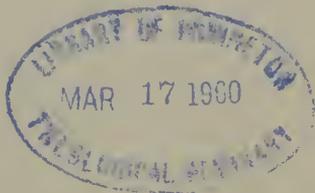


Elji Asada

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The Hebrew Text of Zechariah 1-8

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OF

## ZECHARIAH 1-8

COMPARED WITH THE DIFFERENT ANCIENT  
VERSIONS

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EIJI ASADA  
TOKYO, JAPAN

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# THE HEBREW TEXT OF ZECHARIAH 1-8, COMPARED WITH THE DIFFERENT ANCIENT VERSIONS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this thesis is to compare the Hebrew text of the first eight chapters of Zechariah with the ancient versions, and to examine the variations presented in the versions. In the presentation of the results, I have received suggestions from Workman's *The Text of Jeremiah*, and from Patterson's *The Septuagint Text of Hosea*. But I have tried, as far as possible, to consider the nature of every variation more carefully than Workman did, and to classify the variations more logically than Patterson. It is not the purpose to write a commentary on the book or notes upon the text, but simply and concisely to present the variations in the different versions and classify them according to their probable origin. Consequently there is no attempt made to explain all technical names and expressions common in the works of textual criticism.

The most important of all the versions is the Septuagint, and I have examined it more carefully than any other version. The LXX. of Zech. 1-8 seems to be the work of one man, perhaps different from the translator of the remaining chapters of the book. The translation is a very careful and excellent presentation of the original. But it is less literal than the LXX. translation of other portions of the Old Testament, and presents many interesting variations. There are cases of suggestive additions, of careless omissions, of free paraphrase, and of unintelligible translation. The next in importance is the Vulgate, which gives a very accurate and faithful translation of Zech. 1-8, and con-

tains fewer variations than the LXX., the Peshitto or the Targum. Therefore, it seems that the MSS. used by the Latin translator were not much different from the MSS. underlying the present Massoretic text. The Targum Jonathan of these chapters, like all other Targumim, is full of paraphrases and interpretations. But it furnishes many important suggestions, and, in a few cases, gives a better reading than that of the Massoretic text.

The Peshitto of Zech. 1-8 is also useful for textual criticism. True it is that the Syriac translation is, in general, free, obscure, and inaccurate; but many of its variations are to be accepted in preference to the Massoretic text. Besides these four chief versions the Arabic version has been consulted, which differs but little from the LXX., and the valuable translations by literal Aquila, cautious Theodotion and clever Symmachus.

#### LITERATURE.

For the constitution of the text the following books and editions have been used and consulted:

Baer and Delitzsch's edition of the Hebrew text, Tischendorf's sixth edition of the Septuagint, and the texts of the other versions as found in the *London Polyglot*, Origen's *Hexapla*, and Stier-Theile's *Polyglot*.

Some of the works constantly consulted are:

- Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*.
- C. H. H. Wright's *Zechariah and his Prophecies*.
- W. H. Lowe's "Zechariah" in Ellicott's *O. T. Commentary for English Readers*.
- A. Köhler, *Die Weissagungen Sacharjas*, chap. 9-14, Erlangen, 1861-2
- Hitzig-Steiner's *Die zwölf Kleinen Propheten*.
- T. W. Chambers' "Zechariah" in Lange's *Commentary*.
- Maurer's *Commentarius in Vetus Testamentum*.
- Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.*
- Keil's *Minor Prophets*.
- Briggs' *Messianic Prophecy*, etc.

For the sake of convenience and simplicity, Syriac and Arabic words are written in ordinary Hebrew characters.

#### VARIATIONS IN GENERAL.

Variations are numerous, interesting and, in some cases, extremely peculiar. There are many cases in which the readings differ in respect to the tense of a verb. For instance, the trans-

lators give the present tense for the past (1:6 in LXX.), the past for the future (8:3, in Vulg.), the future for the past (7:13; 8:10 in LXX.), the future for the present (1:5 in LXX.), the present for **וַיְהִי** with participle (8:7 in LXX.), etc. The versions present also a few changes in regard to the person and number of a verbal form; *e. g.*, plural for singular (2:17 in Targum), 3d pers. for 1st pers. (2:15 in Pesh.), 1st pers. sing. for 3d pers. plur. 8:8 in LXX.), 3d pers. plur. for 1st pers. sing. (2:15 in LXX.), etc. It may be noted also that a finite verb is given for a participle (1:8; 2:7 in LXX.), a participle for a finite verb (2:17 in Pesh.), a finite verb for an indefinite (1:14, 17; 8:21 in Pesh.) an imperative for an infinitive (3:4 in LXX.), etc.

Not infrequently the translators change the form or construction of a noun, violating etymological or syntactical principles or disregarding the sense of the passage and its relation to the context. The genitive is translated by the accusative (1:17 in LXX.), the nominative by the accusative (7:2 in LXX., Vulg., Targ., Pesh.), the accusative by the nominative (7:7 in LXX., Vulg., Pesh.), the vocative by the accusative (2:11 in LXX.), etc. The plural is given in translation for the singular in the Hebrew (4:12; 7:5 in LXX.), the absolute state for the construct state (7:9; 8:16 in LXX.), a proper noun for a common noun where it was difficult to translate (6:14 in Vulg., Targ.), a common noun for a proper noun not familiar to the translator (7:2 in LXX., Pesh.), and a proper noun for another (5:11 in LXX., Targ., Pesh.; 7:2 in LXX.). A proper noun is sometimes mistaken for a verbal form (6:10, 14 in LXX.), and in one case an untranslatable foreign word is translated, and that of course inaccurately (5:6 in LXX.).

The pronoun also suffers from various changes. For instance, 2d pers. is given for 3d pers. (3:8 in Pesh.), plural for singular (5:5 in Targ.), an interrogative pronoun for another (5:5 in Targ.), etc.

In one instance a cardinal number is rendered by an ordinal (1:12 in LXX. and Vulg.) In some cases one part of speech is given for another, *e. g.*, a finite verb for a noun (1:3 in LXX.), an infinitive for a noun (4:7 in LXX.), a noun for a verb (7:3 in LXX.), etc. The form of a sentence is often

changed, *e. g.*, the Hebrew declarative is rendered as an interrogative (1:6 in Vulg.; 8:6 in LXX., Vulg., Eng., Pesh. [?]), and *vice versa* the interrogative translated as a declarative (1:12 in Vulg.), the interrogative is turned into the imperative (1:6 in LXX.), the declarative into the imperative (6:8 in Targ.), etc.

Besides these, there are a great many more difficult and perplexing variations. The addition and omission of letters, words, phrases, and sentences is very common; and their causes are various. We find also a few inadequate substitutions, and, in some cases, unnecessary repetitions. The arrangement of letters and words is often changed, and a new construction is given. Inaccurate or free translations are occasionally given, and the readings in the original text are obscured.

All these variations may be classified in two groups: (1) *Variations due to the translators*, and (2) *variations due to the manuscripts*. In the first division, I include those additions, omissions and variations of every other kind, for which the translators are responsible; and under the second I classify those variations which existed in the MSS. used by the translators, those which are due to the condition of the MSS., and those which had their origin after the work of translation had been done; (3) *variations of doubtful origin*. In respect to some variations, I have found it extremely difficult to determine to which class they properly belong. It seems to be better to leave such variations unclassified than to attempt to theorize concerning their origin on the basis of mere conjecture. Therefore, I group them together under a third head as doubtful cases.

## I.

### I. VARIATIONS DUE PRESUMABLY TO THE TRANSLATORS.

1. *Variations arising from a different pointing.*—For **בְּמַצְלָה** (1:8) LXX. seems to have read **בְּמַצְלָה** with *Dāgešh* in the **ל**, and renders τῶν κατασκίων. Pesh. follows this and translates דְּמִשְׁלֵיךְ. Keil says that **מַצְלָה** is the form for “shady place.” Fürst compares the word with **סִפְהָ**. Böttcher would read **מַצְלָה**. But Baer’s reading **בְּמַצְלָה** (after Kimchi) seems to be best, and is supported by the Vulg. “in profundo.”—For **לְיְהוָה** (2:4)

\* Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*, p. 173: “Die Bedeutung des Wortes ist unbekannt.”

