THE PHILOLOGY OF THE GREEK BIBLE: ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE.¹

III.

SEPTUAGINT PHILOLOGY.

Our discussion in the second lecture on methods of studying the language of the Greek Bible may be said to result in two requirements, one for specialization of the study, the other for its incorporation as a branch in the larger complex of studies dealing with late Greek.

For future linguistic work on the Greek Bible, particularly the Septuagint, on these lines we now possess an auxiliary of more than ordinary importance in a great three-volume concordance that has recently been completed: the Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Translations of the Old Testament, by Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath.² Apart from the “Indices” to some classical authors and concordances to the more important English poets books of this sort are really a speciality of the theological tool-basket. Originally, no doubt, they were designed to assist in practical exegesis, but they now form part of the indispensable apparatus of scientific investigation. They enable us to take a rapid survey of the uses of words, forms, and constructions, and though they may seem to be a satire on the saying that the Scripture cannot be broken, if rightly used they do indeed promote the more intimate knowledge of the Bible.

¹ These lectures were delivered in the Summer School of the Free Churches, at Cambridge, in July and August, 1907. In writing them I allowed myself the use of part of an address given by me at Giessen in 1897. The lectures were translated for me by Mr. Lionel R. M. Strachan, M.A., Lector of English in the University of Heidelberg.

The chief requisites indispensable in any concordance are trustworthiness and completeness of statement. The old Septuagint Concordance by Tromm, to which one was formerly obliged to have recourse, did not fulfil these requirements. It was published in 1718 and is responsible for a good deal of original sin in the quotations to be found in commentaries.

The new Concordance was prepared and begun under the auspices of Hatch, who, however, did not live to witness the publication of even the first instalment. He died, according to human reckoning, much too early, on the eleventh of November, 1889, at Oxford. I consider the preparation of the Septuagint Concordance to have been his greatest service to learning. That monumental work is the abiding fulfilment of the simple aspiration that Hatch himself once expressed in verse:

For me . . .
To have been a link in the chain of life:
Shall be immortality.

Like all human work, it is not free from errors, but it is on the whole thoroughly trustworthy. One of its chief advances on its predecessor is shown in the attention paid to those minute words, the particles, which are of such great interest philologically. Schmiedel, however, is certainly right in wishing that in the case of particles the editors had not only noted the passages but also printed them in full. It is really, in some cases, of more importance to be able to inform oneself rapidly concerning the uses of the particle ἀν than to be able to trace in long lists the occurrence of such a word as ἀνθρωπός.

It is a defect, in my opinion, that the principle of absolute completeness has not been carried out. Thus, for example,

2 Winer-Schmiedel, p. xv.
the personal pronouns are not given, or rather they are only recorded with the addition of the word passim—a remark which may of course mean very much or very little. Not long ago I had occasion to examine the uses of the solemn formula "I am," ἐγώ εἰμί, which occurs in the Gospel of St. John and in inscriptions relating to the cult of Isis. Here the Concordance, article ἐγώ, failed to assist me, for the ἐγώ εἰμί which it records is something different. In this case of course it was possible to look for εἰμὶ in the article εἰμαί; but what is to be done when the grammarian wishes to examine the use of the emphatic ἐγώ or σύ?

I am unable to agree with the aggrieved complaint of Cremer,1 to whom the statistical system followed in the Concordance seems to be a mistake. On the contrary, I consider it an advantage that we now obtain more rapid information as to the linguistic usages of the separate books. The numbers appended always will afford information as to the Hebrew original for which the Greek word stands. We must also be grateful for the notice taken of the chief variants in the manuscripts. Many details of importance in the history of the language are concealed in them. For example, the word δοξίμως, of great importance in two places2 in the New Testament where it was not recognized, can be established from Septuagint variants, and its occurrence is then confirmed by the papyri.

The third volume is particularly valuable. It contains a Concordance of proper names in the Septuagint and other translations which may be called epoch-making as regards the study of Semitic and Greek sounds and pronunciation. It contains further a Concordance of the parts of the Greek Ecclesiasticus where corresponding Hebrew equivalents can be given. Thirdly, there is new Hexaplaric material,

2 Jas. i. 3, 1 Pet. i. 7.
chiefly from the discoveries of Dr. Mercati in the Vatican Library; and finally there is an Index to the Hebrew words in the whole work.

