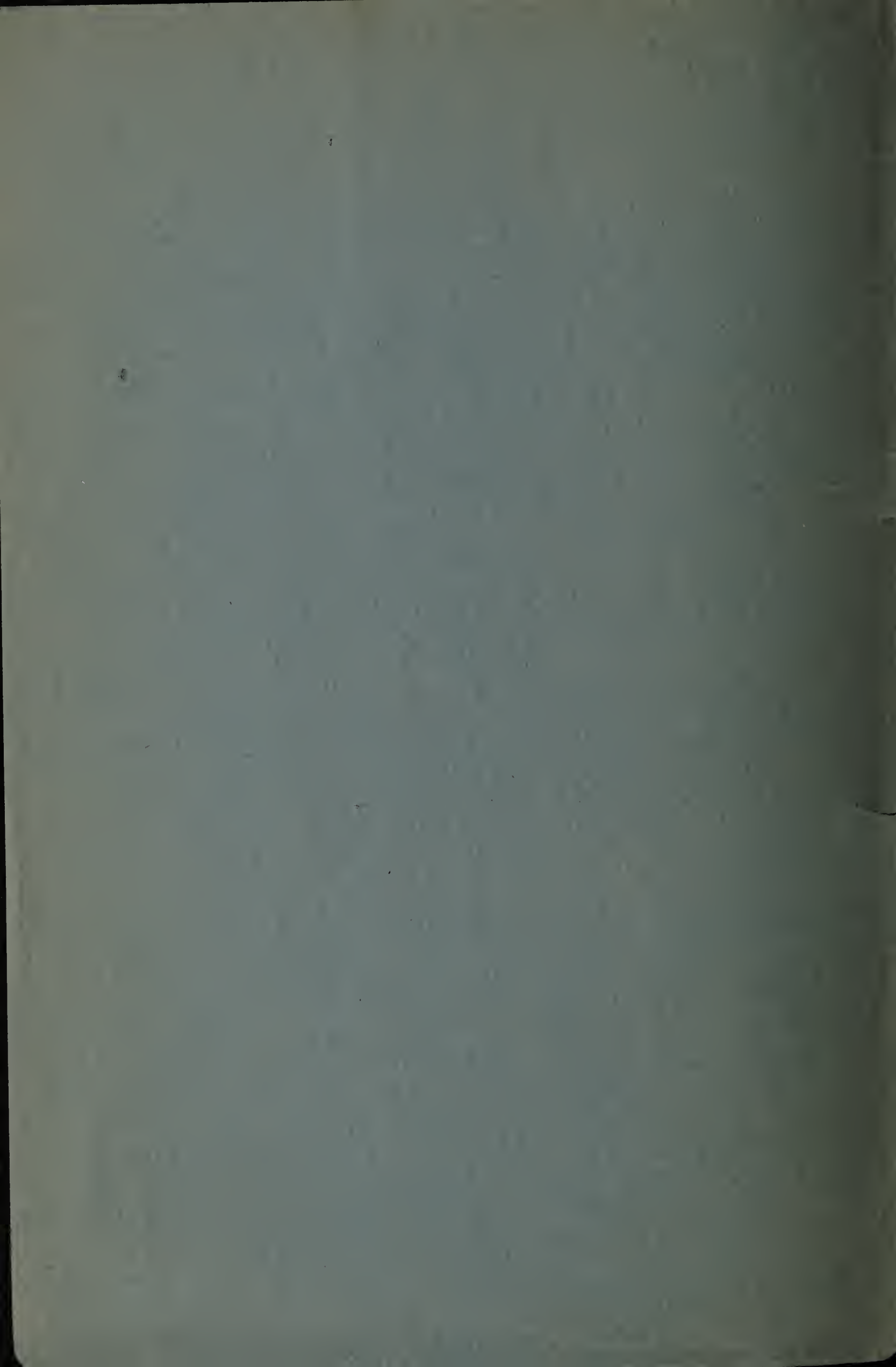


*An Introduction
to the*
**REVISED
STANDARD
VERSION**
of the
OLD TESTAMENT

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4th Edition

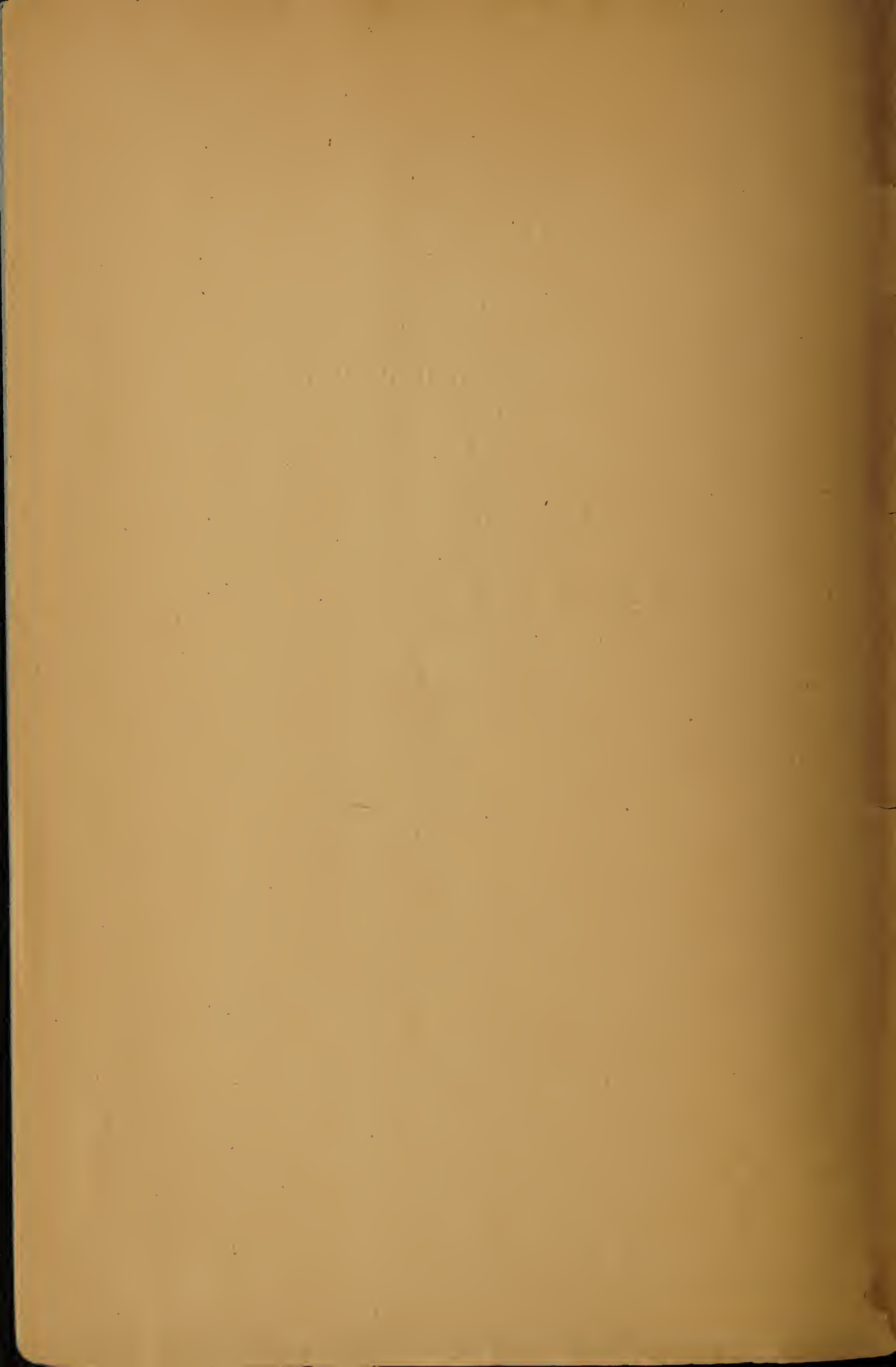
An Introduction

to the

REVISED STANDARD VERSION

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OLD TESTAMENT



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REVISED STANDARD VERSION

of the

OLD TESTAMENT

by

MEMBERS OF THE

REVISION COMMITTEE

•
LUTHER A. WEIGLE

Chairman
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THOMAS NELSON & SONS

TORONTO

NEW YORK

EDINBURGH

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The chapters of this book have been written by members of the Committee which has worked upon the Revised Standard Version of the Old Testament, published in September 1952. They are addressed to the general public, and are designed to help the reader of the Bible to understand the main principles which have guided this comprehensive revision of the King James and American Standard Version.

There are no chapters by five members of the Old Testament Section. Professor Moffatt, Executive Secretary, died in 1944; and Professor Taylor, who made the first draft of the revision of the Psalms in 1951. Professor Bewer, an active member of the Committee from 1930 till the completion of its work, was prevented by illness from assuming responsibility for a chapter. Dr. Yates, after eight years of active service, accepted the pastorate of the Second Baptist Church, Houston, Texas, and has since then shared in the Committee's work only by correspondence and the criticism of proofs. Dean Weigle has edited this book.

I. PREFACE TO THE REVISED STANDARD VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE Revised Standard Version of the Bible is an authorized revision of the American Standard Version, published in 1901, which was a revision of the King James Version, published in 1611.

The first English version of the Scriptures made by direct translation from the original Hebrew and Greek, and the first to be printed, was the work of William Tyndale. He met bitter opposition. He was accused of wilfully perverting the meaning of the Scriptures, and his New Testaments were ordered to be burned as "untrue translations." He was finally betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and in October, 1536, was publicly executed and burned at the stake.

Yet Tyndale's work became the foundation of subsequent English versions, notably those of Coverdale, 1535; Thomas Matthew (probably a pseudonym for John Rogers), 1537; the Great Bible, 1539; the Geneva Bible, 1560; and the Bishops' Bible, 1568. In 1582 a translation of the New Testament, made from the Latin Vulgate by Roman Catholic scholars, was published at Rheims.

The translators who made the King James Version took into account all of these preceding versions; and comparison shows that it owes something to each of them. It kept felicitous phrases and apt expressions, from whatever source, which had stood the test of public usage. It owed most, especially in the New Testament, to Tyndale.

The King James Version had to compete with the Geneva Bible in popular use; but in the end it prevailed, and for more than two and a half centuries no other authorized translation of the Bible into English was made. The King James Version became the "Authorized Version" of the English-speaking peoples.

The King James Version has with good reason been termed "the noblest monument of English prose." Its revisers in 1881 expressed admiration for "its simplicity, its dignity, its power, its happy turns of expression . . . the music of its cadences, and the felicities of its

rhythm." It entered, as no other book has, into the making of the personal character and the public institutions of the English-speaking peoples. We owe to it an incalculable debt.

Yet the King James Version has grave defects. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the development of Biblical studies and the discovery of many manuscripts more ancient than those upon which the King James Version was based, made it manifest that these defects are so many and so serious as to call for revision of the English translation. The task was undertaken, by authority of the Church of England, in 1870. The English Revised Version of the Bible was published in 1881-1885; and the American Standard Version, its variant embodying the preferences of the American scholars associated in the work, was published in 1901.

Because of unhappy experience with unauthorized publications in the two decades between 1881 and 1901, which tampered with the text of the English Revised Version in the supposed interest of the American public, the American Standard Version was copyrighted, to protect the text from unauthorized changes. In 1928 this copyright was acquired by the International Council of Religious Education, and thus passed into the ownership of the churches of the United States and Canada which were associated in this Council through their boards of education and publication.

The Council appointed a committee of scholars to have charge of the text of the American Standard Version and to undertake inquiry as to whether further revision was necessary. For more than two years the Committee worked upon the problem of whether or not revision should be undertaken; and if so, what should be its nature and extent. In the end the decision was reached that there is need for a thorough revision of the version of 1901, which will stay as close to the Tyndale-King James tradition as it can in the light of our present knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek texts and their meaning on the one hand, and our present understanding of English on the other.

In 1937 the revision was authorized by vote of the Council, which directed that the resulting version should "embody the best results of modern scholarship as to the meaning of the Scriptures, and express this meaning in English diction which is designed for use in public and private worship and preserves those qualities which

have given to the King James Version a supreme place in English literature."

Thirty-two scholars have served as members of the Committee charged with making the revision, and they have secured the review and counsel of an Advisory Board of fifty representatives of the co-operating denominations. The Committee has worked in two sections, one dealing with the Old Testament and one with the New Testament. Each section has submitted its work to the scrutiny of the members of the other section, however; and the charter of the Committee requires that all changes be agreed upon by a two-thirds vote of the total membership of the Committee. The Revised Standard Version of the New Testament was published in 1946. The publication of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, was authorized by vote of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. in 1951.

The problem of establishing the correct Hebrew and Aramaic text of the Old Testament is very different from the corresponding problem in the New Testament. For the New Testament we have a large number of Greek manuscripts, preserving many variant forms of the text. Some of them were made only two or three centuries later than the original composition of the books. For the Old Testament only late manuscripts survive, all (with the exception of the Dead Sea texts of Isaiah and Habakkuk and some fragments of other books) based on a standardized form of the text established many centuries after the books were written.

The present revision is based on the consonantal Hebrew and Aramaic text as fixed early in the Christian era and revised by Jewish scholars (the "Masoretes") of the sixth to ninth centuries. The vowel-signs, which were added by the Masoretes, are accepted also in the main, but where a more probable and convincing reading can be obtained by assuming different vowels, this has been done. No notes are given in such cases, because the vowel points are less ancient and reliable than the consonants.

Departures from the consonantal text of the best manuscripts have been made only where it seems clear that errors in copying had been made before the text was standardized. Most of the cor-

rections adopted are based on the ancient versions (translations into Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin), which were made before the time of the Masoretic revision and therefore reflect earlier forms of the text. In every such instance a footnote specifies the version or versions from which the correction has been derived, and also gives a translation of the Masoretic Text.

Sometimes it is evident that the text has suffered in transmission, but none of the versions provides a satisfactory restoration. Here we can only follow the best judgment of competent scholars as to the most probable reconstruction of the original text. Such corrections are indicated in the footnotes by the abbreviation *Cn*, and a translation of the Masoretic Text is added.

The discovery of the meaning of the text, once the best readings have been established, is aided by many new resources for understanding the original languages. Much progress has been made in the historical and comparative study of these languages. A vast quantity of writings in related Semitic languages, some of them only recently discovered, has greatly enlarged our knowledge of the vocabulary and grammar of Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic. Sometimes the present translation will be found to render a Hebrew word in a sense quite different from that of the traditional interpretation. It has not been felt necessary in such cases to attach a footnote, because no change in the text is involved and it may be assumed that the new rendering was not adopted without convincing evidence. The analysis of religious texts from the ancient Near East has made clearer the significance of ideas and practices recorded in the Old Testament. Many difficulties and obscurities, of course, remain. Where the choice between two meanings is particularly difficult or doubtful, we have given an alternative rendering in a footnote. If in the judgment of the Committee the meaning of a passage is quite uncertain or obscure, either because of corruption in the text or because of the inadequacy of our present knowledge of the language, that fact is indicated by a note. It should not be assumed, however, that the Committee was entirely sure or unanimous concerning every rendering not so indicated. To record all minority views was obviously out of the question.

A major departure from the practice of the American Standard Version is the rendering of the Divine Name, the "Tetragramma-

ton." The American Standard Version used the term "Jehovah"; the King James Version had employed this in four places, but everywhere else, except in three cases where it was employed as part of a proper name, used the English word LORD (or in certain cases GOD) printed in capitals. The present revision returns to the procedure of the King James Version, which follows the precedent of the ancient Greek and Latin translators and the long established practice in the reading of the Hebrew scriptures in the synagogue. While it is almost if not quite certain that the Name was originally pronounced "Yahweh," this pronunciation was not indicated when the Masoretes added vowel signs to the consonantal Hebrew text. To the four consonants YHWH of the Name, which had come to be regarded as too sacred to be pronounced, they attached vowel-signs indicating that in its place should be read the Hebrew word *Adonai* meaning "Lord" (or *Elohim* meaning "God"). The ancient Greek translators substituted the word *Kyrios* (Lord) for the Name. The Vulgate likewise used the Latin word *Dominus*. The form "Jehovah" is of late medieval origin; it is a combination of the consonants of the Divine Name and the vowels attached to it by the Masoretes but belonging to an entirely different word. The sound of Y is represented by J and the sound of W by V, as in Latin. For two reasons the Committee has returned to the more familiar usage of the King James Version: (1) the word "Jehovah" does not accurately represent any form of the Name ever used in Hebrew; and (2) the use of any proper name for the one and only God as though there were other gods from whom he had to be distinguished was discontinued even in Judaism before the Christian era and is entirely inappropriate for the universal faith of the Christian Church.

A major reason for revision of the King James Version, which is valid for both the Old Testament and the New Testament, is the change since 1611 in English usage. Many forms of expression have become archaic, while still generally intelligible—the use of thou, thee, thy, thine and the verb endings -est and -edst, the verb endings -eth and -th, it came to pass that, whosoever, whatsoever, insomuch that, because that, for that, unto, howbeit, peradventure, holden, aforetime, must needs, would fain, behooved, to youward, etc. Other words are obsolete and no longer understood by

the common reader. The greatest problem, however, is presented by the English words which are still in constant use but now convey a different meaning from that which they had in 1611 and in the King James Version. These words were once accurate translations of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures; but now, having changed in meaning, they have become misleading. They no longer say what the King James translators meant them to say.

The King James Version uses the word "let" in the sense of "hinder," "prevent" to mean "precede," "allow" in the sense of "approve," "communicate" for "share," "conversation" for "conduct," "comprehend" for "overcome," "ghost" for "spirit," "wealth" for "well-being," "allege" for "prove," "demand" for "ask," "take no thought" for "be not anxious," "purchase a good degree" for "gain a good standing," etc. The Greek word for "immediately" is translated in the King James Version not only by "immediately" and "straightway" but also by the terms "anon," "by and by" and "presently." There are more than three hundred such English words which are used in the King James Version in a sense substantially different from that which they now convey. It not only does the King James translators no honor, but is quite unfair to them and to the truth which they understood and expressed, to retain these words which now convey meanings they did not intend.

All the reasons which led to the demand for revision of the King James Version in the nineteenth century are still valid, and are even more cogent now than then. We have had a freer charter than our predecessors in the 1870's in that we have not been required, as they were, to limit the language of the English Bible to the vocabulary of the Elizabethan age. But we hope that we have not taken undue advantage of that freedom. The Revised Standard Version is not a new translation in the language of today. It is not a paraphrase which aims at striking idioms. It is a revision which seeks to preserve all that is best in the English Bible as it has been known and used through the years. It is intended for use in public and private worship, not merely for reading and instruction. We have resisted the temptation to use phrases that are merely current usage, and have sought to put the message of the Bible in simple, enduring words that are worthy to stand in the great Tyndale-King James tradition. We are glad to say, with the

King James translators: "Truly (good Christian Reader) we never thought from the beginning, that we should need to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one . . . but to make a good one better."

