

## ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEPTUAGINT ON THE PESHITTA.

*Notation of MSS of the Peshitta in the following discussion.* A = Cod. Ambrosianus, Cent. vi. B = Buchanan Bible (Cambridge), Cent. xii. F = Laurent. Orient. 58 (Florence), Cent. ix.

In the Psalms D = Brit. Mus. Add. 14,436, fol. 1 ff, Cent. viii or ix. E = Brit. Mus. Add. 17,109, written at Edessa in 873 A. D.

In the Pentateuch D = Brit. Mus. Add. 14,425, written in 464 A. D. I = Camb. Univ. Oo. 1. 27, perhaps Cent. xvii, *Nestorian*.

In Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Proverbs N = Camb. Univ. Add. 1964, Cent. xiii, *Nestorian*. O = Brit. Mus. Add. 14,440, *Nestorian* in everything but handwriting.

In the Prophets C = Camb. Univ. Ll. 2. 4, written at Edessa in 1173 A. D. D = Brit. Mus. Add. 14,432, Cent. vi. S = Sachau 201 (Berlin), perhaps Cent. x, *Nestorian*. k = Camb. Univ. Add. 1965, written in 1493 A. D., *Nestorian*.

(MSS not described as *Nestorian* in the foregoing list are Jacobite.)

L = Lee's Edition (1823); U = the Nestorian Edition printed at Urmi in 1852.

*Der Pentateuch folgt eng dem hebräischen Text und der jüdischen Exegese, Jesaja und die Zwölf enthalten vieles aus der Septuaginta . . . Auf den Psalter scheint die griechische Uebersetzung eingewirkt zu haben.*

E. NESTLE (in Herzog's *Realencyclopädie* (ed. iii), vol. iii, p. 170).

THE question of the influence of the LXX on the Peshitta is beset with many difficulties. Among these difficulties two stand pre-eminent. In the first place neither version is homogeneous; many hands or groups of hands are to be detected in the Peshitta just as in the LXX. In the second place neither version offers us a settled text to work upon; we cannot quote from either in the present discussion without giving our authority for attributing such and such a reading to the

LXX or to the Peshitta; to a considerable extent we must compare MSS with MSS, not one printed edition with another.

The fact that in the LXX different groups of books are due to different groups of translators is too well known to be dwelt on here; it is enough to refer to Prof. Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament* pp. 315-319. But it may not be out of place to say a word about the similar case of the Peshitta. It is difficult to believe that the same school of translators rendered into Syriac both the Law and the Psalter, and if there were as many as two schools, there may well have been more. One proof of a variety of translators lies in Dr. Nestle's words quoted at the beginning of this article; another may be found in the fact that the Syriac Pentateuch contains some bold anthropomorphisms, while the Syriac Psalter cautiously excludes expressions in which God is compared with the things of sense. Thus in the Pentateuch Ex. iv 16<sup>1</sup>, 'Thou shalt be to him for God' and xxiv 10<sup>2</sup> 'They saw the God of Israel' are both translated literally in the Peshitta, though carefully paraphrased in the LXX. In the Psalter, on the other hand, the translator fears to speak of God as a 'shield' (a frequent term in the Hebrew, see below p. 188 f.), as a 'rock' (xlii [xli] 10 [9]), and as the Psalmist's 'portion' (cxix [cxviii] 57). (Contrast with this the practice of the Targum, which gives תרים i. e. *θυρεός* for מגן even when applied to God, and חלקי for חלקי in cxix 57. In xlii 10 where the Peshitta omits סלעי, the Targum paraphrases it with the word רחמי 'my confidence'.')

The second of the two difficulties mentioned above arises from the unsettled state of the text of the Peshitta. We have to distinguish, one from the other, as many as three streams of influence issuing from the LXX and bearing on the Syriac. In the first place the Syriac translators themselves seem to have been affected, for any text critically constructed from the earliest Eastern and Western MSS must show some signs not to be mistaken of the influence of the Greek version<sup>3</sup>. Secondly, the transcribers of the earlier MSS have been influenced in places by the LXX through the Syriac translation of the Hexaplar

<sup>1</sup> LU = AB 1.

