-speaking supporters might to some extent account for the withdrawal of a ban on Greek studies; but this withdrawal would not account for the spread of the language; still less for such a complete change in about a century. Much more powerful causes had long been at work. Dr. Hamburger writes:—"From the time of the Syrian rule there was in the coast towns, which were recognized as free towns, a predominant Greek population. Matters were in no better condition in Galilee, which was decried as the district of the Gentiles. Josephus reckons the towns Caesarea and Gaza in the west, Gadara and Hippos in the east, as chiefly inhabited by Greeks. Thus the Jews both in and out of Palestine were, as it were, forced by their intercourse with the Greeks to learn the Greek tongue, and to adopt Greek customs and Greek manner of life. In Jerusalem these Greek-speaking Jews from Cyrene, Alexandria, Cilicia, and many other places, had their own synagogues, and this was the case in other important towns of Palestine also." "In Palestine, after the Maccabean victory, there remained of Greek manners nothing but the language, perhaps also the study of its literature. . . . The prohibition of the learning of Greek wisdom concerned only Greek science;<sup>1</sup> the Greek language was not touched by it. Considering the mixed

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<sup>1</sup> חכמה יונית.

population of the many towns of Palestine, such a prohibition including the Greek language was impossible.”<sup>1</sup>

According to the views of Böhl and, I suppose, De Sacy, if not Dr. Neubauer, what we have to believe is not one change of language, but to a certain extent three in about as many centuries; first Aramaic giving way partially to Greek, then Greek to Aramaic, and finally Greek prevailing again. It is more natural to suppose that when once Greek had gained a footing, having so many circumstances in its favour, it would continue to make its way. It must be remembered that during all this time the Jews were not living an isolated life, but one of constant intercourse, friendly or hostile, with Greek-speaking people in their own land.

Dr. Neubauer thinks, indeed, that the Greek spoken by the “small Jewish Greek colony” and others was a “Judeo-Greek jargon.” We know what is meant by a Judeo-Polish or Judeo-German jargon. If by Judeo-Greek jargon anything of this kind is intended, what evidence is there of its existence? None whatever. Dr. Neubauer refers, indeed, to Bernhardy as making the statement. Of course that eminent scholar had no special information on the subject; but in fact he makes no such statement. There is, however, a remark to this effect in Böhl, who refers to Bernhardy, yet not as the author of the remarks, but simply saying, “see Bernhardy.”<sup>2</sup> The only relevant remark I can find in the latter author relates

<sup>1</sup> Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. II., pp. 310, 311.

It is, perhaps, not generally known that the prohibition of Gentile (Greek) literature has continued down to recent times, and in practice to our own day, yet this does not, and cannot, hinder the Jews from adopting the language of the country in which they live. In one respect, indeed, the modern exclusiveness is maintained by a device which did not exist in antiquity. Jews of the lower classes are taught to read and write the vernacular German, for instance, in a peculiar character, and in that only, so that while they are not wholly cut off from the advantages of reading and writing, they are incapable of reading any Christian book.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, in his “*Grundriss der Griechischen Litteratur*,” p. 492 (4th ed., p. 505); his remarks on Palestine are on p. 519 (4th ed., p. 533).



to the provincialisms or other peculiarities of the translators of some of the books of the Old Testament (Job in particular). But however bad the Greek of these may sometimes be, it has no resemblance in character to the Judeo-jargons; in fact the badness of the Greek is usually due to the attempt to render closely an imperfectly understood original. Besides, these translators were Alexandrians, and these are not supposed to have spoken a jargon. In order to learn what sort of Greek a Palestinian would write when not translating, we need not go to an Alexandrian translator; we have specimens in the New Testament, and as we shall see hereafter elsewhere also.

The reference to Bernhardt supplies another instance of the danger of second-hand quotations or references. In the place referred to by Böhl, Bernhardt is not speaking of Palestine at all, but of places in the far interior of the Persian empire. What he says of Palestine is entirely different, namely, that although for a long period since Antiochus Epiphanes, Palestine had been filled with a Greek population (thus differing from the places of which he had previously spoken), yet it was not until the time of Herod that a taste was acquired for Greek and Roman culture, adding that "it is clear from passages in Rabbinical writers cited by Tholuck (*Brief an die Hebräer*, 1850, p. 113 ff.) that Greek was the polite language of conversation, the learned were acquainted with it, and even esteemed it more than Aramaic."

Josephus is an important and often misquoted witness respecting the question of the knowledge of Greek in Palestine in the first century. In two places we find important remarks bearing on the subject. One is in *Antiquities* (xx. 11. 2), where he asserts boldly that no one else, whether Jew or foreigner, could have "so accurately" presented this matter to the Greeks, for, says he, "I was admitted by mine own countrymen to surpass them very much in the learning of our country, and I have exerted myself to become acquainted with Greek literature, and have acquired grammatical skill, but my native habit prevented me from acquiring accuracy in pronunciation (περὶ τὴν προφορὰν). For amongst us those persons are not

esteemed who have learned the languages of many nations,<sup>1</sup> because it is thought that this accomplishment is shared not only by the common people amongst the freemen, but also by any slaves who desire it. Those only are considered learned who are well acquainted with the laws, and are able to explain the meaning of the sacred writings." This exactly accords with our own views. We do not call a man a scholar or esteem him because he has a colloquial knowledge of two or more languages like a courier, or a man in Donegal or Kerry who can speak Irish and English. But the point of the above passage lies in this, that Josephus says this accomplishment is—not "confined to," but—"shared by," common people and slaves. Pfannkuche mistranslates the passage, and then interprets it as meaning that the knowledge of Greek was confined to "the refuse of freemen and slaves," and that this "ignorance of the Greek language" was the chief reason why none of them could write "such a work as his Jewish Archaeologia in the Greek language." This is another misapprehension. What Josephus says is that they could not write it οὕτως ἀκριβῶς, *i.e.* they could not write as good Greek as he. Dr. Pfannkuche rather coolly drops the essential qualification.<sup>2</sup> He further adds that Josephus mentions his having learned "this foreign tongue" as "an extraordinary and unusual circumstance." The reader will see at once that he does nothing of the kind. On the contrary the passage distinctly implies that a knowledge of Greek, though not a thorough knowledge, was common to rich and poor. The other passage is in the preface to his "Jewish Wars," where he states that he had at first written the work in his native tongue for the upper barbarians (οἱ ἄνω βάρβαροι), and afterwards resolved to turn it into Greek for those who lived in the Roman Empire (τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν). Pfannkuche interprets this to mean "not for Jews but for

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<sup>1</sup> Some MSS. add, "and who adorn their discourse with smoothness of phrase."

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Stapfer takes the passage to mean that those Jews who had come to know Greek in spite of themselves would pride themselves on speaking it badly.

Greeks, and for that vast multitude of Romans who were acquainted with the Greek language." But surely Josephus did not mean to exclude the Palestinians altogether; and as they certainly are not included among the "upper barbarians," they must be included in the second class, "those under the Roman dominion." The expression οἱ ἄνω βάρβαροι in this connexion deserves notice. If βάρβαροι is used in its ordinary sense of those who did not speak Greek, the very expression implies that οἱ κάτω did speak Greek.<sup>1</sup>

"But," says Dr. Neubauer, "no apocryphal book, as far as our knowledge goes, was composed in Greek by a Palestinian Jew." The argument is doubly weak. There were such books; but even if there were not, the fact would be of little weight. For the apocryphal books are for the most part much older than the time about which we are inquiring; secondly, substitute Aramaic for Greek and the proposition is equally true, yet this is not supposed to prove that Aramaic was not the language of Galilee. But the statement is not correct, if it is meant to be more than an expression of Dr. Neubauer's private opinion. The Book of Tobit, according to Fritzsche and others, was probably written in Greek either shortly before or shortly after the Maccabean struggle. The Chaldee text, mentioned by Jerome, was, according to these scholars, obviously a later production. The Second Book of the Maccabees, which was certainly composed in Greek, is regarded as Palestinian by Geiger, Ginsburg, &c. With still more certainty we may say that the original portion of the First Book of Esdras was written in Greek by a Palestinian, and of the remainder (which is merely taken from the canonical books) the translator was probably a Palestinian. The additions to the Book of Esther (which were composed in Greek) are assigned to an Alexandrian origin solely on the ground of the author's familiarity with the language. As Graetz says, neither the date nor the country of origin of these

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Neubauer inadvertently states that Josephus wrote his history in Hebrew for the benefit of the Jewish nation, referring for this to the Proëmium to the Antiquities, a work which was written in Greek for Gentiles.

pieces can be definitely fixed. The Prayer of Manasses is also uncertain. Eichhorn supposed Judith to have been composed in Greek. Graetz regards the question as undecided. I here follow in general the judgment of Fritzsche, who cannot be said to be prejudiced in favour of the view I advocate. I do not question Dr. Neubauer's right to hold a different opinion even as to 1 Esdras; but his statement above quoted was not put forward as an opinion but as an acknowledged fact. What then remains on the side of Hebrew Apocrypha? The First Book of the Maccabees, the Book of Judith (probably), part (only) of the Book of Baruch, the borrowed part of 1 Esdras, and the Book of Ecclesiasticus. Yet, again, it may fairly be said that if the writers of these books preferred Hebrew their readers preferred Greek, for the Hebrew originals soon disappeared almost entirely. Even in the time of Origen, according to his Jewish informants, the Hebrew of Judith did not exist. The Hebrew of 1 Maccabees was unknown even to Josephus, who uses the Greek largely, even taking from it the name *Ἀφαίρεμα* without noticing that this was the well-known town Ephraim. The translation of Ecclesiasticus was executed by the author's grandson, himself a Palestinian Jew. The original of this book seems to have existed in Jerome's time; it is, however, far from being certain that the Talmudists used a written Hebrew copy; perhaps even the name Ber-Sira, *סִירָא*, by which the author is known in the Talmud is against this, for if this had been the correct form it is not easy to see how the author's grandson could have written *Σειραχ*; whereas nothing would be easier than for *Σειραχ* to pass into Sira.

The translator of the canonical Esther, as well as the translator of the Hebrew part of 1 Esdras, "possibly" were Palestinians. Translations are for our present purpose as important as original works, especially as their date is nearer to the period now in question.

The argument then that Dr. Neubauer founds on the supposed absence of Palestinian Greek Apocrypha is not only precarious at the best, but really admits of being retorted. We have such Palestinian Greek Apocrypha, certainly one, most



probably two, if not three, possibly more, besides Greek translations by Palestinians.<sup>1</sup> We cannot say as much of Aramaic.

In the present question there is no reason why we should limit ourselves to works which have been numbered among the Apocrypha. Other works written by Palestinians in Greek will serve equally well to prove the prevalence of the language. Were there any such books? The reply is, Yes. For instance, that of Theodotus, a poet who wrote while the temple on Gerizim was standing, and with purpose to exalt that temple and the Samaritans. He wrote therefore before 112 B.C., when that temple was finally destroyed. Eupolemus (the second of that name) was also a Samaritan.