This last index possesses an importance that has not yet been generally recognized. We knew already from the Greek Concordance that the Septuagint exhibits a striking simplification of the vocabulary of its original. One single Septuagint word serves not infrequently to translate a hundred and more different words in the Hebrew. How far this reduction of the copiousness of the Hebrew was neutralized by Hebrew words receiving a variety of Greek translations, it was hitherto, except by very troublesome work with the Hebrew Concordance, impossible to ascertain. The Hebrew index of the Oxford Concordance has now made it possible to examine with both speed and accuracy this not unimportant question in the statistics of the language. We see that there are also Hebrew words which the translators have rendered in over a hundred different ways. The same index will also prove of excellent service for investigating the peculiarities of the individual translators.

The work is printed with simple English elegance and will remain for years and perhaps for centuries the only one of its kind. Remembering this we can only repeat with deep gratitude the words of the surviving editor, Henry A. Redpath, in his last preface, dated May, 1906, where he describes the work as a labour of love. Truly, such a monumental work could not have been created without love and enthusiasm.

A Concordance does not pretend to be a positive advancement of philology; but it can be the stimulus to a revival of the study, for it is to the scholar the same as a large, well-arranged herbarium is to the botanist—material for research in conveniently accessible form.

Other equally important auxiliaries for students of the
Septuagint are the new editions of the text. Oxford presented us with the new Concordance, and Cambridge is giving us the new text. First Henry Barclay Swete produced a highly successful manual edition of the Vatican text, with the variants of the other most important manuscripts, and supplemented it with the first Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek. His labours are the most important that have been bestowed on the Septuagint since Lagarde's valuable work in the last third of the nineteenth century. His Introduction in particular is at once a compendium of all the earlier Septuagint philology and a stimulus for all future work on the subject.

Then the "large" Cambridge Septuagint began to appear, Genesis being published in 1906 as the first part of the first volume. This great work was also originally under the management of Swete, but when he was obliged to relinquish the execution of the larger plan in 1895 it was entrusted to Alan England Brooke and Norman McLean. The Cambridge Septuagint does not aim at determining the primitive text—the time is not yet ripe for that—but it tries to give a collection, as complete and trustworthy as possible, of all the materials for the text, which, since the great Oxford edition of Holmes and Parsons, have been greatly increased. Such a collection of the materials was as necessary as daily bread to Biblical philology. I was


2 *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek,* by H. B. Swete. Cambridge, 1900; 2nd ed., 1902.

3 *The Old Testament in Greek according to the text of Codex Vaticanus,* supplemented from other uncial manuscripts, with a critical apparatus containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities for the text of the Septuagint. Edited by Alan E. Brooke and Norman McLean. Vol. i., Part I., Genesis. Cambridge, 1906.

4 R. Holmes and J. Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus,* Oxonii, 1798–1827 (5 vols.).
at the Hamburg Congress of Orientalists in 1902, when Professor Nestle made the first authentic announcements concerning the forthcoming work based on an article by Brooke and McLean, and there can be no doubt that all present were impressed by the extreme importance of the matter. The Genesis which has since appeared has not disappointed our highest expectations. The editors have worked with the greatest accuracy. All the available witnesses to the text have been cited, down to the most recently published papyri, including the most important cursive manuscripts, the old translations, Philo, the New Testament, and the quotations in the old ecclesiastical writers. The thread upon which everything is strung is usually, as in Swete’s edition, the Codex Vaticanus. The typography is a masterpiece of the Cambridge University Press.

It is to be hoped that, as we now possess such splendid new auxiliaries, Biblical philology will address itself to the great task of compiling a Septuagint Lexicon. It would be quite mistaken policy to postpone work on the Lexicon till we have something like a critical text. That would be putting it off till the Greek Kalends. But we can begin at once. A Lexicon is not intended to last for centuries; it does duty only until it is relieved by a better one, and the textual critic is the last person who can afford to do without a Lexicon. Hitherto we have had only the old Septuagint Dictionary by Biel, or the revision of it by Schleusner, which is a rather insipid adaptation of Tromm’s


2 Johann Friedrich Schleusner, Novus Thesaurus philologico-criticus; sive Lexicon in LXX. et reliquis interpretes Graecos et scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti. Post Bielium et alios viros doctos congressit et edidit
Concordance, useless at the present day except as a collection of material. The Key to the Old Testament Apocrypha by Christian Abraham Wahl\(^1\) is better in its way, but also no longer up to the standard of modern requirements. Particularly for the Septuagint Lexicon the inscriptions and papyri are of the very greatest importance.