<sup>2</sup> LU = ABD 1.

<sup>3</sup> This impression is derived from an examination of MSS belonging to eight different collections in England, France, Germany, and Italy.

text made by Paul of Tella (616–617 A. D.). A more indirect influence was no doubt exerted through Fathers who were Greek in education though they presided over Syrian dioceses, such as Theodore of Mopsuestia (in Cilicia), to whom the headings of the Psalms found in many early MSS of the Peshitta are due. Thirdly, the transcribers of the later MSS have been influenced, at any rate in the Psalter, by the recommendation of readings of the Greek in preference to those of the Peshitta made by Bar Hebraeus in his *Auṣar Rāzē* (i.e. Scholia on the Bible)<sup>1</sup>. As the printed text was taken from late MSS, it too owes something to the emendations of this very late Father (†1286 A. D.).

A third difficulty, and that a not inconsiderable one, with which our subject is beset must be mentioned, viz., the condition of the text of the LXX. As the active influence of the Greek over the Syriac lasted, it seems, for a period extending over several centuries, the Greek text itself underwent considerable change. Sometimes the hand laid on the Peshitta is that of the unrevised LXX, sometimes it is the hand of Theodotion or of Symmachus acting through the Hexaplar text. The Greek Bible in almost any form carried weight with the Syrians.

In this outline of a discussion on the influence of the LXX on the Syriac version I begin with the Psalter, because I have devoted much time during the last three years to an examination of the Peshitta text of the Psalms. With fifteen early MSS (from the sixth century to the twelfth or thirteenth), the Arabic version (the *Qūshayyensis*) printed by Lagarde, and the quotations of Aphrahat, Philoxenus of Mabug, Thomas of Marga, and Bar Hebraeus, as our helps, the Peshitta text may be considered as sufficiently well known for our present purpose. These authorities do not, it is true, carry us far beyond the text of the Nestorian Bible published at Urmi by the American Missionaries in 1852, but they prove that the Psalter of this edition far surpasses in text that of Lee.

Before citing separate passages in which the Greek has influenced the Syriac, one striking feature which affects many passages may be mentioned. In the Hebrew Psalter God is often called the 'shield' (מגן) of His people or of the Psalmist himself. In such passages the LXX gives *ὑπερασπιστής*, xviii [xvii] 3, 31 ;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rahlf's, *Beiträge zur Textkritik der Peshita*, ZATW ix 171–180.

xxxiii [xxxii] 20; lix [lviii] 12; lxxxiv [lxxxiii] 10; cxv 9, 10, 11 [cxiii 17, 18, 19]; and ἀντιλήμπτωρ in iii 4. It cannot be an accident that in these places the Peshitta gives **ܡܫܥܘܒܐ** 'helper' (so in most of these passages) or (in lix 12) **ܡܫܥܘܒܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ** 'confidence,' for the Targum does not hesitate to translate **גִּבּוֹר** in such passages by **גִּבּוֹרֵי** (the Greek *θυρεός*)<sup>1</sup>. It seems to show that the influence of the LXX frequently takes effect on the ideas or on the manner of the Syriac translators rather than on their words. So again in Ps. lxxxiv [lxxxiii] 12 the LXX and the Peshitta agree in avoiding a literal translation of **גִּבּוֹר** into which the Targum falls (prefixing only a protesting **כִּי** 'as'). The passage is instructive. 'The LORD God is a sun and shield' (Heb.). *ἔλεον καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος ὁ θεός* (LXX, NAB). 'The Lord God is *our nourisher and our helper*' (**ܡܫܥܘܒܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ**) (Pesh.). 'The Lord God is as a high wall<sup>2</sup> and a strong shield' (Targ.). *ἦλιος καὶ θυρεὸς Κύριος ὁ θεός* (Aquila *apud* Syr. Hex.).