The Bible is more than a historical document to be preserved. And it is more than a classic of English literature to be cherished and admired. It is a record of God's dealing with men, of God's revelation of Himself and His will. It records the life and work of Him in whom the Word of God became flesh and dwelt among men. The Bible carries its full message, not to those who regard it simply as a heritage of the past or praise its literary style, but to those who read it that they may discern and understand God's Word to men. That Word must not be disguised in phrases that are no longer clear, or hidden under words that have changed or lost their meaning. It must stand forth in language that is direct and plain and meaningful to people today. It is our hope and our earnest prayer that this Revised Standard Version of the Bible may be used by God to speak to men in these momentous times, and to help them to understand and believe and obey His Word.

II. METHOD AND PROCEDURE OF THE REVISION

THE Bible is the great book of the western world, increasingly of the entire world. The intensive Biblical studies of the past hundred years along with the phenomenal bulk of knowledge of ancient times which has come into our possession through study of the lands of the Near East have combined to make clearer its unrivaled place. What was formerly a matter of faith has become in our times an established result of historical research. The Bible is unique. Among the older, and physically greater, cultures of the ancient world, there was nothing which remotely approached its exalted outlook upon the world and the nature and duty of man. And down succeeding centuries it has more and more exerted a formative influence upon society. Carried by Jews and by Christians through the length and breadth of the Roman world, it became a pervasive force which in the fourth century arrived at one of the

deeper crises of Christian history when the Biblical interpretation of life became official in the empire. Hardy missionaries went with it to the savage tribes that lived beyond the Alps and the Carpathians, and by its teachings civilized our remote ancestors. Increasingly it became the guide and authority of the life of western Europe; then with the Protestant Reformation it came to new centrality and power, and through the great historical expansion of the succeeding centuries it was carried through all the western world. Of minor purport is it to comment that the Bible stands, to the present, well beyond its nearest rival among best selling books; the real point is that it has permeated the outlook and motivation, the basic philosophy of life, of the modern world.

Since the third century B.C., the demand for the Scriptures in a familiar tongue has found expression in a great activity of Bible translation that goes on unabated. In this long tradition the history of our English Bible holds an honored place. It had its beginning in the folk paraphrases of devout spirits in Anglo-Saxon times; it came to notable attainment in the great work that goes under the name of John Wycliffe; but the modern English Bible begins in the time of the Reformation, with the work of Tyndale and of Coverdale. It is well known that their very wording, sometimes in considerable bulk, has come through all the intervening work, to stand in latest translations as the best and most graceful rendering of the Biblical thought. The notable succession of translations down to and including the King James Version in 1611 were all based upon the work of these two. The statement on the title page of the King James Version is of a significance seldom realized, "Translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised." Those who have pondered these words, still more those who as well have studied the remarkable preface to the King James entitled, "The Translators to the Reader," will be in a position to understand the toil and care, and the thoughtful acceptance of all previous labor which goes into any worthy work of Bible translation.

The present work likewise is primarily a revision. Its official title declares this: it is the Revised Standard Version, that is, a revision of the American Standard Version of 1901, which had its ultimate inception in the official action of the Church of England

in 1870 that authorized a revision of the King James Version. Through its entire activity the committee for the Revised Standard Version has been conscious of its role as reviser. The American Standard Version was its basic English text, and from it deviations were permitted only by majority vote, subject to final ratification by a two-thirds vote.

A task of revision entails all the problems and difficulties of translation, and in addition, one that is peculiarly its own: what degree of change from the basic text is permissible? It is a question of peculiar urgency when the revision concerns the Bible, for its very words quickly endear themselves to the devout student, so that any alteration, however slight, can well appear almost a desecration.

But further, any process of translation is in a sense an effort at the impossible. Languages differ; they are projections of the personalities of those for whom the speech learned in childhood is as intimate and personal as their native air. From these, the translators are separated by insuperable psychological barriers. The best that can be hoped is an approximation to the thought of the original, but its finer points, its overtones, its allusions, the feeling and atmosphere of its words lie beyond any process of translation. This is especially true when the task is that of rendering classics of an ancient language, such as the Old Testament includes, into a modern tongue of far remote genius and relationships. All speech develops its peculiar expressions that vary from mere slang across a diverse terrain to proverbial sayings at the other end. Colloquialisms soon pass, either into standard speech, or into desuetude as derelicts of a once pulsing reality; then life moves on and forgets their occasion and significance. One who works long and seriously with the Hebrew Old Testament grows steadily more conscious that much of its allusive and delicate meaning has been for ever lost; the words are known—generally—but their significance in particular combinations allures, but evades, the student.

However this may be, the responsibility of the translator is clear. Representing the best extant understanding of the language with which he deals, he is charged to tell as accurately as he can in his own language precisely what the original says. This is of an importance to bear some emphasis. The Bible translator assumes a

strict responsibility to say in English just what the Biblical writers said in Hebrew, or in Aramaic, or in Greek, as the case may have been. In response to early publicity about the launching of the Revised Standard project, letters came in to one or another of the committee pointing out their opportunity to deal a blow to certain anti-social views which unfortunately base themselves on this or that Bible passage—the committee should change the offending passage! The only answer that could be given was that the committee did not intend, nor had it any authority, to change the Bible. The purpose was to give a more accurate rendering of what it said, even in these passages. Correction of wrong uses of the Bible, important as this may be, lay entirely outside its responsibility.

Yet this is not all. The danger here is of a subtle sort. A recent speaker has told of a project to issue “a theologically conservative translation of the Bible.” Doubtless this is an appealing undertaking in the eyes of many. But the fact must be stressed that there is no place for theology in Bible translation, whether conservative or radical or whatever else. A “theological translation” is not a translation at all, but merely a dogmatic perversion of the Bible. Linguistic science knows no theology; those of most contradictory views can meet on common ground devoid of polemic, agreed that Hebrew words mean such and such, and their inflection and syntactical relations imply this or that. These facts establish an agreed translation. Then, and then only, may the exegete and dogmatist busy himself with theological deductions from the thoughts of the Biblical writers. The Bible translator is not an expositor; however pronounced his views about Biblical doctrines, he has no right whatever to intrude his opinions into the translation, or to permit his dogmatic convictions to qualify or shape its wording. His one responsibility, and it is absolute, is to render the Biblical meaning as accurately and effectively as is possible into appropriate English.

Likewise the translator must be on guard against paraphrase. He must steer between Scylla and Charybdis, and the channel is narrow! Avoiding paraphrastic rendering, it is easy for him to fall into a rigid, mechanical procedure that deprives the result of both life and beauty. No one is a translator who believes that each foreign

word has its English equivalent, and that the process of translation is something like shifting pieces in a jigsaw puzzle. A more sinister form of the temptation is to hold that faithfulness binds one to similar sentence structure and, in particular, verbal inflection, and so on. Or again the tempter may come in the cloak of consistency: surely it is necessary that translation reveal the presence of certain great words in the original, or the substitution of some approximate synonym; and can this be done other than by adopting the best available English equivalent for the word or phrase and then using it at every occurrence? While there is much that is sound in this argument, the result can easily run off into a wooden style, that lacks all the beauty and force of the original. Yet to abandon the restraints imposed by these considerations comes close to throwing open the doors to paraphrase. There is a difference, however, which the skilful translator will recognize; indeed his merit not uncommonly is to be gauged by his decisions at these points. He must possess an elasticity of mind and of method that will hold true to the demands of the original and yet will discover a way of rendering it in graceful and forceful English. It is not adequate to define translation as the process of rendering the thought of the original into another language; it is all that, and much more. It should give some feeling of the literary quality of the original writer: his command and use of his language, his mood, his figures of speech, his structure of thought. Yet not least, all must cohere in idiomatic English that possesses grace and beauty and power.

The greatness of the King James Version of the Bible—and beyond all cavil it is one of the great Bible translations—lies, as every reader recognizes, in its superb literary qualities. Commonly it has been pointed out that the King James Version was created in the great age, the classic age, one might say, of the language. But what is almost as commonly overlooked is that it owes its merit, not at all to seventeenth century English—which was far different—but to its faithful rendering of the original. The style of the English Bible is the style of the Hebrew, and of the Koiné Greek of New Testament times. Rather than a child of seventeenth century English, it is parent of the English of today. Its lucid clarity has established itself as the standard of good writing; its great phrases have passed over into common usage; many of its figures of speech

have established themselves in the language as indigenous English!

The story of the inception of the revision, of its early activity, which when only well begun was interrupted by the great depression of the 1930's, has been told by Dean Weigle in the *Introduction to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament*. In 1937 the International Council of Religious Education authorized the revision, and reconstituted the committee to undertake it. The first meeting of the reconstituted committee began at 9 a.m., December 3, 1937, in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary, New York. It was to prove the only meeting of the full committee; otherwise its work was carried forward in the separate sections for the Old and New Testaments. The concern of this first meeting was the establishment of principles and the setting of modes and procedures for the work.

At this first meeting the six members of the Old Testament section were each allotted fifteen chapters to revise in accordance with established general principles. They were further associated in three pairs, who were each to exchange and discuss their results together before mimeographing them and sending them to the remaining four members for further criticism. Later this pairing was abandoned; it was found most expedient for the individual reviser to send his matured work to Dean Weigle for transmission to the committee. However, six times fifteen, it is apparent, totals ninety; when the Old Testament section convened in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in the following June for its first meeting of work, the entirety of Genesis and Exodus had been revised, a fact which gave basis for a sanguine hope that the work could be quickly pushed through to completion. But such rosy expectations endured less than five days; when the meeting ended, about twenty-seven simple chapters of narrative had been reviewed. The implication became clearer with each meeting. It was relatively easy to secure somewhat large blocks of individual revision; the bottleneck was committee discussion. And if free discussion were throttled in the interest of speed, the result could only be inferior; the wrestle of mind with mind on precise points of the meaning of the original and its most accurate and graceful rendering in English was the one way to the end which all desired. Various efforts were put forth from time to time to expedite progress; in the end nothing was

found better than an efficient leadership of the committee to concentrate debate on the matter in hand, and then as soon as practicable to crystallize it in a vote.

Apart from the meeting in Ann Arbor, the section held its sessions in the east, commonly alternating between the Union Theological Seminary and the Divinity School of Yale University. A few subsidiary meetings of the eastern members were held in New York, and of the western in Ann Arbor. Later the section held summer meetings in the chateau of Hotel Northfield, at East Northfield, Massachusetts.

The procedure of a meeting quickly assumed an accustomed form—it had one main thing to do. The meeting opened with a brief prayer. The chairman commonly had a few announcements to present. And then the work began. Seated about a long table, with the chairman at one end, mimeographed copies of a revision draft before them, and surrounded with Hebrew Bibles and an assortment of versions, ancient and modern, and with commentaries and other help near at hand—not least in importance, an unabridged English Dictionary—the members set themselves to the course of debate, which on point after point was to continue eight or nine hours a day through the next week or two. The agendum of the meeting was well known; not infrequently it had been decided at the previous meeting six months before. Mimeographed copies of the revision were in hand, and also an assortment of mimeographed comments by most of the members of the section. And so attention was directed to verse one; there would be a little pause: the committee had not yet warmed up to debating mood; then a member would cautiously venture the opinion such a word was not the best; he proposed another. This might then entail a lengthy discussion of the original Hebrew word and citation of grammar or syntax; perhaps commentaries would be invoked or other translations, and soon or late someone would find it relevant to cross to the English dictionary on its desk nearby and provide authoritative opinion on the usage under discussion. Thus the meeting went on, hour after hour, and day after day. No one could anticipate the course of events; sometimes an apparently innocent passage occupied an hour or more; occasionally considerable departure from the traditional wording

was accepted with little demur; sometimes the committee ordered, instead, a return to the American Standard or to the King James. The alignment of the committee was in constant flux; members who had stood shoulder to shoulder on one issue would find themselves completely opposed on the next. There were no cliques or special interests. Old friends not uncommonly were leaders of opposing views that engaged in mortal combat. Then happily, a few moments later when the session had adjourned, all would be found in happy converse, a true symbol and expression of the deep personal friendship that developed through these years, if it had not already been long in existence.

Three times in the course of the years the committee was saddened by the passing of one of its members. President John R. Sampey, of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, constituted one of the links binding together the two periods of the committee's work. He had participated in it from the beginning in 1930; he was present at the reorganization in New York in 1937 and resumed his official relationship as chairman of the Old Testament section. But soon after he decided it was expedient for him to resign in favor of his colleague Professor Kyle M. Yates. Though his association with its later work was thus brief, his death on August 18, 1946, was a real loss to the committee, depriving it of his sane counsel and understanding. Professor James Moffatt died June 27, 1944. He had served as executive secretary from the reorganization in 1937, in this capacity being closely associated with the Old Testament section as well as with the New, where his major specialization belonged. His charming personality had endeared him to all his associates, and his feeling for the nuances of English words and his fine sense of style had been a rich resource whenever debate arrived at the question of the best wording for an idea already hammered out in discussion. Principal William R. Taylor's great contribution to the revision lay in the Psalter. He had served notably since the early days of the committee; his wide and solid scholarship was of incalculable worth in all the detailed mass of questions and problems that arose through the course of the years. But when in the course of allocation of work he was asked to prepare the initial revision of the Psalms, he poured into the task the resources of a lifetime

of special study of these incomparable classics of the inner life. When death came to him in the morning of February 24, 1951, he had seen his work carried through the committee almost to its final form.

In 1945 the committee was enlarged by the election of five Old Testament scholars, and one more was added in 1947; for the last few years of its task the Old Testament section had a membership of fifteen. When the section had labored through its first revision of the entire Old Testament, it turned about and went through it all again, reconsidering, and sometimes altering its actions which in some cases lay ten years in the past. This second revision was more expeditious. Members of the entire committee were requested to send in lists of their corrections, and similar suggestions from members of the Advisory Board, to whom drafts had been sent, were welcomed. The procedure now was consideration of these lists and action upon them in book after book of the Old Testament. In the first revision decision was by majority vote; but in this final re-examination a two-thirds vote of the entire committee was required for every departure from the basic text, the votes of the New Testament members being recorded by mail. At the conclusion of this task, the results were submitted to a small subcommittee of the members, to take final action on punctuation, form of notes, consistency, and the like, and then to see the text through the press. This work alone consumed the full time of some of the subcommittee for more than a year.

The revision is issued with no sense of finality. Those who have labored over it for these fifteen years are far more painfully conscious of its shortcomings than others can possibly be. For many of the issues raised in the translation of the Old Testament there is simply no answer; the committee could only do the best possible, knowing full well that such best was inadequate. Further, any committee action is a compromise; no one is satisfied with all the revision; but at the worst a compromise has distinct advantages against the oversights and errors from which no individual translation can possibly be exempt. Yet the committee realize fully that a perfect translation of the Bible is, in the nature of the case, for ever an impossibility; we must be content with merely good and better translations, and may for a short time possess a

best one. But the growth of living language entails that presently that best fades into eclipse. No one supposes or hopes that this version will serve for centuries to come. Its time is now. The committee has without stint poured its labor into it through these many years, sustained only by the faith that in the Bible God speaks to each succeeding age, and that our troubled time stands in dire need of clear utterance of the word of God.

WILLIAM A. IRWIN

III. THE AUTHORIZED REVISIONS OF THE KING JAMES VERSION

THE Revised Standard Version of the Bible is an authorized revision of the American Standard Version, published in 1901, which was a revision of the King James Version, published in 1611.

The "Standard American Edition of the Revised Version of the Bible," which soon came to be known by the shorter title "American Standard Version" (ASV), embodied the completion by a committee of American scholars of the revision authorized in 1870 by the Convocation of Canterbury, which had resulted in the Revised Version published in 1881-1885 (ERV). This revision had not gone far enough, in the judgment of the American committee invited to collaborate with the British revisers; and after an agreed period, the American committee was free to publish its own edition, containing the more thorough revision which it desired.

The serious student of the Old Testament should give careful attention to the "Preface to the Edition of 1885" and the "Preface to the American Edition," which are printed in the larger editions of ASV, and should particularly study the exhaustive Appendix, entitled "List of Particulars in which the Revised Old Testament of 1885 differs from the Present Edition." This Appendix is a mine of information, not only concerning the differences between ERV and ASV, but as to many of the points at which the King James Version (KJ) needs revision.

The most significant advance of ASV, in the Old Testament, lies in the substitution of modern words for those that have

become obsolete or have changed their meaning. Examples of obsolete or archaic terms which it displaces are: "chapmen" for "traders" (2 Chron 9.14); "ear" for "plow" (1 Sam 8.12); "leasing" for "lies" (Psalm 5.6); "neesings" for "sneezings" (Job 41.18); "ouches" for "settings" (Ex 28.11); "taches" for "clasps" (Ex 26.6).

A very few of the differences between ASV and ERV are due to differences between American and British usage. The most obvious of these is the retention by ERV of "corn" in the sense of "grain" (Gen 41.35). Others are the retention of "fowl" for "bird" (Gen 1.20) and "meat" for "food" (Gen 1.29). It is to be noted, however, that when the offering to God of "fine flour" is termed by KJ a "meat offering," the British revisers as well as the American changed the term to "meal offering" (Lev 6.14-23).

Most of the differences between ASV and ERV are due to the limitation under which the British committee labored because of their instruction to confine all alterations to the language of the King James or earlier English Versions. Any of the one hundred and fifty or more terms listed in the Appendix to the ASV may serve as examples of this fidelity to an Elizabethan vocabulary; typical are the retention of "astonied" for "astonished" (Isa 52.14), "fray" for "frighten" (Deut 28.26), "seethe" for "boil" and "sod" or "sodden" for "boiled" (Ex 16.23, Gen 25.29, Ex 12.9), "tell" for "number" or "count" (Gen 15.5 "tell the stars"; Psalm 22.17 "I may tell all my bones") and the correlative noun ("tale of bricks" for "number of bricks," Ex 5.8,18).

The greatest problem with respect to the English of the King James Version is presented, not by its obsolete or archaic terms, but by those of its words which are still living English, in constant use, but which now have so changed in meaning, or acquired such new meanings, that they no longer convey to the reader the sense that they had for the KJ translators and were intended to express. Most of these words were accurate translations in 1611, but they have now become misleading.

It is misleading, for example, when KJ says that the sons of Eli "abhorred" the offering of the Lord (1 Sam 2.17), that Boaz thought to "advertise" the near kinsman of Ruth (Ruth 4.4), that God would "apparently" speak with Moses (Num 12.8), that Jonathan gave his "artillery" to his lad (1 Sam 20.40). "I under-

stand more than the ancients" means "more than the aged" (Psalm 119.100); and the "ancients" who are mentioned in various passages in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel were the "elders." The "title" that Josiah saw was a "monument" (2 Kings 23.17). Isaiah's prophecy that the Lord will make a "consumption" in the midst of all the earth means that he will make a "full end."

"I prevented the dawning of the morning" (Psalm 119.147) is puzzling to most modern readers; ASV says "anticipated," but this is ambiguous, as it may be taken to mean "hoped for" or "eagerly awaited." RSV makes the translation of the Hebrew clear: "I rise before dawn." The word "judgment" is used in an archaic sense in Amos 5.24, "Let judgment run down as waters"; the change to "justice" brings out the meaning. Jeremiah's lament, "My bowels, my bowels!" (4.19 KJ, ERV) is removed from ambiguity by the translation, "My anguish, my anguish!"

