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witness of the Spirit which is placed in the fore part of Calvin's doctrine of Scripture and which occupies such a large place in every confession of the Reformed Church, is either left out entirely or relegated to a very subordinate place. In more modern writers the transference referred to has had the curious result of almost banishing a doctrine of Scripture from many treatises on dogmatic, and substituting in its place a doctrine of inspiration, which becomes an explanation of how a literary record can in itself, and not because it conveys the Word of God, become perfect, infallible, and authoritative. But to trace and to explain the many divergences between the doctrine of the Reformers and of Prof. Robertson Smith, and what is commonly called the doctrine of the Princeton School, would require an article by itself. Perhaps what has been said may indicate the lines on which that article would run.

THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

#### ON THE MEANING OF ΠΡΟΣΗΛΥΤΟΣ IN THE SEPTUAGINT.

IT seems to be a generally received opinion that the Greek word *προσήλυτος* has a twofold signification. The lexicons are uniformly in agreement upon this point. Thus Thayer: "*προσήλυτος*. 1. A new-comer, a stranger, alien (Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod., i. 834; LXX. often for ἑβραῖος). 2. A proselyte"—and to the same effect Schleusner (who quotes in support of the first meaning *Lex Cyrilli*, MS. Bremen, *προσήλυτος*, ἑβραῖος, πάροικος, ξένος; and Hesychius, *προσήλυτος*, πάροικος, ἀλλοεθνής); Sophocles (who for the same meaning refers to some LXX. passages and to Philo. i. 160, 42; ii. 219, 27), the *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ* ab Hene. Stephano Constructus (which refers to Hesychius,

Schleusner, and Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod., i. 834), and Liddell and Scott.

It will be plainly seen from these quotations that for *προσήλυτος* = stranger (*advena*) there are three chief supposed authorities: the LXX., Philo, and the Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes.

Now of these three, an examination of Philo's use of the word proves clearly that he is in some cases simply paraphrasing a passage from the LXX., in others using the word in the sense "proselyte."

With regard to the Scholiast, he certainly seems to use the word as meaning "stranger," "foreigner," for he combines it with *μετοίκους*. But here it may be noticed—firstly, that this is too isolated a case to bear much weight; secondly, that if, as we propose to show, the word originally meant "proselyte," it would be natural that it should soon draw to itself something of the meaning involved in such words as "stranger," "*advena*," "alien"; a proselyte generally being, as a matter of necessity, a "stranger in a strange land."

For *προσήλυτος* = "stranger," we are thus thrown back upon the LXX. This version uses the word as equivalent to the Hebrew  $\text{גֵר}$ , and it will clear the ground if something be said first of this latter word. In Biblical Hebrew  $\text{גֵר}$  = a sojourner, or stranger living under the protection of a tribe or family, who has, therefore, no inherited rights. In the Mishna the word means simply a proselyte in the technical sense of the word. (See Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, ii., p. 566, n. 292.) In the so-called Priestly Code, the word may be seen developing into this latter sense. (See Robertson Smith, *O. T. in J. C.*, 2nd ed., p. 342, n. 1.)

Now to translate  $\text{גֵר}$ , the LXX. uses sometimes *προσήλυτος* sometimes *πάροικος*, and it is generally asserted that the two words are synonymous. Schürer, *e.g.*, takes this

for granted. Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 353 ff., devotes a page and a half to illustrate it. And yet the version itself, when carefully examined, tells a very different tale. A consideration of the following facts will, I believe, lead to the certain conclusions (1) that *προσήλυτος* is not synonymous with *πάροικος*; (2) that it does not mean “*advena*,” “stranger,” “sojourner,” in the sense of the old Hebrew גֵר; (3) that its original meaning, so far as the extant literature enables us to judge, was “proselyte.”

In other words, in the great majority of cases where גֵר occurs in the Hebrew text, the Greek translators have not simply translated into the exact Greek equivalent, but have read into the word the later meaning which it has in the Mishna.

The references are always to the Hebrew text.

A. The LXX. translates גֵר in the sense of “a sojourner” by *πάροικος*.

So Gen. xv. 13, Israel in Egypt.

„ xxiii. 4, Abraham at Shechem.

Exod. ii. 22, Moses in Midian.

„ xviii. 3, Moses in Midian.

Deut. xiv. 21, “נִכְרִי.”

„ xxiii. 8, Israel in Egypt.