More direct influence of the LXX on the Peshitta is shown in the following instances in which the expression as well as the thought of the Syriac has been affected by the Greek. In (*bb*) (*f*) (*g*) (*h*) both the MSS and the Editions follow the LXX, in (*a*) (*d*) good Jacobite MSS are affected, in (*b*) (*e*) (*i*) the Editions suffer while the good MSS almost wholly escape, in (*c*) Editions and MSS are both divided.

(*a*) Ps. ii 12 **קִּיִּם בֶּן יִשְׂרָאֵל**, 'Kiss the son (one who is a son) lest he be angry.' LXX (NAB) *δράξασθε παιδείας, μή ποτε ὀργισθῆι Κύριος*. Pesh. (codd. AD) 'Lay hold on chastening lest the Lord be angry.' The Nestorian MSS, however, and the majority of early Jacobite MSS support the editions of Lee and of Urmi in their agreement with the Hebrew.

(*b*) Ps. ix 16 'in the net which they hid.' LXX (NAB) *ἐν παγίδι ταύτη ἣ ἔκρυψαν*. Pesh. (ed. Lee) 'in the snare which

<sup>1</sup> Even the original writers of Psalms sometimes felt hesitation in giving the epithet 'shield' to God. The strange phrases **מִנִּי עַל אֱלֹהִים** 'my shield is deposited with God' (vii 11 [10]) and **וְעַל אֲרָצוֹת כֻּלָּם אֱלֹהִים** 'the shields of the earth belong to God' (xlvii 10 [9]) are both circumlocutions made to avoid the too bold expressions 'God is my shield' and 'God is the shield of the earth.' Outside the Psalter we find both the Greek and Syriac avoiding the literal translation of **גִּבּוֹר** in Gen. xv 1; Deut. xxxiii 29; Prov. ii 7, xxx 5 [xxiv 28], the LXX using the verb *ὑπερασπίσας*, the Peshitta **ܡܫܥܘܒܐ** (pael) 'help.'

<sup>2</sup> **עֹצֵם** is translated 'pinnacle' in Isa. liv 12 (R.V.), according to its natural sense there.

they hid.' All the MSS, however, support the edition of Urmi (ܚܚܦܝܢ), which agrees with the Hebrew.

(*δδ*) Ps. ix 21 ܠܗܡ ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ, 'Appoint, O LORD, terror for them.' LXX (NAB) *κατάστησον, Κύριε, νομοθέτην ἐπ' αὐτούς.* Peshitta<sup>1</sup>, 'Raise up for them a lawgiver' (ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ). The Targum gives a literal rendering of the Hebrew ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ. In this passage (as in James iv 12) the Peshitta gives a close translation of *νομοθέτης*, and in the light of this fact such variations as the omission of the vocative and the transposition of ܘܢܗܘܘ ('for them') do nothing towards proving the independence of the Syriac. It is moreover significant that in the only other place in which the LXX almost repeats the word *νομοθέτης*, viz. Ps. lxxxiv [lxxxiii] 7 (*εὐλογίας δώσει ὁ νομοθετῶν*), the Peshitta<sup>1</sup> repeats ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ, 'the lawgiver shall be clothed with blessing.' The Hebrew has ܘܢܗܘܘ 'early rain.'

(*c*) Ps. x 15 [ix 36] ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ, 'Mayest thou search for his wickedness and not find him,' i.e. May the punishment of his sin consist in the removal of the sinner. LXX (NAB) *ζητηθήσεται ἡ ἀμαρτία αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ μὴ εὑρεθῆ δι' αὐτήν.* Pesh. (best Jacobite MSS) 'His sin shall be sought for and it shall not be found' (ܘܢܗܘܘ . . . ܘܢܗܘܘ). Pesh. (edd. Lee and Urmi, with some Nestorian MS support) 'His sin shall take vengeance on him and he shall not be found.' In this case both readings seem to owe something to the LXX, the Jacobite for the first clause, the Nestorian for the second.

