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## PROF. WORKMAN ON THE VARIATIONS

BETWEEN THE HEBREW AND (iREEK TEXT OF JEREMIAH.*

BY PROF. HENRY PRESERVEI) SMITH.

THE utter neglect with which the textual criticism of the Old Testament has been treated since the seventeenth century until a very recent time makes every sign of interest in this subject welcome. In this sense I greeted joyfully the book of Prof. Workman entitled "The Text of Jeremiah," published the present year (18*9) by T. and 'T. Clark of Edinburgh. Prof. Workman deserves praise for attacking a neglected problem, and for the induatry which he has devoted to its discussion. Genuine textual criticism is, however, a work of some difficulty. It would not be strange should there be some failures. Certainly every new contribution to the science needs itself to be carefully criticised before its results are accepted as established.

The greater part of Prof. Workman's volume is taken up with an argument. Into that argument I do not propose now to enter. My present busiuess is with the last chapter, which probably cost more labor than all the rest of the work, and which the author evidently hoped to make the most useful part of the work. It is entitled "The Conspectus of the Variations," and presents in parallel columns variations between the Hebrew text current among us and the Greek translation known as the Septuagiut, 'retranslated into Hebrew. ${ }^{1}$ The purpose of this Conspectus is to give the reader a correct idea of the amount of variation between the two texts, and to enable him to correct the current text.

The first criticism that suggests itself is, that the end might have been better accomplished by a critical edition. The present arrangement necessitates constant reference to the Hebrew, and frequently also to the Greek. A continuous text, with the variations relegated to the margin, would avoid these embarrassments. As it is, the

* Read in December 1889.
${ }^{1}$ I shall ase these abbreviations: $\mathbb{D}$, the Masoretic text; ( , the Greek translation (Lxx) ; A, the Alexandrian ms; B, the Vaticanus; $S$, the Sinaiticus; Ti, Tischendorf's edition of the Lxx , containing the text of the Editio Romana.
scholar will find it easier to make his own collation than to make use of the Conspectus.

It in, however, often the case that the treatment of a subject which is methodically not the best. is yet a real contribution to science. The form in which the question is put may not be the best, yet the answer may be helpful. Supposing, now, that Prof. Workman's Conspectus may be of use, what are the criteria by which it should be judged? Evidently the work of textual criticism reguires, above all things, accuracy. The alleged apparatus must be reliable, or it is of no real use. To judge such a work as the one before us, we must apply rigidly a high standard of accuracy. ${ }^{2}$ The application of such a standard shows the following results :

1. Workman has used the two texts nearest at hand - IIahn's Hebrew Bible and Tischendorf's Vetus Testamentum Graece. In at least one instance, the former is inaccurate-vi. 14, $r$ rs where the best texts omit $\mathrm{r}=$. The variant of the Greek which he gives here does not exist.
2. His work is incomplete. He has not given all the variations, even of Ti . The following should be added: *



ii. 12 'I'he main verbs are takell as indicatives by (3.4


ii.。2 2 (
ii. 32 W. notes that $\boldsymbol{B}=$ and change places, lut not that the latter should be $\quad$.


 same verb in the earlier part of the verse.


[^0]iv. 7 Ts. whether (i) had clearly in mind the distinction hetween pr: and rys; but as кaӨaبfé is twice in Jeremiah used for pres, and nowhere (unless here) used for $n \times 9$, it is on the whole probable that their copy had in this place mys.
$$
\text { v. } 12 \text { x }
$$
3. The fact that Workman has not consulted for his Greek readiugs anything but the current text as represeuted by Tischemdorf, has caused him to give as variants a number of readings which go back only to the editors of the Sixtine edition. It is the purpose of sucla a comparison as he has made to get back to the original septuagint. In order to this, the most ancient manuscripts are the most important. Amoug the ancient mannscripts a high place must be given to 13 , as probably representing more nearly than any other single manuscript the original Septuagint. The Editio Romana professes to give the text of B. Notoriously, however, the editors allowed themselves considerable freedom. It is necessary that we should have the testimony of 13 , and it is very desirable that we should have the testimony of the other uncial codices, whose agreement gives at least a strong probability in favor of their reading. We possess now a collation of AlBS by Nestle, published as a supplement to 'Tischendorf's text. ${ }^{5}$ Its use wherever that edition is quoted for critical purposes is essential to accuracy. One who publishes a collation of (1) with is might fairly be expected to do more than this. But, to apply only the more moderate requirement, we must find Workman's Conspectus lacking. The following errors in his collation have this origin:
i. 2 ת : N. Wased on ws Ti.; but A BS have ös, agreeing therefore with $\overline{\mathrm{S}}$.
iii. 16 The clause $\lambda$ é $\gamma \in \iota$ кúptos is in the current (ireek inserted in a different place from that in which ohas it. AlS agree with the latter.
iv. 4 rem: A agrees with in: but BS have ó $\theta$ vuús aûroû (5ッロ).
iv. 5 -aky : citate. I3 only can be cited for the variation. ${ }^{6}$

[^1]iv. 7 s s sai ai mólets Ti , on the basis of which W . gives

 by ABS, which therefore agree with in.
iv. 19 : B S have the word but once.
iv. $26 \pi$ тирi (W. Exz) is not found in BS.