Philo the elder wrote a poetical work in opposition to that of Theodotus, and was doubtless a Palestinian:

Ezekielus, a tragic poet, who wrote before 60 B.C., was not improbably a Palestinian.

Taking roughly the period from B.C. 170, and ending A.D. 160 or 150, we find at the beginning Greek was making its way; we find at the end that it had superseded Aramaic, and in the middle of the period we find Galileans speaking and writing Greek, and speeches in Greek made to the authorities in Jerusalem. The inevitable inference is that the language was steadily making its way all the time, the middle period being one in which both languages were used, more or less.

Against all these facts is set an assumption which denies the possibility of phenomena that are daily witnessed in bilingual countries.

Pfannkuche and his translator (followed by Dr. Neubauer) have endeavoured to show by induction the impossibility of Greek having entirely displaced Aramaic. Their induction is one-sided. They mention the survival of British in Wales, but

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<sup>1</sup> The disappearance of the Hebrew originals has been sometimes accounted for by the prohibition of the reading of "outside books" (so Geiger, p. 201). But the Palestinian tradition only distinguished the apocryphal from the sacred books by saying that the former "do not defile the hands." It is not generally agreed that the "outside books," the reading of which was by some authorities condemned, were the apocrypha.



not its entire extinction in Cornwall and Cumberland, or the extinction of Irish over nearly the whole of Ireland; the retention of the old Iberian (?) by the Basques, but not its disappearance from the rest of the Peninsula. In the neighbourhood of Trebizond, while in some of the coast towns the Greeks, though giving up their religion, have retained their language; yet in places in the interior, retaining their religion, they have adopted the Turkish language even in their churches and homes. The case of Egypt is important because the dates are known. In Lower Egypt most of the inhabitants had ceased to speak or understand Coptic before the tenth century A.D., *i.e.* about two centuries after the Conquest by the Arabs. In Upper Egypt Coptic (and Greek) continued to be used for five centuries longer. Notwithstanding the long disuse of Coptic, the Scriptures are still read in the churches in that language, but explained in Arabic. Coptic is also used in prayers both in churches and in private by those Copts who have been instructed at school (see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, *Supplement I*).

A still more pertinent instance is the actual predominance of Greek over Aramaic in Palestine only a century later than the period in question.

The cause that chiefly contributes to the maintenance of a language in what might seem unfavourable circumstances is isolation, due either to the nature of the country or other causes. Thus the parts of Ireland where the Celtic tongue partially survives are such as the remote and mountainous parts of Donegal, which have hardly any intercourse with the civilized world. Such occasional intercourse as is necessary at distant fairs, &c., is carried on by those who have some knowledge of English, but who at other times speak Irish. Strangers never come to reside in these regions.

Now there has perhaps never been a people less isolated than the Palestinians for a couple of centuries before the time of which we speak. In Galilee especially the population was thoroughly mixed. And Greeks, for many obvious reasons, would be extremely unlikely to take up Aramaic. On the other

hand, Aramaic was not the sacred—not the ancient language of the Jews; and what is important, had no literature, no songs, no tales, none in fact of the features which tend to give a people a strong attachment to their language. Dr. Neubauer mentions the Syrian Christians as a people who, “though likewise under the dominion of Rome, never gave up their own language, which is spoken to the present day,” for which he refers to Renan, *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 268. As already stated, I do not attach much weight to arguments of this kind, but that is not a reason for letting the statement pass without examination. The people to whom Renan refers<sup>1</sup> dwell near Lakes Van and Urumiah, who speak a Syriac *patois*, which some American missionaries have reformed on the model of Ancient Syriac (Renan, p. 261). The district was indeed for some time included in the Roman Empire, of which it formed almost the extreme border. Certainly, if we wish for the type of a people in circumstances favourable to a change of language it is not to the mountains of Armenia that we should look.

What opinion is to be formed of the persistence of the Syriac tongue generally may be gathered from what Renan states in other passages. In A.D. 853, he tells us, the Caliph Motawakkel issued an edict commanding Jews and Christians to teach their children Hebrew and Syriac, and forbidding them to employ Arabic. This edict, adds M. Renan, doubtless not carried out, at least proves the eagerness with which the Syrians studied the language of their conquerors. In the 13th century the different Christian communities of Syria spoke Arabic (p. 259). Barhebraeus (13th century) seems sometimes to imply that in his time Syriac was spoken; but Renan thinks the passages in question only imply the use of it by learned men, either in their writings (as Barhebraeus himself) or in their mutual intercourse (p. 260). After him Arabic even seized on sacred things, and Syriac became hardly more than

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<sup>1</sup> 2nd ed., p. 270. The only allusion on p. 268 is to a statement of an ancient Arabic writer. Perhaps Dr. Neubauer's reference is to the first edition.

an ecclesiastical idiom (p. 259). Renan even questions the reports of travellers that Syriac is still the vulgar tongue in some villages of Anti-Lebanon, and that in particular in the village of Ma'lula, twelve leagues from Damascus, Syriac is still spoken. Burekhardt, he remarks, in spite of the attention he paid to the question, could discover nothing of the kind; he only found some monasteries in which Syriac was spoken with ease, just as Latin was in the mediæval convents. Later travellers have established the truth of the report (see the references in Wright, *Lectures on Comparative Grammar*, &c., p. 19). This Neo-Syriac is limited to the village just named and two adjoining. Some of the inhabitants are Mohammedans; others Christians of the Greek Churches, not of the Syrian.<sup>1</sup> Their liturgies are in Arabic, and the dialect is spoken with most purity by the women, the children speaking nothing else.<sup>2</sup> But the adults seem to be bilingual, for it was by the help of Arabic that their vocabulary was ascertained. With the exception of these three villages, Syriac is as a vernacular extinct. These facts, however, are sufficient to show how little foundation there is for Dr. Neubauer's comprehensive statement, and how little support it gets from M. Renan.

A few of Pfannkuche's and Dr. Neubauer's auxiliary arguments. I have not noticed, for example, that founded on the statement in the Talmud as to the bad pronunciation of Hebrew in Galilee. I cannot think that the fact that the Galileans—at a period not specified—confounded certain Hebrew letters in their pronunciation contributes at all to the decision of the question, whether Aramaic ceased to be the sole popular language before the middle of the first century or only a century later.

It may be of interest to recur to our illustrations from Ireland, and to note the rate at which Irish has been giving way to English during a generation. I have already referred to the proportion of the Irish-speaking to the whole population. In considering the decay of the Irish tongue, it seems fairest to

<sup>1</sup> Ferrette, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xx. (1863), p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, vol. xxiv. (1870), p. 230.

take the percentage of those who spoke only Irish to the total number who spoke Irish, since it is this latter class only that is affected by the change. This percentage fell in Clare in thirty years from 20 to 4; in Cork West Riding, from 24·4 to 5·3; and in Waterford, from 25 to 6; in Mayo, from 28 to 6; and in Sligo, from 21 to 1½. It is interesting also to note that in the whole country, of those who spoke Irish only, 47 per cent. were over 50 years of age, and of those who spoke both tongues 36, whereas the proportion of persons over 50 in the whole population was only 18.

To sum up. The positive evidence of facts seems to be entirely in favour of the view that Greek was very generally spoken. The apostles were as to education average specimens of the Galileans who formed our Lord's audiences. It is certain that they were able to speak Greek fluently, and some of them at least were able to write Greek. This is more than we can affirm of their knowledge of any other tongue; nor is it in itself likely that they would have equal command over two languages.

It is also certain that the earliest known writings of Palestinian Christians were in Greek, and a writing expressly addressed to such persons was written in Greek, and assumed their use of the Greek Bible. Any antecedent improbability in this state of things is removed by the fact that generations before we find Palestinians writing books in Greek for native readers, and translating Hebrew books into Greek. This, again, is more than we are able to affirm of Aramaic. We find further in the following century the Aramaic-speaking Christians wholly dependent on the Greek documents, even the Aramaic document which by one sect was esteemed authoritative, being founded on the Greek.

In the immediate family of Jesus himself we find two of his "brethren" writing letters in Greek, and one of them to all appearance making a speech in Greek, and using the Greek Bible. Two at least of the brethren bore thoroughly Hellenized names.

Against all these facts and many others pointing to the

same conclusion is opposed the circumstance that Jesus on two occasions addressed individuals in Aramaic, to the extent of three words altogether, and that he was familiar (let it be admitted) with the Aramaic Psalter; and we are bidden to infer that because he knew some Aramaic, therefore he cannot have known any Greek. With incomparably more justice might it be inferred that the apostles who delivered speeches to the multitude in Greek knew no Aramaic. It is even calmly assumed that a Greek-speaking Jew could not have used such words as *πάσχα* or *σατανᾶς*, although it is demonstrable that every Greek-speaking Jew of necessity did so. It would be tedious to repeat all the other gratuitous and false assumptions. As far as I can see, the admitted facts are quite reconcilable with the supposition that Aramaic was but little used, and by a minority; and are not reconcilable with the supposition that Greek was not generally familiar.



## VI.

### ON HISTORICAL EVIDENCE AND THE MIRACLE OF THE HOLY THORN.

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WRITERS on "historical evidence" have recently confronted the advocates of Christianity with the miracle of the Holy Thorn, as an instance of a miraculous story, supported by the strongest evidence, and yet rejected as incredible by every Protestant at least. And they have accordingly challenged those who disbelieve this story to be consistent, and to reject the Christian miracles for the same reasons. Writers, indeed, of various schools of thought have spoken in the strongest possible terms of the evidence for this miracle. "There is no evidence for any fact in history," says Sir James Stephen,<sup>1</sup> "better or more complete." "The greatest genius, the most profound scholar, and the most eminent advocate of that age, all possessing the most ample means of knowledge, all carefully investigated, all admitted, and all defended with their pens, the miracle of the Holy Thorn. Europe at that time produced no three men more profoundly conversant with the laws of the material world, with the laws of the human mind, and with the municipal law, than Pascal, Arnauld, and Le Maître; and they were all sincere and earnest believers."<sup>2</sup> He adds that

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<sup>1</sup> As quoted in *Fraser's Magazine*, October, 1871.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen, *Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography*, p. 308 (ed. 4).

the assent of such men to the story is a "standing wonder," and that volumes might be well employed in answering the question, why our Protestant incredulity rejects it in spite of such mighty names. Certainly a few pages may be well employed in solving what to every writer who has treated of it has appeared to be a difficult problem in historical evidence. The most recent version of the story is thus given in *Fraser's Magazine* for October, 1871 :—

"A little girl, niece of the great Pascal, residing in the convent [of Port Royal], was suffering from a malignant cancer in the eye, as testified by several physicians. She was about to undergo an operation of the most serious description, when she was cured, suddenly and completely, by the touch of this most holy relic, taken from the veritable crown of thorns, applied at the moment of her receiving the communion."