Recent years have produced only preliminary studies for the future lexicon. Those contributed by Hermann Cremer in his Bibliico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek\(^2\) must on no account be forgotten. Yet I cannot help feeling that partly at least they are influenced by the belief in "Biblical" Greek, and I consider critical revision to be imperative. The same applies to the lexical work in Hatch's Essays in Biblical Greek\(^3\), which are full of fine observations. H. A. A. Kennedy, in his Sources of New Testament Greek\(^4\), a book which is unfortunately not always correct in its detailed statements, supplies many correct illustrations of the vocabulary of the Septuagint, and afterwards of the New Testament, from contemporary Greek sources. A gratifying piece of work in the form of a doctoral dissertation was published at Halle in 1894 by Heinrich Anz\(^5\), investigating the relation of two hundred and eighty-nine verbs in the Pentateuch with the popular language. The conception of "Biblical" Greek, which

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1. C. A. Wahl, Clavis librorum Veteris Testamenti Apocryphorum philologica, Lipsiae, 1853.
2. See above.
3. See above.
4. See above.
might so easily have been an obstacle to the work, obviously causes the author few misgivings. He takes the Book of the Seventy frankly for what it is and what it claims to be, and treats it as a specimen of popular Greek. His investigations into the history of the words selected impress one as thoroughly sound, and may be regarded as preliminary studies for the Septuagint Dictionary. It is a pity that the more recent papyrus discoveries were not then accessible to the author.

In 1897 and 1899 the Professor of Theology at Utrecht, J. M. S. Baljon, published a Dictionary of Early Christian Literature, which as regards the New Testament articles was founded on Cremer. It professes to contain the vocabulary of the Septuagint and its satellites, besides that of the New Testament and of early Christian literature in general. The idea of constructing a common dictionary for the whole of this large field is undoubtedly a good one, but one cannot help suspecting that the idea is too great for the present time. A lexicon, whether to the Septuagint or to the New Testament, cannot be constructed offhand, if it is to contain what we have a right nowadays to expect. Blass criticized the book and found in it not a little that a philologist could not approve. With all admiration for Baljon's industry it must nevertheless be said that he does not even touch, much less solve, the really great problems of a Septuagint Dictionary.

In 1895 a Cambridge committee drew up a plan for a Dictionary of the Septuagint, but Swete some time ago informed us that the plan had been suspended for the present. This is highly regrettable, but the reasons for the suspension are intelligible to any one who knows the present

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1 J. M. S. Baljon, *Griekse-theologisch Woordenboek hoofdzaakelijk van de oud-christelijke letterkunde*, Utrecht, 1895–99, 2 parts.
2 *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1897, xxii. col. 43 f.
position of research. The difficulties are very great, and those peculiar to a Septuagint Dictionary are commonly underestimated. People think that the problem is solved by ascertaining what Hebrew word or words are represented by the Septuagint word. They then look up the meaning of the Hebrew and thus obtain what they consider the "meaning" of the Septuagint word. Equivalence of the words—an obvious fact, easily ascertainable—is taken without further ado to denote equivalence in the ideas conveyed.

People forget that the Septuagint has often substituted words of its own rather than translated. All translation, in fact, implies some, if only a slight, alteration of the sense of the original. The meaning of a Septuagint word cannot be deduced from the original which it translates or replaces but only from other remains of the Greek language, especially from those Egyptian sources that have lately flowed so abundantly. Even Professor Blass, I am glad to say, took up this position at last—a position which, unfortunately, is not conceded at once, but has to be slowly won by combat with an unmethodical school.

To give one example: Baljon in his Lexicon gives as meanings for the Septuagint word ἀρեύβας “olive tree” and “cypress tree.” The Hebrew words for these two trees are certainly sometimes rendered ἀρεύβας by the translators, and so Baljon concludes that in the language of the Septuagint ἀρεύβας had these meanings. No, says Blass¹ very truly, ἀρεύβας means "juniper," and "a wrong translation does not turn the juniper into an olive or a cypress." There can be no doubt about that.

I can perhaps make my point clearer by an analogy. In the English Authorized Version the "terebinth" of the original is usually translated "oak" (Isa. i. 29; Gen. xxxv. 4). On the analogy of Baljon's article a Dictionary of the

¹ Col. 44.
Authorised Version would have to say that "oak" meant "terebinth," whereas the truth of the matter is that the English translators, like Luther in the German translation, have rendered the Hebrew—I will not say wrongly, but—inexactly. They have Anglicized and Luther has Germanized the Oriental tree.