LXX. reads לִירוּת and renders *εἰς χεῖρας*. This makes the passage meaningless.—לְעַבְדֵיהֶם (2:13). This reading is supported by the LXX., τοῖς δουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς; Pesh. reads עַבְדֵיהוֹן. But Baer gives the correct reading לְעַבְדֵיהֶם.—For אֲדָנַי (4:13; 6:4) LXX. reads אֲדָנַי, but the reading accepted by the Mass. Text, Vulg., Targ. and Pesh. is to be preferred.—For הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (7:3) LXX. reads הַמִּזְבֵּחַ and gives τὸ ἁγίασμα “the holy place.”—For מִשְׁפַּט (7:9; 8:16) LXX. reads מִשְׁפַּט.—For עַד אֲשֶׁר (8:20) Vulg. reads עַד אֲשֶׁר and renders “usquequo.”

2. *Variations arising from a different grouping or transposition of words.*—Some of the variations in this class are intentional changes made by the translators, and a few are due to the corruption of the text. But most of them seem to be due to the careless and hasty work of the translators.

In 1:5 Pesh. connects וְהַנְּבֵאִים with the preceding sentence, and destroys the beauty of the Hebrew parallelism.—Pesh. places וַיֹּאמְרוּ (1:11) immediately after וַיֵּצְאוּ, but the Massoretic order is to be preferred.—עַד (at the beginning of 1:17) is connected by LXX. with the preceding verse.—In 2:6, Pesh. transposes the words רַחֲבָה and אֲרַכָּה, but other versions agree with the Hebrew.—Pesh. places הַשֵּׁטֶן (3:2) at the beginning of the address, *i. e.*, immediately after אֵל הַשֵּׁטֶן.—For כִּסֵּה וְזָהַב (6:11) Vulg. reads → זָהַב וְכִסֵּה.—In 8:13 Pesh. places אֵל תִּירָאוּ at the end of the verse, and spoils the rhetorical beauty of the whole passage (8:9-13) which, in the Hebrew, ends as well as begins with the same words, תְּהוֹקֵמָה יְדִיכֶם.—In 8:15, Vulg. transposes אֵת יְרוּשָׁלַם and אֵת בֵּית יְהוּדָה.

3. *Variations arising from ignorance, disregard, or an unsuccessful presentation of Hebrew idioms, or from a violation of Hebrew syntax.*—While some allowance must be made for the difference of idioms and syntax in different languages, one cannot overlook those variations which could have been avoided, if the translators had been more faithful to the original text.

LXX. attempts to give the force of the cognate accusative קָצָה . . . קָצָה (1:2), by rendering ὥργισθη . . . ὀργην μεγάλην, which is somewhat awkward.—For וַאֲמַרְתָּ (1:3), Pesh. gives the actual impv. form אֲמַרְתָּ, and fails to present the force of the ו

consecutive. But the Heb. is more idiomatic and therefore preferable.—LXX. renders עמר (1:8) by εἰστήκει, which is less vivid than the original.—For זה שבעים שנה (1:12), LXX. gives τοῦτο ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος. Vulg. follows LXX., and translates “septuagesimus annus.” But in view of Targ., Pesh., and the Heb., we must reject the LXX. reading, which does not suit the context so well.—Targ. renders ובהר (1:17) by ויתיעי. This is impossible, because the verb is not followed by the preposition ל, but by ב.—For והלבש (3:4), LXX. gives καὶ ἐνδύσατε, and fails to express the peculiar force of the perf. העברתי, followed by והלבש (cf. Harper, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 28, 4, a). Targ. and Pesh. present the sense of these words fairly well, though they weaken the original force. Wellhausen reads והלבש.—For אלה שני בני הוצהר העמדים (4:14) LXX. gives οὗτοι οἱ δύο υἱοὶ τῆς πύργου παρεστήκασιν. This rendering would be for שני בני הוצהר האלה שני עמדים.—For באמה (5:2), LXX. has πήχεων, and Vulg. “cubitorum,” both of which renderings fail to express the force of the preposition ב. Targ. and Pesh. omit the preposition altogether.—For ויצאות מהחיצב (6:5), LXX. gives ἐκπορεύονται παραστήναι; Vulg. “egrediuntur ut stent”; Pesh. דקימן הרי. But all these versions utterly fail to give the original meaning.—For ארק צפון (6:8), LXX. gives the extremely literal translation γῆν βορῶν.—For עטרות (6:11), plural in form and singular in sense, is incorrectly rendered by LXX. στεφάνους; Vulg. “coronas”; Arab. أَكْأَلِيل. Targ. gives the compromising translation כליל רב, but Pesh. has the simple כליל. The same word in 6:14 is again taken by Vulg. as plural, but by LXX. as singular. See Wellhausen, 179, on this verse.—In הלא את הדברים (7:7) LXX., Vulg. and Pesh. disregard את and take הדברים as the subject of the verb “to be” understood. Wellhausen reads אתה for אלה.—Vulg. renders לבם (7:12) by “cor suum,” failing to express the collective idea of the pron. suffix in the original.—LXX. renders עיר האמת (8:3) by πόλις ἀληθινή without the article. Wright translates “a city of the truth,” without ascribing the absence of the article to the syntax of the construct state. But Targ. has קרחא דקושטא.—הר הקדש (8:3) is rendered by LXX. ὄρος ἄγιον without the article. But Targ. and Pesh. give the correct translation טורא קדישא.

4. *Variations which may be ascribed to carelessness and inaccuracy of the translators.*—Under this division may be included many of the omissions and additions of unessential particles, conjunctions, adverbs, pronouns, etc. For instance:

The LXX. λέγει for נאם (1:3, 4, 16; 2:9, 10, 14; 3:9, 10; 5:4; 8:6, 11, 17) loses sight of the peculiar force of the original word. The Targ. אַמַר, and the Syr. אַמַר are better.—נא (1:4) is omitted both by LXX. and by Pesh., but the general tone of such an earnest request as expressed in the passage favors its presence. For ויִצֵּן (1:10; 4:5; 6:5), Pesh. gives עָנָא without the conjunction before it.—LXX. omits אַתָּה (1:12) and fails to present the emphatic force in the original.—For לֹא־אֶמַר (1:14), Pesh. gives וְאֶמַר, which, of course, is wrong. So also in 1:17.—In 2:17, Pesh. renders נָעוּר by בַּתְּחִילָתָא.—הִנֵּה (3:9) is omitted by LXX.—וְהִנֵּה (4:2) is omitted by Pesh.—In 4:6 ויִצֵּן and לֹא־אֶמַר (twice) are omitted by Pesh.—Pesh. renders וְאֶצֵּן (4:11, 12) without the conjunction and destroys the idiomatic Hebrew.—הַמְרִיקִים (4:12), which is the noun-predicate of אֲשֶׁר, is connected by Pesh. with צַנְחֹרוֹת, confusing the gender. Symmachus also presents this error.—וְהָאֵת (5:7) is omitted by Pesh.—In 6:3 Vulg. read בְּרִידִים וְאֶמְצִים.\*—The second לֹא־אֶמַר in 7:3 is omitted by Pesh.—For ויהי (7:13), LXX. incorrectly gives καὶ ἔσται. This error affects the LXX. translation of the following verbs.—Vulg. transposes אֲשֶׁר in 8:9.—From וְלֹא־נִחַמְתִּי (8:14), Pesh. omits לֹא and renders וְאֶחֱפָקָה. (So in London Polyglot, but Lee's edition has לֹא).—From וישבי ערים (8:20), Pesh. omits ו and takes ישבי ערים as appositive to עָמִים.—In 8:21, Pesh. seems to have read ויאמרו for לֹא־אֶמַר.

5. *Obscure rendering and the omission of difficult words.*—In many cases, the translators attempt to give the general sense of a passage, in which they find some word or words too difficult to render literally. This brings forth an obscure and sometimes unintelligible translation. It seems to be more common to omit difficult words altogether than to give an uncertain translation of them.