That "no means were employed, mediate or immediate, except the touch of the relic, accompanied by the prayers of the community," was, we are told, solemnly attested by "the abbess of the convent, the Mère Angélique, one of the purest and most high-minded women who ever lived." Sir J. Stephen supplies some further particulars :—

"On the following day the surgeon appeared with his instruments. The afflicted father was present, exhortations to patience were delivered, every preparation was complete, when the astonished operator for the first time perceived that every symptom of the disease had disappeared."

The date of the story, it may be remarked, is 1656. Now it will be observed that the following circumstances are of essential importance in this narrative :—First, the serious, if not incurable, nature of the disease ; secondly, the short interval between the determination of the physicians to operate and their discovery that the patient was cured ; and thirdly, the allegation that no other means were used. This then is the story which is said to be attested by Pascal, Nicole, Arnauld, &c., and the evidence for which is characterized by Sir J. Stephen in the words cited at the commencement of this article.<sup>1</sup> And M.

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<sup>1</sup> We take these words as quoted by the writer in *Fraser*, who adopts them. But we have not found their exact expression in Sir J. Stephen's essay.

A. Schimmelpenninek observes that, "incredible as the story may seem, it may appear to other persons equally incredible that Pascal, Tillemont, &c., should either wilfully publish an imposture, or be deluded in a matter of fact." The writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, who agrees with Sir J. Stephen in his estimate, and who adduces the miracle as comparing favourably with those of Christianity, blames him for not drawing the "legitimate inference." What then, it may be asked, is the legitimate inference? A logician would answer, If the evidence is really equal to that of any event in history, there are but two alternatives—either to believe it, or to admit that no fact in history is conclusively proved. The argument may be stated in a simple syllogism. No evidence is conclusive which is not better than what may be produced for an admittedly false allegation. The best evidence for any historical fact is not better, &c. The major being a fundamental principle of evidence, we must either deny the minor or admit the conclusion. Sir James Stephen, without actually accepting the conclusion, betrays a consciousness of his uncomfortable position on the horns of this dilemma when he states that the part taken by Pascal, &c., is a "standing wonder," that is in plain words, an exception to the ordinary rules by which we judge of evidence.

His critic is wholly unconscious of the dilemma. According to him the true conclusion is that no miraculous story is worthy of belief. And no doubt this would be the inference drawn by many readers, simply because they are disposed to admit this on other grounds, and are not logical enough to see, that if the premises do not justify a universal conclusion, they do not justify any. The argument does not tell a whit more against miraculous stories than against any other narratives whatever. It is true that in the first instance it is only because this particular story is miraculous that we disbelieve the very strong evidence for it. But when once we have learned that evidence such as this is untrustworthy, our inference from its untrustworthiness does not depend on the way in which it was proved. If a single witness, previously supposed to be truthful, is

convicted of telling a monstrous or impossible story, we cease to trust him ; we do not continue to accept him as an unimpeachable witness in cases where we have no obvious proof of his mendacity. This, however, is not the only nor the greatest fallacy in this writer's argument ; it includes also a most palpable logical circle. On what grounds in fact does he assume that the story is false ? There is not a particle of evidence against it, direct or indirect. It is disbelieved solely because it is miraculous, in virtue of the assumption that no miraculous story is credible ; and this disbelief is then appealed to in proof of the very proposition on which it rests. In Sir J. Stephen's case, the inference which he is censured for not drawing would have involved a still grosser circle. For Sir James Stephen's disbelief was founded on a less general proposition ; he only assumed that no miracle is credible which is alleged to have occurred under such-and-such ordinary circumstances. He did not consider the Christian miracles incredible. But we repeat that, admitting his estimate of the evidence, there is no alternative but either to believe the story or to surrender all historical certainty. Before we accept this alternative, it is worth while to consider whether that estimate of the evidence is not wholly mistaken. A reference to the original documents will, we think, satisfy the reader, not only that the weight of evidence is exaggerated, but that the original story is in some important respects different from that given by Sir J. Stephen and his critic. It will be obvious that this is not a matter of mere curiosity, but has very important bearings. The original documents (the principal of which is a letter from Mdlle. Pascal, aunt to the child) are to be found in "Récueil de Pièces pour Servir à l'Histoire de Port Royal," and in Father Clémencet's "Histoire Générale." The reader will bear in mind that the subject of the alleged miracle was a child of about eleven years. Her name was Perrier.

In the first place, then, the disorder was not "malignant cancer," but *fistula lachrymalis* of the kind called by the physicians of the day *agilops*, a disease not ordinarily incurable where the health is otherwise good. In this case, however,

it had lasted for three years, and had resisted the ordinary remedies. There was a swelling at the corner of the eye as large as a small nut, from which matter exuded on pressure. Matter also passed into the nose and mouth, and the bone of the nose was believed to be carious. It is important to note that when the swelling had been well pressed, it disappeared, and did not begin to return for about a quarter of an hour. In two or three hours it was as before. It may be inferred from this that an unprofessional person would not be able to form a correct judgment of the state of the child from a short or casual inspection. This inference is further borne out by the circumstance which is incidentally mentioned, that a sister, who was combing little Perrier's hair after the "miracle," did not notice that the eye was cured until she was informed of the fact. There is no mention of the "loathsome ulcers," in addition to the fistula, which Sir J. Stephen says "disfigured her face;" and it is clear that they are a mere rhetorical amplification due to some second-hand reporter. It is necessary to remark also that, in consequence of her illness, the child was isolated from the other inmates of the convent, with the exception of the one sister who shared her room.

In the second place, it is not true that she was seen by the surgeon on the day following the application of the Holy Thorn, nor that he had seen her within a few days, or a week, or even a month before. In fact he had not visited her for two months. Nor is it true, that he came prepared to perform the "very serious operation," the day for which had *not* been fixed. It had simply been resolved, months before, that the cautery should be applied "in the spring." The dramatic account above quoted is in fact nothing but a myth. It is taken from M. Fontaine, who wrote from hearsay before the original documents had been published; and it furnishes a good illustration of the growth of myths. It is strange, however, that Sir James Stephen, and other writers in the nineteenth century, should copy M. Fontaine's loose account, or even add to his errors, when the letters of Mdlle. Pascal and of Angélique Arnauld,



inmates of the convent at the time, are easily accessible. Our anonymous writer's citation of "the Abbess, Mère Angélique," as attesting that no means were used except the prayers of the community, is inaccurate in every particular. Mère Angélique was *not* at that time the abbess.<sup>1</sup> We know that the usual remedial measures had been adopted before; and whether they had been discontinued does not appear. The reference to the "prayers of the community" is due to the writer's imagination. Probably he thought the community were sure to pray for a blessing on the touch of the relic applied in what by the story appears to have been a public manner, "at the time of her receiving the holy communion;" and accordingly he has helped the myth forward another stage or two. There were no prayers of the community other than general prayers, for the simple reason that the community knew nothing whatever about it. The only person who knew that the thorn had been applied was Sister Flavie, the mistress of the novices, who suggested the application, and who herself said that she thought no more about it. It was not at the moment of receiving the sacrament that it was applied, but on the occasion of a procession in honour of the relic, which was kissed by each of the nuns and novices in turn; and it was only at the moment that little Perrier's turn arrived that the idea of touching the eye with the thorn occurred to Sister Flavie, who, as we have just said, "thought no more about it." This was at three o'clock P.M., on the 24th March. At bedtime the same Sister Flavie overheard Perrier saying to her chamber-fellow, "The thorn has cured me." She informed the abbess (Mère Marie des Anges Suireau), and the abbess told Mdlle. Pascal next day; but so little was said about it that Father Clémencet says the reserve used was a sort of second miracle; so that a week after there were sisters who had heard nothing of the case. It was exactly a week after (31st March<sup>2</sup>) that M. Dalencé, the physician,

<sup>1</sup> She had been abbess from 1642 to 1654, when she was succeeded by Marie des Anges Suireau, who remained in office till 1657.

<sup>2</sup> Misprinted 11th in some books, which Sir J. Stephen followed.

saw the girl, and finding her cured, asked whether this had happened suddenly ("sur-le-champ"). On being assured that it had, he said he would attest that this was impossible without a miracle. However, he resolved to wait another week in order to be assured that the cure was perfect. On the 14th April the attestation of the miracle is signed by several surgeons, who seem to have visited the girl then for the first time, although they speak of M. Dalencé's visits as if they had all taken part in them. "As this cure," say they, "thus made in an instant . . . must be extraordinary, however one takes it . . . we judge that it surpasses the ordinary forces of nature, and could not take place without a miracle."

From the preceding account it appears unquestionable that the ailment was in fact cured. But it further appears that the attestation of the physicians to its miraculous character was really conditional. The question of miracle or no miracle turned, in their judgment, on the instantaneousness of the cure. Now what witnesses have we of this instantaneousness? Strictly speaking, as far as we can discover, only the child herself. Everyone knows how little reliance can be placed on most persons' testimony as to questions of time and degree; and it is obvious that if a cure took place in any way at this time, the child was just in the disposition to ascribe it to the relic. Indeed, it is related that when ill-attested miracles were spoken of in her hearing, she said that if she were cured by the touch of relics, she would believe that it was truly a miracle. The statement that she "was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse," cannot be connected with any time later than the visit of the physician two months before. If she began to improve after that, it would not be the first time that a patient began to mend just when the doctors had begun to lose hope. If she had been mending, who had an opportunity of noticing it? Sister Flavie, the mistress of the novices, who was in much closer relations with her than the abbess, or perhaps anyone else, except the companion of Perrier's chamber, whose evidence we do not possess. Sister Flavie, then, may be considered as coming nearest to the character of an eyewitness. Now, we

know a good deal about this person.<sup>1</sup> On her first sojourn at Port Royal as a postulant, she had caused so much trouble by her consummate artifice that she had been dismissed as unfit to join the community. She then applied to Gif, and was there admitted to profession. Here she adopted a new line of conduct. Her profession of sanctity was most demonstrative, and she pretended to be favoured with a multitude of miraculous interpositions and divine communications. Few weeks were suffered to elapse without the Sister Flavie being attacked by some malady which was regularly terminated by a miraculous cure; and this cure took place on some day when distinguished visitors were expected. It was said to be almost impossible to enumerate all the miracles of which she professed herself the favoured subject. After some time she again applied for admission to Port Royal, and was successful. At first she was more reserved with her miraculous stories here than she had been at Gif, knowing no doubt from former experience that she had more intelligent persons to deal with. She succeeded in being appointed sub-mistress of the novices, and afterwards superintendent of the girls' school. Hereupon she resumed the line of conduct she had pursued at Gif. Whenever her conduct was impugned she pretended to be taken violently ill, abandoned her duties, and took to bed. But no sooner had the community assembled for the purpose of electing her successor than she was cured again "by a miracle." Whenever it became her duty to do any servile office, her indisposition invariably came on; and as certainly it miraculously disappeared on the application of relics if she was called to any post of honour. Probably these were some of the "miracles" with reference to which little Perrier made the observation quoted above. Further, as Sister Flavie possessed keys of the desks in which the children's letters and journals were kept, she availed herself of the knowledge she was thus enabled to gain,

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<sup>1</sup> See Schimmelpenninck's *Select Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 273. On the possibility of a cure by natural process, see Beard's *Port Royal*, vol. i., p. 314.

to persuade the children that she was able to divine their secret thoughts. This deception was detected and stopped by Mère Angélique, who was abbess at that time. To complete the portrait of Sister Flavie, it must be mentioned that after the time of which we are speaking, having failed in her ambitious scheme of becoming the Superior of Port Royal, she became a traitor to the community, and brought it into its greatest troubles.