2 Sam. i. 13, Amalekite (but Ἄ *προσήλυτος*.)

1 Chron. xxix. 15, גֵרִים אֲנַחְנִי. Luc. has *προσήλυτοι*.

Ps. xxxix. 13, גֵר אֲנִי.

Jer. xiv. 8, לִמָּה תִהְיֶה כְנֶרֶךְ.

Ps. cxix. 19, גֵר אֲנִי.

In all these passages גֵר clearly cannot mean a proselyte, but must denote members of a tribe or nation sojourning in a strange land. The only possible exception is Deut. xiv. 21. But to the LXX. translator it would be repugnant, or rather impossible, to think of a proselyte partaking of נִבְלָה, in contradiction to the commandment laid down in

Lev. xvii. 15. He therefore took גַּר as = a sojourner, and synonymous with the parallel נִכְרִי.

On the other hand, the LXX. translates גַּר in the sense of "proselyte" by προσήλυτος.

So in Exod. xii. 48, must be circumcised to keep Passover.

„ „ 49, one law for home-born and גַּר.

„ xx. 10, must keep the Sabbath.

„ xxii. 20, not to be oppressed.

„ xxiii. 9<sup>2</sup>, not to be oppressed.

„ „ 12, Sabbath to be kept that גַּר may rest.

Lev. xvi. 29, not to work on day of Atonement.

„ xvii. 8, may offer sacrifices.

„ „ 10, not to eat blood.

„ „ 12, not to eat blood.

„ „ 13, to let out blood of game.

„ „ 15, is unclean if he eats נבלה.

„ xviii. 26, to keep statutes previously mentioned.

„ xix. 33, not to be oppressed.

„ „ 10, gleanings for גַּר.

„ „ 34, to be equal with *αὐτόχθων*.

„ xx. 2, not to give his seed to Moloch.

„ xxii. 18, may present offerings.

„ xxiii. 22, gleanings.

„ xxiv. 16, not to blaspheme.

„ „ 22, one *lex talionis* for גַּר and אֹרֶרָה.

„ xxv. 23, metaphorical.

„ „ 35, metaphorical.

„ „ 47<sup>2</sup>, Israelite may be sold to him.

Num. ix. 14<sup>2</sup>, one law of Passover for גַּר and אֹרֶרָה.

„ xv. 14, may offer sacrifice.

„ „ 15<sup>2</sup>, one law, etc.

„ „ 16, one law, etc.

„ „ 26, atonement to be made for him.

„ „ 29, one law, etc.

„ „ 30, to be punished, if he defies the law.

- Num. xix. 10, ashes of heifer.  
 „ xxxv. 15, may use cities of refuge.  
 Deut. i. 16, “his proselyte” (strange).  
 „ v. 14, must keep Sabbath.  
 „ x. 18<sup>2</sup> (Heb. once only), Jahveh loves the גֵּר.  
 „ „ 19, love the גֵּר.  
 „ xiv. 29, may eat tithes.  
 „ xvi. 11, may rejoice at Feast of Weeks.  
 „ „ 14, may rejoice at Feast of Booths.  
 „ xxiv. 14, wages not to be held back.  
 „ „ 17, judgment not to be wrested.  
 „ „ 19, gleanings.  
 „ „ 20, gleanings.  
 „ „ 21, gleanings.  
 „ xxvi. 11, to rejoice at firstfruits.  
 „ „ 12, to eat tithes.  
 „ „ 13, to eat tithes.  
 „ xxvii. 19, judgment not to be wrested.  
 „ xxviii. 43, threat that the גֵּר will obtain  
 supremacy over Israelite.  
 „ xxix. 10, present at reading of law.  
 „ xxxi. 12, present at reading of law.  
 Josh. viii. 33, present at reading of law.  
 „ „ 35, present at reading of law.  
 „ xx. 9, may use cities of refuge.  
 1 Chron. xxii. 2, gathered by David for service in the  
 Temple building.  
 2 „ ii. 16, gathered by Solomon for service in the  
 Temple building.  
 2 „ xxx. 25, rejoice at Hezekiah's Passover.  
 Ps. xciv. 6, אֱלֹמֶנָה וְגֵר יִהְיֶה לִּי.  
 „ cxlvi. 9, שָׁמַר אֶת־גֵּרִים.  
 Jer. vii. 6 } not to be oppressed.  
 „ xxii. 3 }  
 Ezek. xiv. 7,

Ezek. xxii. 7,

„ „ 29,

„ xlvii. 22, to inherit with the Israelites,

„ „ 23, to inherit with the Israelites.