Pesh. renders הַהֲדוּסִים (1:8) simply by אֵילָנָא, and hesitates

\* On 6:3 see especially Lagarde, *Nominal-übersicht*, 29 *rm.* LXX. ψαρός, Targ. קִיטְמֵן, of ashy-gray color. Aquila κάπτερος, agreeing with Hebrew; Lagarde proposes to read מַאֲבִים, "of whitish color."

to express what kind of trees they are. See also the Syr. of 1:10, 11. LXX. translates regularly by ὄρη (*cf.* 6:1).—In 6:3, Pesh. seems to feel the difficulty connected with אֲמִצִּים, and omits the word altogether. *Cf.* 6:7.—In 6:14, Vulg. renders ולחך by “et Hem,” and Targ. also takes it as a proper name. But Pesh. omits the uncertain word הֶךְ, and substitutes וליושיא בר צפניא. *Cf.* v. 10.—מִלֶּךְ (7:2) part of a proper name, is rendered by LXX. and Pesh. as a common noun; ὁ βασιλεύς, מִלְכָּא. —שָׁבַתִּי . . . שְׁבַתִּי (8:3) is differently rendered by translators. Pesh. does not seem to be sure about the tense of these verbs, and avoids the difficulty by rendering both by the participles שָׁרָא and מִתְּבַיֵּא. —אֵת כָּל אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁר שָׁנְאַתִּי (8:17) is difficult in construction. LXX. renders ταῦτα πάντα ἐμίσησα, Theodotion adds ᾱ before ἐμίσησα. Pesh. follows the LXX. Vulg. and Targ. have tried to translate the אֲשֶׁר, but have failed to give the force of אֵת. On the other hand, LXX. and Pesh. have preserved the original construction of אֵת כָּל אֱלֹהֵי, and consequently neglected the word אֲשֶׁר.—The meaning of צוּם הַרְבִּיעִי וְצוּם הַחֲמִישִׁי וְצוּם הַשְּׁשִׁירִי (8:19) must have been very obscure in the mind of the LXX. translator, for he renders νηστεία ἢ τετράς καὶ νηστεία ἢ πέμπτη, νηστεία ἢ ἑβδόμη καὶ νηστεία ἢ δεκάτη. But Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion understand the correct meaning, and translate rather inexactly νηστεία ἢ τοῦ τετάρτου, καὶ ἢ τοῦ πέμπτου, καὶ ἢ τοῦ ἑβδόμου, καὶ ἢ τοῦ δεκάτου.—For עַר אֲשֶׁר (8:20), Pesh. has מִכִּיל, but LXX. omits אֲשֶׁר. To avoid the difficulty, Henderson supplies יְהִיהֶּה between the two words.

6. *Explanatory additions.*—When the translators think the original to be too concise, too elliptical, too figurative, too obscure or too anthropomorphic, they supply some words or phrases by way of explanation.

After בָּחַר בִּירוּחָא (1:1) Pesh. adds the phrase בָּחַר בִּירוּחָא. This seems to be quite a common phraseology of the prophets (*cf.* Ezek. 26:1; 31:1; Hag. 1:1, *et al.*), and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the phrase may have existed in the original text. Köhler suggests that the word הַרְשָׁא means the day of the new moon, *i. e.*, the first day of the month. But it is doubtful that “the first day of the month” should mean more than “the beginning of the month.” Therefore, the phrase seems to

be an explanatory gloss; and even if it was in the original, we must be grateful to the editor for omitting it.—Before **בַּעַט** (1:15) Targ. inserts **עַל עַמִּי**, but this reading is not supported by other versions.—Before **קָרָא** (1:17) LXX. adds the extra sentence *καὶ εἶπε πρὸς μὲ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί*. But this insertion seems to be out of place.—Vulgate explains **זָרָר** (2:4) by the additional phrase, “per singulos viros.”—After **אָלוּ** (2:8) LXX. supplies *λέγων*, which is unnecessary.—After **הַמְלֵאךְ** (3:3) Pesh. adds **יְהוָה**, and makes its favorite phrase.—In 3:4, Pesh. gives **מְלֵאכָא** as the subject of **וַיִּקֶּן**.—For **בַּגְדִים** (3:5) Targ. and Pesh. seem to have read either **בְּגָדִים טְהוּרִים** or **בְּגָדִים טוֹבִים**. Wellhausen, 176: bei **בַּגְדִים**, vermisst man das adj. “rein.”—Before **הַזֶּהָב** (4:12 end), LXX. supplies *τὰς ἐπαρυστρίδας*.—After **כֹּהֵן** (6:13) Targ. adds **רַב**.—For **וַרְחוּקִים** (6:15) LXX. has *καὶ οἱ μακρὰν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν*.—**בַּחֲמִישִׁי וּבִשְׁבִיעִי** (7:5) is rendered by Pesh. **בִּירְחָא בִּישְׁבִיעִיא**.—In 7:11 Pesh. renders **לְהַקְשִׁיב** by **לְמַשְׁמַעֲנִי**, which does not suit the context.—For **כֹּאשֶׁר קָרָא** (7:13) LXX. *ὄν τρόπον εἶπε*.—For **לְצִיּוֹן** (8:2) LXX. seems to have read **לְיִרוּשָׁלַם** **וּלְצִיּוֹן**, and renders *τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὴν Σιών*.—Targ. interprets **אֵת יְרוּשָׁלַם** (8:15) by **לְיִתְחִי יְרוּשָׁלַם**.—For **עַמִּים** (8:20), LXX. reads **רַבִּים**.—For **לְבַקֵּשׁ אֵת יְהוָה** (8:21, 22), LXX. gives *ἐκζητῆσαι τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου*, and Targ. “**לְמַתְבַּע אֹלְמַן מִן קִדְם**”.

7. *Double translation*.—The translator gives, side by side, different renderings of single words, when he is not quite sure of the original meaning. For example: In 1:8, for **שְׂרָקִים** LXX. gives *καὶ ψαροὶ καὶ ποικίλοι*, which would show that the translator himself did not know the exact meaning of the word. Cf. 6:3.

8. *Variations arising from misunderstanding or misinterpretation of a word or passage*.—For **בֶּן עֶדְו** (1:1) LXX. gives *υἶὸν Ἰδδῶ*, thus making **זַכְרִיָּה** and **בֶּן עֶדְו** stand in apposition. The translator seems to have taken Zechariah not as grandson of Iddo, as in Vulg., but simply as his descendant. So also in 1:7. Lowe, however, inclines to take the *υἶὸν* as a corruption of *υἱοῦ*.—**יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת** occurs forty-four times in the first eight chapters, and eight times in the remainder of the book of Zechariah (1:3, three times, 4, 6, 12, 14, 16, 17; 2:12, 13, 15; 3:7, 9, 10; 4:6, 9; 5:4; 6:12, 15; 7:3, 4, 9, 12 twice, 13; 8:1, 2, 3, 4, 6 twice, 7, 9 twice, 11, 14 twice, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; 9:15; 10:3; 11:5; 12:2, 7;