จ. 11 入éfet кúpoos of B has no equivalent in ib. It is lacking, however, in A S and a number of other atss of IIolmes and Parsone. The phrase is of so easy iusertion that its presence even in B can hardly weigh very heavily.

จ. 19 The article ( $\tau \hat{\eta}$ second time) on which W. bases בָּ is not found in ABS.
v. 20 oike of Ti is not found in ABS, which are therefore in harmony with i).


vi. 11 E ו : A BS, and apparently all the wss of Holmes and

vi. 13 וצזר כתקן. B and $S$ agree in reading éms (rithout кai).
vi. 22 745 : Workman gives the plural, after 'Ti. A BS, however, have the verb in the singular.
4. To this must be added, that the Conspeectus contains a number of alleged readings of the Greek translators which are probably not variants at all. The restoration of the original is, of course, a matter of considerable delicacy. But this is a reason for at least giving the Greek along with the proposed rendering. The following examples will probably make this clear:
i. 6 אחת : $\delta \dot{\omega} v$, which Workman re-translates into or . The word is one that gives the translators some trouble. In Judges it is renderell, or transferred, ${ }^{\mathbf{a}} \boldsymbol{\jmath} \boldsymbol{a}$, in Ezekiel oumot, in 2 Kings む. In Jeremiah it occurs four times; three times we find in the Greek of ©̈r as here, once $\mathcal{J}$ (though in this passage also one ms has $\delta^{\circ} \mathrm{\omega}$ ). It is very doubtful, therefore, whether (i) had any different text from our own.
 translators had no before them.


on the theory that nrman is always translated $\lambda$ éje кúpos. In ii. 3 he proposes also to read $\begin{gathered}\text { an } \\ \text { on } \\ \text { on the ground of } \phi \eta \sigma i \\ \text { кúpoos. As }\end{gathered}$ both of the Greek phrases really render nom and correctly, it is doubtful whether we can change the Hebrew on their account. It is worth noticing also that in i. 19 twelve mss (including A), and in ii. 3 fourteen mss, actually read $\lambda$ éyєt кúpus. It is not impossible that this is the original, clanged by the copyist for the sake of variety. On the other hand, in a phrase of such frequent insertion the variety of reading in ( $\$$ may indicate interpolation in conformity to the Hebres, in which case the phrase in both these instances would be of doubtful authenticity. Certainly it would be unfortunate for one seeking light on the text to suppose that the facts indicate without ambiguity the reading חx
 of $3 x$ and $b s$ is so common in Jeremiah, that it is difficult to base an argument upon the translation.
ii. 6 The current Greek has plural verbs for the singulars of $[5$. Hebrew, however, uses collective nouns so frequently (as here кaronía) that any argument based on mere change of number in the translation is very precarious. On this ground a number of Workman's variants should at least be marked by an interrogation.


 where for צרכה. In case of an uncommon word like the trans. lators may have given a conjectural interpretation, guided by the evident requirements of the coutext. In the other place where it occurs in Jeremiah they have identified it with שיחm .
 however, is hardly an equivalent. "Lihere transtulerunt; nam haurive ventum quod in textu legitur est anxie spiritum ducere." (Schleusner).
 . הלא רדב: But кvptev́m twice represents , so that, if anything, we should read "חלא. One cannot help thinking that ov̉ кvpıcuбópe $\theta$. Oa is an aecurate rendering of ":ר. Schleusner gives the phrase, and defines it non dominium in nos patiemur, which surely defines
ii. 36 לששים. I do not understand why we should suppose (\$)

iii． 1 The éáv of（i）may well represent of on：＂certe Syris et Chald． $7 \boldsymbol{\eta}$ ralet éáv．＂（Schlensuer）．W．changes to ma．
 variant；ö $\psi$ us is nowhere used（if we may trust Trommius）for ate and is a good translation of ．
［It should be noted that in the two preceding instances Workman
 My criticism is，that the probabilities are so strong against there being any variation that none should have been assumed．This form of writing the worls seems to allow only the possibility that（i）read the same which we have．］
iii． 8 הこשと ：катоккu．As the translation of the word is uniform，