Oddly, ASV retains "to us-ward" in Psalm 40.5 and "to thee-ward" in 1 Samuel 19.4; but in Exodus 37.9 we gladly read "toward the mercy seat" instead of KJ's awkward "to the mercy seatward."

A selected list of misleading words in the King James Version appears at the close of this *Introduction*. It contains 111 words, and cites 222 cases of their use in KJ. Out of the 222 cases ASV changes the word in 157 cases, and retains it in 65 cases; RSV changes the word in all the cases. RSV uses the same word as ASV in 102 cases, and a word other than that used by ASV in 120 cases. This list, studied with the help of a Concordance, and in the light of the Prefaces and Appendix referred to in the early part of this chapter, will afford stimulus and guidance for further comparison of the authorized revisions of the King James Version.

There were some definite mistranslations in the King James Version of the Old Testament, of which only a few can here be cited. In Daniel 7.9 it reads, "I beheld till the thrones were cast down"; the meaning is just the opposite, and ASV reads "till thrones were placed"; RSV has "As I looked, thrones were placed." In connection with the reforms of Josiah the strange statement occurs that "he brought out the grove from the house of the LORD . . . and burned it . . . and stamped it small to powder" (2 Kings 23.6). For "grove" the revised versions read "Asherah," which

denotes the sacred tree or pole of the goddess of that name. The lament over Tyre reads, "The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market" (Ezek 27.25); ASV has "The ships of Tarshish were thy caravans for thy merchandise," and RSV "The ships of Tarshish traveled for you with your merchandise." The implied promises of the KJ rendering of Isaiah 6.13 and 10.22 are in reality threats, as may be seen in the renderings of ERV, ASV, and RSV. The frequent introduction of the name of God in expressions of desire where it is absent in the original may be regarded as mistranslation. Consider passages like 1 Samuel 10.24, "God save the king," changed to, "Long live the king"; "God forbid" (1 Samuel 14.45), which becomes "Far from it"; and 2 Kings 5.3, where the captive maiden from Israel says to Naaman's wife, "Would God my lord were with the prophet that is in Samaria!"; this now begins simply, "Would that my lord." So also the exclamation of Moses in Numbers 11.29, "Would God that" becomes simply "Would that."

The examples cited in this chapter are enough, it is hoped, to make clear that the Revised Standard Version is based upon the work done by the committee which prepared the American Standard Version, while their work in turn was based upon that which produced the English Revised Version. As ASV went farther than ERV, we have gone farther than ASV, but along lines which it projected or pointed toward. RSV's elimination of misleading words is more nearly complete. It prints as poetry the translation of the Hebrew wherever that is poetry, applying this principle to the books of the prophets as well as to Job, Psalms, Proverbs, the Song of Solomon, and Lamentations. The prose text is paragraphed, and the strophes of poetry indicated. The verse numbers are made as unobtrusive as possible. The forms thou, thee, thy, thine and verb endings -est and -eth are not used except in language addressed to God or in exalted poetic apostrophe.

The King James translators made little use of readings drawn from the ancient versions, and made no note of it when they did. For example, in 2 Samuel 16.12 KJ has "mine affliction," with no note to indicate that this is a versional reading. ERV and ASV have "the wrong done unto me," the former with a note giving the versional reading, and the latter with no note. RSV returns to the KJ use of "my affliction," but has a note which credits this

to the Septuagint and the Vulgate and gives also a literal translation of the Masoretic Hebrew. Likewise in Job 37.7 both KJ and RSV use a reading drawn from the Vulgate, the former without a note and the latter with a note calling attention to it and giving a translation of the Hebrew. ERV and ASV do not have this reading, and simply translate the Hebrew.

Like KJ, ERV and ASV in a few cases adopted versional readings for the text, without a note; but their general practice was to cite versional readings in marginal notes rather than to use them in the text. ERV thus cited 240 versional readings, and ASV cut this number down to 46. The practice of RSV is to use only those versional readings which are in the judgment of the revisers necessary to the recovery of the text, and to give in a marginal note the version or versions from which the reading was drawn, together with a literal translation of the Masoretic Hebrew. It results in a larger, but a more disciplined, use of the versions than was hitherto the practice.

In one respect, which affects the whole translation, the present revisers have reversed the decision of the scholars who prepared the ASV. We dissent from their innovation in using Jehovah for the Divine Name. Our position is stated fully in a paragraph devoted to the subject in the Preface to the Revised Standard Version. The question came before the committee three times, in 1930, 1937, and in 1951; and on each occasion, after full discussion, the vote was unanimous.

GEORGE DAHL

IV. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

DURING the first millennium A.D. there labored in Palestine and in Babylonia generation after generation of Jewish scholars, known as Masoretes, whose concern it was to preserve the text of the Hebrew Bible exactly as it had been received by them. Printing and other forms of mechanical reproduction were then unknown, and unless skilled and reliable scribes copied texts accurately,

errors would result. The Masoretes counted every letter of every Book in the Hebrew Bible. They knew the middle letter and the middle passage of the Five Books of Moses, and the middle letter and the middle passage of the entire Old Testament. They made note of every unusual form and word in the Hebrew text. They compiled regulations and hundreds of lists, the observance and knowledge of which helped the scribes to determine and follow the accuracy of the Hebrew text before them.

The Masoretes did not labor in vain. Biblical scholars recognize now more clearly than ever before that during the past nineteen hundred years, since the destruction of the Jewish State in 70 A.D. at the hands of Rome, the consonantal text of the Hebrew Bible has remained virtually unchanged. This achievement on the part of the Masoretes becomes all the more remarkable when one recalls the number and severity of the persecutions and exiles which the Jews of western Asia, and later also of western and eastern Europe, experienced.

Before about 600 A.D. the Hebrew Bible was not vocalized. The consonants alone were written, sometimes in conjunction with two consonantal letters used as vowel letters (*waw* and *yod*, to indicate respectively *u* or *o*, and *i*); but a complete system of vowels had not yet been devised and integrated into the consonantal text. Thus the consonants *mlk* could be read to mean "king" (*mélek*), "he ruled" (*malák*), "Molech" (the god *mólek*), "to rule" (the infinitive *melók*), "rules, is ruling" (the participle *molék*), and "Rule!" (the imperative *melok*). It stands to reason that occasionally a word in the consonantal Hebrew text, especially if the context permitted, would be read incorrectly. Yet even this kind of error is extraordinarily rare. This is so because the Jews, who read and studied the Hebrew Bible in post-Biblical times with unabated fervor and scholarship, always pronounced the Hebrew text even though an acceptable and authoritative system of vocalization did not emerge until later in the second half of the first millennium. Scholars sometimes tend to forget this fact, so that the vowels of the Hebrew text are considered by them less authoritative than the consonants.

In reality, there is no one manuscript or printed edition of the Hebrew text of the Bible which can trace the history of its trans-

mission back to an authoritative manuscript in the days of the Second Jewish Commonwealth. There is a Talmudic tradition that authoritative texts of the Hebrew Bible were "on file" in the Second Temple, and several authoritative codices were known by name during the Talmudic period (to about the sixth century A.D.). Except for a few fragments, the overwhelming majority of the eight hundred or so manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible which have been studied, derive from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries A.D.; after that the printed editions begin. No two of these manuscripts agree with each other in every detail; but the differences are virtually always so few and insignificant, and the origin of the differences usually so clear, that no competent scholar denies to all these manuscripts, and to the printed editions which are ultimately based upon them, a single text-tradition. No one manuscript or printed text is superior to another, and every variant must be studied for its own sake, to determine its origin and worthiness. In this connection it should be noted that the scroll of Isaiah, said to have been discovered in 1947 in a cave near the Dead Sea, has virtually no value for the reconstruction of the Masoretic text.¹

Even from this brief sketch it will be clear that the faithful and competent work that the Masoretes accomplished is such that it is altogether fitting that the preserved text of the Hebrew Bible, the consonantal text with full vocalization, is commonly known in scholarly circles as the "Masoretic Text."²

Max L. Margolis, the chief translator of the Jewish Publication Society's authoritative translation into English of the Hebrew Bible, has a well written and pertinent chapter on "The Difficulties Inherent in all Bible Translations" in his excellent little book, *The Story of Bible Translations* (Philadelphia, 1917). "The translator's preface," Margolis points out, "has a stereotyped content. Everywhere we meet with the same diffidence and anticipation of unfavorable criticism. The prototype of all prefaces to Bible trans-

¹ On the methodology to be employed, see, e.g., the writer's articles in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 30 (1939-40, 33-49); 31 (1940-41, 59-66); *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 11 (July 1952).

² See article "Masorah," by C. Levias, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, 1904 (pp. 365-71); B. J. Roberts, *The Old Testament Text and Versions*, Part I (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1951, pp. 1-100).

lations, the Prologue to the Greek Sirach (chapter II), tersely expresses the difficulties when it observes that 'things originally uttered in Hebrew have not the same force in them, when they are translated into another tongue,' and the translator is quite certain that the same fault attaches to the Greek version of 'the law, and the prophets, and the rest of the books,' which preceded and guided his own effort. Likewise the rabbis in Palestine were very much troubled about the difficulty of adequately rendering the Torah into any language . . ." (pp. 117-8).

The Hebrew text of the Bible is very ancient. Parts of it, for example, the Song of Deborah (Judges 5), are over three thousand years old. Large portions of the Pentateuch, long preserved in oral form, were written down in substantially their present form about twenty-eight hundred years ago. The other parts of the Old Testament came to be written down between about 800 B.C. and 165 B.C., so that no part of the Hebrew Bible is less than about twenty-one centuries old. The plain meaning of the Hebrew text would be completely clear to us were it not primarily for two reasons: (1) the forgotten meaning of individual words and expressions, and (2) the corrupted form of the text.

In Biblical times, the Israelites did not devote their time to the study of the Pentateuch or to the writings of the prophets. The overwhelming majority of the people were too taken up with the daily onerous task of eking out an existence, of providing food, clothing, and shelter for themselves and their households, to have the leisure, energy, and interest for such study. The literary creations remained, by and large, the property of the relatively few, often only in oral form. Furthermore, the kind of conflicts which existed among the more cultured and influential groups did not make for the continued study and preservation of the text of these literary productions. Thus, for example, the priestly hierarchy of the Temple and the court scribes were not ordinarily interested in the sermons of the prophets so as to preserve their original form and meaning. The classical prophets were themselves not members of guilds or other organized groups; consequently, their oral sermons were not infrequently altogether lost, or else were preserved inexactly. Jeremiah dictated his speeches to his secretary Baruch after the original copy was burned by the

king. It is not known when and by whom the speeches by Amos, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, and most of the other prophets were collected and edited. If the writings of these prophets were edited after their death, perhaps several centuries later, it is not surprising that not everything in the text which was clear to the prophets themselves and to their listeners, was equally clear and pertinent to the editors and readers of later generations. The original tradition or text was therefore sometimes made "more intelligible," to the point where it was for ever lost.

In the earlier Biblical period, the precise wording of the text of what later came to be regarded as Sacred Scripture, was apparently not respected in the same degree as the message which the text conveyed. In addition, very few copies of these texts circulated at any one time. The Hebrew text was written consonantly, without any vowels. The misreading or mispronunciation of a single letter in a word, especially in the poetic parts where the average clause consisted of three words, made the correct understanding of the entire sentence unclear, and sometimes brought on an editorial revision of another word in the clause or sentence, to make new sense in the new context.

Biblical Israel experienced numerous invasions and several destructions. It was inevitable that some of the literature of the northern kingdom of Israel perished as a result of the destruction of the kingdom in 722-721 B.C., and that even more of the literature of the southern kingdom of Judah was lost as a result of the Babylonian devastation of this area in 586, and the exile of many of its cultured and prominent citizens to Babylonia. Another major destruction of Israel's literature took place about 170 B.C., when Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Seleucia, Syria, tried to impose his brand of Hellenistic religion and culture upon Judea. Accordingly, while the Hebrew text of about 70 A.D., when Judea's sovereignty was destroyed, has been preserved very creditably by the Masoretes, and while the condition of the text is remarkably pure for the period which preceded, the fact does remain, as several medieval Jewish students of the Bible recognized in anticipation of their more recent Christian and Jewish colleagues, that many words and passages in the Hebrew Bible are unintelligible to us, and that some of them are undoubtedly in need of emendation.

By far the most important and fruitful source for the understanding and restoration of the Hebrew Bible when its text is not clear as it stands, is the Old Greek translation of the Old Testament, known as the Septuagint. This version was made by Alexandrian Jews during the third and second centuries B.C., to satisfy the needs of the Greek-speaking Jews of Egypt whose knowledge of Hebrew was too inadequate to read and understand the original. There are hundreds of instances where the Septuagint version differs from the Masoretic Hebrew text. Most frequently this is due to the fact that the translators paraphrased the text. Thus in Isaiah 32.6, whereas the Hebrew text reads literally, "and his heart will do iniquity," the Septuagint (with the same Hebrew words before it) rendered freely, "and his heart will devise iniquity." A number of scholars failed to evaluate the Septuagint here properly, and used it as the basis for emending the Hebrew word "to do" into another Hebrew word "to devise"; but the present translation (RSV) has recognized the original character of the Hebrew, and has rendered it, in the spirit of the Septuagint, "and his mind plots iniquity."

On numerous occasions, the text of the Septuagint differs from the preserved Hebrew text because the former, rather than the latter, has experienced corruption. Thus in Job 8.16 the Hebrew text reads "and over his garden his shoots go forth," whereas the Septuagint reads "his corruption" for "his shoots." Some scholars explained the Septuagint as deriving from a Hebrew word *rimmah*, in place of the Hebrew word *gannah*. Actually, the Septuagint text itself probably read originally *prasia* "garden-plot," and this word became accidentally corrupted into *sapria* "corruption." The Revised Standard Version has wisely accepted the Hebrew reading.

There remain many scores of instances where the Septuagint text differs from the Masoretic because the former derives from a Hebrew text which was different from the latter. Thus in Job 5.8 the Septuagint is one of four independent arguments in favor of changing Masoretic *el* "God" to "*shaddai*" "the Almighty." In Numbers 24.9 the Septuagint (supported by the Samaritan translation) constitutes one of three independent reasons for substituting *rabas* "to lie down, crouch" (used for animals) for Masoretic *shakab* "to lie down" (used for human beings). In many of these instances,

however, it is possible for an English translation to make perfect sense and at the same time to retain the Masoretic text, so that in neither of these two instances did the RSV give up the Masoretic text in favor of the Hebrew text indicated by the Septuagint. There are many other passages, however, where the translator must choose between an improbable or impossible reading in the Masoretic text and a much more sensible reading in the Septuagint translation. In Genesis 4.8 the Masoretic text reads, "And Cain said to Abel his brother. And when they were in the field," etc. The Septuagint text, however, reads, "And Cain said to Abel his brother, 'Let us go out to the field.' And when they were in the field," etc. The RSV has acted correctly in inserting this clause from the Septuagint. In Jeremiah 15.11, an unclear verse, the Hebrew seems to say, "The LORD said." The Septuagint reads, "So let it be, O LORD," where the difference between the two renderings involves but one letter. The RSV has chosen the reading of the Septuagint.

There are several other translations, into Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin, which were made shortly after the turn of the era directly from the Hebrew Bible. Early in the second century A.D. Aquila, a convert to Judaism, made an independent and unique Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. He incorporated the kind of Jewish interpretation which was current in his day, and he avoided the Christological elements which had been introduced in the Septuagint text. Thus Aquila rendered the Hebrew word *ha-almah* in Isaiah 7.14 literally, "the young woman" in place of the word "virgin" which the Christians had substituted for it. Unfortunately, only fragments of Aquila have survived.

In western Asia, especially in Babylonia and Judea, Aramaic was a popular vernacular among the Jews. The early history of the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch and of the Prophets and Hagiographa is obscure. In any case, by the second century A.D. there were in public use the Targum Onkelos on the Pentateuch, the Jerusalem Targum (so-called Targum Jonathan) on every Book in the Bible but Daniel, and other Aramaic translations now known to us only in fragmentary form.

During the latter part of the second century there was still another translation made from the Hebrew Bible, the Syriac, called

popularly the Peshitta. Whether this version, like the Septuagint, Targum, and Aquila, was also made by Jews for Jews, to be later worked over by Christians, or whether it was made originally by a (Judeo-?) Christian group and later came under the influence of Jewish exegesis, can no longer be determined. This version reflects influence on the part of the Septuagint.

By the fourth century, much of the Christian world had come to employ Latin as its vernacular. Jerome set to work turning the Hebrew Bible ("The Hebrew Truth" he called it) into this language. Thus the Vulgate came into being.

These five translations, the Septuagint, Targums, Aquila, Syriac, and Vulgate, constitute the five ancient primary versions which are basic for the understanding and occasional reconstruction of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. All five, moreover, being essentially Jewish in origin, stand close to the spirit of the Hebrew Bible; that is to say, Jewish scholars participated in the making of four of these versions, and Jewish exegesis and teachers (as well as the Septuagint and Aquila) influenced Jerome to a very considerable extent in the making of the fifth. Many translations were subsequently made from these primary versions; but they do not concern us here. Suffice it here merely to note that none of the secondary versions have any direct importance for the Hebrew text of the Bible; they are important for determining only the text of the primary versions from which they derive. Thus it has become a common practice to cite the Old Latin translation of the Old Testament as an independent authority for some reading or interpretation; this lacks all justification. The Old Latin translation merely reflects the Septuagint text from which it was made.

None of the four primary versions which were made subsequent to the Septuagint has the authority that the Septuagint has. This is because they were made after the destruction of the Second Temple, by which time the Hebrew text of the Bible had been more or less fixed. Accordingly, these four versions should be used sparingly, and only when all other attempts, short of emendation, have been made to make sense of the Masoretic text. As for the Septuagint, only one who has made a thorough study of the character of this Greek translation, of the entire Book of which his own troublesome word or passage is a part, is in a position to

use it for the interpretation and reconstruction of the Masoretic text. He must know and "feel" the stylistic, lexical, exegetical and theological characteristics of the Septuagint translator.

Not infrequently, neither the Masoretic text nor any of the ancient versions makes for a clear context. The need for an emendation of the Masoretic text is obvious. But, as Margolis has bluntly put it, "whether by the aid of the versions or by mere conjecture, the business of textual emendation requires a sure tact which few possess."¹ A generally misleading work in this respect is the widely used *Biblia Hebraica* edited by R. Kittel (third edition, 1937). Nearly every line of the footnotes in Kittel's Bible has errors of omission and commission, as regards both the primary and the secondary versions, and the quality of the Hebrew emendations there proposed is all too frequently inferior. One scholar put it this way, "The apparatus of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* contains very many readings erroneously supposed to be attested by the Greek versions, readings gathered blindly from the commentaries . . ." The Hebrew text in Kittel's Bible is, moreover, no more authoritative than any of the numerous manuscripts and printed editions of the Old Testament.² In general, considering their much greater use of the versions, the translators of the RSV have been circumspect in the matter of emending the Masoretic text of the Old Testament.