In the case of Septuagint words of importance in the history of religion the unhappy confusing influence of the mechanical equating process is shown still more clearly; the apparent and external equivalence of words is made the basis of far-reaching deductions. Even a Septuagint scholar like Eberhard Nestle, whose scattered notes are usually most instructive, does not keep altogether clear of this method.

As an example to illustrate this whole subject I may mention the word ἱλαστήριον. You will read of this word in many respectable books on theology that in Septuagint Greek or in "Biblical" Greek it "means" "the lid of the ark of the covenant," because the corresponding Hebrew word "kapporeth" is in most cases so translated by modern scholars. Now the etymology of the word, confirmed by certain inscriptions, shows that ἱλαστήριον means "object of expiation or propitiation." In choosing the word ἱλαστήριον to denote the lid of the ark of the covenant the Septuagint has not translated the concept of "lid" but has replaced it by another concept which brings out the sacred purpose of the ark. The lid of the ark of the covenant is an ἱλαστήριον, but it does not follow that ἱλαστήριον means "lid" either in the Septuagint, in St. Paul, or anywhere else; it can only mean "expiatory or propitiatory object."

A large proportion of the so-called "Biblical" meanings of words common to all forms of the Greek language owe their existence in the dictionaries solely to this mechanical equating process. In order to effect such comparisons of words
there is no need of a lexicon at all; the concordance is sufficient. The lexicon has very different and much more complicated tasks before it. It must exhibit the Greek word in the history of its uses, availing itself specially of the linguistic remains that are locally and temporally most appropriate. It must try to discover and explain the discrepancies of meaning between words equated with one another by the comparative method.

This task is as profitable as it is vast. It will be discovered that the translators, despite their reverence for the syntactical peculiarities of their original, have made liberal use of their own every-day vocabulary, especially in the case of technical and expressive phrases. This has been shown in an instructive essay by B. Jacob¹ on the Book of Esther. Various details will be found in the writings of Jean Antoine Lebronne ² and Giacomo Lumbroso ³ on Egyptian history under the Ptolemies, and in the still valuable work of H. W. J. Thiersch on the Greek Pentateuch.⁴

As examples of the Egyptianizing and, from their point of view, modernizing tendency of the translators, I may quote the following. In the book of Esther (ii. 21) certain officials are mentioned who bear the title of "keepers of the threshold." The Septuagint renders this title by ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, that is "chief of the body-guard," a designation

¹ B. Jacob, Das Buch Esther bei den LXX., Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1890, x. p. 241 ff.
that occurs in Egyptian inscriptions and papyri\textsuperscript{1} as the title of an official in the court of the Ptolemies.

In Joel i. 20, describing the distress of the land, it is said that the rivers of waters are dried up. The Egyptian translators have turned the “rivers of waters” into “canals,” thus making the description much more life-like to Egyptian readers.

In Genesis 1. 2 ff. it is written that the physicians embalmed the body of Jacob. The Septuagint says \( \varepsilon \nu \tau \alpha \phi \iota \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha \) instead of “physicians” (\( \iota \alpha \tau \rho \omicron \alpha \)) for \( \varepsilon \nu \tau \alpha \phi \iota \alpha \sigma \tau \eta \)\textsuperscript{2}, as we know from a papyrus\textsuperscript{2} of the first century B.C., was the technical term for members of the guild that looked after embalming.

Thiersch’s little book, already mentioned, consists chiefly of grammatical studies of the translation of the Pentateuch. It is in every respect a most excellent performance, and was in many points decidedly in advance of its times. Unfortunately, for a long period Thiersch had practically no followers. Purely grammatical investigations of the Septuagint were altogether wanting except what was now and then contained in Grammars of the New Testament, especially Schmiedel’s.\textsuperscript{3} The spell was broken by Swete in his Introduction.\textsuperscript{4} His fourth chapter, containing an account of the Greek of the Septuagint, includes an outline of the grammar; another is given by Conybeare and Stock\textsuperscript{5} in their \textit{Selections from the Septuagint}, which will be referred to again presently. A larger Septuagint Grammar is announced as in preparation by Thackeray, the editor of the Epistle of Aristeas in Swete’s Introduction.