 this points to ：צדק，as W．suggests．As，however，a considerable group of mss has auviŋs this is by no means certain．As＇I $\sigma \rho a \eta \eta \lambda$ is the subject the change in the Greek from original aúr $\hat{s}$ s wonld not be unuatural．Even if aúroû were original，it would not indicate a variant in the proper sense；reis surely was not strange to the Hebrew of the editors．
iii． 14 צייץ：cis ミićv．The translation is as near as we ourselves could make it．；ins is uncalled for．

 we suppose $\dot{\epsilon} v \theta \dot{\imath} \mu \eta \mu a$（ $\left.\dot{\varepsilon} v \theta^{\prime} \mu \dot{\eta} \mu a \tau a\right)$ to be a possible translation of
 word．This，moreover，is rendered probable by the fact that the more familiar word is the one which is maturally inserted to explain the less familiar word．＇The word $\quad$ ：－ two（besides vii．28）it is lacking in（\％．Once it is translated $\pi \lambda^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \eta$
 Prof．Workman，therefore，the text before（i）did not contain the word at all，but always had some other word in its place．This is exceedingly suspicious．It is more likely that not being quite settled as to the exact equivalent of the word，but taking it in the general sense of＂imaginations＂（as indeed recent authorities have given it）， they colored their translation differently in the different places where the word occurs．That they were in line with ancient tradition in
their general understanding of the word is indicated by the (probable) insertion of מימצs as its synonym and explanation in vii. 24. In no one of the six cases referred to, therefore, are we justified in supposing a real variation of text.
 it is evident that $x$ is used collectively, and the translation must change the number, as we ourselves should do in rendering into Finglish. Compare what has already been said under ii. 6 above.
 to have understood 0g, but everywhere connect it with 0-9, it is likely they made the best they could out of the present text, and the hypothesis that they read 4 is uncalled for.
iv. 16 ( 6 :
 that has sometimes the meaning of $7 \boldsymbol{7}$, it is not improbable that the Greek translator had the same idea.
 $\mu \mathrm{ov}$. We have here probably a case of conflation in (i), two translations of the same phrase having beell put side by side. This is not uncommon in our copies of ( 1 -a corrector inserting what he supposes to be a more accurate rendering, and yet not venturing to eject the phrase already in the text. A similar case is iv. 20 , where
 ß $\quad$ oav, - "ubi quilibet cidet duas coaluisse cersiones." (Schleusner).
 and another áкov́romat and a third úкov́rw. It is clear that the corruption in ( 15 is easier to account for than in (6).
 W. But oưӨ'́v is elsewhere used for and all that we can conclude is that (3) did not have "בהּ, which would be easily inserted from the familiar Gen. i. 2.

 е́та́раэє.
iv. 26 ( ${ }^{(1)}$ adds $\eta \dot{\eta} \phi a v i \sigma \theta \eta \sigma a v$ at the end of the verse, which W.
 cated as between these two, it should be in favor of $4=$, which might have been obscured into the 5 of the next verse, omitted by ( $\%$. Beyond this rather slender ground, there is no reason for choosing
either of these from the dozen or more verbs that are rendered áфavíßu. Another possibility remaius: そ̉фavíctnaav may be an attempt to translate more correctly the preceding ${ }^{7}$ n:.
iv. 29 ורעח : ivterafévov tółov (one ms has èктeтацévou). W. proposes
 nected 10 with ivccivo, and did not have a different text.
 ever, does not seem elsewhere to be paralleled. It is sufficient to read 7 .
v. 10 W . proposes to substitute $b=$ for $=$, on the ground of $i \pi i$. In the breadth of meauing in which $ב$ may be used there seems no necessity for this.
v. 14 The variants given to E , be based only on slight liberty in translation. (\%anc certainly is well rendered by à $\nu \theta^{\prime} \dot{\oplus} v$ d $\lambda a \lambda \eta \dot{\eta} \sigma a t \epsilon$.
v. 17 The nouns which W. would change to the plural (z), 7pa) are collectives.
v. 22 אשר שת : tòv tákavta. - It is difficult to see how (3) could have rendered better.
 suppose ( $\$$ to read
 בידף. No change is called for.
vi. 4 I $\boldsymbol{2}$ : inépas found in the current Greek may be a corrup-



 least eight times for or מוםר, W.

 that ( $\$$ joins the words to the following verse - пóve каí $\mu$ áatizı пatסeot jopy. The translators took the Hebrew words as iustrumental accusatives, and needing•no prepositions to help them.

 ( $\left.{ }^{( }\right)$I cannot help suspecting that this word has something to do with v. 26 .