HARRY M. ORLINSKY

V. THE LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE Old Testament is preserved to us in two original languages, Hebrew and Aramaic. The latter is found at present only in ten chapters of Ezra and Daniel, as well as in a few phrases, but some scholars think that several books of the Old Testament were written in Aramaic and translated, in whole or in part, into Hebrew. In the writer's opinion this has not been demonstrated; the most likely case is Daniel, whose Hebrew is very awkward and can some-

¹ *The Story of Bible Translations* (p. 126).

² For references and bibliography, see H. M. Orlinsky, "The Use of the Versions in Translating the Holy Scriptures," *Religious Education*, Vol. 47 (July, 1952, pp. 253-259).

times be translated with ease into a better Aramaic.

The Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament are not preserved in their original consonantal spelling, but in a later orthography with an elaborate apparatus of vowel points and accents, fixed on the basis of tradition by the Masoretes of the seventh to ninth centuries A.D. Many differences arising from divergences of period and dialect in the original Hebrew text had been forgotten by that time, and the Hebrew of the Masoretic text is to some extent a harmonization of different phases of the ancient language and of divergent traditions about grammatical forms and pronunciations. It was only in 1922 that H. Bauer and P. Leander published the first historical grammar of Biblical Hebrew and a small group of scholars began to utilize the material derived from ancient Northwest Semitic inscriptions and literary documents for this purpose. The amount of such material has continued to swell until it is now many times as great as in 1922, and the results are rapidly revolutionizing our knowledge of Hebrew and cognate dialects.

Modern knowledge of the inscriptional material goes back to Gesenius's decipherment of the scanty Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions known in 1837, and was accelerated by the discovery of long Phoenician texts in 1845 and 1855. In 1870 the stele of Mesha, king of Moab, was published, but since it is not in Biblical Hebrew its linguistic information could not at first be utilized to any extent by Old Testament scholars. Just ten years later the Siloam Inscription was discovered and published. Dating from about 700 B.C. and composed in the literary speech of Jerusalem, it might have been very instructive, but it was too early for the value of its unique evidence to be appreciated.

Meanwhile the Amarna Tablets were discovered (1887) and their publication in the following years threw a great deal of light on the language of the Canaanites who had preceded Israel in Palestine. The Canaanite words and grammatical forms preserved in these letters served as a valuable check on the results of comparative Semitic linguists, who were already engaged in tracing back the history of Hebrew with the aid of the convergent evidence of the other Semitic languages.

The great finds of Jewish-Aramaic papyri and ostraca (ink-

written potsherds) in Egypt after 1900 yielded many hundreds of literary texts and documents in Biblical Aramaic. Most of them were published in 1906 and 1911. Their number has been more than doubled by subsequent discoveries in Egypt, now being published. Since nearly all the Aramaic documents from Egypt belong to a Jewish colony of the fifth century B.C., they throw a flood of light on the contemporary language of Ezra and Daniel.

Next came the discovery of the Gezer Calendar (1908), whose importance was not recognized until thirty-five years had passed, but which has made it possible to reconstruct the consonantal spelling of the tenth century B.C. Two years later the ostraca of Samaria were discovered, but they were unfortunately not fully published until 1924. At first they were believed to come from the ninth century, but later the true date in the early eighth was established. We now have about seventy dockets and other Hebrew ostraca from Samaria, all coming from the same century. To the general surprise, the language of the ostraca proved to be intermediate between Phoenician and Biblical Hebrew, though closer to the latter than to the former.

The discovery of important parts of the Canaanite literature of pre-Israelite times in the early thirties forms one of the most romantic episodes in the history of scholarship. In 1929 C. F. A. Schaeffer began the excavation of Ras Shamrah (ancient Ugarit) on the coast of northern Syria, toward the northern end of the land of Canaan. The tablets which he discovered here in considerable numbers were written in an alphabetic cuneiform script which was deciphered in 1930. Part of the Baal Epic was published by Ch. Virolleaud in the same year, and scholars at once hurled themselves on the exciting new material, which had been copied in the early fourteenth century B.C. In 1940 C. H. Gordon was able to publish a valuable *Ugaritic Grammar*, which was republished seven years later, revised and complemented by a transcription of the tablets and a glossary.

While the dialect is not identical with the prevailing South Canaanite of the Amarna Tablets or with parent Hebrew, it is almost the same, differences being quite minor as a rule. Moreover, the epic texts were composed in Canaan proper (later Phoenicia), and their language was altered but little in order to make

it fully intelligible to the men of Ugarit. Actually Ugaritic cannot have been any harder for an early Israelite to understand than Syrian Arabic is for a modern Egyptian; the resemblance between Ugaritic and parent Hebrew of the same period was certainly much greater than that now existing between Spanish, Catalan, and Portuguese, or between Danish, Swedish, and modern Norwegian. The poetic epics of Ugarit swarm with close parallels to early Hebrew poetry, whose study is being completely revolutionized. For the first time a real history of Hebrew literature can be written.

In 1935 and 1938 a valuable collection of ostraca (mostly letters) from 589 or 588 B.C. was discovered at Lachish in Judah. These documents are written in perfect Biblical Hebrew, which they prove to have been the dialect of Jerusalem and the court, presumably spoken in most of Judah.

At the same time that the Lachish Letters were attracting wide attention came the discovery (1936) of many thousands of Babylonian tablets from Mari on the Middle Euphrates. These documents, unearthed by André Parrot, date from about the 18th century B.C. and are full of Northwest Semitic names, words, and grammatical constructions. Together with other cuneiform and Egyptian material from the first centuries of the second millennium B.C. they furnish a mass of detailed information about the speech of Syria and Palestine in the days of the Hebrew Patriarchs. Much of this information is of direct significance to the interpreter of the Hebrew Bible, as well as to the historian of the Hebrew language.

The latest archaeological discovery to yield material for our chapter is that of the Dead Sea Scrolls, made since 1947 and published since 1948. Though a violent controversy arose at once with regard to the antiquity of these scrolls, it has been settled by the agreement of script, archaeological dating of the jars in which the scrolls were deposited, and radiocarbon dating of the linen in which they were wrapped. Here we have at last Biblical texts actually dating from the last two centuries B.C., especially the first Isaiah Scroll from not later than about 100 B.C. The Isaiah Scroll in question employs vowel-letters (especially *waw*) regularly in order to indicate the pronunciation of vowels; it has enabled us to recover a number of important grammatical phenomena lost

before the time of the Masoretes and to restore the original pronunciation of many words and names forgotten by the Masoretic period. For instance, the Isaiah scribe still knew the correct pronunciation of Assyrian names, completely lost thereafter and not even known to the slightly earlier translators of the Hebrew Isaiah into Greek.

It must be emphasized that these finds gained their present importance largely by being combined with each other into a pattern and interpreted in the light of previously known facts. Language is a living, growing thing, and data concerning it must be used to fill out complete pictures, each period and area being carefully distinguished from others. We must use the methods of comparative linguistics developed by the great Indo-European philologists of the nineteenth century and transferred to the Semitic field by such scholars as Th. Nöldeke, J. Barth, and C. Brockelmann. They must be supplemented by the neolinguistic methods of contemporary dialectologists and by the descriptive linguistics of the Leonard Bloomfield school. Now that these methods have been applied to Northwest Semitic by H. L. Ginsberg, Zellig Harris, C. H. Gordon, J. Friedrich, W. L. Moran, and the writer, it has become possible to see the interrelations of dialects and the evolution of the Hebrew language itself far more clearly than was possible before the forties of this century.

The Northwest Semitic tongues (formerly called "West Semitic") are a branch of the Semitic family. In grammatical structure the Ugaritic and other equally early Northwest Semitic dialects strikingly resemble the South Arabian dialects found in inscriptions a few centuries later. Accadian (Assyro-Babylonian) is somewhat more remote, and so are also Ethiopic and the related tongues of Abyssinia. The Semitic and Hamitic languages make up a much larger family, including Egyptian, Berber and the Cushitic tongues; they were spoken in Biblical times from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf. The area over which Hamitic and Semitic languages were employed at that time is almost identical with the territory over which Arabic is used today.

In the age of the Hebrew Patriarchs there was very little dif-

ference between the dialects of different parts of Syria and Palestine, and there does not appear to have been any important divergence between the speech of seminomadic and settled folk. However, our knowledge of Northwest Semitic in this early period is still fragmentary. During the following Late Bronze Age, which corresponds roughly to the period preceding and following the Exodus, our data increase vastly in extent, and we can distinguish at least three main divisions, which may be called South Canaanite (Canaanite proper), North Canaanite (Ugaritic), and Proto-Hebrew (the dialect ancestral to Biblical Hebrew). There are also traces of "Canaanite" and "Amorite" speech distinctions, though they cannot yet be clearly differentiated. Proto-Hebrew was not Aramaic, as used to be thought, though there seem to have been Aramaic elements in it. Aramaic itself cannot yet be traced back so far, but M. Noth's view that it sprang from the East Canaanite or Amorite spoken in the Patriarchal Age is very reasonable.

In the Iron Age, after the Hebrew Conquest, a good deal more is known about the subdivisions of Northwest Semitic. Aside from Hebrew itself, which we shall consider below, we find Phoenician, which apparently adopted the Sidonian dialect of South Canaanite as its norm and spread rapidly over the entire Mediterranean. In North Africa Phoenician (called Punic by the Romans) became the language of the Carthaginians, still spoken in the time of St. Augustine in the fifth century A.D. The dialect of Byblos, known from inscriptions, seems to have differed slightly from Sidonian. Another dialect which we know from inscriptions is Moabite, though we are hampered in our analysis of the language of the Mesha Stone by our ignorance of the extent to which the standard Hebrew of the Northern Kingdom may have influenced it. What little we know of Edomite, through place and personal names, suggests a dialect intermediate between Hebrew and Arabic (for instance, initial *W* was preserved as in Arabic, instead of being changed to *Y* as in all other known Northwest Semitic dialects). In eastern Syria Aramaic was spoken, as we know from inscriptions dating from the ninth century on. In the extreme north, around Sam'al (Sham'al) a dialect was spoken which resembles Aramaic closely but has definite characteristics of its own.

If we turn now to Biblical Hebrew in the strict sense of the

term, we may label it without hesitation as the speech of Jerusalem and the court, probably developing from the dialect of Judah in the period of the Judges. Since inscriptions prove that the standard language of the Northern Kingdom was intermediate between Biblical Hebrew and Phoenician, though more like the former than the latter, we must recognize that there has been a good deal of revision of prose and poetic texts originating in the northern tribes in order to make them more fully intelligible to southern hearers. On the other hand, it is probable that the dialect of Ephraim was in general more like that of Judah than like the Galilean speech, which we know from place names to have been closely akin to contemporary Phoenician. Ephraim had its own peculiarities, such as the archaic pronunciation of *S* as in Amorite where Hebrew, Phoenician, and Ugaritic all have *SH*.

The earliest form of literary Hebrew which we can trace in the Old Testament appears in early poetry, especially in the Song of Miriam (Ex 15), the Oracles of Balaam (Num 22-24), the Song of Deborah (Judg 5), the somewhat later Blessings of Jacob and Moses, as well as in the Song of Moses (Deut 32). Much of the oldest poetry in the Psalter (*e.g.*, Psalm 68) shares in these peculiarities, and more will probably be attributed to the same phase of Hebrew eventually. Archaic survivals from this stage occur in all subsequent Biblical verses. Thanks to the recovery of Canaanite epic literature from Ugarit, we know that the earliest Biblical poems swarm with close parallels to Canaanite in grammar, vocabulary, and style. So carefully has the text of such important national hymns as the Song of Miriam been preserved that we can identify in our Masoretic text peculiarities of morphology and syntax characteristic of older Canaanite, which had previously been treated by philologists as grammatical anomalies. Many obscure words in the earlier Biblical poetry have already been explained from their occurrences in older Canaanite literature. There are numerous stylistic devices common to both. Among them is the repetition of the first two words in each of two successive verse units of three words each. Another one is the use of the same pairs of synonyms in parallelism; forty such pairs have so far been identified, where both the primary Canaanite and the secondary Hebrew poetry use exactly the same two words in

parallel verse units.

About the tenth century B.C. we find Israelite literature breaking away from the linguistic peculiarities of Canaanite literary tradition; this tendency is well illustrated by the Lament of David over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam 1), and is also shown by the early hymn attributed to David in 2 Sam 22 (Psalm 18). Many of the Psalms show the same characteristic peculiarities of language and style, which belong in any case to the Monarchy. This break with Canaanite tradition is even more pronounced in the earlier Prophets, especially in Amos, Hosea, and the early parts of Isaiah.

The earliest well preserved Hebrew narrative prose is found in the remarkable account of the events preceding and attending the coronation of Solomon (2 Sam 11—1 Kings 2). While this Hebrew is substantially identical in character with that of the narrative portions of Genesis-Numbers, the latter also contain many archaic words and phrases, as well as poetic quotations and reminiscences of the original verse in which the older traditions were recorded. These Hebrew narratives established a literary standard for Judah, further illustrated by Joshua, Judges, and parts of Kings. Some chapters in Judges show strong influence of the northern dialect (or dialects) in which such stories as that of Gideon and Abimelech had been told before they were edited to suit a Judahite audience. The Siloam inscription (about 700 B.C.) is in perfect prose of this period, except that its spelling shows marks of lateness which would scarcely have been found a century or two earlier. Over a century later we find in the ostraca of Lachish a prose which reminds one strongly of Deuteronomic Hebrew and of the contemporary prose of Jeremiah, with less use of such syntactic features as *waw* conversive, and more complex alignment of dependent clauses. This is the last stage of genuine literary Hebrew of pre-exilic type which we can trace.

Aramaic had become, as we now know, the official language of the Assyrian Empire in the time of Tiglathpileser III, during the third quarter of the eighth century B.C.; its vocabulary spread rapidly and must have begun to influence Hebrew before the Exile. However, there are no indications of such influence until we reach Ezekiel, where Aramaisms are occasionally found in vocabulary but virtually never in syntax. Some of the few Aramaisms in the

book were probably due to carelessness or ignorance on the part of a later editor or of later copyists. The later parts of Isaiah were probably composed in Palestine and exhibit no detectable Aramaic influence, but their elaborate style and numerous archaisms show the influence of the literary phase represented by exilic prophets like Nahum and Habakkuk. The early post-exilic prophets, such as Haggai, Zechariah, Joel, and Malachi, show no Aramaic influence, but such influence becomes apparent again in Jonah (late fifth century?). The language of Ruth is in general extremely idiomatic pre-exilic Hebrew, but several editorial insertions are definitely Aramaic, so it can be shown to have been edited after the Exile, probably in the fifth century. It is clear that idiomatic Hebrew lost ground very rapidly in the course of this century. The Babylonian Jew, Nehemiah, who can scarcely have known much Hebrew, dictated his memoirs to a scribe who knew Hebrew well but was unable to keep Aramaic sentence order and syntax out. The other Babylonian Jew, Ezra, obviously knew Hebrew better but spoiled his Hebrew by introducing many Aramaisms in vocabulary, morphology, and syntax. The original insertions of the Chronicler, which resemble the Ezra Memoirs so closely in style and content, swarm with the same types of Aramaisms. Job also shows strong indications of Aramaic influence, both in the prose and the poetic parts; a date before the middle of the fifth century is thus very difficult.

The Aramaic of Ezra was proved by the publication of the contemporary Aramaic papyri from Egypt to be in perfectly correct Aramaic of the type which was then the official language of the Persian Empire. A few late orthographic usages are undoubtedly the work of later editors interested in modernizing their spelling to suit later readers. The Aramaic of Daniel, on the other hand, though in general perfectly good literary Aramaic of the Persian period, contains some later peculiarities of grammar and vocabulary, which lead an increasing number of scholars to date them in the decades immediately following the Greek Conquest. The Hebrew of Daniel shows strong indications of being still later.

Among the latest books of the Hebrew Bible is Ecclesiastes, which is written in a very curious Hebrew, containing peculiarities not found anywhere else in original Hebrew literature. Many of

these anomalies have turned out to reflect perfectly normal Phoenician linguistic usage, so there is a very good reason to believe that this book reflects a mixed Hebrew and Phoenician literary background, with Aramaic elements, probably of the early third century B. C.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

VI. THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE REVISED STANDARD VERSION

THE King James Version was issued more than two hundred years before the beginning of scientific explorations in Palestine. Edward Robinson laid the foundations for the modern study of the historical geography of Palestine by his researches in Palestine in 1838 and 1852. The latter half of the nineteenth century saw further progress, particularly as a result of the explorations of Conder and Kitchener and others in the Survey of Western Palestine, completed in 1877. Then came Schumacher's explorations in Northern Transjordan and the investigations of George Adam Smith. The latter's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* was to go through twenty-five editions (1894-1931). The excavation of mounds or tells containing buried cities, the first of which was excavated in 1890, is another part of the story of which we can here tell but a small part.

But it is especially since World War I that explorations and excavations have increased our knowledge of the historical geography of Palestine. Robinson by critical use of sources and attention to modern Arabic names had been able to locate correctly for the first time many Biblical sites, such as Ramah, Bethel, Michmash, Beth-shemesh, etc. The excavations make possible more certain identification. They also have provided knowledge of the chronology of pottery forms, so that periods of occupation of a deserted site may be determined by an examination of pottery fragments found on the surface. Among the scholars who have made important contributions to the historical geography of Palestine in recent decades are W. F. Albright, Albrecht Alt, Pere F. M. Abel, M. Avi-Yonah,

and Nelson Glueck. Especially important are Glueck's surface explorations and soundings from 1932-47 in Eastern Palestine, resulting in placing many sites clearly on the map for the first time, and establishing important boundary lines. The progress that has been made in the historical geography of the Holy Land in this century is comparable to that which has been made in the study of Biblical manuscripts and languages. For maps incorporating the fruits of this research, the reader is referred to *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible* by G. E. Wright and F. V. Filson (Philadelphia, 1945). Important for the geographer are the Survey of Palestine maps, issued by the Department of Lands and Surveys of Palestine, 1944-46.

In the form and spelling of the Biblical place names the Revised Standard Version (RSV) generally follows the lead of the American Standard Version (ASV), which was in close accord with the English Revised Version (ERV). The English revisers used forms which were a more accurate transliteration of the Hebrew, and they brought consistency where the King James Version (KJ) had been at times very erratic. In Josh 16.5 KJ has "Ataroth-addar," but in Josh 18.13 "Ataroth-adar." In Josh 21.24 it reads "Aijalon," but in Josh 19.42 "Ajalon." The first form is preferable in both instances, with ASV, RSV. "Sela" (ASV, RSV) does not end in "h," but KJ has "Selah" in 2 Kings 14.7 and "Sela" in Isa 16.1. The spelling "Sidon" occurs in Gen 10.15, 19 and often in the New Testament, but otherwise it appears as "Zidon" (Gen 49.13, Josh 11.8, etc.). KJ also uses both "Zidonians" (Judg 10.12; 18.7, 1 Kings 11.1, etc.) and "Sidonians" (Deut 3.9, Josh 13.4,6, etc.). ERV was here also inconsistent, but ASV, RSV read "Sidon," "Sidonians."