14:16, 21 twice). In all but three places, LXX. renders *κύριος παντοκράτωρ*, and twice *κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων* (1:9; 7:4). The Syriac translation **ܕܝܠܗܢܢ** corresponds to the LXX. *παντοκράτωρ*. All the attempted translations fail to give the original meaning and are no better than the mere transliteration *σαβαώθ* (13:2). Vulg. gives “dominus exercituum,” which is perhaps the meaning in the original.—LXX. renders **יְהוִי** (1:5) by *ζήσονται*, and this is followed by Vulg. which gives “vivent.” But the context requires the present tense, which is well expressed in the Hebrew.—Vulg. takes the whole of 1:6 as a question, but LXX. changes the interrogative sentence in the verse into an imperative sentence with the verb *δέχεσθε*.—For **צְרִיתִי** (1:6) LXX. gives *ἐντέλλομαι* without any sufficient reason.—For **וְיָשׁוּבוּ** (1:6) LXX. incorrectly gives *καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν*.—For **אֲשׁוּ זַמְמַתָּה** (1:12) is rendered by LXX. *ὡς ὑπερέδεις* and by Targ. **מְדַאֲיִתְתָּא עֲלֵיהּ לֹ**. But Vulg. and Pesh. agree with the Hebrew.—Vulg. translates **זֶה שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה** (1:12) by “Iste iam septuagesimus annus est,” and does not include the sentence in the question introduced by **עַד מָתַי**.—For **תְּפֹצְצֶנָּה** (1:17) is incorrectly rendered by Pesh. **ܢܚܬܪܩܢ**; Targ. **יִתְמַלֵּן**; LXX. *διαχυθήσονται*; but Vulg. gives the correct translation “affluent.”—Targ. fails to give the original sense of 2:11.—For **הַיֹּשְׁבִים** (3:8) Pesh. has **הַלֵּן דְּקִימִין**, which is not supported by any other version.—**צִמְחָה** (3:8) is certainly a difficult word. LXX. renders *Ἀνατολήν*; Vulg. “Orientem”; and Pesh. **ܕܢܗܐ**. These translators either take the word as an equivalent of Syr. **ܘܨܘܪܐ**, or read **ܘܨܘܪܐ**; cf. Zech. 6:12, Isa. 4:2, Jer. 23:5, 33:15. Aquil. → renders the word by *ἀναψυχή*, and Symm. by *βλάστημα*. The last two seem to express the original most satisfactorily.—For **מִפְתַּח מַצֵּחָה** (3:9), LXX. gives *ὄρυσσω βόθρον*, probably reading **פְּתַחַה**; Aquil. *διαγλύφω ἀνοίγματα αὐτῆς*; Targ. **אֲנָא גְלִי הַזִּיתְתָּהּ**; Pesh. **ܒܬܗ אֲנָא תִדְעִיה**. None of these readings seem to be better than the Hebrew, which is followed by Vulg. and Symm.—For **מִשְׁתֵּי** (3:9) LXX. gives *ψηλαφήσω*, and this is followed by Pesh.—LXX. seems to regard **לְמִישֵׁר** (4:7) as an Aramaic infinitive from the root **יָשַׁר**, and renders *τοῦ κατορθῶσαι*. But this word is undoubtedly a noun, as we find **כַּמְשָׁרָא** in Targ. and **פַּקְעְתָּא** in Pesh.; an imperative form of **הִיָּה** has probably been omitted before **לְמִישֵׁר**.—**וְשִׁמְחוּ וְרֵאוּ** (4:10) is rendered by Targ. **יִרְדִּי**

כד יהוי and by Pesh. ונתרוך ונתרוך.—For האבן הבדיל (4:10) LXX. gives τὸν λίθον τὸν κασσιτέρινον; Aquil. κασσιτέρου; Symm. τὸν κεχωρισμένον; Theod. ἀριθμοῦ; Vulg. “lapidem stanneum;” Targ. אבן משקולתא; Pesh. לכאפא דפודשנא. None of these translations can express the exact meaning of the original; for, in fact the Hebrew הבדיל is almost untranslatable.—שבלי (4:12) is rendered by LXX. κλάδοι, and by Vulg. “spicae.” The former is better than the latter.—For היצודר (4:14), LXX. gives τῆς πύοτης; Aquil. στυλπνότης; Symm. ἐλαίου; Theod. λαμπρότης.—LXX. takes מגלה (5:1) either as a feminine form of מַגֵּל or as an equivalent of the Aramaic מַגְלָא, and renders δρέπανον. In this it is followed by the Pesh., but Aquil. and Theod. render διφθέρα; Symm. κεφαλὴς or εἴλημα. LXX. is certainly mistaken.—For ברידים אמצים (6:3) LXX. gives ποικίλοι ψαροί; Targ. פציהון קטמנין; Symm. and Theod. prefer πελιδοί to ποικίλοι, but Aquil. takes the usual meaning of אמצים and renders καρτεροί. In 6:7 → האמצים is rendered by LXX. and Targ. in the same way. But Theod. suggests ἰσχυροί; Aquil. offers an emendation by giving πυρροί; but Symm. strangely gives συνεσφιγμένοι.—הניחו את רוחי (6:8) is taken by Targ. as an imperative sentence.—מהלדי (6:10) → is rendered by LXX. παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ παρὰ τῶν χρησίμων αὐτῆς, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπεγνωκότων αὐτήν. The translator was either ignorant that these are proper nouns, or regarded them as symbolical names. A similar case may be noted in 6:14, where לחלם ולטוביה ולידעיה is rendered by τοῖς ὑπομένουσι καὶ τοῖς χρησίμοις αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῖς ἐπεγνωκόσων αὐτήν. (Codex A: αὐτῶν).—והוא ישא הוד (6:13) → is variously rendered. LXX. translates the word הוד by ἀρετήν; Aquil. ἐπιδόσητα; another copy εὐπρέπειαν; still another δόξαν; Vulg. “gloriam;” Targ. זין; Pesh. renders the whole sentence by והו נקבל שובהא.—LXX., Vulg., Targ. and Pesh. take בית אל (7:2) as in the accusative of direction.—For לבית (7:3) LXX. gives ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ.—בחישי ובשביעי (7:5) is rendered by LXX. ἐν ταῖς πέμπταις ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἑβδόμαις. But Aquil., Symm., and Theod. translate ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ. The latter is the correct rendering.—For ארץ המדה (7:14), LXX. incorrectly gives γῆν ἐκλεκτήν. שבתו . . . ושכנתי (8:3); Vulg. attaches two different tenses to these verbs, and translates “reversus sum . . . et habitabo.” Pesh. avoids the difficulty by

rendering both by participles. Wright regards the first verb as a present-perfect, and the second as a present. But this does not suit the context so well as the LXX. *καὶ ἐπιστρέψω . . . καὶ κατασκηνώσω*, which Targ. practically follows, by rendering אָחַב וְאִשְׁרֵי שְׁכֵנֹתָי . . .—Targ. renders בְּחַבְתִּיהָ (8:5) by בַּפְתָּחָהּ in order to distinguish the word from רַחֲבֹתָהּ at the beginning of the verse.—The second half of 8:6 is taken interrogatively by LXX., Vulg., Targ., and uncertain in Pesh. Hitzig, Köhler and others object to it.—מוֹשִׁיעַ (8:7) is rendered by LXX. *σώζω*, but by Vulg. “salvabo.” The latter seems to be the meaning in the original.—לְעַם . . . לְאֱלֹהִים (8:8) is rendered by Vulg. “in populum . . . in Deum.” This literal and unintelligible rendering shows that the translator did not understand the meaning of the passage.—For לַחֲבִנּוֹתָהּ (8:9) LXX. gives *ἀφ' οὗ ἠκονόμηται*. From this, Hitzig concludes that LXX. read מִחֲבִנּוֹתָהּ. Hitzig does not seem to have read the LXX. translation of the entire verse very carefully.—מִן הַצָּר (8:10) is understood by Vulg. and Targ. to mean “on account of the affliction,” but Pesh. gives the correct translation, מִן קֶדֶם אֲלֻצָּא.—זֶרַע הַשְּׁלוֹם (8:12) is rendered by Targ. זֶרַע יְהוָה שְׁלָם, and by Pesh. זֶרַע נְהוּא בַשְּׁלָמָא. But the Vulg. translation “semen pacis erit” seems to be best.—For בְּרִכָּהּ (8:13) LXX. gives *ἐν εὐλογία* and weakens the sense of the original.

9. *Free translation or paraphrase.*—This is very common, as every biblical student knows, in Targ. and Pesh. The variations in this class may be divided into two groups.

(a) Cases in which the original sense is fairly presented.