In the autumn of 1907 there was published, after

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Deissmann, \textit{Bible Studies}, 2nd ed., p. 98.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p. 120 f.
\item \textsuperscript{3} See above.
\item \textsuperscript{4} See above, note \textsuperscript{2} p. 510.
\item \textsuperscript{5} See below, note \textsuperscript{2} p. 519.
\end{itemize}
years of preliminary labour, a German Septuagint Grammar by R. Helbing,\(^1\) closely in touch with the recent developments of Greek philology, and based upon an exact study of the enormous materials drawn from the three parallel sources—inscriptions, papyri, and late authors. The extent of the material furnished merely by the papyri of the Ptolemaic age, contemporary with the Septuagint, may be judged from the highly meritorious *Grammar of Greek Papyri of the Ptolemaic Epoch* recently published by Edwin Mayser,\(^2\) who, like Helbing, has turned his attention in the first place to the Phonology and Accidence. The syntactical problems will be treated in separate volumes by both scholars.

The exegesis of the Septuagint forms by itself a special department of Septuagint philology. Its aim is to interpret the Greek Old Testament as the *Greek* Bible. The Seventy represented a Hellenization of Semitic monotheism on a great scale, and their work became a force in literature and in the history of religion, just like Luther’s Bible in later times. But, apart from commentaries on the Old Testament by ancient fathers of the Church, exegetical works on the Septuagint compiled in earlier times are unknown. Such work was neglected probably because the Septuagint was generally used simply as a means for the reconstruction of the Hebrew original text, and because the few who were interested in the contents of the book for its own sake were much too strongly inclined to believe that the sense of the Greek text was one and the same with that of the Semitic original. In countless instances, however, the sense of the two texts does not coincide—and then is the time for Septuagint exegesis to step in: it is a fine large field, and until lately was quite unworked.


\(^2\) See above.
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Two beginnings have recently been made, one by R. R. Ottley in his Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint, and the other by F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, who in their Selections from the Septuagint have provided a series of stories from the historical books of the Septuagint with a detailed introduction and exegetical notes. A third work has been begun by a military chaplain at Hamburg named Adolph Schettler, who intends to write a commentary on selected Septuagint Psalms. The English translation of the Septuagint by Charles Thomson, which I have not yet seen


2 Selections from the Septuagint according to the text of Swete. Boston (U.S.A.) and London [1905]. (Ginn & Co.'s College Series of Greek Authors.)

[Translator's Note]. Charles Thomson (1719–1824) was Secretary to Congress, United States of America. His translation of the Septuagint was printed at Philadelphia, 1808, and was apparently the first English version of the Old Testament made from the Greek. It has recently been reprinted: "The Old Covenant, commonly called the Old Testament: translated from the Septuagint. By Charles Thomson. A new edition by S. F. Pells," London (Skeffington), 1904, 2 vols. A "second issue," with the introductory matter increased from thirty-four to sixty-two pages, was "published by the Editor, Hove, England, 1907." Stamped on the cover of each volume are the words: "The Septuagint. The Bible used by our Saviour and the Apostles. Used in the Christian Church for a thousand years." In the Editor's preface we read (p. xi.): "It was out of this version that our Saviour was taught when a child, and out of which He read in the synagogue the things concerning Himself (Luke iv. 18, 19)." A similar statement is repeated in the second issue, p. li: "The language of Christianity in Palestine was Greek, and the language of the Synagogue was Greek. When our Saviour stood up for to read in the synagogue of Nazareth, it was from the Greek Septuagint, Luke iv. 16–21 (not Hebrew); the ordinary speech of the country at this period was Aramaic, or Syrian." The inscription on the covers of the second issue is altered to read: "Used in the Churches of England for a thousand years," it being a fond delusion of Mr. Pells that the Bibles in use before the Reformation were derived from the Septuagint and therefore more authentic than our present translation from the Massoretic text!

Other English translations of the Septuagint are:

myself, ought to be mentioned here, although the assertion in the preface to the new edition that the Septuagint was the Bible used by Christ is not correct.

The Bible that our Lord used was a Semitic Bible. Paul, however, a child of Hellenized Judaism, used the Septuagint, and with him and after him Greek Christianity, before ever there was a New Testament, reverenced the Septuagint as the Bible and made it more and more a possession of its own. It has served the Christian Church of Anatolia in unbroken continuity down to the present day. It is peculiarly moving to a Bible student of our own days when, in a remote island of the Cyclades, he passes from the glaring noonday sunshine into the darkness of a little Greek chapel and finds the intercessory prayers of the Septuagint Psalms still as living on the lips of a Greek priest as they were two thousand years ago in the synagogues of Alexandria and Delos.

One who has experienced that will return with new devotion to the Book of the Seventy, strengthened in the conviction that this monument of a world-wide religion is indeed worthy of thorough and profound investigation on all sides, not only because of its Hebrew original but also for its own sake.

ADOLF DEISSMANN.