Variant spelling in KJ is sometimes the result of reproducing in English the special vocalization which words may take at the end of a verse or clause, when they are "in pause." Thus we find in Num 33.35,36, Deut 2.8 the pausal form "Ezion-gaber," instead of "Ezion-geber" in 1 Kings 9.26; "Azem" in Josh 15.29; 19.3, but "Ezem" in 1 Chron 4.29; "Beth-palet" in Josh 15.27 but "Beth-phelet" in Neh 11.26. ASV, RSV read uniformly "Ezion-geber," "Ezem," and "Beth-pelet."

Comparable is the way in which KJ sometimes reproduces

special locative forms of place names, the equivalent of representing in English the case endings of another language. The locative form "Zeredathah" appears in 2 Chron 4.17, but "Zereda" in 1 Kings 11.26 (more properly "Zeredah" in ASV, RSV). See also the locative form "Zartanah" in 1 Kings 4.12, but "Zaretan" in Josh 3.16 and "Zarthan" in 1 Kings 7.46; ASV, RSV read regularly "Zarethan." A partial representation of the locative form results in "Naarah" (1 Chron 4.5, etc.) becoming "Naarath" in Josh 16.7; so "Zererah" is "Zererath" in Judg 7.22 and "Diblah" is "Diblath" in Ezek 6.14.

KJ sometimes presents a place name in transliteration in one passage but in translation in another passage. It translates "the valley of the giants" in Josh 15.8; 18.16, but transliterates "the valley of Rephaim" in 2 Sam 5.18, 22; 23.13, etc. ERV, ASV have "the vale of Rephaim" in Joshua and "the valley of Rephaim" elsewhere; RSV uniformly reads "the valley of Rephaim," except for its use of a capital letter in Isa 17.5. More confusing in KJ is "Maaleh-acrabbim" in Josh 15.3, "the going up to Acrabbim" in Judg 1.36, and "the ascent of Acrabbim" in Num 34.4. ASV, RSV read uniformly "the ascent of Acrabbim." Compare KJ "the going up to Adummim" in Josh 15.7 and "the going up of Adummim" in Josh 18.17 (ASV, RSV "the ascent of Adummim"). KJ has "the city of Arba" in Josh 15.13, but "Kirjath-arba" in Josh 14.15 (ASV, RSV "Kiriath-arba"). Variant translation of the same place name may be illustrated by "the Shephelah" (RSV), the region of the low hills between the Plain of Philistia and the high central range of Judah; KJ renders it "the valleys" in Josh 9.1; 12.8; "the vale" in Josh 10.40, 1 Kings 10.27, 2 Chron 1.15; "the valley" in Josh 11.2, 16; 15.33; "the low plains" in 1 Chron 27.28, 2 Chron 9.27; "the low country" in 2 Chron 26.10; 28.18. ERV, ASV "the lowland" is subject to misunderstanding, but is used by RSV in Joshua and Judges. Elsewhere RSV uses the term as a proper name, "the Shephelah."

Because of variant spellings in the Hebrew, KJ and ASV may have a variety of forms for the same name, but RSV usually adopts a standard spelling. For one city there are six different spellings in KJ: "Socho" in 1 Chron 4.18; "Shoco" in 2 Chron 11.7; "Shocho" in 2 Chron 28.18 (identical Hebrew in these three instances, ASV,

RSV "Soco"); "Socoh" in Josh 15.35,48; "Sochoh" in 1 Kings 4.10; "Shochoh" in 1 Sam 17.1 (identical Hebrew in these three instances, ASV, RSV "Socoh"). We find "Zoba" in 2 Sam 10.6 and "Zobah" in 2 Sam 8.3; 23.36, etc. (ASV, RSV "Zobah").

In general the transliteration of place names is more accurate in ASV, RSV. At times KJ does not indicate the doubling of a letter; thus it has "Aruboth" in 1 Kings 4.10 rather than "Arubboth"; "Avim" in Josh 18.23 rather than "Avvim"; "Ava" in 2 Kings 17.24 rather than "Avva"; "Havoth-jair" in Num 32.41 rather than "Havvoth-jair"; "Lakum" in Josh 19.33 rather than "Lakkum"; "Padan-aram" in Gen 25.20 rather than "Paddan-aram"; and "Shicron" in Josh 15.11 rather than "Shikkeron." In vocalizing "Eshan" as "Eshean" in Josh 15.52 KJ vocalizes a sign which indicates the absence of a vowel. "Shaaraim" is more accurate than KJ "Sharaim" in Josh 15.36 (although "Shaaraim" is used by KJ in 1 Sam 17.53, 1 Chron 4.31), and "Ephrathah" than "Ephratah" in Ruth 4.11, etc. The final "h" of "Zeredah" and "Beth-hoglah" is omitted by KJ, which reads "Zereda" and "Beth-hogla" in 1 Kings 11.26 and Josh 15.6, respectively.

In Josh 15.25 KJ takes "Hazor-hadattah" as two towns, *i.e.*, "Hazor" and "Hadattah," and does the same with "Kerioth-hezron," *i.e.*, "Kerioth" and "Hezron." Likewise in Num 32.35 "Atroth-shophan" appears as "Atroth" and "Shophan."

RSV renders certain place names in the form in which they are familiar to the reader in general literature. Thus in contrast with KJ it prefers "Memphis" to "Noph" (Isa 19.13, Jer 46.14,19, Ezek 30.13); "Thebes" to "No" (Jer 46.25, Ezek 30.14,15); "Pelusium" to "Sin" (Ezek 30.15,16); and "Cyprus" to "Chittim" (Isa 23.1, Jer 2.10). When "the River" occurs as a designation of the Euphrates and identification is necessary, it is given; compare KJ "the river," ASV "the River," RSV "the Euphrates" in Gen 31.21, Jer 2.18. In Ex 23.31, Num 22.5 it is identified in the margin.

RSV represents an improvement in use of topographical nomenclature. We have already mentioned its use of "the Shephelah," and it also transliterates as a proper noun "the Negeb," the name of the desolate territory to the south of Hebron and Kiriath-sepher. This is current usage. KJ uses "the south" and ASV "the South," but the word probably means "dry" or "parched." KJ uses "coast"

some seventy times in the sense of "border" to render the Hebrew *gebûl*. ASV consistently uses "border," which KJ often uses also. RSV uses "border" (Ex 34.24, 1 Kings 4.21, etc.), "boundary" (Num 21.13, Josh 15.1-12, etc.), "territory" (Deut 2.4, etc.), or "country" (Ex 10.4,14), for the word may have these meanings. Hebrew *'iyyim*, KJ "isles" or "islands," should often be translated as "coastlands" or "coasts" (Gen 10.5, Isa 41.1,5; 42.4,10, Jer 2.10, Ezek 27.6, etc.). Unrevealing and obscure is KJ "the swelling of Jordan" in Jer 12.5; 49.19; 50.44 or the alternative rendering in Zech 11.3, "the pride of Jordan"; compare ASV "the pride of the Jordan." The term designates the narrow flood plain of the *Zor* (Arabic, "thicket") with its dense and at times impenetrable thickets, and RSV renders it "the jungle of the Jordan."

KJ, ASV "suburbs" in Lev 25.34, Num 35.2,3,4, etc. might be misunderstood, especially in such a phrase as "the suburbs of the cities" (Num 35.4). RSV "pasture lands" (ASV margin) indicates what is meant, the open common land about a city. Generally more accurate also is RSV, ASV use of the term "brook" rather than "river" in "the Brook of Egypt" (Num 34.5, Josh 15.4, etc.), "the brook Zered" (Deut 2.13,14, etc.), "the brook Kidron" (1 Kings 2.37, etc.), for the reference is generally to a stream which flows in the rainy season but is dry in summer (*cf.* Arabic *wadi*). "The Arabah" is an important feature of the topography of Palestine, used of the Jordan Valley (Arabic *el-Ghor*) and of the continuation of the depression south of the Dead Sea (Arabic *Wadi el-'Arabah*). KJ transliterates it as a proper noun only twice (Josh 18.18), but it is found more than a score of times in ASV, RSV. Thus KJ "the river of the wilderness" becomes "the Brook of the Arabah" (Amos 6.14), "the plains south of Chinneroth" becomes "the Arabah south of Chinneroth" (Josh 11.2), etc. We may incidentally note that ERV, ASV had already corrected KJ "plain" to "oak" in Gen 12.6; 13.18; 14.13; 18.1, Deut 11.30, Judg 4.11; 9.6,37, 1 Sam 10.3).

Help from non-Biblical sources, such as the cuneiform inscriptions, clarifies some difficult passages in which geographical problems are involved. 1 Kings 10.28 (=2 Chron 1.16) is a good example. Where KJ renders "linen yarn," and ASV has "in droves," RSV translates "from Kue." The RSV reading requires no change

in the Hebrew consonantal text, and there is versional support for reading a place name here (Greek, "from Tekoa," Vulgate "from Coa"; compare Eusebius' Onomasticon "from Koa"). Kue is Cilicia in Asia Minor; it is known from cuneiform sources and in an 8th century inscription of Zakir, king of Hamath. Shalmaneser III of Assyria mentions Kue and Musri together. Some think that in 1 Kings 10.28, 29 (=2 Chron 1.16, 17) and 2 Kings 7.6 we should read "Musri," a country in Asia Minor, rather than "Egypt" (Heb. *Miçraim*), emending the text, but this is less certain. In Amos 1.5 RSV transliterates "Beth-eden," in place of KJ "the house of Eden," for it is the Bit-adini of the cuneiform records, a territory on each side of the Euphrates above the Balikh River. "Eden" in 2 Kings 19.12, Isa 37.12, Ezek 27.23 refers to the same district.

"Beyond the River" is the name of a territory, and over it there was a governor in the Persian period. See RSV Ezra 6. 6, 13 "Tattenai, governor of the province Beyond the River" (KJ in 6.6 "Tatnai, governor beyond the river" and in 6.13 "Tatnai, governor on this side the river"). In Ezra 4.10 RSV reads "the rest of the province Beyond the River" (KJ "the rest that are on this side the river"). See also Ezra 4.11,16,17,20; 6.8; 7.21,25. The cuneiform equivalent of the Biblical Aramaic is Ebir-nari. A Babylonian document dated June, 502 B.C. refers to "Ta-at-tan-ni, governor of Ebir-nari," *i.e.*, of the province Beyond the River. This territorial designation appears first in a record of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (7th century).

RSV recovers for the reader many place names which might not be recognized as such in KJ. RSV has "the Nile" where KJ, ASV have "the river" (Hebrew *ye'ôr*) in Gen 41.1,2, etc., Ex 1.22, etc., Ezek 29. 3, 9, etc.; for the same word KJ has "the flood" in Jer 46.7, 8, Amos 8.8; 9.5 and RSV "the Nile" (ASV has "the River" in Amos 8.8 but "the Nile" in the parallel Jer 46.7). In Isa 19. 7, 8 ASV, RSV have "the Nile" but KJ "the brooks," while in Isa 19.6 we find in KJ "the brooks of defence," in ASV "the streams of Egypt," in RSV "the branches of Egypt's Nile." In Judg 11.33 KJ translates "the plain of the vineyards" but RSV transliterates "Abel-keramim" (compare ASV), probably located at modern Na'ur; compare "Abel-maim," "Abel-shittim," etc. In 2 Kings 10.12 KJ has "the shearing house" and ASV "the shearing house of the

shepherds," but RSV reads "Beth-eked of the Shepherds," which can be identified with modern Beit Qad, three miles east of En-gannim. En-gannim itself occurs once as "Beth-haggan" (RSV) in 2 Kings 9.27, but is disguised as "the garden house" in KJ, ASV. In Ezek 29.10; 30.6 RSV "from Migdol to Syene" replaces KJ "from the tower of Syene" and ASV "from the tower of Seveneh." Migdol (Hebrew for "tower") is modern *Tell el-Heir* near Pelusium in northern Egypt, and Syene is modern *Aswan* on the southern border of Egypt. Transliteration is preferable to translation in Amos 6.13, where RSV has in the text the two Transjordan towns, "Lo-debar" and "Karnaim," and gives in the margin the translation of the names as an alternative reading, *i.e.*, "a thing of nought" and "horns." Lo-debar is modern *Umm ed-Debar* and Karnaim modern *Sheikh Sa'ad*.

The recovery of the place "Rimmon" in Isa 10.27b-28 is due to knowledge of the area involved and the identification of the place with modern *Rammun*, a village on a limestone eminence northwest of Ai and Aiath (*cf.* "Rock of Rimmon" in Judg 20.45, 47; 21.13). The RSV reading "He has gone up from Rimmon," in place of the KJ "yoke because of the anointing," requires only the addition of one letter and the change of another. This emendation of the corrupt text restores the missing line of a couplet. In Jer 18.14 another highly probable correction recovers "Sirion," a variant name for Mt. Hermon (compare Deut 3.9).

The ancient versions or a variant reading in Hebrew manuscripts may help to recover original geographical data from a text corrupted by a copyist. With the Greek we should read in Ezek 30.5 "Libya" (RSV), Hebrew *Lûd*, rather than "Cub" (KJ), and in Ezek 27.15 "Rhodes" (RSV), Hebrew *Rodân*, rather than "Dedan" (KJ). See also the versional support for "Kue" mentioned above. In Isa 15.9 instead of "Dimon" (KJ) the Vulgate (compare also Syriac) has "Dibon" (RSV), the chief city of Moab, and this is also the reading of the ancient Hebrew scroll of Isaiah discovered recently in a cave by the Dead Sea. In Ezek 6.14, after a variant reading in Hebrew manuscripts, we should translate "from the wilderness to Riblah" (RSV), and not "from the wilderness toward Diblah" (KJ "Diblath," ASV "Diblah"). The wilderness here is not, as KJ and ASV imply, near Diblah, but is the wilderness south of Pales-

tine. Riblah is in the far north on the Orontes River, and the author is visualizing the restoration of the ancient boundaries of Israel (compare 1 Kings 8.65, 2 Kings 14.25).

Because of greater knowledge of topography and geography, the translation of a passage containing geographical data may be made more meaningful, as the translator appreciates the directions and locations which the writer had in mind. This could be illustrated by many passages in the O.T. in which boundaries of territories are described, and there are many such passages in the O.T. (see Num 34, Josh 15-19, Ezek 47-48). Compare Josh 15.2-4 in KJ and RSV. In some instances one gets the impression that the early translators were forced to translate words rather than meaning because they could not understand the situation which the writer was describing. An understanding of the geography involved makes possible a more accurate rendering of Josh 3.16. KJ reads: "the waters which came down from above stood and rose up upon an heap very far from the city Adam, that is beside Zaretan; and those that came down toward the sea of the plain, even the salt sea, failed, and were cut off." Adam is to be located at modern *Damieh*. From the 13th century A.D. there is a report of a landslide which dammed up the Jordan near Damieh, and there was a similar occurrence around 1906. It happened more recently during the earthquakes of 1927, when the high west bank below the ford collapsed, and no water flowed in the river-bed for twenty-one and one-half hours. The consonantal text of the Hebrew reads "at Adam," not "from Adam," and the passage should be translated as in RSV: "the waters coming down from above stood and rose up in a heap far off, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan, and those flowing down toward the Sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea, were wholly cut off."

The cities mentioned in 1 Kings 9.15b-17 follow a geographical order, beginning with Hazor in the north and ending with Tamar in the south. Tamar is probably *'Ain el-'Arus*, south of the Dead Sea. Instead of "Tamar," which is the reading of the Hebrew consonantal text, the scribes indicate that "Tadmor" should be read, and the ancient versions also have "Tadmor" (compare 2 Chron 8.4). So KJ has "Tadmor." Tadmor is Palmyra, about 140 miles northeast of Damascus, and is also obviously out of place here. RSV

and ASV read "Tamar," and this is also supported by Ezek 47.19; 48.28, where Tamar is at the southern boundary of Palestine. Hence RSV "Tamar in the wilderness, in the land of Judah" is more accurate and clear than KJ "Tadmor in the wilderness, in the land."

These and other similar aspects of the RSV will not only make for better understanding and appreciation of the geographical background of the history of the chosen people, but they will make it easier to use adequately map materials in the study of the Old Testament. Other things might have been mentioned here, such as correlation in the forms of place names which occur both in the O.T. and the N.T., the capitalization of place names in accord with modern usage, and the translation of place names which is given in the footnotes when necessary for the understanding of the text.

HERBERT GORDON MAY

VII. ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

BIBLICAL archaeology is a little more than a century old. Many of the most important discoveries have been made since the end of World War I, and during that period archaeological method has become more scientific and objective than it had previously been.

Archaeology has contributed to the understanding of the Old Testament in various ways. It has greatly widened the horizons of ancient Near Eastern history, supplementing Biblical information on the history of the Hebrews and making it possible to set their history against the history of the ancient Near East in general. It has helped scholars to fix a more accurate chronology. Archaeologists have dug out of the ground examples of many objects used by the people of Biblical times—tools, ceramic vessels, ornaments, furniture, objects used in religious worship, written documents, and the like. Archaeology has illuminated and made vivid many passages in the Old Testament.

The direct contributions of archaeology to the translation of

the Old Testament have not been as numerous and as striking as in some other areas of scholarship, but they have served to make clear some words and phrases that were formerly misunderstood. The examples given below are selected to illustrate the nature of its contributions.

1. The vocabulary of the Old Testament includes the names of many objects, both religious and secular, which were used in the daily life of the Hebrews. The precise meaning of some of these is not known today. Archaeology has discovered examples of some of these objects, and in a few cases has contributed to a more exact understanding of their nature.

The most striking example of this is the object which is called *hammân*. This word occurs eight times in the Old Testament, always in the plural (Lev 26.30; 2 Chron 14.5; 34.4, 7; Isaiah 17.8; 27.9; Ezek 6.4,6). Because of the objects with which it is associated, scholars have known that it was the name of something used in idolatrous worship. The King James Version translates it as "image" in every case except one (2 Chron 34.7), where it is rendered "idol." The American Standard Version always translates it "sun-image." A few years ago there was found at Palmyra, Syria, an altar of incense which had this very word inscribed on it. Thus, the word ought to be translated as "incense altar," and this meaning is supported by the etymology of the Hebrew word. Hence, in the Revised Standard Version it always appears as "incense altars" (or, in one instance, "altars of incense").

A similar example, but not quite as certain, is the word *kaf*, also the name of an object used in worship. In KJ and ASV it is always translated "spoon." Archaeologists have discovered several examples of a small utensil which obviously was used for the burning of incense. Some of these utensils are in the form of a small dish, with a hole in one side for the insertion of a stem through which the user might blow on the incense. A few examples have on the bottom the outline of a hand which shows clearly the fingers. One of the meanings of the word *kaf* is "palm of the hand." Hence, it has been surmised that the name of these objects was *kaf*. The RSV therefore usually renders the word as "dish for incense," and several times in Numbers 7 simply as "dish," where the context associates it with incense.