For קָצַף . . . קָצַף (1:2), Targ. gives דְּאֲרַגְזוֹ . . . דְּוַהֲרַגְזוֹ וְאֲחַפְנֵי בְּמִימְרֵי וְאֲשׁוּב אֲלֵיכֶם (1:3) Targ. has קְדַמְוַהֲרֵי—For לֹא הִקְשִׁיבוּ אֵלַי (1:4), LXX. gives *οὐ προσέσχον τοῦ εἰσακοῦσαι μου*, and Targ. לֹא אֲצִיחוֹ לְמִימְרֵי. They seem simply to have paraphrased the same Hebrew text.—Pesh. paraphrases the whole of 1:5 as follows: אִיכָּא אַנּוּן אַבְהוֹ כּוּן וְנִבִּי דְלִמְיָא לְעַלְמִ: יִתְבָּא שְׁלוֹם (1:11) is rendered by Targ. יִתְבָּא שְׁלוֹם וְשִׁקְטָהּ.—For פְּרַשְׁתִּי (2:10) LXX. has *συνάξω*. The meanings of the words are opposite to each other. But this is a clear case of paraphrase, because the scattering of the people from Babylon is practically the same as the gathering of them into Jerusalem. One

would expect something like קבצתי (Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, 175).—LXX. paraphrases בהלצות (3:4) by ποδήγη.—For על ראשה (4:2), LXX. gives ἐπάνω αὐτῆς. (It is equivalent to the preceding עליה, Wellhausen, 177).—For ברוחי (4:6) Targ. has במימרי.—Targ. takes הר הגדול (4:7) as referred to Rome, and gives a very full paraphrase of the whole verse.—For האיפה (5:6), LXX. gives τὸ μέτρον, and Vulg. “amphora,” both of which are inferior to Symmaechus’ transliteration οἰφί.—For הנזי (7:3), Vulg. gives “vel sanctificare me debeo,” and Targ. האמנני נפשי בתפוקין.—For זה כמה שמי (7:3) LXX. gives ἤδη ἰκανὰ ἔρη.—For ללבם שמו (7:12), Vulg. has “et cor suum posuerunt ut adamantem.”—For על כל הגוים (7:14) Targ. gives ביני עמיא.—LXX. renders אל תיראו (8:13) by θαρσείτε, which is less exact than the Vulg. “nolite timere.” Cf. 8:15.—For אלה הדברים אשר תעשו (8:16) Pesh. gives the free translation הלן פתנמא עבדו.

(b) Cases in which the original sense is missed.

Targ. paraphrases the second half of 1:5 as follows: ואם תימרוך נביא לא לעלמא קימין. But this does not agree with the context.—For הרי הרי ונסו (2:10), Targ. gives the paraphrase, . . . אכלו למיבדריא ואמרו להון אתכנשו באינא. This is so different from the Hebrew that I am inclined to regard it as a Targumic paraphrase of a different reading. At any rate, the reading is not in harmony with the remainder of the paragraph. In vv. 11-13, 14-16, 17, the commands are first given in the imperative form, and then followed by the reasons or grounds thereof, introduced by כי. Why should not v. 10 also have the same formula, seeing that its second half is a causal clause introduced by כי? It is true that אכלו introduces an imperative sentence, but it is not part of the divine message, which begins with אתכנשו.—For בנעך את ידי (2:13) Targ. gives מרים ית מוחת גבורתי.—For יהיה לבש בגדים צואים (3:3) Targ. has בני היצחק.—For בני היצחק (4:14) Targ. gives בני רבתיא.—Targ. seems to disregard the suffix in עינם (5:6) and paraphrases אנון גלן קדם.—The Targumic paraphrase of v. 7 is extremely free.—For הניחו את רוחי (6:8), Targ. gives אמר להון עבידו ית רשותי. Wellhausen, 179: one would expect the imperfect יניחו.—For ומתחתיו יצמה (6:12) Targ. gives the strange paraphrase, עתיד דיתגלי ויתרבי.

—For הלא לאיטבא (7:6) Targ. has הלא אתם האכלים ואתם השתים ואתן שותן. This rendering is inferior to the elliptical construction in the original, and is favored by no other versions. — ואיש משענתו בידו מרב ימים (8:4) is incorrectly rendered by Targ. וגבר עובדוהו תקניא יגנון עלוהו מסגי יומיא. — Targ. wrongly renders part of 8:6 by כד חיקר דהלתי בעיני שארא דעמיא אה קדמי ייקרון. הדין ביומיא האנון אה קדמי ייקרון.

10. *Interpretation rather than translation.*—For במצלה (1:8) Targ. gives בבבל, comparing “the shady valley” with Babylon.—Targ. טובים (1:13) is rendered by תקנין. —Targ. ערי (1:17) by קרוי עמי. —For קרנות (2:1) Targ. gives מלכון, which seems to be an interpretation, though the translator may have read מלכות.—For כל דשר (2:17) Targ. gives כל רשיעא, which cannot be accepted.—Targ. interprets צמח (3:8) by משיחא.—For זאת האיפה (5:6) Targ. has דהו.—For נסבין ויהבין במכילתא דשקרא (5:11), LXX. gives γῆ Βαβυλῶνος; Targ. מדינת בבל; and Pesh. ארעא דבביל.—In the place of העטרת (6:14) Targ. has תשבתחא.—For בנסלו (7:1), Pesh. gives דהו כנון, which is no better than a mere transliteration as given in LXX., Vulg. and Arabic.—For הצום (7:5) Targ. has הצום תעני אתון מתענין קדמי.—Pesh. interprets גר ועני (7:10) by ולמסכנא ולדמתפנא לוחי.—For ולבם שמו שמיר (7:12), LXX. gives καὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἔταξαν ἀπειθῆ.—For פוקדנא (7:12) is rendered by פוקדנא.—For כאשר קרא (7:13), Targ. gives כמא דאתנבאו להון נבייא.—For עצומים (8:22) is rendered by LXX. πολλά, and by Targ. רברבין.

11. *The translators change the text, so as to avoid difficulties, or to suit their own interpretation.*

For הלוא (1:6), LXX. seems to have read אשר, or omitted the word altogether.—For ושכנתי (2:15), Pesh. evidently read ושכן. But LXX. has καὶ κατασκηνώσουσιν, which does not suit the context very well.—For הס (2:17) is taken by Targ. as plural.—LXX. omits ואמיר (3:5), taking the last part of the preceding verse, as well as the first sentence of this verse, as Jahveh’s address to the angel attendants. But this omission is quite inconsistent with the LXX. translation of the preceding verse. Wellhausen, 176, adopts reading of the LXX. (שימו).—For המזה (3:8), Pesh. evidently read אתם.—For גפן (3:10)

Targ. read האנו . . . נפנו, but this rendering weakens the figure in the original, which is a characteristic feature of Messianic speech (cf. Mic. 4:4).—For בירד (4:12) LXX. has ἐν ταῖς χερσί.—In 5:5, Targ. read מי for מה, and האלה for הזאת.—Pesh. omits את היכל יהוה (6:12), supposing, probably, that the copyist added here by mistake the first part of the following verse. But LXX. seems to regard והוא יבנה את היכל יהוה in 6:13 as an unnecessary repetition of the last sentence of the preceding verse, and omits it altogether. I think the LXX. reading is more plausible than the Syriac.—For ורגם (7:2) Pesh. has ושלה.—For הנבאים (7:3), Targ. gives ספריא.—For אל תחשבו בלבבכם (7:10), Vulg. has “non cogitet in corde suo,” but the Heb. is more idiomatic and is supported by LXX., Targ., Pesh., and partly the Arabic.—For כאשר קרא (7:13), Pesh. gives על דקריה אנון. This reading is very smooth and seems to be correct.—משחקים (8:5) is rendered by Targ. משבחין (cf. 2 Sam. 6:5). For ברהבתיה (8:5), some Greek manuscripts of LXX. are based on the reading ברהבתיהם.—For ושכני (8:8) LXX. reads ושכנתי.—LXX. renders העם הזה (8:12) by τοῦ λαοῦ μου τούτου, which is not correct, containing an addition.—In 8:15, LXX. adds καὶ before זמיתִי, because the translator read השבתי for שבותי.—For ומבפז שלום (8:16), Pesh. gives ודינא ושלמא.

## II.

## VARIATIONS DUE PRESUMABLY TO THE MSS.

1. *Errors made by the copyists of the versions.*—In this class I include those errors which are due not to the original Hebrew text, or to the translators, but to the copyists of the text of a translation.

(a) Addition: For ויתנו (7:11), Vulg. has “et averterunt,” which seems to be, as Wright suggests, a mistake of the copyists for “et verterunt.”