Is it possible to describe or to imagine a more untrustworthy witness in any matter tending to bring herself into prominence or to further her schemes, especially in connexion with anything that could be made to look miraculous? It is not too much to say that she was a consummate liar, hypocrite, and self-seeker. The evidence of such a person in such a case is of less than no value; like a negative quantity in algebra it tells the other way. The very fact that she was mixed up with the story at all, would be sufficient to raise doubts respecting it. When we find in addition that the sick child was under her especial care and instruction; that the application of the relic was first suggested by her; that the first report of the cure came from her, most reasonable persons will probably think it unnecessary to inquire further, or to search out the precise point in which the deception began. If it was the duty of Sister Flavie, as it probably was, to see that the physician's orders were carried out, it need hardly be said that they would be attended to or neglected just as it suited her plans. Nay, if one were to suggest that she used means to keep up the disease until it suited her purpose that it should be miraculously cured, we do not see how the conjecture could be called unjust or improbable. The fact that Mère Angélique believed her, that Pascal, Arnauld, and Le Maître accepted the story, does not add anything to the evidence. It is essential to bear in mind that a man's belief is no evidence whatever of the truth of what he believes, except as to matters which have fallen under his own senses; and the number of such believers adds nothing to their value. It may be admitted that few men have existed whose testimony would be of more weight than Pascal's; and

if he and others like him are found to testify to what is incapable of belief, the value of human testimony would be permanently lowered. On the other hand, if there were many instances in which such men gave personal testimony to the fact of a miracle, this would be fatal to the "argument from induction" against miracles. But, however dazzling these great names may be, the first question to be asked is, Are they witnesses? and to this the reply must be an unqualified negative. But then it is said, at least they "had ample means of knowledge, and they carefully investigated the story." Even if this were true, their belief would fall very far short of testimony; it would only have the weight of their judgment that there was sufficient evidence. But the statement is devoid of evidence, and is against all probability. The fact is, they simply accepted on what appeared *prima facie* to be credible testimony a narrative which to them presented no particular improbability. The "ample means of knowledge" amounted simply to this, that they had it in their power to ascertain that the whole rested on the assertion of the child herself. But there was not the slightest inducement to be critical or hesitating in accepting the story as it was related. It fell in completely with their prepossessions, and their belief in it led to no practical result whatever. It may be regarded as proving that the story was told with the appearance of truth, but it proves nothing more.

We are told, however, further that this narrative is unique amongst modern miraculous stories in this respect, that it grew up under the eyes of the Jesuits, the most bitter enemies of Port Royal. This might be of some weight if it could be alleged that a single Jesuit was convinced of its truth, or induced thereby to give up his hostility to Port Royal. The threatened persecution was indeed suspended by order of the Queen, who had sent her own physician, M. Félix, to examine the case, and was convinced by his report that a miracle had occurred. M. Félix, however, could testify to nothing but the completeness of the cure; in every other respect he was dependent on the sources of information to which we have already



referred. Is it not, however, preposterous to say of a story, every incident of which from first to last was confined within the four walls of a convent, that it grew up under the eyes of anyone outside those walls? Few even within them had any opportunity of seeing it grow. This was verily a thing "done in a corner." Bearing in mind that the *suddenness* was the vital point, it must be repeated that we cannot point to a single adult who professed to be an "original witness." The person who comes nearest to this condition, and who had the best opportunities of being a witness, was a convicted impostor, proved to be capable of saying or doing anything to promote her own ends; whose ends were promoted by the story; and who as soon as it suited her purpose turned against the interests which the miracle was supposed to be intended by Providence to support. The one "original witness" is the subject of the miracle, a child of eleven years, under the special care of the aforesaid impostor. The miracle was one belief in which would have involved no inconvenience whatever, much less suffering. It demanded merely an "otiose assent," as Paley calls it. Yet it was believed only by those who had no temptation to disbelieve it.

This then is the narrative of which we are seriously told that it is better attested than almost any event in history, and in particular that its evidence is fully equal, if not superior, to that of the Resurrection; a miracle which in the first place admitted of no delusion, and of which those who professed to be original witnesses proved their sincerity, not only by the sufferings which they voluntarily underwent, but by what is to many persons harder, submitting to new rules of conduct solely in consequence of their conviction of what they had themselves seen and heard. The writer whom we have quoted, like many others, thinks he has set aside at once this consideration. The grand point, he says, with the advocates of Christianity in the last century was the honesty of the witnesses, which would now be granted without a word; and then he states their argument thus: "They endured persecution and death for their opinions, therefore their opinions were true." It is, of course, easy to

show that such reasoning as this would be invalid ; and the writer need hardly have specified such cases as that of Sir Thomas More dying for the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy, or the Suttee of the Indian widow. The fact is that no Christian apologist, at least none of any weight, ever thought of using such an argument. Bishop Butler clearly exposed the fallacy that underlies the objection—an objection which he thought almost too transparent to impose on anyone :—

“ They allege that numberless enthusiastic people in different ages and countries expose themselves to the same difficulties which the primitive Christians did, and are ready to give up their lives for the most idle follies imaginable. But it is not very clear to what purpose this objection is brought. For every one surely in every case must distinguish between *opinions* and *facts*. And though testimony is no proof of enthusiastic opinions, nor of any opinions at all, yet it is allowed in all other cases to be a proof of facts. And a person laying down his life in attestation of facts or of opinions is the strongest proof of his believing them. And if the apostles or their contemporaries did believe the facts in attestation of which they exposed themselves to sufferings and death, this their belief or rather knowledge, must be a proof of those facts, for they were such as came under the observation of their senses.”

As long as the world lasts, human testimony will be the strongest evidence we can have of facts, but no evidence at all of the truth of opinions. Indeed it is an abuse of words to speak of testimony to opinions, and it would be better to state the distinction as one between opinion and testimony. Experience has not taught us to distrust testimony more than the unlearned do, but the contrary. The unscientific make little or no distinction between the original testimony of eye and ear witnesses and mere hearsay reports. If unlearned, they credit both equally ; if learned, they discredit both equally, and think it highly scientific to be incredulous of everything. True science teaches us to draw a broad line of distinction between the original witnesses to facts observed and mere second-hand assertors of the same—a distinction drawn every day in our courts of law. Scientific history, like law, attaches little weight to the details of hearsay evidence, except by helping us to ascertain what the original witnesses said or did.

This is not really an exception, for in this respect the secondary witnesses speak of what they themselves saw and heard. Science has taught us further to distinguish in the narrative of original witnesses between fact and inference. The result of the application of these two distinctions has not been to lessen the value of testimony in general, but to increase it ; and many relations which were formerly rejected as pure fictions are now admitted to rest on a basis of fact.

By a curious inconsistency, the writer who ridicules the argument founded on the sufferings of the first witnesses of the Christian miracles, dwells on the sacrifices which Mère Angélique made in the cause of what she believed to be truth, as giving great weight to her so-called "evidence" in the present case ; and this notwithstanding the facts that Mère Angélique did *not* profess to be an original witness of the alleged miracle, and that the sufferings she endured were *not* in attestation of it, nor at all in consequence of her belief in it. In speaking of the Port Royal miracle, he studiously mistakes belief for testimony, while in referring to the Christian miracles he mistakes testimony for opinion. In fact, in his pretended quotation from the Christian advocates of the last century, he deliberately substitutes "opinion" for "testimony." The belief of Pascal in something which he had been told, but could not have seen himself, is described as evidence of the highest kind ; while the conviction of the apostles, &c., as to what they professed to have seen and heard (and he admits their honesty), is only "opinion." "In the face of such a fact as this," he adds, "what value can we attach to the evidence of the best and cleverest people in cases where their prepossessions and desires are all one side, and in questions where they probably do not feel themselves at liberty to apply the ordinary rules of what constitutes evidence?" So far as the principle implied in this question is sound, it is as fully recognized by Paley as by anyone else, and he employs it to discredit stories of pretended miracles. But the only illustration of the remark that the present narrative supplies is furnished unconsciously by the writer himself. Pascal and the others give no evidence

at all; they simply believed what they were told by credible persons, and what they had no reason to question. He, on the contrary, testifies, as if from the results of his own study of the history—First, that the story above quoted was the original story, whereas it contains not less than eight distinct misstatements, some of them important; secondly, that Pascal, &c., carefully examined it; thirdly, that Pascal, &c., were witnesses to its truth. This he several times assumes, notwithstanding his own admissions elsewhere. Fourthly, that Madame Angélique was abbess at the time, and gave “evidence.” Possibly, if she had been abbess, she would have been more critical as to a story with which Sister Flavie was so deeply concerned, whom she had herself on a previous occasion convicted of imposture.

Let it be remembered that we did not undertake to adduce arguments against the miracle of the Holy Thorn; nor to show that its circumstances rendered it less credible than the Christian miracles. Our task was to cross-examine the evidence for it, with a view to ascertain whether this is really comparable to the evidence for the best attested facts of history. The reader is now in a position to judge whether there is anything really so extraordinary in it, anything to distinguish it from the modern “miracles,” or any “standing wonder” in the part taken by Pascal and other great men. To put the matter in a practical point of view, setting aside altogether the *à priori* improbability of miracles, would any jury convict a man of felony on evidence such as this? Or to put a closer analogy, suppose Sister Flavie were the claimant to a property, her claim depending on the truth of the miracle, what chance would she have of establishing it? Would any judge or juror dream of saying that no fact in history was established on better evidence?