The description of the temple of Solomon in the sixth chapter of 1 Kings is very difficult for translators, partly because of the condition of the text and partly because several of the architectural terms are not now understood. Some light has been thrown on this description by archaeological discoveries. The temple itself was destroyed long ago, but remains of other temples have been found in Palestine, Syria, and other Near Eastern lands. The closest parallel to the temple of Solomon yet discovered is a temple, or royal chapel, excavated at Tell Tainat, Syria. It has the same three-fold division as Solomon's temple; the three divisions are called in RSV "vestibule," "nave," and "inner sanctuary" or "most holy place." Perhaps the most direct contribution of archaeology to the translation of this chapter is in the description of the windows mentioned in 1 Kings 6.4. The Hebrew phrase is *hallônê sheqûfîm 'atûmîm*, rendered in KJ by "windows of narrow lights," and in ASV by "windows of fixed lattice work." Archaeologists have discovered in several places in Syria and Palestine ivory plaques which depict a window through which a goddess is looking. This is believed to be the "Tyrian window" of the ancients. From the appearance of the window on these plaques, RSV renders 1 Kings 6.4: "And he made for the house windows with recessed frames" (compare the similar phrases in Ezekiel 40.16; 41.16,26).

In the realm of secular objects, an especially vivid example of the contribution of archaeology is afforded by 1 Samuel 13.21. The Hebrew of this verse is unusually difficult, partly because of the occurrence of the word *pîm*, which appears only here. KJ and ASV translated it "a file" (apparently combining it with the preceding word), and ASV offered an alternative translation with the note: "The Hebrew text is obscure." Early lexicographers and commentators considered the text to be hopelessly corrupt. But archaeology has now shown that *pîm* was the name of a weight, for specimens of weights have been found with the word on them. The *pîm* was two-thirds of a shekel, by actual weight about 7.6 grams. RSV therefore translates this verse, using both this archaeological discovery and comparison with the Septuagint text, as follows: "the charge was a pim for the plowshares and for the mattocks, and a third of a shekel for sharpening the axes and for setting the goads." The general background of 1 Samuel 13.19-22 has been illuminated

by archaeological discoveries showing that the Philistines introduced the use of iron into Palestine, and that for a time they maintained a monopoly over the manufacture of iron implements, compelling the Israelites to go to them for the manufacture of agricultural implements and for keeping them in repair.

In Hosea 3.3 the name of a measure occurs which is not known elsewhere in the Old Testament. It is the measure *lethech* used for barley. Because of the rarity of the word some scholars have thought the verse ought to be emended. But the word is now known in two Ugaritic texts which are lists of foodstuffs. The Ugaritic word denotes a unit of dry measure, used for measuring sesame, dried figs, raisins, and the like. The size of the measure is not definitely known, but there is a tradition going back to the Mishna and the Vulgate that the Biblical measure was half a homer. RSV prefers to transliterate it simply as *lethech* and read: "So I bought her for fifteen shekels of silver and a homer and a lethech of barley."

2. Archaeology has thrown much light on the history of the Hebrews, and in several passages of the Old Testament has made possible more accurate rendering of historical statements. Three examples will illustrate the contribution of archaeology in this area.

1 Kings 10.28 gives us information concerning Solomon's activity in the trading of horses, but it contains a Hebrew word which has puzzled translators. The word is *miqweh*, with two occurrences in this verse. This is translated by KJ as follows, the doubtful word being italicized: "And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and *linen yarn*: the king's merchants received *the linen yarn* at a price." The same verse is rendered by ASV: "And the horses which Solomon had were brought out of Egypt; and the king's merchants received them *in droves, each drove* at a price." But Assyrian records uncovered by archaeology have shown that this word must contain a reference to a place name, Kue, in Asia Minor, later known as Cilicia. For example, an inscription from the time of Shalmaneser III says that Kue furnished 500 soldiers for the Battle of Karkar, the same battle for which Ahab of Israel furnished 10,000 foot soldiers and 2,000 chariots. This verse is translated by RSV, with only a slight change of the vowels of the Hebrew word in question, as follows: "And Solomon's import of horses was from Egypt *and Kue*, and the king's traders received

them from Kue at a price." This rendering is supported by the Vulgate and indirectly by the Septuagint. Solomon's commerce in horses has been verified strikingly by the discovery at Megiddo of complete stable compounds at which horses were kept. In the light of the Megiddo discoveries it is probable that remains of upright pillars at a number of other sites are to be interpreted as remains of stables rather than as sacred pillars.

Another passage is 2 Kings 23.29. Here the historian says that toward the end of Josiah's reign the Pharaoh of Egypt, Neco, made an expedition to the river Euphrates, and when King Josiah went out to meet him at Megiddo, he was slain by the Egyptian king. Both KJ and ASV translate the preposition 'al in this verse to say that the Pharaoh went up *against* the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates. But the Babylonian Chronicle published by C. J. Gadd in 1923 indicates that at this time (609 B.C.) Egypt and Assyria were allied, and that the army of Egypt went up to aid the Assyrians in an attack on Harran; the attack was unsuccessful and the army of Egypt returned in defeat. In RSV the verse is rendered: "Pharaoh Neco king of Egypt went up to the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates." While this is a very small point in translation, it is of considerable historical significance.

Another example which may be listed here as historical information is the group of names which appear in 2 Kings 18.17, Jeremiah 39.13, and a few other places—Tartan, Rabshakeh, Rabsaris, and Rabmag. These were translated in KJ as if they were the personal names of individuals. Assyrian inscriptions have shown, however, that these are titles of Assyrian officials. Tartan is the Assyrian *tartānu*, "commander-in-chief." Rabshakeh is Assyrian *rab-shaqû*, probably meaning "field marshal" or "chief cupbearer." The Rabsaris is Assyrian *rabû-sha-rêshi*, usually translated "chief eunuch." Rabmag is apparently Assyrian *rab-mugi*, but the meaning of this name and the function of the official who bore it are unknown; it must, however, have been the title of a high official, since it is borne by a man who probably was king of Babylonia after the events narrated in Jeremiah 39. In RSV these words are translated as "the Tartan," "the Rabshakeh," "the Rabsaris," and "the Rabmag."

3. Archaeological discoveries have given aid in a few instances

toward the correction of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Two examples may be given, both of them coming from discoveries at Ras Shamra in Syria.

Ras Shamra is located on the coast of Syria, opposite the easternmost tip of Cyprus. The ancient name of the city was Ugarit. Beginning in 1929, discoveries were made here which included a large number of clay tablets inscribed with cuneiform (wedge-shaped) characters. Most of them were written in a language which is very close to Biblical Hebrew, now generally called "Ugaritic" after the name of the ancient city. The tablets, which come from about 1400 B.C., contain fragments of Canaanite literature, myths and epics concerning the Ugaritic deities and heroes. Though the language was unknown at the time of discovery, scholars have deciphered it to such an extent that most of the tablets can now be read. Because the language is so close to Hebrew, the vocabulary and grammar of Hebrew have been compared for the reading of Ugaritic, but in a few cases Ugaritic has contributed to the understanding of Hebrew.

One case is Proverbs 26.23. This proverb begins with the words *keseḥ sîgîm*, and is translated in KJ: "Burning lips, and a wicked heart, are like a potsherd covered with silver dross." ASV is similar, ending "like an earthen vessel overlaid with silver dross." This translation is questionable for two reasons: first, it is by no means certain that *keseḥ sîgîm* means "silver dross," since one would naturally expect the Hebrew words to appear in reverse order for such a meaning; secondly, it is most unlikely that a potsherd or earthen vessel was overlaid with silver dross, since no archaeological evidence for such a practice is available.

But in the light of evidence from the Ugaritic texts, the first two words of Proverbs 26.23 may be combined, yielding a word *kesapsîgîm* which means "like glaze." Thus RSV renders the proverb as follows:

"Like the glaze covering an earthen vessel
are smooth lips with an evil heart."

The second example is 2 Samuel 1.21. Here the correction of the Hebrew text is more radical than in the preceding example, but it makes possible a more satisfactory translation. This verse is a

part of the lament of David over Saul and Jonathan, containing a curse upon the place where Saul had been slain. The verse includes the Hebrew words *ûsedêy terûmôth*. This is translated in KJ as follows: "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings." A Ugaritic text, I Aqhat 44-45, tells how Daniel called down a curse of drought upon the land. This curse is translated, in part: "May there be no dew or rain, nor upsurging of the deep." The final phrase reflects the ancient belief that there was a subterranean ocean, called "the deep," which fed springs and wells of the earth. Its failure to feed them would cause drought, combined with the failure of dew and rain from above. The last two words in Ugaritic are *shr' thmtm*. In the light of this, 2 Samuel 1.21 may be corrected to read *ûshera' tehômôth* instead of the words given above. Thus it is rendered in RSV:

"Ye mountains of Gilboa,
let there be no dew or rain upon you,
nor upsurging of the deep!"

This reading seems to be correct because it is very suitable to the context, and because it is easy for a Hebrew scholar to see how a text which read in this manner was corrupted to that which is preserved in the Masoretic Text.

4. Archaeology is sometimes broadly defined to include all ancient texts and manuscripts. It is customary, however, to define it more narrowly so that the study of these is not included in the domain of archaeology. Yet archaeology narrowly defined may contribute to the dating of ancient manuscripts. Hence a few remarks may be made here on the archaeological evidence for the dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which include a virtually complete manuscript of the Book of Isaiah.

These scrolls were first discovered by natives of Palestine in 1947, not by trained archaeologists. Because of the circumstances of the discovery, the date of the scrolls has been bitterly disputed. Ultimate decision on their date must rest on several lines of evidence, but the archaeological evidence is perhaps the most objective of all.

In February-March of 1949, the floor of the cave near Ain

Fashkha in which the Dead Sea Scrolls were found was excavated by G. Lankester Harding, Director of Antiquités of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and Père R. deVaux of the Ecole Biblique of Jerusalem. The discoveries were of three types: (1) hundreds of fragments of manuscripts, some of them of Biblical books, and some in a script more archaic than the Dead Sea Scrolls; (2) many fragments of linen cloth which had been used for wrapping the scrolls or packing them in jars; and (3) fragments of pottery. Most of the pottery fragments were remains of jars and of lids for covering the jars. Some of the jars and lids were restored by very careful and meticulous work. The jars were about 24 inches high, and 10 or 11 inches in diameter, and quite evidently had been used for storing the scrolls. Approximately forty jar covers were restored. The pottery was at first thought to be pre-Roman; further excavation in 1951-52, however, showed that jars of the same type were in use at a nearby site until about 70 A.D. It is therefore probable that the manuscripts were left in the cave during the first century, though the form of writing shows that some of them were written considerably earlier.

J. PHILIP HYATT

VIII. THE STYLE AND VOCABULARY OF THE REVISED STANDARD VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE standards of English style and diction which the Committee had before it can be readily stated. There was never any disagreement upon them in the Committee. The practical implications, however, and their relative importance in particular instances were by no means obvious. In seeking to apply its principles the Committee sometimes found itself very evenly divided.

The primary purpose of producing a version "designed for use in public and private worship" has been kept constantly in mind. Accordingly all such merely colloquial or momentarily popular expressions as would be incompatible with the spirit of worship, the sacred associations of the text, and the profound import of what is said, have been avoided. The Committee has also tried

not to use language which by its harshness or awkwardness would destroy the spiritual tone and impede the free course of the Word. Dignity and profundity, however, are not achieved by obscurity. In the King James Version, as in the original languages of the Bible, they are the result of the utmost clarity, directness, and simplicity. These qualities have been earnestly sought in the Revised Standard Version. A desire to preserve the rhythmic quality of the King James Version was present also, but it became painfully evident that this was very largely a matter of subjective impressions and widely differing judgments.

In the interest of simplicity and directness the characteristic Hebrew idiom, "And it came to pass," which in English is meaningless, has been omitted. The order of words in the sentence usually follows that of the Hebrew, but where a change of order seemed necessary to bring out the meaning it has been adopted. At one point the Committee has perhaps been unduly conservative. The Hebrew language is not as richly endowed with conjunctions as English, and cannot as readily indicate the relations between ideas by subordination of clauses. A succession of co-ordinate clauses, bound together by the conjunction "and," is therefore characteristic of Hebrew syntax. In English, however, it is an unpleasing and unnecessary impoverishment of expression, and is considered incompatible with good literary style. In other words, the Hebrew conjunction ordinarily translated "and" carries a variety of meanings for which English has different conjunctions. Consequently the RSV sometimes reads "when" or "then" or "so," as the sense may require, and sometimes the conjunction is simply omitted, especially at the beginning of a sentence or paragraph. That this has not been done more freely must be attributed to reluctance to sacrifice the familiar flavor of the older translations.

The desire to convey the spiritual tone as well as the exact meaning of the text, and therefore to avoid unnecessary shocks or distractions, has induced reluctance to introduce changes in direct proportion to the familiarity and devotional or literary associations of the passage. Changes of wording in the lists of unclean foods or the details of temple architecture or priestly vestments, for example, would disturb no one, but to make the 23rd or the 100th Psalm sound new and strange and different

would be another matter. This accounts for occasional inconsistencies; thus, in spite of serious misgivings, "shadow of death" is retained in Psa 23, while the same Hebrew word is elsewhere rendered "gloom" (*e.g.* Psa 44.19) or "deep darkness" (*e.g.* Job 3.5). Again, the unsatisfactory if not misleading word "vanity" still stands in Ecclesiastes, partly because of its familiarity, but also because of the difficulty of finding any acceptable alternative. Of course no revision which retained translations definitely known to be erroneous, however familiar and cherished, could be justified. As ASV had to relinquish "the beauty of holiness" (Psa 29.2, 96.9), so RSV has been constrained in honesty to give up "kiss the son" (Psa 2.12) as an indefensible translation even of the traditional Hebrew text, which in this case clearly requires emendation. Where the issue is not so clear-cut, the balance between exact meaning and emotional associations is sometimes very delicate, and the individual translator may well be glad to be associated with others, feeling that there is safety in numbers.

While novel and ephemeral forms of expression are avoided, obsolete or obsolescent words must be eliminated also if the meaning is to be conveyed to modern readers, though literary appropriateness permits the use of somewhat more archaic expressions in poetry than would be acceptable in prose. It is especially important to avoid using English words which have undergone a change of meaning, or an expansion or contraction of meaning, so that their use would now be misleading. A conspicuous, though not profoundly important, instance of this in the Old Testament is the ubiquitous expression represented in KJ and ASV as "children of Israel." As in the Apocryphal "Song of the Three Holy Children," the word "children" in such a connection is quite misleading and can no longer be justified. Instead of the literal "sons of Israel," or the free but accurate "Israelites" or simply "Israel" adopted in the New Testament, the rendering "people of Israel" has usually been chosen in the Old Testament, and similarly "people of Judah," "people of Moab," and the like.

For the sake of clarity a literal rendering of some Hebrew idioms has been abandoned. Thus, as in the New Testament, the word "seed" has not been used in the sense of offspring or descendants. With the utmost effort to represent the meaning clearly, however,

the temptation to make commentaries unnecessary by paraphrasing instead of translating has been resisted. The vivid, concrete character of Semitic idioms and figures of speech has been retained as far as possible, even though the meaning may not always be plain to the modern reader without explanation. Otherwise the vigor and poetry of the original would have been lost. For instance, to change "Upon Edom I cast my shoe" to "I have entered a formal claim to the ownership of Edom" would forfeit more than would be gained.

The choice of English words has been governed by the particular meaning of each passage. No attempt has been made to use always the same English word for a given Hebrew word, as was attempted with only indifferent success in ASV. On the other hand, diversity of rendering merely for the sake of stylistic variety, where there is no difference of meaning, is a characteristic of KJ which RSV has not emulated.

Care to make the expression fit the thought necessitates effort to avoid ambiguity. Sometimes the original itself is ambiguous. When one of two possible meanings has been felt to be distinctly more probable than the other, it has been given in the text and the other presented in a footnote. Only very rarely, when no clear balance of probability between alternatives could be seen, has the attempt been made to give an English rendering with the same ambiguity as the Hebrew. One of the advantages of a committee over an individual translator is that ambiguities and obscurities of language which might not be apparent to one person are perceived by another. This is true particularly of that most disastrous type of ambiguity which, in the attempt to express a serious, profound meaning, suggests something quite different and ludicrous. A keen sense of the ridiculous is an important qualification for a translator of the Scriptures.

The ancient Hebrews, living close to the earth, used freely some forms of expression, which offend modern taste. The Old Testament, of course, never descends to obscenity, such as is affected by pseudo-realistic modern fiction. What sometimes embarrasses the Christian reader is merely a straightforward matter-of-fact way of dealing with common facts which we prefer to veil with reticence. To substitute circumlocutions for the frank, direct language of the

original would usually be in bad taste. For some expressions, however, euphemistic paraphrases must be adopted, especially in a translation intended for devotional reading and public worship. In this, RSV on the whole follows its predecessors, adopting essentially the same expedients as ASV (*e.g.* 1 Sam 25.22). For certain meanings the Hebrew language has its own euphemistic idioms which do not correspond to English usage. In rendering these the Committee has not attempted to be entirely consistent. Such a familiar and transparent expression as "Adam knew Eve his wife" (Gen 4.1), for example, has been retained contrary to the practice of some recent translations. On the other hand, the expression used, *e.g.*, in 1 Sam 24.3 is rendered in accordance with our idiom. In general the canons of taste now prevailing among Christian people in this country have been observed.

The translation of the physiological terms used by the Hebrews for the organs of thought, feeling, will, and the like, follows the same general procedure as was adopted for the New Testament. The traditional rendering "soul" for Hebrew *nephesh* (corresponding fairly closely in meaning to the Greek *psyche*) has proved particularly unfortunate, introducing ideas and associations never entertained by the writers of the Old Testament. In RSV this Hebrew word is represented by "life," "self," "person," "desire," or whatever the particular context requires.

The Hebrew designation of social divisions—tribe, clan, and family—has proved very troublesome. Careful investigation has made it evident that their use is not rigidly consistent throughout the Old Testament. Here again, it has been necessary to consider the context in every case. General rules have been adopted, but they could not be followed without some elasticity.

Most important of all, as regards choice of words, is what may be called the religious vocabulary of the Old Testament. The terms used for the outstanding concepts employed in the revelation of God to Israel require thorough study, and much attention has been given to them in recent decades. The choice between "faith" and "faithfulness," between "truth" and "faithfulness," between "grace" and "favor" or some other word, between "peace" and "welfare" or "prosperity," between "judgment" and "justice" or "righteousness," between "salvation" and "help" or "victory," to

mention only a few examples, could not be and was not made without thorough deliberation and prolonged discussion.

Most difficult and perhaps most important of all such words is the one rendered in KJ by "mercy" and in ASV by "loving kindness." Recent research has shown that the basic meaning of this Hebrew term is not a general feeling or attitude like mercy, for which there are other Hebrew words, nor such a diffused, indiscriminating, and rather mild quality as the word "kindness" suggests, but fidelity to the requirements of a particular personal relationship, a loyal devotion grounded in love which goes beyond legal obligation and can be depended upon to the utmost. No one English noun can do justice to it. Only by assembling and classifying the contexts in which the term is used can even a moderately satisfactory way of translating it be found, and no one translation fits all the contexts. As the most nearly adequate rendering for the majority of occurrences, RSV has adopted the English words "steadfast love." Only prolonged trial can determine how satisfactory this and the other renderings will prove, but an earnest effort to find something better than the previous translations was imperative. The use of "steadfast love" carries with it an important theological result: the word "love" now appears far more often in the Old Testament than it did in previous translations, counteracting the erroneous impression of many Christians that the God of the Old Testament was not a God of love.