(*d*) Ps. xxvii [xxvi] 9 ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ, 'Thou hast been my help.' LXX (NAB) *βοηθός μου γενοῦ.* Pesh. (good Jacobite MSS; one Malkite MS, cf. ed. Lee) 'Be thou my helper.' Pesh. (Nestorian MSS; good Jacobite MSS; ed. Urmi) ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ as Hebrew.

(*e*) Ps. xxix [xxviii] 6 ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ, 'And he maketh them to skip like a calf; Lebanon,' &c. LXX (NAB) *καὶ λεπυνεῖ αὐτὰς ὡς τὸν μόσχον τὸν Λιβανον.* Pesh. (cod. B; [Arabic Lag.]; ed. Lee) 'And he hath beaten them small like the Calf' (i.e. the golden Calf). The Nestorian MSS, however, eight good Jacobite MSS, one Malkite MS and the edition of Urmi give '[And] he hath made them dance as calves' ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ.

(*f*) Ps. xlii [xli] 10 ܘܢܗܘܘ ܘܢܗܘܘ, 'I will say unto God my

<sup>1</sup> I have found no variation of the text in this passage.

rock.' LXX (N[A]B) ἐρῶ τῷ θεῷ Ἀντιλήμπτωρ μου εἶ. Peshitta<sup>1</sup> 'I said to God' (*sine add.*). The same feeling of reverence which paraphrased עָלָה in the Greek, omitted it *in toto* in the Syriac.

(g) Ps. xliii [xlii] 4 לַאֱלֹהִים לְבַבִּי לְבַבִּי לְבַבִּי, 'unto God my exceeding joy.' LXX (NAB) πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν εὐφραίνοντα τὴν νεότητά μου. Peshitta<sup>1</sup>, 'and unto God who maketh glad my youth,' ܠܥܠܘܫܐ ܠܥܠܘܫܐ ܠܥܠܘܫܐ.

(h) Ps. lxix 10 [lxviii 11] וְאֲנִי נִפְשִׁי בְצוּם נִפְשִׁי, 'and I wept with fasting, I myself' (the Hebrew text seems to be faulty). LXX (NB) καὶ συνέκαμψα ἐν νηστία τὴν ψυχὴν μου. Pesh. (ed. Urmi; almost all MSS) 'I humbled (ܘܚܘܫܐ) my soul with fasting.' Pesh. (cod. F) 'I wept' or 'bewailed' (ܘܚܘܫܐ); cf. Hebrew.

(i) Ps. lxxxix [lxxx] 6 בְּצֵאתוֹ עַל אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם, 'when he went forth against the land of Egypt.' LXX ([N]AB) ἐν τῷ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. Pesh. (no old MS<sup>2</sup>; ed. Lee) 'when he went forth from the land of Egypt.' All the MSS, however, which I have examined, Nestorian as well as Jacobite, support the edition of Urmi in the reading ܠܠܘܫܐ 'to (or "against") the land.'

There are not wanting phenomena in MSS which have been preserved, which illustrate the process of corruption from the LXX under which the Peshitta suffered for centuries. We find for instance that the scribes of the codices ADEF laboured under the astounding belief that they were transcribing the 'David of the *Separated Ones*' (ܘܚܘܫܐ, i. e. of the Seventy who worked according to an often repeated tradition in separate cells<sup>3</sup>) 'which was translated by them from the language of Palestine into Hebrew, and from Hebrew into Greek, and from Greek into Syriac.' Those who believed that the Seventy had translated their own Greek into the Syriac of the Peshitta would naturally strive to correct copies of the Syriac by the LXX. In cod. A we find the LXX rendering of Ps. ii 11 [12] written into the text by an early hand over an erasure of (presumably) the true Peshitta text. Codices B and E in the Psalms frequently cite in the margin the reading of 'the Greek' (ܘܚܘܫܐ), tempting some later Grecizing scribe to corrupt the text itself.

<sup>1</sup> I have found no variation of the text in this passage.

<sup>2</sup> There is apparently some MS authority; cf. Thorndyke *in loco*.