Mr. Matthew Arnold is of opinion that too much stress has been laid on the argument from induction against miracles. He draws attention to another consideration which he thinks equally conclusive, namely, that we can clearly see how miraculous stories originate. This is what may be called the

common-sense practical way of looking at the question. We may regard the allegation or belief of any fact as a phenomenon of which we are seeking the cause, which cause may either be the actual occurrence of the event alleged, or some other combination of motives. Now, if the event is very improbable, and if, on the other hand, it be easy to account for the belief of it from other reasons; then we of course adopt the latter explanation. But there is an important proviso. The phenomenon to be explained must be regarded as including the apparent evidence, if any, for the fact. In the case of almost all alleged miracles we can, as the argument supposes, clearly account for the origin of the story; and this fairly justifies us in meeting thus such miraculous stories as from time to time crop up in similar circumstances. But if we are challenged in any particular instance, or if any important interests are concerned, we must be prepared to show that similar motives, &c., either were or may have been in operation. Amongst these motives in Christian times has always been the belief in the New Testament miracles. But the evidence for these is of a totally different kind. It is easy, by grouping the biblical miracles together, and then taking that of Joshua as a type of the whole, as a recent eminent writer has done, to represent them as coming under the same category. But if some theologians think the "miracle" of Joshua entitled to as much credit as the miracles of Christ, it is because they connect it by a chain of argument with the latter, not because of any direct evidence for it.<sup>1</sup> We may admit that, taken by itself, the story of Joshua's "miracle" is easily accounted for; but

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<sup>1</sup> I write "miracle," because the original story quoted in Josh. x. 12, 13 from the Book of Jashar does not seem to me to be the story of a miracle at all. It is merely a highly rhetorical or poetical description which the later compiler appears to have understood prosaically. I might have called the description "Oriental," but that the last journal of Bishop Hannington supplies a most striking parallel: "How often I looked at the sun! It stood still in the heavens nor would go down," p. 185. This furnishes the best of all commentaries on the passage in Joshua.



surely no one will regard it as a satisfactory way of accounting for the influence of belief in the resurrection on those who professed to be actual witnesses of it, to say that many such stories have arisen, and that it can be accounted for on the same principles. It is alleged by its advocates that no story exists like it in its evidence; that the evidence, in short, is as unique as the history itself. This is the point of Paley's celebrated propositions, namely, "There is satisfactory evidence that persons professing to be original witnesses of the Christian miracles passed their lives in labours, dangers, and sufferings, voluntarily undergone, in attestation of the accounts which they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief in those accounts, and that they also, from the same motives, submitted to new rules of conduct;" and, "There is not satisfactory evidence that persons professing to be original witnesses of other miracles, in their nature as certain as these," proved their sincerity in the same way. The former proposition may be regarded as certain. It is in no respect a question (as our critic would have it) which of the evangelists gives the evidence of eye-witnesses of the events he relates. Paley has shown that the authorship of the Gospels is not an essential part of the argument—indeed he shows incontrovertibly that, even if the four Gospels had never been written, it would have been absolutely certain that the resurrection was asserted by the first preachers of Christianity; and that the first preachers professed to be "original witnesses" is also certain. He carefully distinguishes testimony from belief. As to the second proposition, the attempts to establish an exception to it have generally, like that with which we have just dealt, betrayed a fundamental confusion between testimony and belief. Believers have been treated as "original witnesses;" or the facts attested have not necessarily been miraculous; or they demanded merely an "otiose assent." In the Port Royal story we find all these three circumstances; and in addition, the account originally came merely "in affirmance of opinions already formed." For at least three distinct reasons then, Paley would have put this

story out of court. All honest attempts to disprove either of Paley's propositions should meet with the most candid consideration. But until reason is shown for a far-reaching distrust of all human testimony, such as would shake all historical certainty, Paley's first proposition will continue to present an insuperable difficulty to those who on *à priori* grounds hold miracles impossible.

## VII.

### CRITICAL NOTES ON PASSAGES IN THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.



#### I.—ON THE ALPHABETICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE NINTH AND TENTH PSALMS.

THE ninth and tenth Psalms are partly alphabetical: the former including the first half of the alphabet, the latter, imperfectly, the second half. They are treated as one Psalm by the LXX and Vulgate, and by many moderns. There are, however, obvious difficulties in this view. In Ps. ix. the writer speaks with confidence and exultation of the destruction of the impious; whereas in Ps. x. the tone is one of complaint and supplication. Supplication followed by confident hope would be intelligible, but not the reverse. On the other hand, there seems to be nothing improbable in the supposition that a writer composing an alphabetical song should limit himself to half the alphabet. Another writer may then have thought of dealing similarly with the second half, either in connexion with the former Psalm, or simply because he began with למה, “Wherefore?”

If the last two verses of Ps. ix. are an original part of the Psalm, this seems the only possible hypothesis, for these cannot be made to fit into the alphabetical arrangement except by the forced supposition that פ stands as the equivalent of כ. These verses, however, are probably an addition by a later writer.

However, my present purpose is not to discuss this secondary question, but to see whether we can make any steps

towards restoring the alphabetical arrangement where it is lost in the present text.

It is first to be observed that in both Psalms each letter has four clauses, or, according to the received division, two verses. Now Ps. ix., leaving out the last two verses, has only thirty-six clauses. The last pair commence with כ, and the preceding pair with י. These are usually assigned together to י; but in that case the writer would have stopped one letter short of half the alphabet, and the writer of Ps. x. would have left out the same letter. Bickell, indeed, meets this by transpositions in the latter Psalm, which he makes to commence with v. 3. But we may not unreasonably suppose the two letters י and כ to have had originally only two clauses each. A more serious defect is between v. 6 and v. 10. The former verse begins with ג, and then the alphabetical arrangement is lost until we come to v. 10, which begins with ו, and there are only eight clauses (instead of twelve) for ג and the three following letters. Probably, therefore, some entire clauses have been lost, or else the writer did not adhere throughout to the tetrastich arrangement. On the former supposition, of course complete restoration is impossible.

Now, as to the He stanza, we might expect to find v. 8 beginning with this letter. It does not; but then the last word in v. 7 begins with it and is out of place in that verse. It is generally admitted that this word הַמָּה should be transferred to v. 8, and a verb such as אָבְרוּ (Delitzsch, Bickell) or יֵאָבְרוּ (Ley, Dyserinck, Graetz) supplied after it. Verse 7 is obviously corrupt. The English Version, harsh as it is ("O thou enemy, destructions are come to a perpetual end"), does not naturally arise out of the Hebrew. The verb תָּמוּ does not mean "have ceased," but "have been completed." The same objection applies to the Revised Version, which takes חֲרָבוֹת as a second predicate to הָאֹיִב, which is supposed to be construed as if plural—"The enemy are come to an end, they are desolate for ever". Literally, "ruins," not a very suitable predicate for "enemy." Other interpretations are: "The enemy, they are gone! Ruins for ever" (Köster).

"The enemy, completed are ruins for ever" (viz. of his buildings). Olshausen, who suggests the last, prefers to regard **האויב** as an interpolation, perhaps a gloss on **רשע**. Hitzig corrects **הרבות** to **חרפות**, "reproaches," retaining the objectionable explanation of **תמו** as "have ceased."

I propose to adopt this emendation, and then to change **תמו** into **דמו**. Confusion of **ת** and **ד** is not without example: cf. Ezek. xxii. 4, where the Eastern codices read **עת** for **עד**; Haggai i. 2, where the first **עת** should be **עד**: *i. e.* instead of "the time is not come, the time," read "the time is not yet come"; Prov. i. 11, where **דם** should certainly be **תם**, "Let us lay wait for the perfect," instead of "for blood." The parallelism supports this, the next clause having "the innocent." I would, further, transpose **האויב**, which is certainly out of place, and put it after **חרפות**, thus obtaining an excellent sense: "Silenced are the reproaches of the enemy for ever." Or, perhaps, **האויב** may be a gloss on **ערים**, translated "cities." This word occurs Ps. cxxxix. 20, and in two other places, in the Aramaic sense of "enemy." It is probably a textual error in all these places; but, as it is in the text, a glosser might have thought it bore that sense here also. It is true that the stanzas of **ג** and **ד** are by this reconstruction shorter than we should expect, and it is possible that two verses are lost; but as the reconstruction not only gives us a verse beginning with **ד**, but also a much improved sense, it is, I think, probable.

Psalm x. is in a worse state. After Lamed, with which it begins, we have no verse commencing with the proper letter until the twelfth (**ק**); that is, six letters are missing. But as we know nearly the length of a stanza, we look about for the missing letters, and we actually find three of them very near the expected places. First, **נאץ יהוה**, now ending verse 3, may very well commence verse 4, as it actually does in the LXX and Vulgate. This agrees, moreover, with verse 13, where the substance of the verse is repeated. As for the word **ברך**, in verse 3, that is merely a euphemism, intended to be substituted by the reader for the following word, **נאץ**, the



utterance of which with the name of God was carefully avoided. There are other passages in which **ברך** has taken the place of **נאץ** in the text itself, such as Job i. 5; ii. 5, 9; 1 Kings xxi. 10. Some suppose that in these cases it was a euphemism adopted by the original writer; but in the present instance that explanation is inadmissible, inasmuch as one of the words supposed to be euphemistically avoided actually follows (see p. 49).

We find the letter **Pe** beginning the second word of verse 7, which reads, “of cursing his mouth is full, and deceit and fraud.” An obvious suggestion is to transpose **אלה** after **מלא** (Bickell); and in favour of this it may be said that, from similarity of sound, it might easily have dropped out here. But the rhythmical balance is much better without the word, and so is the sense, as “cursing, deceit, and fraud” do not go very well together. Now it is to be observed that the words preceding this (*viz.* at the end of the sixth verse) are corrupt, namely: **לְדֹר וְדֹר אֲשֶׁר לֹא בָרַע**, “to generation and generation who not in evil.” A verb is clearly wanting. Olshausen suggests that the verb may be found in **אֲשֶׁר**, for which he proposes to read **אֲשֵׁב**, “I shall abide for ever, without being in misfortune”; but he admits that this negative addition does not sound quite natural. Bickell adopts **אֲשֵׁב**, and adds **בְּאֵיתָן**. Another suggestion is, to find the verb in **ברע**, which is then altered to **אֶכְרַע**, “I shall not bow down, *i.e.* fall” (cf. Ps. xx. 9 and xvii. 13). This is Krochmal’s conjecture, adopted by Graetz, who, however, also changes **אֲשֶׁר** to **אֲשֵׁרִי**, “In my goings I shall not fall.” This seems to be quite unsuitable to the verb **ברע**, which means not to slip so as to fall, but to bow down, and then to sink by collapse (as of Jehoram, when wounded, it is said that he sank down in his chariot).

Now, as we have seen that verse 7 probably ought to begin with **בִּירוֹ**, it follows that **אלה** may belong to verse 6. If so, the missing verb may lurk in the letters **ברעאלה**. Parallelism suggests that the meaning is probably “My footsteps shall never slide.” I have little doubt that Graetz is right in

suggesting אִשָּׁרִי, instead of אִשָּׁר: the two words would have been written alike in the original texts, but after the verb was lost it was natural to adopt the latter reading. Now, can we suggest any word that might be corrupted into ברעאלה? There is a root רעל, to which the meaning "tremble," "reel," is assigned. The verb is found only in hophal = "be brandished;" but the substantive רעל is used of reeling (from intoxication) in Zech. xii. 2 ("cup of reeling"—R. V.). From the same root comes תִּרְעֵלָה, "staggering." We might then suggest either ברעלה = "in titubatione," or the verb תרעל or תרעלנה, pointing אִשָּׁרִי singular or plural, accordingly. The confusion of ב and ת is not impossible: see 2 Sam. xxi. 18, where the Hebrew has נב, and the LXX נת, as in verse 20. Or better, we might read the first person ארעלה, "In my steps I shall not totter." The cohortative, though rare with לא, is possible; I suggest it only as making it easier to account for אלה. The rarity of the verb might easily lead to its corruption. Yet it must be noted that the LXX and ἄλλος read אִשָּׁר after ברע. Whatever the original reading was, I think it likely that אלה is part of the corruption. Of course, the ו before מרמה will have to be omitted. It was added when אלה was made part of verse 7.