This fact, however, brings to mind a point which should be stressed. Neither in this case nor in any other was the choice of words or reading of the text governed by theological presuppositions. Readers who find a cherished meaning or association lost at one place or another may be tempted to accuse the translators of reading into the text their own beliefs or reading out of it something in which they did not believe. It may be solemnly and emphatically stated in all good faith and conscience that only one theological assumption has dominated the work of the Committee, and that is the firm conviction that taking seriously the belief in divine revelation makes it obligatory to seek only the real meaning of every word and sentence in the Scriptures, and to express just that meaning as exactly and adequately as it can be done in English.

Meanwhile, the Committee can only ask readers to remember that what seems to be strangeness or awkwardness may be merely the unavoidable concomitant of an unfamiliar way of expressing something which in another form has acquired profound and sacred associations. Like a new frame for a beloved picture, or a new tune for a familiar hymn, a new translation of the Scripture must not be judged hastily by the initial feeling of incongruity or even ugliness which it may produce. Only when the novelty has worn off can its real virtues or defects be perceived. It should be remembered also that the translator must have in mind not only readers already acquainted with the Bible but also those who will read it for the first time. No earthen vessel can be worthy of this treasure. The only question is whether the treasure is contained and conveyed as fully as possible without loss or contamination.

MILLAR BURROWS

IX. THE POETRY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE recovery of the poetry of the Old Testament is an achievement of modern times. When the King James Version appeared in 1611, relatively little was known either of the true character of Hebrew poetry or of the extent of its presence in the Scriptures. The King James translators were sensitive to the rhythm and the accent of the original Hebrew, and they frequently rendered poetic passages like the Psalter with extraordinary fidelity to the emphasis of the Hebrew text. They possessed a remarkable feeling for words, and their language is infused with an elevation and dignity that has never been surpassed in English speech. The majesty and power of Elizabethan English are stamped upon the version of 1611; it is "the greatest monument of English prose." But the poetic form and structure of the original Hebrew are obscured. Even in the American Standard Version of 1901, almost a century and a half after the nature of Hebrew poetry was first recognized, the poetic form of the original was limited to the Books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Lamentations. The prophetic literature was printed almost throughout as prose. Less than fifteen per

cent of the Old Testament appears as poetry.

In the Revised Standard Version, on the other hand, forty per cent of the text is given in poetry. The relationship of the poetic lines to each other is shown by the form in which they appear: major lines are given due prominence while the secondary line (or lines) is subordinated by indentation. Moreover, the stanzas or strophes are properly separated from each other. More important is the attempt to identify the scope of the original literary unit. It is well known that the present division into chapters frequently violates the limits of the original literary form. The tendency to read the Bible by chapters rather than by literary units often confuses the thought and meaning of the original writers. It will be readily seen, therefore, that the recognition of the proper literary divisions is a great aid in the understanding of the text.

The Hebrew language is peculiarly suited as a vehicle for poetic expression. It contains comparatively few abstractions. Words are characteristically concrete. They are rich in their appeal to the senses and easily call forth images. Nouns and verbs predominate over all other forms of speech. Many of the small words which play so large a role in western languages are absent. The pronouns generally appear in the verb, and the pronominal modifiers are attached to the noun. The verb has an especially central function in the Hebrew sentence and almost always expresses an action. Adjectives are used sparingly, more sparingly than our translations suggest. Compound words are practically absent. Connecting words like co-ordinate and subordinate conjunctions are used much less frequently in Hebrew than in English. The conjunction "and" occurs with great frequency and serves a distinctive function in binding a passage into a unity. The sentences of Hebrew poetry are short, often not more than two or three words. Speech is concentrated, and all the emphasis is placed upon the important words. The Hebrew text of Psalm 23 contains only fifty-five words; our modern western translations employ twice that number. Yet even in translation the economy of the original Hebrew is not lost.

These characteristics of the Hebrew language go far to explain the simplicity of Hebrew poetry. Each line registers its effect, and the effect is powerful because the line is short. There are no elaborate or complicated grammatical constructions. The thought

is seldom involved. Line follows line, and the total impression is gained less by the logical coherence or relation of the separate parts than by the cumulative power of a large number of brief clauses. The Song of Deborah in Judges 5, the description of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53, the speech of the LORD out of the whirlwind in the Book of Job, or the hymn of Psalm 103 illustrate the great power that such a style exerts upon us. Hebrew poetry has its sources in the immediacy of the spoken word. Observe how spontaneously the Psalms begin: "O LORD, how many are my foes," "Answer me when I call, O God of my right," "O LORD, our LORD, how majestic is Thy name in all the earth." Words retain for him their primitive dynamic and living reality. Hebrew poetry is language that is alive in speech. What is spoken by the mouth is heard by the ear. Therefore the poet never wearies of calling upon his people or indeed the heavens and the earth to hear. The profound effect of the original sounds and stresses is lost to us in translation, but the elemental quality which words have for the Hebrew is not infrequently apparent.

This sense of the living reality of speech is heightened by the fire of imagination. The Hebrew poet helps us to see, to hear, to feel. The physical sensations are fresh and alive, and the words retain a close association with their physical origins. The poet thinks in pictures, and the pictures are drawn from the area of everyday life common to all men. There is scarcely a poem in the whole Old Testament which does not witness to the imaginative character of Israel's way of thinking. The sixty-third Psalm, for example, is typical of many other poems:

O God, thou art my God, I seek thee,
 my soul thirsts for thee,
 my flesh faints for thee,
 as in a dry and weary land where no water is.

My soul is feasted as with marrow and fat,
 and my mouth praises thee with joyful lips,
 when I think of thee upon my bed,
 and meditate upon thee in the watches of the night;
 for thou hast been my help,
 and in the shadow of thy wings I sing for joy.

My soul clings to thee;
thy right hand upholds me.

Where in all literature is there a more real and moving description of a vision than the words of Eliphaz in Job 4.12-17? Where in all literature is the fresh aliveness and primitive vitality of God's gracious goodness in nature more superbly put into words than in Psalm 65.9-13? The Books of Hosea and Jeremiah are monuments to the imagination of Israel. In these prophecies the feelings and thoughts and sufferings of men achieve literary finality.

Even the stork in the heavens
knows her times;
and the turtledove, swallow, and crane
keep the time of their coming;
but my people know not
the ordinance of the LORD.

Jer 8.7

In modern times men have often objected to the anthropomorphisms of the Bible, but it would be infinitely poorer without them. For it is precisely these living, human words of our common life that give us the overwhelming sense of the reality of God. Imagine how they would sound if they were to be translated into our modern abstractions.

Milton's famous dictum that poetry should be simple, sensuous, and passionate is a perfect description of Israel's poetry. We have observed the elemental simplicity of Biblical utterance and the imaginative character of Israel's thinking. But with simplicity and imagination goes intensity of feeling. The Hebrew identifies himself emotionally with his words. Thought and feeling accompany each other. The primitive impulses of the body, the physical counterparts to psychical experiences, and the movements of natural life all about him are embodied in the words of the speaker. The heavy burden of suffering throbs through many poems: the laments of the Book of Lamentations, the confessions of Jeremiah, the cries of the Psalmist, and the description of the Servant's suffering in Isaiah 53. Joy and praise and thanksgiving break from the poet's lips with great exultancy and abandon (*cf.* Psalms 146-150). Anger and disdain, longing and aspiration, reverent contemplation and

awe, and all the varying moods and passions of men are poured forth in spontaneous and uninhibited speech.

In view of the imaginative and emotional characteristics of the Hebrew mind, it may seem surprising that the Hebrew poet should possess a strong sense of form. He wrote his poems according to the patterns of well recognized literary types. The literary type depended upon the particular occasion. A triumph in battle was celebrated by a song of victory as in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5). The death of a hero was mourned by a lament or dirge as in David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam 1.19-27). In the worship of the temple men praised God in hymns, expressed their gratitude to him in songs of thanksgiving, or gave vent to their grief in laments. At the time of great festivals, pious worshipers repaired to the holy city to the accompaniment of pilgrim songs. Each of these forms—and many more—had its own characteristic way of beginning and ending. Each had its characteristic language and style and literary development. In many of the Psalms it is evident that there are various speakers, such as the priest and the worshipping congregation.

The most striking formal feature of the Biblical poems is what is known as parallelism. The individual line is the basic unit of Hebrew poetry. But it does not stand alone. It is followed by a second, and sometimes by a third line, which restates, completes, or develops in some special way what has been stated in the first line. The opening words of Psalm 19 are a good illustration of this parallelism:

The heavens are telling the glory of God;
 and the firmament proclaims his handiwork.
 Day to day pours forth speech,
 and night to night declares knowledge.
 There is no speech, nor are there words;
 their voice is not heard;
 yet their voice goes out through all the earth,
 and their words to the end of the world.

When the second line repeats the first, the parallelism is *synonymous*:

O LORD, who shall sojourn in thy tent?
Who shall dwell on thy holy hill?

When the second line is contrasted with the first we have *antithetic* parallelism:

For the LORD knows the way of the righteous,
but the way of the wicked will perish.

Sometimes the second line completes the first line, yet in such a way as to be parallel with it:

As a hart longs
for flowing streams,
so longs my soul
for thee, O God.

Another form of parallelism which is especially noteworthy is known as ascending or stair-like parallelism, which is especially common in the Psalms of Ascent (Psa 120-134). The great thunder-storm hymn of Psalm 29 will illustrate:

Ascribe to the LORD, O heavenly beings,
ascribe to the LORD glory and strength.
Ascribe to the LORD the glory of his name;
worship the LORD in holy array.

This type of parallelism, as indeed all the main types, is found in the Canaanite rituals. The Egyptians and the Babylonians also employed the same literary device.

Another formal feature of Hebrew poetic style is meter. In western poetry the meter is generally syllabic, that is, there is a fixed relation between the unaccented and the accented syllables, as in Wordsworth's sonnet to Milton:

Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart:
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea.

In Hebrew, however, and in the Semitic languages generally, the accent is determined not by the measured succession of syllables but rather by sense. By far the most common meter is 3'3', where the two lines have three beats each. The so-called lamentation or

Qinah meter has three beats in the first line and two in the second. It is illustrated by much of the Book of Lamentations. There are many other varieties of meter, and even in a single poem various kinds will be employed. The Hebrew sense of form was by no means rigid; indeed, there is a constant aversion to stereotype.

Frequently the poem is divided into strophes or stanzas. Sometimes they are of the same length, but more often they are not. Such strophes are plainly marked in acrostic poems like Psalm 119 where each of the eight lines of each strophe begins with the same letter. It is also apparent in poems which contain a refrain as in the superb lyric of Psalms 42-43 (compare also Psa 99 and Isa 9.8-10.4). But the strophic structure extended beyond these obvious forms. Compare, for example, Isaiah 52.13-53.12 where the strophes are clear (52.13-15; 53.1-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10-12). The ancient Hebrew poet was fond of bringing the strophe or poem to a close with an impressive line of climax or summary statement. It is worth observing, too, that there is often a definite relation between beginning and end. Sometimes the opening line is repeated at the close as in the eighth Psalm; more often the conclusion restates or paraphrases it.

Another illuminating feature of Hebrew literary composition is the use of repetition. A comparison with the other literatures of the ancient Near East will prove rewarding. In the rituals of the Sumerians, Egyptians, and Babylonians, the same line is repeated over and over again, usually in each alternating line. Psalm 136 is a good example of this practice where the words "for his steadfast love endures for ever" appear in every verse. But this is exceptional. Much more characteristic is the kind of repetition we encounter in the Song of Deborah or David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan or Isaiah 52.13-53.12. In all of these repetition produces a profound emotional effect. A superb illustration of repetition that approximates sublimity is the little poem in Jeremiah 4.23-26, which is as notable for its form as for its imagery:

I looked on the earth, and lo, it was waste and void;
 and to the heavens, and they had no light.
 I looked on the mountains, and lo, they were quaking,
 and all the hills moved to and fro.

I looked, and lo, there was no man,
and all the birds of the heaven had fled.
I looked, and lo, the fruitful land was a desert,
and all its cities were laid in ruins
before the LORD, before his fierce anger.

Another type of repetition is the succession of participial phrases which are usually rendered by relative clauses, thus obscuring the stylistic effect of the original. The elevated effect of such style is seen in Psalm 104:

Bless the LORD, O my soul!
O LORD my God, thou art very great!
Thou art clothed with honor and majesty,
who coverest thyself with light as with a garment,
who hast stretched out the heavens like a tent,
who hast laid the beams of thy chambers on the waters,
who makest the clouds thy chariot,
who ridest on the wings of the wind,
who makest the winds thy messengers,
fire and flame thy ministers.

One of the chief reasons for the supreme literary power and beauty of the poetry of the Old Testament is the combination of deep feeling and imagination, on the one hand, and a remarkable sense of form, on the other. For the peoples of the East this is not a studied achievement. Rather, the sense of form develops naturally out of the primary rhythms of life itself. The form grows spontaneously from the heart. Its deep authenticity is shown by the fact that it seldom obtrudes itself upon the mind of the reader. Even the Book of Lamentations, where the external form is certainly mechanical, is great poetry because the feeling and imagination which pervade it transform the framework into an expression of passionate sorrow.

How, then, shall we explain the uniqueness of Biblical poetry? Why is it that it remembers itself and keeps on returning to us in unexpected moments? Is it to be explained by the large number of what Matthew Arnold calls "immortal lines"? Every one of us knows such lines, and it is surprising how many of them have

stamped themselves on the memory even of our secular age. But the reason lies deeper than any characterization of literary phenomena, deeper even than the mood and temper of the Semitic people. Surely the answer is to be found in the one theme that dominates all others, the reality of God. For God there were no words that were ever sufficient. No singing could praise him with the praise that was his due. No lament or dirge could express the depth of sorrow for his absence or his judgment. When we read the closing poems of the Psalter we feel that Israel is employing all that she is and knows to say the things that must be said. When we hear the words of God out of the whirlwind in the Book of Job, we are aware that the hour of sublimity has been struck. For Israel lived her life under the awareness that her life was not her own but that she belonged to One who alone was worthy of all that she could imagine and hope. No, there was something more. Israel lived by the faith that her God had revealed himself to her, that she lived in a world where he had spoken his word, and that it was her destiny to hear and to respond to what she heard. Her listening gave her words to speak.

JAMES MUILENBURG

X. THE WISDOM LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament finds expression chiefly in the Books of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. The term wisdom as used in this literature has acquired a special limitation of meaning and the books themselves are the product of a distinct class, the so-called "wise men," which has no direct counterpart in modern society.

The wise men were not primarily interested either in formal religion or political affairs. Their main concern with human nature under its most general aspects has led to their characterization as the humanists of Israel. Their interest in individual character and its promotion in the young made them pioneers in the field of education. The frequent reference to "my son" or "my sons" (Prov 1.10; 2.1; 3.1 etc.) is the Semitic idiom used by a teacher in

addressing his pupils.

This class arose naturally at the village level in Israel as the elders of the community. In the larger towns, they represented the mature, elderly, well-to-do, who had leisure to contemplate and observe and to profit by their own and others' experience. They were the respected members of society, whose advice and counsel were often sought, and hence they became the conservers and purveyors of the accumulated wisdom of the community.

The simplest form of such wisdom is that of the proverb in the pointed simile: "like people, like priest" (Hos 4.9), "like mother, like daughter" (Ezek 16.44). The shortest form of proverb found in the book of Proverbs is almost as brief and made up of a single line of Hebrew poetry composed of two members or a distich, constituting a parallelism, that is either antithetic (Prov 10.1), synonymous (14.19), or synthetic (15.17).

Prov 10.1-22.16 is a distinct collection of 375 such independent units thrown together without any discernible connection of thought or logical principle of arrangement. They are not, however, simple popular sayings, but without exception are expressed in highly polished literary form. Among them there are secular proverbs, based on direct observation and experience. Wisdom is here skill to gain and enjoy the good things of life, at times regardless of the ethical principles involved (Prov 13.8,23;14.20;17.8). Yet the vast majority of these sayings are religious in character. Their religious philosophy follows the Deuteronomic pattern and reflects the faith expressed in the first Psalm. Only the righteous prosper. The wicked always speedily come to a bad end.

The makers of the religious proverbs ceased to be direct observers of experience and were content to base their conclusions on the dogmas of orthodox Judaism. They took over the secular sayings and neutralized or submerged their lack of ethics by adding their own religious aphorisms. The result, however, could not provide a consistent practical philosophy, nor did the sages make that attempt. They were content to have the great majority of such proverbs bear witness to religion.

The chapters that follow (22.17- Ch. 29) consist of three collections, two labeled: "Words of the Wise" (22.17; 24.33) and "Proverbs of Solomon" (25.1). In these the literary form is much

more diverse and involved. For while distichs occur (22.28; 23.9), they are the exception and units having from three to ten stichs are found, *e.g.* three (24.27), four (24.28), five (24.13f.), six (24.23b-25), seven (23.6-8), eight (23.22-25), ten (24.30-34). The same religious philosophy prevails, although interspersed as earlier, by purely secular wisdom.

It is, however, the introductory section, Prov. 1-9 which now sets forth the religious motivation for the entire book. "The fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge" (1.7), and it is the LORD who gives wisdom (2.6). Those who gain wisdom will have long life, riches, and honor (3.16). This entire section is shot through with a deep sense of religious reverence and contains much sound personal advice and valuable moral admonitions, but it involves no profound religious thinking. Its exponents had withdrawn themselves from the laboratory of on-going human experience and based their outlook on the idealism of an age that was past. They were thus unable to see any serious obstacles in the way of the future prosperity of their people, nor could they assess the fact that in everyday experience their philosophy of the outward prosperity of the righteous was flouted on every side.

It was against this blindness to the facts of experience and the smug assurance of the orthodox sages that they possessed the true formula for outward prosperity, that the main content of the book of Job was directed.

The outcome was a new and unique form of religious thought in the Bible if not in all religious literature, namely, the language of closely reasoned debate as to the nature of God and the universe and of man and his destiny. In the dialogues between Job and the three friends, Job openly challenges the basic wisdom philosophy of his day as expressed in the propositions that prosperity follows righteousness and that misfortune and calamity are always due to the sins of the individual. The author not only makes Job refute every argument of the friends until they are finally silenced, but he shows how the friends have failed to take account of the most evident facts of human experience, both as recorded in ancient times and as manifested in the present. Moreover the author presents the dramatic situation so that the audience can see from the start that the friends are clearly in the wrong. Job is vouched for

by the Almighty as a perfect and an upright man (1.18; 2.3), and yet he is afflicted with an incurable disease from which logically only death can release him.

Job's victory was with little doubt the most completely reasoned-out triumph of religious thinking recorded in literature. It showed what wisdom thought could do at its best. It combined the best that had been achieved in the secular and religious way of thinking.

Job's triumph, however, upset the whole moral equilibrium of orthodox Jewish thought as voiced by the wise men. If human suffering was not due to the sins of the individual, that problem had to be openly faced anew. Job had conceived this as something to be settled between God and himself alone in this life. The problem was conceived too narrowly and no solution was possible on this basis, since the most of the suffering of the blameless is due to what other people do that they should not or who fail to do what they should. For Job, however, this only raised a still more desperate problem concerning the justice of God.