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius *H. E.* v 8, 10, ܘܚܘܫܐ ܘܚܘܫܐ ܘܚܘܫܐ. I offer this interpretation of a difficult phrase as consistent with the context in which it occurs.

In passing from the Psalter to other books it is necessary to speak less confidently and to avoid hasty judgements. Dr. Nestle with wise caution neither affirms nor denies the influence of the LXX on the Peshitta within the limits of the Pentateuch. The ground is indeed dangerous ground, for the Haggada and Halacha have influenced the Peshitta (cf. Frankel, *Vorstudien z. d. LXX*, pp. 183-184) and also the LXX (*ibid.* p. 185), and this influence may have touched both versions independently in the same passages. Yet some coincidences challenge examination and may fitly be collected here.

Gen. ii 2 (Heb.) 'On the *seventh* day God ended his work.' LXX (cod. A *Vet. Lat.*; hiat B) συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Peshitta (codd. AB 1; edd. Lee and Urmi) agrees with LXX.

We cannot, however, be sure that the reading of the younger version comes from the older. The passage was the subject of discussion in early times. In the Talmud of Jerusalem, *Megillah* 6, it is reckoned among the 'thirteen places which the wise men changed for Talmi the king' (ל"ג מקומות ששינו חכמים לטלמי המלך); similarly it is found among the fifteen such passages reckoned in *Bab. Talm. Megillah* f. 9, where the alterations are attributed to the Holy Spirit who gave the same counsel to all the Seventy-two Elders, to each in his separate 'house<sup>1</sup>.' Rashi (*in loco*) quotes R. Simeon as saying, 'The Holy One (Blessed be He) who knoweth His times and His moments entered into it (the Sabbath) punctually to a hair's breadth, [and He *appeared* as if He finished on the Day (the Sabbath) itself]<sup>2</sup>.' Jerome unkindly says: 'Pro *die sexto* in Hebraeo habet *die septimo*. Artabimus igitur Iudaeos qui de otio sabbati glorientur, quod iam tunc in principio sabbatum dissolutum sit<sup>3</sup>.'

Gen. iv 8 (Heb.) 'And Cain said unto Abel his brother . . . and it came to pass when they were in the field (בשדה),' &c. LXX (cod. A *Vet. Lat.* ed. Sab.) καὶ εἶπεν Κάιν πρὸς Ἀβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Διέλωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίου. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κ.τ.λ. Peshitta (codd. ADF<sup>supp</sup> 1 Ephrem, ed. Urmi)

<sup>1</sup> Frankel (*Vorstudien*, pp. 25 ff).

<sup>2</sup> The words in brackets are Rashi's own; cf. *Brerith Rabba* x 9, where the quotation is ascribed to R. Simeon ben Jochai *minus* the words in brackets.

<sup>3</sup> Field *in loco*.

'And Cain said to Abel his brother, [Let us go unto the *plain* (ܐܦܝܢ) (ܐܦܝܢ)], and it came to pass when they were in the *field* (ܡܫܥܐ),' &c. The bracketed words in the Peshitta are obviously a patch, for 'plain' and 'field' do not agree. But the patch betrays its origin: the 'plain' comes from the *πεδλον* of the LXX, and ܐܦܝܢ is the translation of *διέλθωμεν* here just as in Luke ii 15 (Pesh.). Later scribes endeavoured to hide the patch, and so we find *in the plain* (ܐܦܝܢ) for *in the field* in cod. B and in Lee, but this reading is certainly not original.

Num. xii 8 (Heb.) 'And the similitude (וְחִמּוֹתָיִם) of the LORD he (Moses) shall behold.' LXX (cod. B; *Vet. Lat.* 'et claritatem Domini vidit') *καὶ τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου* (cod. A μου) *εἶδεν*<sup>1</sup>. Peshitta (codd. ABD 1, edd. Walton and Urmi) 'And the glory of the LORD he saw.' Lee has 'shall see' (ܡܫܥܐ), which according to Thorndyke is the reading of Ussher's Pentateuch (dated 1524-6 A. Gr. = 1213-5 A. D.).