I am inclined, however, to suspect that אִשָּׁר has slipped in = אמר from the once preceding line. In the old alphabet, מ and ש are liable to be confounded: see Isaiah iii. 10, where אמרו should be אִשָּׁרִי; and there are reasons for supposing that in early times the lines contained only fifteen or sixteen letters. See the erroneous repetitions in Levit. xx. 10; Exod. xxx. 6 (mentioned below, pp. 207, 208). If this is the case, an easy correction of לא ברע would be: לא אעבר, "I shall not pass away," a sense which עבר sometimes has; and אלה might be transposed, as Bickell suggests. I do not venture to suggest לעולם thus: אעבר לעולם. In any case, verse 7 must begin with ב.

Next, **ע** is found at the beginning of the third clause of verse 8, just about where it ought to come, if it came after **ב**. There are other instances of this order, as in Lam. ii., iii., iv.; and originally perhaps in Ps. xxxiv.

Verse 10<sub>a</sub> ought to begin the **צ** stanza: it is so short, that it is clear a word is lost, if not two. Bickell supplies **צדו רשע**. Or we might supply **צדיק**, and read the following word (with the margin) **ידכה**. In the older alphabet **צ** and **י** were very similar, and the eye would readily pass from **צד** to **יד**.

There remain the Samech and Mem stanzas. Now, just where **ס** might be expected, we find **מרום**, which does not yield a good sense. "Height are thy judgments from before him" is a very bold expression even in poetry for "far distant from him," and has, I think, no parallel. Besides, the context requires that "judgments" be taken, not in the sense of "precepts," but of "punishments," and to this **מרום** would be very unsuitable.

I propose to read **סרו**, the final **ס** being accounted for by the same letter following. The sense this yields is good: "Removed are thy judgments from before him." The letters **ס** and **מ** are elsewhere apparently confounded. Compare 1 Kings xxi. 4 with Ezek. iii. 14. See also 1 Sam. xv. 32, where we should read **מר מר**, "death is bitter, bitter!" If for the word **יחילו**, just before, which is very difficult, we read with the Targum **יצליחו**, "are prosperous" (so Graetz and de Lagarde), the clauses will correspond well in meaning. The LXX have for **מרום**, *ἀνταναρπείται*, and the Vulgate has "auferuntur." These readings suit **סרו** better than **מרום**, but they may be only interpretations.

The only letter unaccounted for is **מ**, and its stanza has only one clause remaining, so that restoration is impossible. **ברך**, in verse 3, is of course to be omitted, as already mentioned; but, as part of the stanza is lost, we can hardly hope to make good sense of this line. However, as a step towards the solution of the problem, I venture to submit the following remarks to the consideration of the reader:—First, **פִּי-הִלֵּל**,

at the beginning of verse 3, cannot be right. The verb in Piel means "to praise," not "to boast." It is not construed with  $\text{ל}$ , and when used (as it is in late Hebrew) with  $\text{ל}$  (which would be an easy correction), it means "to sing praises to." Both senses are quite unsuitable here. This is doubtless the reason why the LXX and  $\delta \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \varsigma$  render it as if Piel  $\text{הַלְלוּ}$  and not that they had a different reading. The meaning "boast" would require the Hithpael *vs. ps.*  $\text{הִלְלוּ}$ , which Grotius suggests, relying on the LXX, and retaining  $\text{ל}$ . But it is more easy to suppose  $\text{ל}$  written in error for  $\text{ל}$ , which in the older alphabet it resembled, than to suppose the syllable  $\text{ל}$  dropped. This suggestion is independent of the alphabetical arrangement: but it will be observed that it gives us what we require, a verse beginning with Mem. Secondly,  $\text{ל}$  cannot, I think, stand absolutely. The sense "covetous" is hard to defend. The verb is transitive, meaning primarily "to cut off" and secondarily, "to plunder." In the latter sense it is, with one exception, followed by the cognate substantive  $\text{ל}$ . In the excepted case it is followed by an accusative of the person. (In Job xxvii. 8 the sense is "cut off": see R. V.) Possibly the word  $\text{ל}$  may have fallen out after it. This would be easy, with  $\text{ל}$  preceding, and  $\text{ל}$  following. There would still remain a hiatus which no ingenuity could fill with any certainty: but taking a hint from Ezek. xxi. 13 we may, merely to complete the sense, supply  $\text{ל}$ , thus reading  $\text{ל ל ל}$ .

"The victor boasts of his heart's desire,  
And by aggression plunders the poor."

Bickell is the only critic who has seriously attempted to restore the alphabetical arrangement of Psalm i. Most critics, indeed, think that from verse 2 to 12 there is no trace of such arrangement—some thinking that the original verses were lost, and that those now existing were added later. Bickell supposes that Psalm ix. ends with a Yod stanza, and that i. begins with Caph. This he finds in verses 3, 4, 5, which he transposes before 1. In 3, he reads  $\text{ל}$  for  $\text{ל}$ , and omits the next

four words as a gloss (containing also  $\text{וְיָד}$ ). Then verses 1, 2 constitute the Lamed stanza, and 3, 4 that of Mem. The Nun and Samekh stanzas he supposes to be entirely lost. His suggestions on 7 and 13 have been already mentioned. The suggestions above offered involve much less disturbance of the text. Anyone who tries in a non-alphabetical Psalm to find three given consecutive letters commencing clauses (or possible clauses) at given intervals, will be disposed to admit that the occurrence of Nun, Pe, and 'Ajin, just in the place where we should look for them, is not fortuitous; and if these stanzas are correctly placed, probability is given to the proposed substitution of  $\text{וְיָד}$  for  $\text{וְיָד}$ . It will be observed also that the emendations suggested may all be defended independently of the consideration of the alphabetical arrangement.

## II.—MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES.

### L.

#### LEVIATHAN. II. 10.

וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד  
וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד

\* The man that committed adultery with another man's wife, even he that committed adultery with his neighbour's wife" (A. V. = R. V.).

On this Geiger has a long discussion (*Uebersicht*, p. 242). He remarks that this repetition of the same clause, in almost the same words, is a scarcely intelligible tautology; and the passage becomes still more surprising when we observe that  $\text{וְיָד וְיָד}$ , in the sense in which it is here used, is thoroughly unidiomatic, although usual in the Mishnah. His conclusion is that the original text was  $\text{וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד וְיָד}$  in which a copyist wrote, according to the usage of his own time,



אִישׁ אִשָּׁת . . . . Then either he or another wrote the correction in the margin, and so both remain.

There is no need of this circuitous explanation, which is interesting as showing the influence of the Massoretic punctuation on those who do not admit it to be authoritative. Divide the verse differently and it will be obvious that we have simply a line accidentally repeated :

וְאִישׁ אִשָּׁת יִנָּאֵף אֶת אִשָּׁת  
אִישׁ אִשָּׁת יִנָּאֵף אֶת אִשָּׁת  
רַעְיוֹ

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II.

EXODUS xxx. 6.

וְנָתַתָּה אֹתוֹ לִפְנֵי הַפֶּרֶכֶת אֲשֶׁר עַל-אֲרֹן הָעֵדוּת  
לִפְנֵי הַכֹּפֶרֶת אֲשֶׁר עַל-הָעֵדוּת

“ And thou shalt put it [the altar of incense] before the veil that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat that is over the testimony ” (A. V. = R. V.).

The position of the altar is defined by the former clause ; the latter is not only superfluous, but scarcely correct, for the altar which was before the veil was not “ before ” the mercy-seat. Rashi, indeed, explains the clause as specifying that the altar was to be neither to the north nor to the south, but just opposite the ark. If this were intended, he might expect “ before the ark ” as in xl. 5, not “ before the mercy-seat.” Further, the definition of the place of the mercy-seat is superfluous. The Samaritan text and the LXX omit the clause, and although the omission might be easily accounted for from the similarity of the clauses, yet in the circumstances it must be allowed some weight. Repetition is as frequent a fault as omission. Of course it is possible that we have here an erroneous reading and its correction side by side, or the repetition may have been purely accidental at first, and then פֶּרֶכֶת in the second clause have been changed to כֹּפֶרֶת from design.

## III.

## 2 KINGS vii. 13.

יִקְחֻרְנָא חֲמִשָּׁה מִן־הַסּוֹסִים הַנִּשְׁאָרִים  
 אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאָרוּ בָּהֶם הֵנָּה כָּל־הַחֲמוֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאָרוּ בָּהֶם הֵנָּה כָּל־הַחֲמוֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 אֲשֶׁר־תִּמּוּ

“ Let some take, I pray thee, five of the horses that remain, which are left in the city [*Heb.* in it] (behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel that are left in it: behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel that are consumed) ” (R. V.).

According to Thenius the repetition of הֵנָּה shows that two distinct cases are supposed; safe return, and destruction by the enemy; in the former case they share the lot of those that remain which are near death by starvation; in the other, that of those already dead. Similarly the note in the Variorum Bible. It is, I think, a case of accidental repetition; and the length of the repetition is about that of a line in the later copies, so that it was easily occasioned by the recurrence of אֲשֶׁר in about the same position in the line. The LXX have not the repetition.

It may be interesting to give a few other instances of repetition. The most striking one is in 1 Chron. ix. 35-44, which whole passage is nothing but viii. 29-38 repeated. The repetition was occasioned by the recurrence in ix. 34 of the words of viii. 28. The comparison of the names in the two places is very instructive.

2 Sam. vi. 3, 4: we have a generally recognised repetition of an entire line, occasioned by the recurrence of עֲנִלָּה, and betraying itself conspicuously by the ungrammatical absence of the article from the adjective after הָעֲנִלָּה. The LXX is correct.

Ezek. xl. 8, 9: there is also a well-recognised repetition of about one line occasioned by the recurrence of the words **אלם הישער**. The versions are correct and a few Hebrew MSS.

Ps. xc. 17 is another instance, occasioned by the recurrence of **עלינו**.

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IV.

JOB xxiv. 14.

**לאור יקום רוצח יקטל-עני ואביון  
ובלילה יהי כננב**

“The murderer riseth with the light, he killeth the poor and needy, and in the night he is as a thief” (R. V.).

This is inconsistent with the context, which deals with the enmity of crime to light. Verse 13, “They are of those that rebel against the light; they know not the ways thereof, nor abide in the paths thereof. The murderer . . .” Verse 15, “The eye also of the adulterer waiteth for the twilight,” etc. The older commentators were not blind to this: some rendered **לאור** “before the light” (a quite impossible rendering), others “at first dawn.” Yet this does not escape the difficulty. Those rise at dawn who wish to do their work in the light. Read **לא-אור**, “When there is no light.”