Zach. vii. 10, not to be oppressed.

Mal. iii. 5, have been oppressed.

The only cases here which could cause doubt are Lev. xxv. 23, 35; Deut. i. 16; and Exod. xii. 48. But there is another group of passages which forms a remarkable exception to the rule, those namely where  $\text{דִּרְיָ}$  is used of the Israelites in Egypt and yet is rendered by *προσήλυτοι*, not by *πάροιχοι*, as we should expect. They are—

Exod. xxii. 20.

Lev. xix. 34.

„ xxiii. 9.

Deut. x. 19.

But in all these  $\text{רֵי}$  in the sense of proselyte has immediately preceded, and the sense involves the use of the same word: “for ye were proselytes,” not of course in the technical sense of the word, but “ye were in the land of Egypt in the same position of homeless strangers as are proselytes amongst yourselves.” Another exceptional case is Exod. xii. 19, where LXX. has *γειώρας*, but *Α. Σ.* *προσήλυτοι*. Targ.  $\text{רֵי}$ .

B. Again the LXX. translates  $\text{רֵי}$  used of a sojourner by

*παροίκους*, Ps. cv. 12.

*παροικῶν*, Judg. xix. 1.

*παροικοῦντες*, 2 Sam. iv. 3.

*παρώκει*, Judg. xix. 16.

*παρώκησαν*, 1 Chron. xvi. 19.

*παρώκει*, Judg. xvii. 7.

*παροικεῖ*, Deut. xviii. 16.

„ Ezra i. 4.

*διατρίβετε*, Jer. xxxv. 7.

*γείτονες*, Job. xix. 15.

*συσκήνου*, Exod. iii. 22.

*προσκειμένω*, Lev. xxv. 6.

*ὄντων*, Lev. xxv. 45.

But when used of a proselyte, by—

*προσελθόντι*, Exod. xii. 49.

*προσκέιμενος*, Lev. xvi. 29.

„ „ xvii. 10.

„ „ „ 12.

„ „ „ 13.

*προσγενόμενος*, Lev. xviii. 26.

*προσπορευόμενος*, Lev. xix. 34.

*γεγενημένων*, Lev. xx. 2.

*προσκέιμενος*, Num. xv. 15.

„ „ 16.

„ „ 26.

„ „ 29.

„ „ xix. 10.

„ Josh. xx. 9.

*προσηλύτους τούσ* }  
*παροικούντας* } 2 Chron. xv. 9.

*παροικοῦσι*, Ezek. xlvi. 22.

*προσήλυτος*, „ 23.

C. Further, the LXX. translates נָגַד in sense of “to sojourn” by—

*παροικεῖν*.  
Gen. xii. 10.  
„ xix. 9.  
„ xx. 1.  
„ xxi. 23.  
„ „ 34.  
„ xxvi. 3.  
„ xxxii. 5.  
„ xxxv. 27.  
„ xlvii. 4.  
Exod. vi. 4.  
Deut. xxvi. 5.  
Judg. xvii. 8.  
„ 9.

*παροικεῖν*.  
Ruth i. 1.  
2 Kings viii. 1.  
„ „ 2.  
Ps. cv. 23.  
Isa. xvi. 4.  
„ lii. 4.  
Jer. xliv. 14. (?)  
„ l. 40.  
Lam. iv. 15.  
Cf. also Judg. v. 17.  
Ps. v. 5.  
„ xv. 1.  
„ lxi. 5.

In the last chapters of Jeremiah LXX. uses

|                    |                          |                      |
|--------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| κατοικεῖν          | xlii. 15 = LXX. xlix. 15 | { A. προσηλευτεύειν. |
|                    |                          | { Σ. παροικεῖν.      |
| „                  | 22 „ „ 22.               |                      |
| xlix. 18           | „ „ xxix. 18.            |                      |
| „                  | 33 „ „ xxx. 11.          |                      |
| xliii. 5           | „ „ 1. 5                 | A. Σ. παροικεῖν.     |
| xliv. 8            | „ „ li. 8.               |                      |
| „                  | 28 „ „ 28                | A. Σ. παροικεῖν.     |
| ἐνοικεῖν, xlii. 17 | „ „ xlix. 17.            |                      |
| οἰκεῖν, xliii. 2   | „ „ 1. 2.                |                      |

But the same version translates גֵּיר when used of a proselyte by—

|               |                                |
|---------------|--------------------------------|
| προσέρχομαι,  | Exod. xii. 48.                 |
| „             | Lev. xix. 33.                  |
| „             | Num. ix. 14.                   |
| „             | Isa. liv. 15 (mistranslation). |
| προσγίνομαι,  | Num. xv. 14.                   |
| προσηλευτεύω, | Ezek. xiv. 7.                  |
| πρόσκειμαι,   | Lev. xvii. 8.                  |

It should be added that the LXX. c. 10 times translates כָּנָוּר or כְּנָרִים, where they mean sojourning, by παροικεῖν or its derivatives.