(b) Omission: For מבוא השמש (8:7), some Codd. of the LXX. have simply δυσμῶν, but others add ἡλίον.—In 8:13, LXX. has ὁ οἶκος Ἰουδα καὶ οἶκος Ἰσραήλ. The omission of the article before the second οἶκος is to be taken as a copyist's error.

(c) Repetition: For התורה (7:12), LXX. has τοῦ νόμου μου. The μου seems to be a repetition by mistake of the latter part of the preceding word, νόμου.

(d) Alteration: For הַלְוֵא הַשִּׁיגוּ (1:6), LXX. gives οὗ κατελάβοσαν. But it seems to be a corruption of οὐ κατελάβοσαν.

2. *Errors due to the condition of the texts used by the translators.*—That the texts used by the translators were in quite bad condition is evident from the existence of those peculiar variations which could not have arisen, if the writing had been clear, full, and exact. Some of the causes of these variations are:

(a) Omission of the final ם. “According to Lagarde, the three letters ה, מ, ת, when occurring at the end of a word, were not written in the MSS. used by LXX., but represented by the mark of abbreviation (”) which already appears on Hebrew coins.” (Driver’s *The Books of Samuel*, Introd., p. lxix). In my examination of Zech. 1-8, I have found at least one variation due to the omission of the final ם.—For עָרִי מְטוֹב (1:17) LXX. and Pesh. read עָרִים מְטוֹב, and Targ. עָרֵי עָמִי טוֹב. It is possible that the מ of מְטוֹב originally belonged to עָרִי, but it is more probable that the final ם was omitted, as usual, in the original MSS.; and LXX. and Pesh. seem to present the correct reading.

(b) Confusion of consonants. Considering the condition of the ancient MSS. used by the translators, and also their method of translation, it is not at all improbable that some consonants were confounded with others. In some cases the confusion seems to have arisen from a similarity in form, and in others, from a similarity in sound.

For לְהַחְרִיד (2:4) LXX. reads לְהַחְרִיר and renders τοῦ ὀξύναι. Schleusner thought that the LXX. translation has simply given the sense of the passage. But Vulg., Targ., and Pesh., though they do not give exact equivalents of the word, seem to have intended to translate לְהַחְרִיד, which is certainly the correct reading.—The confusion of ה with ח is quite common. In 2:6, LXX. fails to give the suffix of אַרְכָּה. In 3:9, פִּתְחָהּ is rendered by LXX. without the suffix. In 4:2, LXX. and Pesh. again omit the suffix from גְּלָהּ. In 4:11, LXX. and Targ. do not give the suffix of שְׂמֹאוֹלָהּ. Again in 5:2, LXX. omits the suffix from וְרַחֲבָהּ . . . אַרְכָּה. There is one case in which ח is taken for ה, viz: in 4:3, LXX. reads הַגְּלָהּ for הַחְלָהּ. Wellhausen, 177: “for מִימִינָהּ read מִימִינָהּ, the suffix referring to

הַמַּעוֹרָה; cf. 11; הַגְּלָה is a false paraphrase."—For פְּרוּחַ (2:8), LXX. reads פְּרוּחַ, and renders *κατακάρπος*; Symmachus *ἀταχίστως*; Theodotion *εἰς πλατός*. But Vulg., Targ., and Pesh. agree with the Hebrew. Also see Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*, 175.—For כְּאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת (2:10), LXX. reads בְּאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת. Several MSS. and Vulg. read בְּאַרְבַּע. This reading seems to be better than the Hebrew, because אַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת simply means "the four directions," and not the actual "winds." Wright, however, does not believe בְּאַרְבַּע to have been the reading of Vulg. or Pesh., and holds that the latter, at least, has probably read לְאַרְבַּע. The reading of an original MS. כ for ב (both being very much alike; see Riehm-Baethgen, *Handwörterbuch*, article "Schrift") is very common. Mention may be made here of Hos. 9:7; Amos 5:8, 17; Mic. 1:2; Zech. 2:10; 6:14. This explains satisfactorily → the LXX. translation ξί (= ב) for Heb. כ. Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* 175, says: "One would expect something like בְּאַרְבַּע."—For הָסָה (2:17), LXX. has *εὐλαβείσθω*; Pesh. וְנִדְחָה, and Targ. סָפָה. These translators seem to have read הָסָה.—For the second וְגַם (3:7), LXX. reads וְאִם.—For נִקְהָה (5:3), Targ. gives לְקִי, which has perhaps, as Wright suggests, arisen from the confusion of נִקְהָה with נִקְהָה.—For עֵינַם (5:6), LXX. reads עֵינַם and renders *ἡ ἀδικία αὐτῶν*. Wellhausen, 178, follows LXX. and in addition omits as a gloss וְזֵאת הָאִיפָה הַיּוֹצֵאת. Pesh. seems to follow LXX., and gives הִוְבָא. Symmachus' suggestion *πρὸς τοῦτο ἀποβλέπουσι* is certainly based upon the Heb. עֵינַם, but it is not an exact translation.—LXX. renders נִהְיָה (8:10) by *ἔσται*, probably reading יִהְיָה. Lowe thinks, however, that the LXX. translator read נִהְיָה as an Aramaic future. At any rate, the verb should be taken as a past, as in Vulg., Pesh., and in some MSS. of the LXX.

(c) Corruption of the Text. Though the confusion of consonants is, in a sense, due to the corruption of the text, yet, under this special heading, I include those strange and remarkable variations which compel me to ascribe them to the fact that the original text was very badly corrupted and obscure.

For הַשִּׁיבוּ (1:6), Pesh. gives אַחֲדָכְרוּ. Perhaps the text was corrupt, but it is possible that the translator read הַשִּׁיבוּ.—For הַשִּׁאֲנַיִם (1:15), Vulg. has "opulentas;" Targ. דְּשִׁרְן שְׁלוֹא; Pesh.

דַּמְתִּירִישׁ; the English Version (both A. and R.) follows the Targ. But LXX. gives the correct rendering, τὰ συννεπιτιθέμενα, which seems to be for הַנְּשִׂאִים, as Schleusner well suggested.\* —For יִצַּב (2:7, after בַּי), LXX. seems to have read נִצַּב and renders εἰστήκει. But the Heb. is to be preferred, because it suits the context better.† —LXX. renders the second half of 2:12 by διότι ὁ ἀπτόμενος ὑμῶν ὡς ὁ ἀπτόμενος τῆς κόρης τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ αὐτοῦ, as if the text had read כִּנְנִיעַ . . . . בְּבִבְחָ. This is followed by Targ. But Vulg. and Pesh. give faithful translations of the more vivid original Hebrew.—For וְנָלוּ (2:15), LXX. incorrectly reads וְנָסוּ, and renders καταφεύξονται.—For מִמְעוֹן (2:17), LXX. gives ἐκ νεφελῶν, and Pesh. מְרוּמָא. It is probable that the former read מִמְעָן (מ), and the latter ממעלה.—For יְשִׁיבוּ (3:5), LXX. has ἐπίθετε.—For מְהַלְכִים (3:7), a very difficult word, is rendered by LXX. ἀναστρεφόμενος, by Vulg. “ambulantes,” and by Pesh. מְהַלְכִין. Hitzig’s objection to Gesenius’ interpretation of the word does not prove that the form is an Aramaic hiph. participle from הִלֵּךְ. Wellhausen, 176: מְהַלְכִים muss die Bedeutung “Zutritt” haben; cf. Jer. 30:21.—For הָאֶבֶן הַרְאֵשָׁה (4:7), LXX. probably reads הָאֶבֶן יְרוּשָׁה, as Schleusner supposed, and renders τὸν λίθον τῆς κληρονομίας. Vulg. translates “lapidem primarium,” and Pesh. also has כְּנֶפֶס רִישִׁיתָא. הַרְאֵשָׁה is rendered by Aquila τὸν πρωτεύοντα, by Symmachus τὸν ἄκρον, and by Theodotion τὸν πρῶτον. Targ. gives the interpretation, יַחַד מְשִׁיחֵיהּ דְּאַמְרִי, שְׂמִיחָהּ מִלְּקַדְמִין. Weighing all these translations, we must reject the LXX. reading and adopt the Heb. as the original, though it is very difficult.—תְּשִׂאוּתָהּ הֵן הֵן לָהּ (4:7) is also very difficult. LXX. seems to have derived the word תְּשִׂאוּתָהּ from שׂוּה, and renders ἰσότητα χάριτος χάριτα αὐτῆς. This is followed by Aquila’s ἐξισώσει χάριτος, and the Vulg. “exaequabit gratiam gratiae eius.” Symmachus gives πρὸς χάριν αὐτῆς; Theodotion offers κατάπανσις, κατάπανσις αὐτῆ; Pesh. has דְּשׂוּיִתָּא וְדִרְהֵמָא. These translations sufficiently testify to the helpless corruption of the Hebrew text. Wellhausen: “Der Sinn der letzten Worte des Verses lässt sich nur muthmassen.”—LXX. renders מְשׁוֹטְטִים (4:10) by οἱ ἐπιβλέποντες, and this is followed by the Syriac הִירִן. But better is the Vulg. “discurrunt,” which is adopted in the English Version.