The only change indicated is the substitution of נשים for בשירת. The

vi. 13 รצ゙
 rendering could hardly have been different. W. proposes 7 Iצ בצ and בל בשים
 of Hebrew verbs, and is near enough in meaning to cover this one нs well.
 with exactly the same translation in three other places in Jeremial, it is improbable that a various reading existed.
 as of the preceding: the phrase occurs with the same translation elsewhere.
 number of Hebrew words, but for no one of them more than once or twice, and if it represents something different from here, we are entirely in the dark as to the restoration to be made. W. proposes
 common) Hebrew word that we need assume a variation.
vi. 28 : 28 : $\delta \iota є \phi \theta a p \mu$ évol. The repdering is as correct as we could ourselves give.
5. To these criticisms, - the great majority of which will, I think, command assent at once, - a few cases may be added where Prof. Workman has not considered all the possibilities.

 they must supply something to make sense, and we have sleuder evidence for the insertion of לֹתחיל. It is probable, moreover, that if
 stead of transposing the two words.
 Schleusner, re-translates בץ ב cidocic (if one may trust the concordance), and the dri points to a word that can be used with or or . Why not read ?

 is .5. In Isa. xl. 4 oios tpaxcia is $\square=\square$, which, if any change is to be made, should be brought into view. Probably, however, Schleusner's liberius exposuerunt is correct.
 " ${ }^{2}$ ", according to $W$. But does not the Greek distinctly imply א would not be strange.
ii. 20 Why should the readers be puzzled with "תרזב:?
ii. 30, 31 It is unfortunate that $W$. quotes separately the end of verse 30 and the beginning of verse 31 , thus obscuring the fact that the end of verse 30 in (i) probably represents the beginning of verse 31 in .5. At least the words missing in (i) in one place and in (5) in the other are near enough alike to make the conjecture plausible that one bas given rise to the other ; they are respectively

iii. 3 Eלתב ciable variation in (i); one ms only of Parsons omits $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \pi a ́ v t a s) . ~ . ~$ How does Prof. W. arrive at his restoration, $\}=-\boldsymbol{m}:$ ? Evidently the Greek verb is a good rendering of $\varepsilon$, and the



 א אריה ; but this is too much. Clearly not represeuted in the Greek, and should be omitted. Whether катє$\lambda \dot{\eta} \phi \theta \eta$ (катe入cí $\phi \eta$ is found in several mss) represents $\operatorname{Hever}$ or some other verb is doubtful. Putting the two readings together, we notice that $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ mávtev ©iv кare $\lambda \eta \phi \theta \eta$ stands in the place occupied by s, and are led to suspect that the Greek words represent something not unlike these Hebrew words. My conjecture would be manenc. But nothing more than a conjecture can be given, and when given it should be marked by an interrogation point.


[^2] suppose it here，as being nearer the form in is）．

 only change needed is that of אמנחם：which is not at all far－
 heing inserted to make the sense clear，perhaps by a later hand，as it is missing in a number of mss．

I may say here，that if in a number of cases W．has arbitrarily given only one out of a number of verbs that might be represented by the Greek，he has in others given unnecessary alternatives，as v．7，where we find these cases the resemblance of one of the two verbs to.$j$ is so marked that the other is altogether out of the question．
v． 17 ירשט ：кai àdoŋ́rovat．（i）regularly substitutes the plural for the singular in this verse，so that one of the proposed readings （•שジク）is unnecessary，and the other（4）I do not understand． Elsewhere we have didones as a translation of erf，which would point to
 Oijatep $\Sigma$ wi\％．W．supposes the Hebrew original to be nemin בזיציף．But tò úqós gov is clearly must be the fivetat at the end of the preceding verse，and can scarcely repre－
 conjectures irsers restored．
 seem to recoguize that the variation has arisen from the misplacement of the $n$ simply．mapouci is $\mathrm{Z}: \mathrm{z}$ as perfect（or participle），and the clange to nat is not necessary．

It will have been noticed that all the instances quoted are from the first six chapters of the book；and，in fact，I have confined my exam－ ination to these six chapters．The only conclusion to which I can come is，that the Conspectus，besides being faulty in plan，is inaccurate and unreliable．While it may give a fairly adequate idea of the character of the variations between the two texts，it is worse than uscless（because misleading）for serious criticism of the text．


[^0]:    ${ }^{2}$ It gives me pleasure to say that in making this examination my own collation of the two texts has frequently been supplemented and corrected by that of Prof. Workman.
    ${ }^{8}$ I give the readiug of (i) inst, then that of ( 5 , with a colon between.
    4 This is of course a mater of interpretation rather than of text, as the translators had no vowel points. A , however, on Prof. Workman's own theory these variations should be incluted, I have given them here.

[^1]:    5 Veteris Testamenti Graeci codices Vaticanas et Sinaitiens cum textu recepte collati ab Eberardo Nestle. The first elition was published in 1880 . I have used the sccond, published 1887.
    ${ }^{5}$ The importance of $\mathbf{B}$ has been recognized above. It is nevertheless well to know when it stands alone.

[^2]:    ${ }^{8}$ I may perhaps be parduned for introducing a conjecture of my own on the unusual phrase natan The prophet goes on to "justify the ways of God to men," or at least to Israel -
    