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V.

PSALM xli. 6.

**אויבי יאמרו רע לי**

Probably the true reading is **עלי** (Bickell). I mention this only for the sake of the following:—

## PSALM xl. 8.

## במגלת ספר כתוב עלי

“In the roll of the book it is written of me” (R. V.).

The words are a crux. Some render, “in the volume of the book it is prescribed to me.” I remark, first, that the Hebrew has not the article. It is, “in a roll of a book.” Secondly, the use of the participle **כתוב** with no subject expressed, as in the first two renderings, appears to me inadmissible (I state this with some hesitation, as grammarians do not seem to have noticed it). The participle is properly an adjective. With a subject expressed it can be used as a predicate, the copula being as usual understood; but it cannot, I think, be used as itself including an impersonal subject; *i.e.* as = *γράφεται*, impersonal. Another rendering is, “with the roll of the book that is written for me.” The first remark that the article is not in the Hebrew holds against this also. And, surely, with this interpretation **כתוב** ought to have the article. Moreover, how poor a meaning we get! It is possible, says Ewald, that the poet may have brought a roll of the Pentateuch with him, *i.e.* “Sacrifice thou wouldest not, so I have brought a Bible”! or, as Hitzig prefers, “I have brought on me a written leaf,” viz. of prophetic matter written by the poet himself. I may add that “**בוא ב**” means to “bring with one,” *e.g.* “an offering” (Ps. lxvi. 13): not “to come, having with one as one carries a book to church.” Olshausen judges that there is no resource left except to regard the verse as a marginal note of a reader who could not reconcile himself to the statement, that God had no pleasure in sacrifice, since it was prescribed in the law (!), or more probably (because of the suffix in **עלי**), as an explanation of **רצונך** in v. 9.

There is another resource. The words are a marginal note recording a various reading: “In a roll of a book is written **עלי**.” This is a perfectly grammatical, if not, as I think, the only grammatical rendering. The note might possibly refer to

לִי in the preceding verse, but much more probably to לִי in xli. 6, cited in the preceding note.

Examples of such notes finding their way into the text are to be found in the Greek and Latin Biblical mss. For instance, in 2 Cor. viii. 3, a codex of Wetstein's after *δεξασθαι ἡμᾶς* has *ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὔρηται καὶ οὐ καθὼς ἡλπίσαμεν*. In Luke xxiii. 15, we have in the Book of Kells, "remisit eum in alio sic remisit eum ad vos." In 1 Sam. xiv. 41, a 9th century codex has "Domine Deus Israel, da iudicium in hoc loco vide ne quid praetermissum sit."

The Hebrew text being written in columns, there is no difficulty in the supposition that a note intended for xli. 6, was supposed to belong to xl. 8. The interval is such that the two verses might probably have stood at the same height in adjoining columns.

This gloss being rejected, of course, לעשות comes to depend on באתי, "I come to do thy will"; and we naturally read with Bickell, בתורתך instead of ות'. When לעשות and באתי were separated by the gloss, it became necessary to connect הפצתי with the preceding, and so to write ו for ב.

It may be interesting to mention other instances in which a correction has got into the text along with the reading corrected :

## VI.

PSALM lix. 10, 11a.

עוֹ אֶלֶךְ אֲשֶׁמְרָה כִּי-אֱלֹהִים מִשְׁנִבִּי :  
אֱלֹהֵי חֲסִדוֹ יִקְדָּמֵנִי

Here עוֹ is clearly wrong, and is corrected in the Qerê to עוי. אֲשֶׁמְרָה is also wrong; שֶׁמֶר אֵל does not mean "to wait on." The most obvious correction is אֲזַמְרָה. Lastly, חֲסִדוֹ is an error for חֲסִדִּי, which is the Qerê. Now, at the end of the Psalm in v. 18 nearly the same words are found, but with these errors corrected. It does not seem likely, if the



words were a refrain, that the scribe who had made three blunders in them in *v.* 10, should write them correctly in *v.* 18, and not observe his former error. Moreover, the last two words **אלהי חסדי** in *v.* 11 begin a new sentence; whereas in 18 they are in apposition to what precedes. Some critics amend 10, 11; accordingly but Hare's suggestion is probable, that 18 was originally meant as a correction of 10, 11.

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VII.

PSALM lxxviii. 5, 33, 34.

<p>33 <b>שירו לאלהים זמרו אדני</b>  <b>סלה לרכב בשמי</b>  <b>שמי-קדם</b></p>	<p>5 <b>שירו לאלהים זמרו שמו</b>  <b>סלו לרכב בערבות</b>  <b>ביה שמו ועלזו לפנין</b></p>
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The 68th Psalm is a thorough *crux interpretum*. There is a Jewish story which amusingly illustrates this. It is said that in Elysium some of the most eminent commentators desired to be presented to King David, expecting to be received by him with special marks of honour. He simply handed them this psalm: "There, gentlemen, interpret that if you please," whereupon they slunk away abashed. Much of the difficulty is due to corruption of the text, and modern critics have made some good emendations. One gloss at least has been pointed out, namely, in *v.* 18 **אלפי שנאן**, which appears to be a gloss on **רבתיים**.

In *v.* 5, above quoted, I think we may trace another gloss. When *v.* 5 and 33, 34 are placed side by side, as above, we cannot fail to notice an intentional parallelism. (For **אדני** in *v.* 33, I should read **יהוה** or **ליהוה**). We first notice that **סלה** is entirely out of place in *v.* 33; and it is so like **סלו** of *v.* 5, that the latter is probably the true reading (so Kennicott, Hupfeld, Dyserinck, Bickell, Graetz). But the words which now concern us are **ביה שמו**. For **שמו** Hare and Secker

proposed שְׁמָחוּ, and the same suggestion has been made, or adopted, by Dyserinck, Reifmann, Hilgenfeld. I suggest that the words disguise a gloss on בערבות. This word means "in the deserts," but has been interpreted (probably from *v.* 33) as = "in the heavens" (so the Prayer-book and A. V.). The LXX render it "the west," δυσμῶν. In this ancient uncertainty a gloss is not improbable. (ישמן) ישימון which occurs in *v.* 8 would be a correct gloss, and comes very near the consonants of the text.

Verse 34 itself requires correction, viz. in שְׁמִי שְׁמִי קִדְּמָה. Some critics would leave out one שְׁמִי (Ewald); others substitute יָמִי for the second (Dyserinck). We might more easily read: בְּשָׁמַיִם מִקִּדְּמָה. The resemblance between מ and ש in the old alphabet is considerable. This also gives a better sense; "the ancient heavens" would be a very strange expression.

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VIII.

PSALM xxxv. 14.

כָּרַעַ כְּאֵחַ לִי הִתְהַלַּכְתִּי  
כְּאֵבֶל-אִם קִדְרָה שְׁחֹתִי:

"I behaved myself as though it had been my friend or my brother:  
I bowed down mourning as one that bewaileth his mother" (R. V.).

The former clause is incomplete, the attitude of mourning not being indicated, whereas in the latter clause it is expressed twice. Some critics transpose the verbs (Riehm, Delitzsch); others remove קִדְרָה and place it after לִי (Hupfeld, Bickell). The latter device makes the former clause too heavy for the second. But, besides this, כָּרַעַ is too feeble for the connexion, as it does not mean "a dear friend"; it often means only an acquaintance, or neighbour. I suggest pointing כָּרַעַ, "Bowed down as (were he) a brother to me I walked; as one bewailing a mother, in mourning I stooped."

## IX.

PSALM xlix. 8, 9, 10.

אֵחַ לֹא-פֹדֶה יִפְדֶּה אִישׁ  
 לֹא-יִתֵּן לָאֱלֹהִים כִּפְרוֹ: יִקֶּר פְּדִיּוֹן נַפְשׁוֹ  
 וְחָדַל לָעוֹלָם: וַיְחִי-עוֹד לִנְצַח  
 לֹא יִרְאֶה שְׁחָת:

“None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him: (For the redemption of their soul is costly, and must be let alone for ever:) That he should live alway, that he should not see corruption” (R. V.).

The reader must be struck with the unusually prosaic and unrhymical character of these verses in the E. V. The parenthesis is awkward. It has been proposed by Olshausen to transpose verses 9 and 10, but this effects little improvement. When we look at the Hebrew we find that the E. V. has, in fact, improved upon it. There is no “for” in the original, but “and,” the verb **חָדַל** is without an expressed object, and so used it means to “cease,” not to “leave alone,” or “be left alone,” and lastly, v. 9 is wholly unrhymical. v. Ortenberg omits it as a gloss, but it is not easy to see how in its present form it could ever have come in as a gloss. I think a very slight alteration will restore the text. But first, I must remind the reader of the emendation in v. 8. adopted by Ewald, Böttcher, and others, viz. **אֵחַ** for **אָדָם**, and **יִפְדֶּה** for **יִפְדֶּה**. First, then, I omit **ו** before **יִקֶּר**, and I take **יִקֶּר** in the sense of price (Zech. xi. 13). Now, as to **חָדַל**, which is certainly corrupt, by a transposition of **ל** and **ד** we get **וְחָלַד**, or (if preferred) **יְחָלַד**, “that he should continue for ever.” We thus get a perfectly clear and coherent sequence of thought, “No man can buy himself off, nor give to God his ransom, the price of redemption of his soul, so that he should endure for ever, and live still on perpetually, and should not see the pit.”

**חָדַל** is read by mistake for **חָלַד** in Isaiah xxxviii. 11. It may be objected, first, that **חָלַד** does not occur as a verb in

Hebrew; and secondly, that the root-meaning, as given by Gesenius, is quite different. To the latter objection I reply, that the root-meaning assigned by Gesenius, viz. "to be smooth, slippery, then to slip away, to fleet," is purely conjectural, and very improbable, as the source of the meaning of the noun חַלָּד, "life," "world." The Arabic خلد has the meaning "to endure," even to endure for ever, and in accordance with this the latest editors of Gesenius have adopted this as the root-meaning. The non-occurrence of the verb is not of much consequence, since חלד as a substantive, in the sense of "life," was so familiar. But there is certainly a superfluity of words in *vv.* 9 and 10, and the restored text betrays a gloss, if not two, in *v.* 9. יקר כדיוך נפשו is clearly a gloss, as כפרו; and in *v.* 10 ויחי-עוד is probably a gloss on יחלד לעולם, the latter rendered necessary perhaps by the rarity of the verb. לנצה may then be connected with the following words. It frequently precedes its verb.

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X.

PSALM xlix. 15.

In the following emendation on the same Psalm I have been anticipated by van Ortenberg; it has, however, sufficient interest to deserve record here—

בצאן לשאול נשתו מות ירעם  
 ויירדו בם וישרים לבקר  
 וצירם לבלות שאול מזבל לו:

"They are appointed as a flock for Sheol;

Death shall be their shepherd.

And the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning,

And their beauty shall be for Sheol to consume, that there be no habitation for it."—(R. V.)