The distinction so clearly drawn by the LXX. translators between גֵּיר = “a sojourner,” and גֵּר = “a proselyte,” and again between גֵּיר, when it means “to sojourn,” and גֵּיר, when it is used of a proselyte, is also carried out in the Targums, the Syriac, and the Ethiopic.

The Targums seem to follow the LXX.

Thus A, גֵּיר = sojourner = πάροικος = דִּיר c. 6 times.

„ = „ = „ = תּוֹתֵב עֵרֵל, Deut. xiv. 21.  
= גִּוּרָא, 2 Sam. i. 13.

Ps. xxxix. 13.

In Deut. xiv. 21 תּוֹתֵב עֵרֵל is no doubt used for the same reason that the LXX. renders by πάροικος, because it was

inconceivable that a proselyte should be represented as eating, נִבְלָה (Aq. however has *προσήλυτος*).

In 2 Sam. i. 13 the Targum, differing from the LXX., sees in the Amalekite who brought news of the battle of Mount Gilboa a proselyte in the technical sense of the term. So also the Syriac and Aquila.

But גַּר = proselyte = *προσήλυτος* = אִיּוֹר c. 68 times.

„ = „ = *γειώρας* = „ twice.

In Lev. xxv. 23, 35 the LXX. has *προσήλυτος* where we might have expected *πάροικος*. Here the Targum has דִּירִין; Syriac, {ܕܝܪܝܢ.

In Lev. xxv. 47 the M.T. has in clause *a* גַּר וְתוֹשֵׁב, and in clause *b* גַּר תוֹשֵׁב. Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 356, has shown that in the latter case ו should be restored. The Samaritan text has it. The LXX. also read it and rendered in both clauses *προσήλυτοι ἢ πάροικοι*. But the Targum sees in both cases the גַּר וְתוֹשֵׁב of the Mishna (Schürer, *Gesch. des Jud. Volkes zur Zeitalter J. Chr.*, ii. 567) and renders by עַרְל וְתוֹתָב and עַרְל תוֹתָב.

In Deuteronomy xxviii. 43 the Targum again differs from the LXX. The latter saw in the passage a threat that the proselytes should be exalted over the Israelites. The Targum intensifies the denunciation when it renders by תוֹתָב עַרְל.

B. The Targum renders גַּר = to sojourn = some derivative of *παροικεῖν*, by derivatives of the roots דוּר or יתב c. 6 times.

= *διατρίβειν* once.

= *γείτονες* once.

= *πρόσκειμαι* twice.

= *εἰμί* once,

but when used of a proselyte by אִיתְגִּיר, c. 16 times.

C. The Targum renders גַּר = to sojourn = *παροικεῖν*

by יתב or דור *c.* 25 times. In the last chapters of Jeremiah, where LXX. has for לגור, κατοικεῖν, ἐνοικεῖν, or οἰκεῖν, Targum has לאתותבא.

On the other hand, it renders גור, when used of a proselyte, by איתגיייר *c.* 6 times.

It 10 times renders מגור or כגרים = some derivative of παροικεῖν, by a derivative of יתב or גור.

In the case of the two following versions the Hexateuch only is referred to.

The usage in the case of the Syriac is rather peculiar. In Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Joshua it renders גר in either sense by ܘܒܥܘܕ or ܘܟܘܠܘܠ (גר = προσήλυτος = ܘܦܥܘܠ ܘܟܘܠܘܠ, Deut. x. 18; xiv. 29).

But in Leviticus and Numbers—

גר = sojourner = ܕܝܝܪ = ܘܒܥܘܕ (only Lev. xix. 34; xxv. 23; xxxv. 47).

גר = προσήλυτος = גיורא = ܘܟܘܠܘܠ ܘܦܥܘܠ, 26 times.

גור is commonly rendered by ܘܒܥܘܕ, occasionally by ܘܟܘܠܘܠ.

The Ethiopic translator follows the same principles.