Here the better attested reading of the Syriac agrees with the LXX and is probably derived from it, but it must be allowed that this reading may on the contrary be due to a corruption within the Syriac itself, for a single stroke makes the difference of reading.

Josh. viii 18, 26; 1 Sam. xvii 6, 45. The varying renderings of the Hebrew word *כיור* 'javelin' in the Peshitta suggest the influence of the LXX on the Syriac translation of Samuel. The Targum (ed. Lagarde) is consistent in the rendering *רוֹמח* 'spear, javelin' in Josh. viii 18, 26; 1 Sam. xvii 45<sup>2</sup>, but the Peshitta hesitates with the LXX between two different renderings.

Josh. viii 18 (Heb.) 'Stretch out the *javelin*.' LXX (AB Lucian, *Vet. Lat.* ed. Sabatier) *ἐν τῷ γαίωφ*. Pesh. (codd. ABN; edd. Lee and Urmi) 'with the spear,' *ܡܫܥܐ*; cf. Sir. xlvi 2, where the Syriac has the same rendering of the Hebrew.

*Ibid.* ver. 26 (Heb.) 'He stretched out the *javelin*.' LXX (Lucian; vac. AB) *ἐν τῷ γαίωφ*. Pesh. (codd. ABN; edd. Lee and Urmi) 'with the spear,' *ܡܫܥܐ*.

1 Sam. xvii 6 (Heb.) 'A *javelin* of bronze between his shoulders.' LXX (AB Lucian) *ἀσπίς*. Pesh. (codd. AB<sup>vid</sup> N; edd. Lee and

<sup>1</sup> Lucian omits this clause.

<sup>2</sup> The text of ver. 6 is corrupt (cf. Jastrow, *s.v.* מַעֲרֹב).

Urmi) ܠܘܪܝܩܐ 'lorica' *vel* 'humerales'; the precise meaning of this word is not known, but it certainly designates some piece of *defensive* armour.

*Ibid.* ver. 45 (Heb.) 'Thou comest to me . . . with a *javelin*.' LXX (AB Lucian) *ἐν ἀσπίδι*. Pesh. (codd. AN; edd. Lee and Urmi) 'with a shield,' ܠܘܪܝܩܐ.

Elsewhere in the Peshitta ܠܘܪܝܩܐ seems always to be rendered by ܠܘܪܝܩܐ; so it is in Jeremiah (vi 23; 1 [xxvii] 42) according to codd. Ak and edd. Lee and Urmi, and in Job (xxxix 23; xli 21) according to codd. ABN and edd. Lee and Urmi. In one of these four passages (Job xxxix 23) the Uncials NAB show a gap, and the Hexaplar text gives *ἀσπίς* for ܠܘܪܝܩܐ in a clause supplied from Theodotion, but the *Vet. Lat.* (*vide* Sabatier) perhaps preserves the original LXX in the rendering 'hasta.'

Of the influence of the LXX on the Peshitta text of Isaiah we can speak with some confidence. The instances which can be collected may be few in number, but they are distinct. It is true that the Peshitta (speaking generally) is an independent translation, but its independence is limited by incursion. It holds its own for instance in the translation of the Messianic prophecies of chaps. ix and lii-liiii, but even in this realm it was threatened with invasion from the LXX.

## Isa. ix 5 [6].

Pesh. (LU=ABD k)	LXX (A N <sup>ca</sup> )
(1) Wonder and Counsellor	(1) Μεγάλης βουλῆς (2) ἄγγελος . . . (1) <sup>1</sup> θαυμαστὸς σύμβουλος
(2) God the Mighty One	(2) <sup>2</sup> ἰσχυρὸς ἐξουσιαστής
(3) . . . of ages	
(4) Prince of peace	(4) ἄρχων εἰρήνης
(3) [ <sup>3</sup> and the Father of the Age to come].	(3) πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

Here the Peshitta follows the Hebrew closely both in order and in phrase, except that for אבנא עתיד 'Father of Eternity' it gives only ܠܘܪܝܩܐ, which it connects with the preceding epithet ܠܘܪܝܩܐ.