\* See, however, Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* 174, and Isa. 37:29.

† Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* 174, suggests עִמַּד (*cf.* 3:5).

—For מעליהם (4:12), LXX. seems to have read במעלים.—For כמורה (5:3), LXX. reads either למורה or כמורה, and renders *ξως θανάτου*. This, however, may be due to the omission of the final ה in the original MSS. Tischendorf's text omits the second כמורה. Vulg. has "sicut ibi scriptum est" for the first כמורה, and "ex hoc similiter" for the second. Wellhausen: probably read מזה כמה (= *صند*) "since how long."—For על כסאו (6:13), LXX. gives (*καὶ ἔσται ἰερεὺς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ*). Wellhausen, 179, proposes to read במימינו.—For האבכה (7:3), LXX. seems to have read בא כה, as Wright suggests, and renders *εἰσελήλυθεν ὄδου*.—For שבתו זממתי (8:15), LXX. gives *παράτεταγμαὶ καὶ διανερόγημαι*. Wright's suggestion that the translator read השבתי is plausible.—For בשעריכם (8:16) is supported by all versions but Targ., which seems to have read בעיריכם, and renders בקרויכון.—For וישבו בערים (8:20), Vulg. reads וישבו בערים and renders "et habitent in civitatibus."

3. *Recensional variations*.—These are the variations which can be best explained by supposing the translators to have used MSS. more or less different from the MSS. on which our Massoretic text is based. Some of the variations in this class are to be preferred to the Massoretic text, while others should be rejected. We note the following:

(a) Errors made by the copyists of the Hebrew text. These are the deviations from the correct Hebrew text, which are solely due to the copyists of the Hebrew text, and which were adopted by the translators. (a) *Addition*: For אל תהיו (1:4) LXX. reads ואל תהיו.—For יהוה (1:13, 16; 8:17) LXX. reads יהוה צבאות, Pesh. following LXX. in 1:16 and 8:17.—For ביתי (1:16) LXX. reads וביתי.—After ואמר (1:6) LXX. adds *πρὸς αὐτὸν*, and is followed by Pesh. But other similar passages favor the Hebrew reading. (β) *Omission*: From לעבריהם (2:13) Pesh. omits ל.—In 4:2, the *Kethibh* ויאמר must be a copyist's error (Wellhausen, 141). The *Qerē* suits the context better, and is found in many MSS., LXX., Itala, Vulg., Targ. and Pesh.—From ויזק אתי (6:8) LXX. omits אתי, and in this is followed by Pesh.—For באר (6:10) LXX., Pesh. and Targ. (in *London Polyglot*) read בא.—From 6:12, LXX. and Pesh. omit לאמר in both cases.—From צבאות (7:4) is omitted in some Codd., Targ. and

Pesh.—(γ) *Repetition*: For שבעה ושבעה (4:2) LXX. and Vulg. read simply שבעה. We are either to take these words distributively, or perhaps better to regard the second as a mere repetition by mistake of the first (so Hitzig, Ewald, Henderson). Köhler and Wright conjecture that there are two sets of seven pipes each. Briggs favors this view. But this interpretation does not seem to be more natural than to regard the second שבעה as a copyist's error. (Wellhausen, 176-7).—(δ) *Explanatory or marginal glosses*, which crept into the text: For לדריוש (1:1) Vulg. reads לדריוש המלך, as in Hag. 1:1 and 15.—After צריתי (1:6) LXX. adds ἐν πνεύματι μου. This may have been copied from 7:12.—After את הודה (2:4) LXX. adds καὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατέαξαν.—After ולמגדים טובים (8:19) LXX. gives καὶ εὐφρανθήσεσθε.—(ε) *Changes made by the copyists* to avoid difficulties or ambiguities: For אתנו (1:6) some Codd. and Theodotion have ὑμῖν.—For בין ההרסים (1:8) LXX. seems to have read \*בין ההררים and renders ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δύο ὀρέων; and in this is followed by the Arabic. Hitzig thinks that the LXX. translator may have read ההרורים.—For הרי ציון (2:11) LXX. has εἰς Σιών, which does not suit the context. Lowe, however, compares this with a similar mistake in Ezek. 21:15.—For אתך (3:4) LXX. has αὐτόν. Wellhausen, 176, proposes to read אתו.—For נרתיה (4:2) LXX. reads ניות.—For וידעת (4:9) some Codd., Vulg., Targ. and Pesh. read וידעתם (plur.; so Wellhausen, 177).—For וזאת (5:7) LXX. has ἰδοῦ, and Vulg. “ecce”; Wellhausen, 178, adopts והנה from LXX. text, or simply ו.—For עמכם (8:23) LXX. reads עמך in both cases. Some copies have μετὰ σοῦ for the first, and μετὰ ὑμῶν for the second, and Pesh. is like this. But Vulg. and Targ. support the Hebrew.—(ζ) *Changes which cannot be easily accounted for*: For ובהר (2:16) Targ. gives ויתרעי and Pesh. ונצטבא.—For וקשו ללכת (6:7) LXX. gives καὶ ἐπέβλεπον τοῦ πορεύεσθαι, and other copies καὶ ἐζήτουν, καὶ ἐπέβλεπον τοῦ πορεύεσθαι. It is possible that the translator read ויבקרו.—For זרע השלום (8:12) LXX. seems to have had a different text, and gives ἡ δέξω εἰρήνην. Wellhausen, 181, reads: כי ארזע השלום.—For והלכו יושבי אהת אל אהת (8:21) LXX. gives the strange translation καὶ συνελεύονται κατοικῶντες πέντε πόλεις εἰς πόλιν μίαν. But other copies have κατοικῶντες μίαν εἰς μίαν.

(b) The original readings preserved in the ancient MSS. used by the translators. All the recensional variations are not corruptions and incorrect readings, but some of them are to be preferred to the Massoretic text, and seem to be the original readings. We mention the following:

In 1:8, Pesh. correctly omits והנה.—Before שרקים (1:8) LXX. and Pesh. have the conjunction ו.—For ויאמר אלי המלאך (1:9) Pesh. gives וישא מלאכא דמימלל בי ואמר לי. This is perhaps to be preferred, in view of the similar formulae in this paragraph (1:10, 11, 12, 13).—For בארץ (1:11) LXX. reads בכל הארץ.—In 1:13, LXX. adds ו before דברים נהמים.—In 2:2 LXX. and Pesh. read מזה אלה אדני.—In 2:4, LXX. omits לאמר and gives *πρός μέ* instead. This reading agrees with the form of the similar passages in 1:9; 2:2, 6, 8, etc., and is probably correct.—For לידות (2:4) Targ. seems to have read לזרות and renders למחבר. This suits the context remarkably well, and even adds a rhetorical force, and therefore I am inclined to take it as the original reading.—From ונסו (2:10) LXX., Vulg., and Pesh. omit the conjunction ו.—For לי (2:15) LXX. and Pesh. read לו.—In 3:1, LXX. and Vulg. read ויראני יהוה.—For ויאמר יהוה (3:2) Pesh. read ויאמר מלאך יהוה (*cf.* Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, 175).—For שונך (3:4) LXX. reads שונך. Wellhausen considers ויאמר אליו (4:9) LXX. reads אליך. This suits the context well, and seems to be the correct reading, though all the other ancient versions favor the Hebrew.—For בית אל (7:2) LXX. Targ., Pesh. and Baer read ביתאל as one word.—Before גר (7:10) LXX., Vulg. and Targ. add the conjunction ו.—Before לאמר (8:1) many Codd. and Pesh. read אלי. In spite of the objection of the Massorah this seems to be the correct reading in view of 4:8; 6:9; 7:4, 8.