גר = a sojourner = πάροικος = ܕܝܝܪ = ܕለከ, 4 times; but ܕለከ represents προσήλυτος in Deut. xxviii. 43 (see above under Targ.); Exod. xx. 10 (προσήλυτος ὁ παροικῶν).

Notice also that ܕለከ is used to represent תושב = πάροικος in Gen. xxiii. 4; Lev. xxv. 6, 23, 35, 47<sup>2</sup>; Num. xxxv. 15.

On the other hand—

גר = proselyte = προσήλυτος = גיורא = ܕܦܥܘܠ about 58 times.

גר = proselyte = γειώρας = גיורא = ܕܦܥܘܠ once.

In conclusion, some explanation is needed of two passages in which the LXX. translates גר by γειώρας. Why, if προσήλυτος has been uniformly used to translate גר when it was thought to signify proselyte, do the translators go out of their way to import a New-Hebrew and Aramaic word

in these two instances? There is here, it must be confessed, a difficulty, which is made much of by those who hold that *προσήλυτος* and *πάροικος* are synonymous terms. Geiger, for instance, sees here a proof that in these two places only did the translators see in  $\aleph$  a proselyte in the technical sense of the word. Hence the unusual word. Elsewhere  $\aleph$  meant for them "a sojourner." But this certainly goes too far. It creates numerous difficulties. A test case is perhaps the usage of the Greek translator of Deuteronomy. In twenty places he translates  $\aleph$  by *προσήλυτος*; in two only does he use *πάροικος*. In neither of these two could  $\aleph$  possibly mean "proselyte." In xxiii. 8 it is used of Israel in Egypt; in xiv. 21 it is said that  $\aleph$  may be given to the  $\aleph$ . Now suppose that the two words are synonymous. Why does not the translator use them more impartially? Or if he prefers *προσήλυτος*, why does he go out of his way to use *πάροικος* just in the two places where the meaning "proselyte" is not admissible? The remaining case in Deuteronomy (x. 19) has already been explained. What we want is some explanation which will cover all the facts. But until that is forthcoming it is surely more simple to assume that the use of *γείωρας* in Exodus xii. 19, Isaiah xiv. 1, is due to some exceptional cause, than to be forced to the conclusion that *πάροικος* and *προσήλυτος* are synonymous terms. This supposition makes the distribution of the two terms an insoluble enigma. It forces us to ask—

1. Why the translators use *πάροικος* about eleven times, in all of which the meaning "proselyte" is inadmissible?

2. Why they never use *προσήλυτος* in such cases except in the passages referred to above, viz., Leviticus xxv. 23, 35; Deuteronomy i. 16; Exodus xii. 48, xxii. 20, xxiii. 9; Leviticus xix. 34; Deuteronomy x. 19, of which the first two are metaphorical, and the last four admit of an easy and simple explanation?

3. Why they use *προσήλυτος* about seventy-five times,

some sixty of which occur in the legal codes, where רַבִּי might well be supposed to mean "proselyte"; and why in these codes they never use *πάροικος* except in two or three passages where the meaning "proselyte" is impossible?

4. Why they make so remarkable a distinction in their renderings of רַבִּי and the participle רַבִּי, employing as a rule *παροικεῖν* or a cognate word, where they are used of sojourning in general; but where the subject is רַבִּי = *προσήλυτος*, using such verbs as *προσέρχομαι*, *προσγίνομαι*, *προσηλυτεύω*, *πρόσκειμαι*, *προσπορεύομαι*, which are so admirably calculated to express the position of one who was a proselyte in the religious sense?

W. C. ALLEN.

#### JUDGMENT ACCORDING TO TYPE.

Two at least of the chief convictions which sustain the heart of Humanity rest, in the last issue, on a basis of pure reason. One is the belief that the soul is immortal; the other is the belief that it will be judged. We repudiate the opposite because the annihilation of the spiritual and the confusion of the moral are unthinkable. "For my own part," says Mr. Fiske, "I believe in the immortality of the soul, not in the sense in which I accept the demonstrable truths of science, but as a supreme act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work." It is incredible that when the long evolution of nature has come to a head the flower should be flung away. This were to reduce design to a fiasco. "What can be more in the essential nature of things," writes Mr. W. R. Greg, in his *Enigmas of Life*, a very honest book, "than that the mere entrance into the spiritual state will effect a severance of souls?" It is incredible that the present failure of justice should end in no redress, and the immense wrongs of this life have no