<sup>1</sup> θαυμαστὸς . . . αἰῶνος om. B.

<sup>2</sup> pr θς N<sup>ca</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> uncinis inclusa om. Bdk.

But cod. A shows the direct influence of the LXX by adding a second translation of אֲבֵי עַר in the wording of the Hexaplar text. This reading of A is clearly an interpolation in the Peshitta text, as the evidence of the MSS shows.

Isa. lii 15.

בֵּן יִזָּה טַיִם רַבִּים

(‘So shall he sprinkle many nations,’ A.V.)

Pesh. (LU=ABD k)

LXX ([NA]B)

‘This one cleanseth many οὗτω θαναμάσονται ἔθνη πολλά.  
nations’

So much may be said for the substantial independence of the Syriac translation of Isaiah, but the occasional influence of the LXX in the translation of difficult words and phrases is sufficiently attested by the instances which follow.

Isa. i 22 (Heb.=Targ.) ‘Thy strong drink (wine) is mixed with water.’ LXX ([NA]B) οἱ κάπηλοὶ σου μίσγουσι τὸν οἶνον ὕδατι. Pesh. (ABD k; ed. Urmi) ‘Thy tavern-keepers (ܡܫܝܚܝܢ) mix with water.’

Isa. iii 17 (Heb.) ‘[The LORD] will lay bare יְהַרְהֵי.’ Targ. ‘will remove their glory.’ LXX (NA) ἀνακαλύψει (vel ἀποκαλύψει) τὸ σχῆμα αὐτῶν. Pesh. (AB<sup>vid</sup> D k; ed. Urmi) ‘will lay bare their σχῆμα (ܫܚܝܡܐ).’

Isa. xiii 22 (Heb.) וַעֲנֵה בְּאֵימֵי בָּאֲרָמוֹתָי, ‘And wolves shall cry (marg. “answer”) in their castles’ (R.V.). Pesh. (ABDF[S]k; [ed. Urmi]) ‘And *sirens* (ܫܝܪܝܢ) shall answer in their castles.’ Why did the Syriac translator bring in the Greek word ‘siren’ here? Surely it was suggested to him by the fact that in the preceding verse the LXX has ἀναπαύσονται ἐκεῖ σειρήνες. Another passage in which וַעֲנֵה בְּאֵימֵי בָּאֲרָמוֹתָי occurs in the Pesh. (Lee=[Ak]) is Jer. I [xxvii] 39. This is a precisely similar case. The LXX has θυγατέρες σειρήνων in the immediate context, in the same verse indeed, and yet the Syriac and the Greek do not correspond with the same Hebrew word. The Syriac translator knew too much to follow the LXX closely, and yet he could not resist its suggestions.

Isa. xvi 1 (Heb.) שְׁלַח לְרֹאשׁ הָאָרֶץ אֶת הַצֹּאן, ‘Send ye the lambs for the ruler of the land’ (R.V.). LXX ([NA]AB) ἀποστελῶ ὡς ἑρπετὰ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς N). Pesh. (edd. Lee and Urmi) ‘I will

send (ܡܘܠܝܢ) the son of the ruler of the land.' Here the resemblance of the Peshitta to the LXX is probably due to a corruption within the Syriac, a late copyist having probably repeated the final ܝ of the preceding word ܡܘܠܝܢ. All the early MSS I have examined (ABCD<sup>id</sup>S k) read ܡܘܠܝܢ (ܡܘܠܝܢ) in agreement with the Hebrew.

Isa. xviii 2 (Heb.) וּבַכֵּלֵי נַמָּא, 'and in vessels of papyrus' (R.V.). Targ. 'and in fisher-boats' (וּבַדְּגָנִיּוֹת). LXX ([NA]B) καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βυβλίνας. Theod. καὶ ἐν σκεύεσι παπύρου (cf. *et in vasis papyri*, Vulg.). Pesh. (codd. [A]CDF<sup>id</sup>S k; ed. Urmi) 'and in vessels (ܡܘܠܝܢ) of *pāpērōn* (*pāpīrūn*).'