### III.

#### VARIATIONS OF DOUBTFUL ORIGIN.

While there are not a few doubtful cases among the variations which have thus far been discussed, it is even more true of the variations under this special heading, variations which are extremely difficult to explain. Their origin may be accounted for as:

1. *Recensional, or a change made by the translator.* For instance:

In 2:4, אֶת קַרְנוֹת הַגּוֹיִם is rendered by LXX. τὰ τέσσαρα κέρατα. The Hebrew is to be preferred.—For רִגְם (7:2), part of a proper name, LXX. has Ἀρβησεσέρ.

2. *Recensional, or due to the carelessness on the part of the translator.* Note the following examples:

For יהודה (2:4) LXX. reads יהוה.—For בַּת צִיּוֹן (2:14) Targ. reads בֵּית צִיּוֹן, and renders כְּנֶשְׁתָּא דְצִיּוֹן. The translator, however, may have been misled by the usual *scriptio defectiva* in the original MSS.

3. *Recensional, or misinterpretation of the translator.* Thus:

For וַאֲמַר (3:5) Vulg. and Pesh. read וַיֹּאמֶר, and, as the result, the former gives the duplicate statement that Joshua was clothed with new garments, and both present an unpleasantly abrupt change from the direct imperative הִסִּירוּ to the indirect jussive יִשְׁמְרוּ. It is best to follow the Heb. and Targ., and read וַאֲמַר, because it suits the context best and also strengthens the contrast between צִנְיָה and בְּגָדִים.—For הִנֵּנִיב (7:7) LXX. gives ἡ ὄψεσθῆ; Pesh. seems to follow LXX. and renders טוֹרָא.

4. *Due to the corruption of the text, or an intentional change made by the translator.* So we have:

In 1:6, LXX. has an additional word δέχεσθε, which is probably for קָהוּ, as has been suggested; and this reading may have arisen from some confusion connected with the word חָקִי.—For גּוֹיִם (8:22) Targ. has מְלַכִּין. The translator may have given his interpretation of the original.

5. *Recensional, or due to the condition of the text:*

For הַנְּבִאִים (1:5) Pesh. read נְבִיאִי. The absence of the final ם in the original text may have misled the Syriac translator to read יִנְבִיאִי for הַנְּבִיאִי.—For וַיִּשׁוּבוּ (1:6) Pesh. has וַאֲתִרְעוּ.—For וְנָהֵם (1:7) Pesh. gives וַיִּבְנֵא.—In 2:9, Pesh. omits לָהּ and gives בְּגוֹה in its place.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

It is undoubtedly true that some of the explanations offered in this thesis are far from satisfactory. But, taking it for granted that most of them are correct or probable, it may not be uninter-

esting to observe some of the characteristic variations in the different versions. Most of the variations in the tense of a verb are found in LXX. The changes from one part of speech into another are found only in LXX. and Pesh. Variations due to a different pointing are characteristic of LXX., but those due to a different grouping of words are rare outside of Pesh. LXX. has many additions, but Pesh. has only a few, and Vulg. none. Omissions are most numerous in Pesh., and half as many in LXX., but very rare in Vulg. and Targ. Variations arising from a violation of the principles of Hebrew syntax are found almost exclusively in LXX. Some explanatory glosses are given in Targ. and Pesh., but more in LXX. Obscure rendering is a characteristic of Pesh., and too literal translation is common in LXX. Paraphrase and interpretation are abundant in Targ., but most of the strange, inexplicable variations are found in LXX. Misinterpretations are quite numerous in all versions, but original readings are preserved more in LXX. and Pesh. than in the other versions.

EMENDATIONS OF THE MASSORETIC TEXT ON THE BASIS OF THE  
ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS.

- 1: 8. Omit וְהִנֵּה with Pesh. and read וְשִׂרְקִים following LXX. and Pesh.  
 9. Read וַיֵּץ הַמֶּלֶאךָ הַדָּבָר בִּי וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי with Pesh.  
 11. Read בְּכֹל הָאָרֶץ following LXX.  
 13. Read וְדַבְרִים נִחְמִים with LXX.  
 15. Read הַנְּשָׂאִים with LXX. (but LXX. *συνεπιτιθεμένα*) and see Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*, 174.  
 17. Read עֲרִים with LXX.  
 2: 2. Read בְּהָ אֱלֹהֵי אֲדָנִי following LXX. and Pesh.  
 4. Read אֵלַי for לְאֹמֶר, following LXX.; and לִידוֹת for לְזֵרוֹת, following Targ.  
 10. Omit the conjunction וְ from וְנִסָּךְ, (so also Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, 175) following LXX., Vulg. and Pesh.; and read בְּאֵרֵבֶּעַ with several MSS., Vulg. and Pesh.  
 15. Read לִי for לָךְ, following LXX. and Pesh.  
 3: 1. Insert יְהוָה after וַיִּוְרָאֵנִי, following LXX. and Vulg.  
 2. Read מֶלֶאךָ יְהוָה with Pesh.  
 4. Read עֲוֹנֶיךָ, following LXX. (so Wellhausen, 175).  
 4: 2. Read וְאֹמֶר with the *Qerê*; and omit וְשַׁבְעָה.  
 9. Read אֵלֶיךָ with LXX.

- 5: 9. Read **בכנפיהֶן**, following one of Baer's MSS.  
 10. Read **הנה** for **המה**, following two MSS.
- 6: 6. Read **יִצְאֵהוּ** with Ewald. Wright's objection to this emendation is not conclusive.  
 10. Read **וּמֵאֵת טוֹבִיָּה** with Baer, following some ancient Hebrew and Greek MSS.  
 13. Omit **וְהוּא יִבְנֶה אֶת הַיְכָל יְהוָה**, following LXX.
- 7: 2. Read **בִּיתֶאֱל** (so Baer-Delitzsch) as one word, following LXX., Targ. and Pesh.  
 10. Read **וְנָר** with LXX., Vulg. and Targ.  
 13. Read **כַּאֲשֶׁר קִרְאֵתִי**, following Pesh.
- 8: 1. Insert **אֵלַי** before **לְאָמִיר**, following many Codd. and Pesh.  
 9. Omit **הַהֵיכָל** with Hitzig.

## VITA.

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I, Eiji Asada, was born on the 22d of May 1865, in a small town called Hanaoka in the southern part of Japan. In the Spring of my sixth year I was sent to a public school at Tokuyama, four miles from my birth-place, and was graduated from the same in July 1879. Then I went to Yamaguchi High School, Hiroshima High School and Kyoto High School, from the last of which I was graduated in June 1883. In the following Spring I entered the First Higher Middle College, Tokyo, and completed the Science course in June 1887. After having spent one year in the department of Mathematics in the Imperial University, Tokyo, I came to the United States of America in order to take some theological studies. In September 1888 I entered the Theological Seminary of the Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and was graduated from the same in May 1891 with the degree of D.B. While in the school of Theology I became so interested in Semitic studies and Old Testament work that I attended Professor Harper's Summer school for five sessions and studied Old Testament literature and Semitic languages. In 1891-2 I pursued the same studies in New York City under Professors Briggs and Brown at the Union Theological Seminary, and also under Professor Gottheil at Columbia College. In October 1892 I entered the Graduate School of The University of Chicago, and took further studies in Semitics and the Old Testament for one year under Professors W. R. Harper, Hirsch, R. F. Harper, Price and Goodspeed.









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