The third clause is not easily intelligible. Delitzsch understands it to mean that after the night of trouble the righteous shall, like conquerors, trample on their oppressors; but the

preceding clause seems to represent them as already dead and buried. Others take the morning to mean the life after death which the righteous alone shall enjoy. But for the Psalmist to use the word "morning" alone to signify this would be to propose an enigma to his readers, and that in a Psalm whose metaphors are not obscure, and to express the superiority of the righteous in the future state by saying that they trample on the deceased oppressors would be very strange. Besides, the thought would unsuitably interrupt the connexion between the second and fourth clauses. Point וַיֵּרְדוּ, combine the two following words into one בְּמִישָׁרִים (*rectâ*, cf. Prov. xxiii. 31, "goeth down smoothly."—R. V.). So far we have made no change in the consonants. "They go down straight into . . . ." Now we must write לְקִבֵּר for לְבָקֵר, "into the grave." The word קִבֵּר has already suffered from a transposition of its letters in v. 12, where the true reading is beyond question קְבֻרִים (קִבְרִים), "graves are their houses for ever" (see margin R. V.). v. Ortenberg reads וַיֵּרְדוּ לְבִקְרָא (cf. Ps. l. 24), and after emending, ejects the clause as a gloss. I think the transposition is more easily accounted for than a mistake of נ for ק. That the clause is a gloss is highly probable. We can hardly suppose that the Psalmist should first express his thought poetically, and then in bald prose. Graetz also adopts לְקִבֵּר, but makes other improbable emendations. It is well to remind the reader that in the last clause we should certainly point מִזְבֵּל with Lowth, Ewald, Hitzig, Riehm. "Sheol is their habitation." Doubtless also, for לוּ we should read לָמוּ (Hare, Krochmal, &c. = LXX Syr.).

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## XI.

PSALM xiv. 5, 6.

שם פחדו פחד  
 כי-אלהים בדור צדיק:  
 עצת-עני תבישו  
 כי יהוה מחסרו:

“ There were they in great fear: for God is in the generation of the righteous.

“ Ye put to shame the counsel of the poor, because the Lord is his refuge.”—R. V.

PSALM liii. 5.

שם פחדו פחד לא-היה פחד  
 כי-אלהיה פור עצמות חנך  
 הבישתה כי-אלהים מאסם:

“ There were they in great fear, where no fear was: For God hath scattered the bones of him that encampeth against thee: Thou hast put them to shame, because God hath rejected them.”

It does not often happen that we can compare two ancient copies of a Hebrew text, as we appear to be able to do here, for these two Psalms are only different editions of one and the same. Most of the verses are nearly identical, except that in liii. Elohim takes the place of Jehovah in xiv. The variations in verses 1 and 3 do not transcend the limits of transcriptional error. But the differences in the verses above quoted are considerable. Yet in Hebrew the similarity of sound is so great that, taken in connexion with the identity of the rest of the Psalm, no reasonable doubt can remain that both are modifications of the same original. The modifications are probably due not so much to a copyist as to a reciter whose memory was not exact. It has, however, been supposed by some critics that the differences are due to an attempt to restore a partly illegible text. According to others, in Ps. liii. a later poet has adapted to a special occurrence the language of xiv. The similarity of

sound in several of the words is too great to allow us to regard this hypothesis as probable. Surely the resemblance between **עַצַּת** and **עֲצַמַת** (**הוּא** and **מֵאִסָּם**) and **בֹּזֵר** and **בָּדָר**, cannot be accidental, nor is the position of these words respectively consistent with the hypothesis of imitation. Moreover, no deep analysis is required to show that the text of liii. is corrupt. It has clearly the advantage of xiv. in retaining the clause "where no fear was." The enemy then are smitten with a groundless panic; why? Because their bones (or the bones of their comrades) were scattered! In such circumstances a panic is not exactly groundless. Then, in addition to their bones being scattered, they are themselves put to shame—a decided anticlimax. Neither expression would be much to the credit of the later poet. An American Hebraist, Mr. King, has suggested pointing **עֲצַמֹת** (more correctly **עֲצָמוֹת**), and taking the word in the sense "weighty counsels," in support of which he refers to Isaiah xli. 21: "Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons (**עֲצָמוֹתֵיכֶם**), saith the King of Jacob." There, however, the notion of "reasons," or "proofs" (not "weighty counsels"), is suggested by the word "cause" in the former clause; it is not contained in the word **עֲצָמוֹת**, which simply = *robora*. But a very slight change removes the absurdities, viz. read **מוֹעֲצוֹת** (**מַעֲצָת**), "counsels." To "scatter devices" is a very tolerable metaphor. It may be remarked, that in every instance where **מַעֲצוֹת** occurs, except one (*i.e.* six times) it refers to bad counsels. "God is in the generation of the righteous," in xiv. 5, is a very strange expression. Now, **בָּדָר** is not only like **בֹּזֵר** in sound, but is its Aramaic equivalent, and is actually the word by which in liii. 5 the Targum renders that word. It might, therefore, readily have been substituted for it by a copyist or reciter. A later editor, reading it as **בָּדָר**, found it necessary, in order to complete the sense, to add **צָדִיק**. This is the only word in Ps. xiv. which has nothing resembling it in liii. Now, in xiv. 6, "Ye put to shame (or 'will put to shame,' not 'have shamed,' as in E. V.) the counsel of the poor, because the LORD is his refuge," makes reasonable sense

only if we take the first clause as meant defiantly or interrogatively, "Ye may frustrate . . . [if ye will, but ye cannot], for." This supposes a rather harsh ellipsis. It is also deserving of notice, that **הַבִּישׁ** does not elsewhere occur with an impersonal object. **חֲנַךְ** is a difficult word, and the suffix has nothing in the context with which it can be connected. The translation of the LXX *ἀνθρωπαρέσκων*, suggested to Cappellus the reading **חֲנַף**. The LXX rendering does not, however, support this conjecture, as they never so render **חֲנַף**. If we have to construct a text from which both that of xiv. and that of liii. may have been derived we might perhaps read as follows:—

שֵׁם פָּחַדוֹ פָּחַךְ לֹא הָיָה פָּחַד  
כִּי־אֱלֹהִים פִּזֵּר מַעֲצוֹת חֲנַף (?)  
עָנִי הַבִּישׁוֹ כִּי־יְהוָה מַחֲסֵהוּ :

"There were they in great fear, where no fear was;  
For God hath scattered the devices of the impious.  
The poor hath shamed him, because Jehovah is his refuge."

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XII.

PSALM lxxi. 20, 21.

תָּשׁוּב תַּחֲיִינִי  
וּמִתְהוֹמֹת הָאָרֶץ תָּשׁוּב תַּעֲלֵנִי :  
תִּרְבַּ גְּדֻלָּתִי וְתִסָּב תִּנְחַמְנִי :

(I read the suffixes in the singular with the Qerê.)

"Thou shalt quicken me again,  
And shalt bring me up again from the depths of the earth.  
Increase thou my greatness,  
And turn again and comfort me."

"Turn round and comfort me" appears to me a very strange expression to use of God. **סָבַב** does not mean to turn "again." Clearly, I think, the word should be **תָּשׁוּב**. On the other hand, **תָּשׁוּב** before **תַּעֲלֵנִי** is, I venture to think, unsuitable both in sense and rhythm. It is a marginal correction of **תִּסָּב** which has crept into the text.

## XIII.

## PSALM lxxii. 20.

## כלו תפלות דוד בן-ישי:

“The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.”

Readers in general have learned from the Revised Version that the Psalms are in the Hebrew text divided into five books. The 72nd Psalm is the last of the second book. It is almost needless to prove that the words quoted above do not originally belong to this Psalm itself, which, indeed, in the title is attributed to Solomon. Had the editors found such a subscription they would not have given it this title. On the other hand, if the title is the older, then again it is clear that the subscription must have been intended to apply, not to this particular Psalm, but to the preceding collection, this Psalm being exceptionally included.<sup>1</sup> The Septuagint appears to have read תהלות for תפלות, translating ὕμνοι, and this is, no doubt, the right reading. It is, in fact, simply equivalent to *Finis Psalmorum David*. The word was altered by later editors, who supposed that the subscription proceeded from the author of the Psalm, the difficulty of the title being surmounted by interpreting it “For Solomon.”

## XIV.

## PSALM cvi. 48.

“Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting to everlasting, and let all the people say, Amen, praise ye the Lord.”

This Psalm ends the fourth book. Each of the four books ends with a doxology, that which ends the whole collection being numbered as Ps. cl. It has been suggested that this is

<sup>1</sup> Psalms xlii.-l. have probably been accidentally displaced from the 3rd Book (Ewald).

merely due to selection, Psalms which ended with a doxology being chosen to conclude the several books. But it is more probable that the doxologies are a liturgical addition. I will only remark that nowhere else does "Amen" occur, except after "said," or "shall say." But Psalm cvi. is peculiar in ending, "And let all the people say Amen." That this is a liturgical direction will be obvious when it is considered that to say Amen has no meaning, except with reference to words just uttered, and generally uttered by another person. The incongruity is striking when we hear a whole congregation sing the words, and even more so when they are sung by a choir, which neither expects nor intends all the people to say Amen.

1 Chron. xvi. confirms this. There we have at the end of a Psalm made up of cv. and xcvi. the last two verses of this Psalm, but the clause in question runs thus (v. 36): "And all the people said Amen and praised the Lord." It seems that the Chronicler looked on the words as a liturgical direction, and simply recorded its fulfilment by the people. Another alternative is of course possible, that an editor, or copyist, of the Psalm borrowed the words from Chron., changing the tense to suit his purpose. This comes to the same in the end.

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XV.

ISAIAH xli. 6, 7.

"They helped every one his neighbour; and every one said to his brother, Be of good courage. So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and he that smootheth with the hammer him that smiteth the anvil, saying of the soldering, It is good: and he fastened it with nails, that it should not be moved."

This has no connexion whatever with the context. Verse 6 indeed might possibly be connected with v. 5, but falls more naturally to v. 7. The verses really belong to the preceding chapter after v. 20, "He that is so impoverished that he hath no oblation, chooseth a tree that will not rot; he seeketh unto



him a cunning workman to set up a graven image that shall not be moved." It is not in the prophet's manner to break off thus suddenly without some mocking details. The verses quoted above fit in here very suitably, and it is to be particularly observed, that *v.* 7 ends with the same words as *xl.* 20, viz. **לֹא יִמוּט**. Here is the clue to the derangement; the verses were at first omitted from homoeoteleuton, and being supplied in the margin got into the wrong place. The interval would make about a column.

As an example of similar displacement in the same book, I may refer the reader to two known instances, *ch.* v. 18-25, which belongs to *ix.* 8-x. 4; also xxxviii. 21, 22, which have their true place after *v.* 6. In their present place they are ungrammatical, the tense used not admitting a pluperfect rendering.

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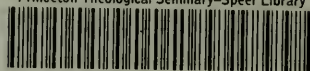
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