(Cf. Isa. xix 6 (Heb.) קִנְיָ וְסוּף קָמְלוּ, 'the reeds and flags shall wither away.' LXX (NAB) καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἔλει καλάμου καὶ παπύρου. Pesh. (codd. ACDS k; ed. Urmi) 'The reed and the flag (ܡܘܠܝܢ) and the *pāpērōn* shall fade away.')

I am inclined to believe that in both these passages the presence of the foreign word *pāpērōn* is due to the influence of the LXX (in the former case emended from Theodotion) on the original translator or on very early transcribers of the Peshitta of Isaiah. (I do not know of any fact which forbids us to assign to the earliest form of the Peshitta text of Isaiah now known to us a date later than the date of the publication of Origen's Hexapla, but there may have been an earlier text of Isaiah now lost to us, which showed fewer marks of Greek influence.)

In conclusion a few instances may be given which suggest Septuagintal influence on the Syriac version of Proverbs. Only one of the instances is conclusive to my mind, but all are suggestive enough to be stated for consideration.

Prov. v 1 (Heb.) לְתִבְנֹתַי הִט אָזְנִי, 'bow thine ear to my understanding.' LXX (NAB) ἐμοῖς λόγοις. Pesh. (codd. AB; ed. Lee) 'to my discourse' (ܡܘܠܝܢ). Theod. τῇ φρονήσει μου. Pesh. (codd. NO; ed. Urmi) 'to my understanding' (ܡܘܠܝܢ).

In this case I believe some MSS of the Peshitta have been influenced by the unrevised LXX. Other (Nestorian) MSS have escaped corruption, and preserved the original reading which agrees with the Hebrew. (It seems hardly probable that these MSS owe this agreement to Theodotion, but the possibility must not be lost sight of.)

Prov. viii 22 יהוה קנני ראשית דרכו 'the LORD bought me to be the head (excellency) of His way.' LXX (SAB) Κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχῆν δόδων αὐτοῦ. Pesh.<sup>1</sup> 'the Lord created me at the head of His creatures' (Targ. reads 'God' for 'the Lord,' but otherwise agrees with Pesh.). Theod. Κύριος ἐκτέθησάτο με ἀρχῆν ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Prov. ix 12. Here the Peshitta (LU=A[B]N) contains the three interpolated verses (12<sup>abc</sup> in Dr. Swete's Septuagint) pretty closely translated *from the Greek*, I believe (ἀκαρπλιαν = פ.ס. 11 is a free but not improbable rendering).

Prov. ix 13 יְדַע־מָה וְיָבֵל יִדְעֵהּ מִשֶּׁמֶת, 'she is simple and knoweth nothing.' LXX (SAB) ἡ οὐκ ἐπίσταται ἀλοχύνῃν. Pesh. (codd. ANO; ed. Urmi) 'and knoweth not shame'; ed. Lee (=B) omits the clause<sup>2</sup>.

A few words of summary will suffice. The influence of the LXX is for the most part *sporadic*, affecting the translation of a word here and of a word there. The Syriac translators must indeed have known that their own knowledge of Hebrew was far in advance of the knowledge possessed by the Seventy, and yet the stress of Greek fashion had its way now and again. The Syriac transcribers on the contrary were ignorant of Hebrew and ready to introduce readings found in a Greek version or recommended by a Greek Father. So the Peshitta in its later text has more of the LXX than in its earlier form. It is only in the Psalter (so it seems to me at the present stage of my work) that any general Greek influence bringing in a new characteristic is to be found. That characteristic is a dread of anthropomorphisms from which the Syriac translators of the Pentateuch were free.

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<sup>1</sup> I have noticed no variant in this passage.

<sup>2</sup> I am inclined to believe that the harder reading, viz. that of the Hebrew, is correct, but even if 'shame' be the right reading, the Peshitta may be indebted for it to the LXX.