On the basis of God's omnipotence and omniscience, if the innocent were allowed to suffer as Job already had, how could God be just? Job's greatest suffering was not physical pain or the loss of all his possessions, but the fact that he had been charged with being a great sinner and there appeared to be no way of his ever vindicating his integrity. At first he had assumed that this must be done in this life if at all (Ch. 14). But he comes to see that from the standpoint of God this is not essential, since God is eternal.

On the basis then of Job's faith in the existence, the omniscience, and the omnipotence of God and Job's own integrity, he is enabled to see that there is ample room for his vindication by God in the future (19.25-27). This gives him his supreme triumph of faith in the ethical justice of God, which marks the highest reach of wisdom thought. (This outcome is not affected by the ambiguity or textual uncertainty in vv.26-27). It had come to the same goal from the standpoint of the individual as had been gained by the prophets from the viewpoint of the community some centuries earlier.

Less able exponents of wisdom thought who could not follow Job's lofty flight of faith tried, like Elihu (Job 32-37), to save the justice of God by condemning the friends for their failure and by continuing to insist that Job must still be a great sinner. Others

could see the bankruptcy of thought of Job's three friends but could not rise to Job's lofty faith and as a result fell back into complete scepticism concerning human wisdom. Man could never attain to it. His only wisdom was the fear of the LORD. This viewpoint is wistfully and beautifully set forth in Job 28.

Yet even the fear of the LORD could not keep back some of the wise from going to the extreme limit of scepticism. To the writer of Ecclesiastes life is completely lacking in meaning. It is all vanity. He is well acquainted with the techniques of wisdom and has practiced them all, yet they have yielded him nothing but disillusionment. Man is no better than the beasts and all go to the same place. Life is not only meaningless and vain but it is also an evil thing. The dead are better off than the living (4.2), and better off still is he who has never been born (6.35).

The writer does not deny the existence or the power of God, yet his is not the God of Judaism but a ruthless and capricious Fate. Logically we should expect him to recommend suicide, since he had nothing to fear beyond the grave. Surprisingly, on the contrary, he repeatedly advises moderate enjoyment (*cf* 1.17b) of whatever outward blessings life happens to afford (2.24;5.18;8.15; 9.7-9). The extreme scepticism of the book is alleviated somewhat by a few interpolations and editorial additions. These and the ascription to Solomon help to account for its inclusion in the canon.

Its worthiness to be a part of the Bible is not due to its philosophy. Nevertheless, its unknown writer, who more than once had been driven to despair (2.26) by the evils he saw on every hand, can, to our astonishment, provide much sound counsel, wise judgment, and timely advice (3.1;7.29;8.2,9,11;9.11,16;Ch 10;11.4,6). He was not only a fearless and honest thinker and an alert and keen observer of life, he also possessed a deep sense of ethical justice (3.16;8.14) and a genuine sympathy for the oppressed (4.1). He was a man who could appreciate the beautiful, though he saw it as very fleeting and transient (3.1); and he never abjured the fear of God (5.7). His gentle human dignity in what seemed to be a meaningless world still has much to say to the frustrated and the panicky, when their way seems hidden and the future hopeless. The Bible could ill afford to lose his book. Thus the "wise men,"

on the whole, by their contributions justify the title by which they are best known.

LEROY WATERMAN

XI. PREACHING VALUES OF THE REVISED STANDARD VERSION—THE PROPHETS

A PROPHET, says the dictionary, "is one who speaks for another, esp. for God." A secondary definition describes him as a seer who foretells future events. It is only within relatively recent times that Christians have realized that the major truth of the Old Testament prophecies is to be sought in the first rather than the second of these definitions.

The Hebrew prophet was primarily a man who spoke, in God's behalf, to his own time. He was variously a lay preacher, a reformer, a poet. He addressed himself mainly to the irreligion, the paganism, the economic injustices, the dubious foreign policies of Judah and Israel.

For the last half century modern preachers of the social gospel have drawn heavily upon the writings of the prophets for Biblical source material. There is full warrant for so doing, and the example of these heroic spokesmen for the divine righteousness has given great encouragement to those who would perpetuate the role of the prophet in our own time. Yet most of us, as preachers, have found that the attempt to identify situations in a distant past with our present circumstances may be as forced an act of Biblical interpretation as the earlier effort to find a literal fulfilment of predictions. The life and lot of the ancient Jews in Palestine were by no means those of Christians in our own time. Many a modern preacher still cites the prophetic warning against going down to Egypt for help as a Biblical warrant for American isolationism, with its distrust of international pacts and covenants. Such citations are, on the whole, an abuse rather than a proper use of the Bible.

The appearance of this Revised Standard Version of the Bible may well be an occasion for us to reconsider our use of the prophetic writings in a place and time very unlike those of their actual origin.

It is, or should be, a matter of common knowledge that the latest translators and revisers have been in honor bound to adhere as closely as possible to the King James text. The temptation to depart from that text and to attempt an entirely new translation has been, in the case of the prophecies, inviting. The Hebrew text of the prophecies is, in many instances (*cf* Hosea 4 and ff), obscure or corrupt; more so than in most of the rest of the Old Testament. There would have been much warrant for a bold attempt to reconstruct a hypothetically intelligible text which should then yield an entirely fresh translation. But, as one of the committee has himself observed, there would be no assurance that any such translation would be nearer the original than is the text of the King James Version.

As a matter of actual fact this version of the prophecies follows the King James text more closely than in some other parts of the Old Testament. The changes are few; occasionally in the interest of verbal accuracy, more often in the interest of some simpler and more intelligible English word. While particular changes may be relatively negligible, they are in each instance an improvement on the earlier text, either as a matter of precision or clarity.

The most important departure from the pattern of the King James Version is the type setting and composition of whole sections of the prophecies, sometimes entire books, as poetry rather than prose. On the whole the text gains by this change. The principle of parallelism, which provides the uniform pattern for Hebrew poetry, gives to the text in this version a certain fortification of the idea which is too easily missed when prose is the printed medium. A great poem has its own inherent majesty. William Langland would have been less influential had he written what he had to say in a lifeless prose. The medium he chose for *Piers Plowman* was not merely ideal, it was effective. So with the poem of Micah in this version. Reread here it is even more stirring than in the King James Version. It is no longer an impatient or extempore utterance of a prosy mind; it is the measured and formal thoughtfulness of a sensitive and inspired thinker.

The novelty of these pages of poetry will invite and incline many a preacher and many a lay Bible student to reread the prophecies in this latest form; to read not merely an occasional

chapter, but to read a whole book at a single sitting. Only by so doing can the cumulative effect of a book be felt. The novelty of the literary form will invite fresh appraisals.

There are at least two reservations which the modern preacher may properly allow himself in preaching from the prophets. The repeated reference to the harlotries and adulteries of Judah and/or Israel does not furnish serviceable metaphors for contemporary edification. And one is struck by the savage and vindictive vengeance visited upon enemies round about. The sword of the Lord is constantly drunk with the blood of Edom and the like. It may be that the writer of Hosea 13.16 was not the tender and forgiving author of the earlier part of the book; but the brutal hope that the little children of Samaria may be "dashed in pieces" and "their pregnant women ripped open" leaves something to be desired ethically.

Having said so much, by way of decent caution, the following positive convictions persist, of permanent significance to the maker of modern sermons, indeed to all readers who reflect upon the nature of religion:

(1) The prophets appealed to the pity and mercy of God, but they never sank into the slough of self pity. They had the moral candor and courage to admit that their people were, primarily, the authors of their own distresses. Amos indicted the nations round about, but his severest indictments were reserved for Judah and Israel. Other nations were not guiltless, but the most characteristic cry of the prophet was always, *Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa*. Lincoln's *Second Inaugural* stands, in this respect, in the authentic succession of Hebrew prophecy. The prophecies should do something to correct our smug self-righteousness in matters of state, nation, race, class, sect, denomination.

(2) There is no escapism in the prophetic interpretation of religion. In this respect the prophecies are nonmystical. "Prophetism" implies inevitable involvement in the life of one's own time. Those who feel that such involvement is not merely their lot, but their destiny and duty will find much companionship in the persons of the Hebrew prophets.

(3) The prophets were, far more often than otherwise, laymen. Amos' insistence upon his nonecclesiastical, lay status was the rule

rather than the exception. The prophecies remind us how much religion owes to the pioneering courage of the laity, and should give fresh impetus to the attempt to develop lay leadership in our own times.

(4) Above all else one is left with an overpowering sense of the indomitable optimism that sustained the prophets and is perpetuated in their writings. There are no half lights and shades in the prophecies. Their pages are naked blacks and whites. The deathless hope of the prophets shone brightest precisely when the times were darkest. This optimism was not a matter of balanced probabilities; it was based on the prophet's conviction as to the very nature and character of God and the indestructible righteousness of the divine ordering of the world. It has been said that Christianity is a matter of optimism, but that it is an ultimate optimism founded upon a provisional pessimism. It is the moral strength of the prophecies that they never shirk the provisional pessimism of human life and human affairs; hence their ultimate optimism is profoundly religious and to this extent pre-Christian.

WILLARD L. SPERRY

XII. THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN WORSHIP

IT scarcely lies within the province of this brief chapter to show the value of the Old Testament for worship. The Old Testament has from the first been accepted by the Christian Church as the inspired word of God, not only because it points forward to Jesus as the Christ, but also because it is rich in content for religious faith and life. Its historical books preserve matchless narratives of God's dealing with Israel, dominated by a profound philosophy of history. Through their pages move individual men and women, each a distinct person, obeying or disobeying God, and reaping reward or penalty. Here also we find the ancient laws of Israel, with their noble, ethical, and religious standards. The poetic books give us something quite different and of even greater value. In them we meet Job the sufferer, with his eternal problem; we listen to the weary reflection of the Preacher, who had found life's

promises illusory, and the confident maxims of the wise men, to whom life was a very simple and negotiable thing; we hear the lyrical outpourings of the Psalmists, who tell of their own life with God, and frame corporate utterances of praise and penitence and lament for the congregation. Finally, in the prophetic books, we come upon the gigantic succession of Israel's prophets, with their clear view of the meaning of their time, their political and social teaching, their demand that God be faced and obeyed, their putting ethics before ceremonial, their great Either . . . Or, their certainty of God's impending intervention, their threats of doom, their tender assurances. Most of this treasure is conveyed to us in language of unique beauty, both prose and poetry.

It ought to be obvious therefore that the Old Testament provides abundant material which can be used in worship, much of it of a kind not found in the New Testament. This is true whatever the version used, King James, American Standard Version or Revised Standard Version. Our question is, what distinctive contribution can the Revised Standard Version make to worship?

At once it must be said that there are no startling features in the new version distinguishing it from its predecessors in its usefulness for worship. Those who go to it for inspiration and guidance will find pretty much the same values that the older versions contained. It presents, for instance, few new renderings of outstanding utterances which the preacher could lay hold of for texts. It will make no easier the effort of the individual reader to live unto God. But it does provide important satisfactions and aids which are to be had from it in contrast to the King James and American Standard Versions.

The worshiper can use with renewed confidence the many passages in which it agrees with the American Standard Version. He can feel that these have been subjected to the detailed scrutiny of a group of contemporary scholars in touch with the latest advances in Old Testament study, and have stood the test. That is a helpful thing to bear in mind. It means that the value of the Revised Standard Version consists as much in its adherences to the American Standard Version as in its divergencies from it.

Its divergencies from the American Standard Version will help the worshiper to understand the Old Testament better. Again and

again the revisers have tried to make the translation clearer, more forceful, more idiomatic, more exact. Each of the changes is intended to remove some barrier, however slight, between the reader and the meaning of the passage. So unobtrusive are many of them that they escape the notice of the usual reader, but they make each page more understandable. The whole book speaks more directly to the reader and the listener than do the older Versions. "May I see that Bible?" said a boy of fourteen to his teacher, who had just read aloud a passage from the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament to a church school class. "May I use it tonight when I read the Bible in young people's meeting? I can understand what it says better." "And I can understand it better myself," added the teacher, as he told of the incident.

The Revised Standard Version embodies these improvements in Biblical language. The question may be asked, Have these changes not taken away the Biblical flavor which is so dear to worshipers? Do they not make the Old Testament read like any modern book? The answer is, No. In spite of them the Biblical flavor remains. Two factors contribute to this.

One is the close adherence of the Revised Standard Version to the American Standard Version. After all the changes have been made, there is still constant agreement between the two versions. The tone of the American Standard Version (and indeed of the King James) is continued in the Revised Standard Version. This is in accord with the principle laid down by the revisers, that the new version was to be a revision, not a fresh translation. This aim has in substance been achieved. In the Revised Standard Version of 1952 we still hear the voice of Tyndale and the early English translators.

The other factor is the faithfulness of the Revised Standard Version to the Hebrew original. The sacred authors wrote in what we have come to call "Biblical" language and any faithful translation is bound to express the "Biblical" thoughts of the writers. The truth is, that Biblical language has much more to it than English archaisms and uncouth Hebrew expressions. One could hardly read a few verses anywhere in the new version without recognizing that he was reading the Bible, even though the passage might be quite unfamiliar to him.

It might indeed be recognized that to those who are well acquainted with the American Standard Version or the King James Version some of the changes made in the Revised Standard Version may seem un-Biblical for the very reason that they are unfamiliar and unloved. That happened in the case of the older versions themselves and is inevitable when any new translation is put forth. One can sympathize with such feelings, especially in regard to changes in which the revisers may not seem to have attained the same felicity of rendering as the older versions exhibit. But the experience of those who fifty years ago took the new American Standard Version as their Bible shows that the worshiper can become accustomed to the changes, and indeed grow to love them. On the other hand, younger people not versed in the older translations are open to make the new rendering their own from the start.

The worshiper will find the poetry of the Old Testament printed as poetry throughout. This is in marked contrast to the American Standard Version, which, with a few exceptions, printed the poetry of the prophetic books as prose, while the King James makes no distinction anywhere between prose and poetry. What the Revised Standard Version has done is a real aid to the worshiper's appreciation of the poetic nature of the prophetic oracles; the verses and strophes stand out, and the whole looks like poetry. The revisers have bestowed much care on the division into verses and strophes. The result is happy, for Hebrew poetry, when thus divided, lends itself easily and immediately to translation into another language. And thereby the spirit of worship is fostered, for poetry, like music, gives the soul wings to fly upward toward God. It is well to remember in this connection that almost all the poetry of the Bible is in the Old Testament.

In the Revised Standard Version the worshiper will have a translation enriched here and there by readings from the ancient versions. For example, in Psalm 49.11, KJ and ASV have: "Their inward thought is that their houses shall continue for ever," which is a not very convincing rendering of the obscure Hebrew. RSV has taken from the Greek and Syriac versions: "Their graves are their homes for ever." Psalm 85.8 is rendered in KJ and ASV: "For he (Jehovah) will speak peace unto his people and to his

saints; but let them not turn again to folly." RSV takes from the ancient Greek version a different conclusion to the sentence: "to those who turn to him in their hearts." In Isaiah 49:24 ASV reads: "Shall the prey be taken from the mighty, or the lawful captives be delivered?" RSV, with one Hebrew manuscript, the Syriac, Vulgate, and Targum, alters the second clause to: "or the captives of a tyrant be rescued," which fits the context much better.

The decisive contribution of the Revised Standard Version to worship will be something more than any one of the characteristics that have been mentioned, or all of them put together. It will be the general flavor and spirit which pervades the whole. For this version, like those preceding it, has been wrought by Committee effort into an integrated whole, and as such it must make its impression and win its way to general use. It is the hope of those who have labored on it that it will prove to have a freshness, a directness, an immediacy, a power to hold the reader and to gain his love that will lead on to its adoption by the churches, both for public worship and for private devotion.

We must not forget that the private intercourse of the soul with God is the fundamental thing in religion. It should underlie all public worship. Those who assemble in church to render common adoration to God ought to come there, people as well as pastor, from the inner chamber where they have met the Father in secret. And in their private devotion Bible reading should play an important part. It was the aim of the early English translators of the Scriptures to enable the people to know the Bible for themselves. The present revisers of the Old Testament humbly hope that their work may contribute to the same end. They hope that the men and women and children of our time may be stimulated and helped by this new version to use it in their own lives; that so it may become indeed their Holy Scriptures, heard, read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested.

FLEMING JAMES

XIII. SOME MISLEADING WORDS IN THE KING JAMES VERSION

THE following is a selected list of words used in the King James Version which have so changed in meaning, or acquired such new meanings, that they no longer convey to the reader the meaning which they had for the King James translators and were intended to express. Most of them were accurate translations in 1611; but they have now become misleading.

The list here given is far from complete; it contains only about one-fourth of the words of this sort in the King James Version. It does not undertake to list all the occurrences of the misleading terms, but gives only one or two references for each, except in a few cases where more are required to show the term in varied contexts. There is no attempt to give the inflection of the word in each case.

The term used in the King James Version is given first, then the Biblical reference; this is followed by the term used in the American Standard Version of 1901; then come the letters RSV, followed by the term used in the Revised Standard Version.

In cases where the American Standard Version retains the reading of the King James Version, the term is not repeated. In cases where the reading of the American Standard Version is retained by the Revised Standard Version, this is indicated by=RSV.

For example, at 1 Samuel 2.17, KJ uses "abhor," ASV uses "despise," and RSV "treat with contempt." In Acts 17.3, both KJ and ASV use "allege," and RSV uses "prove." In Job 31.35, KJ has "book," and ASV and RSV have "indictment."

abhor	1 Samuel 2.17 despise; RSV treat with contempt
abroad	Deuteronomy 24.11 without; RSV outside Judges 12.9 RSV outside his clan
advertise	Numbers 24.14 RSV let you know Ruth 4.4 disclose it to you; RSV tell you of it
allege	Acts 17.3 RSV prove
amazed	Mark 14.33 RSV distressed
amiable	Psalms 84.1 RSV lovely
ancients	Isaiah 3.14; Jeremiah 19.1; Ezekiel 7.26 elders=RSV
anon	Mark 1.30 straightway; RSV immediately
apparently	Numbers 12.8 manifestly; RSV clearly
artillery	1 Samuel 20.40 weapons=RSV
book	Job 31.35 indictment=RSV

bowels	Genesis 43.30 heart=RSV Philippians 1.8 tender mercies; RSV affection
by and by	Mark 6.25 forthwith; RSV at once
careful	Jeremiah 17.8 RSV anxious Luke 10.41 anxious=RSV
careless	Judges 18.7 in security=RSV Isaiah 32.9, 10, 11 RSV complacent Ezekiel 30.9 RSV unsuspecting
carelessly	Isaiah 47.8 securely=RSV Zephaniah 2.15 RSV secure
carriage	1 Samuel 17.22 baggage; RSV things . . . baggage Judges 18.21 goods=RSV Acts 21.15 baggage; RSV made ready
charity	1 Corinthians 13 love=RSV
coast	Exodus 10.4 border; RSV country Joshua 1.4 border; RSV territory Joshua 17.9 border; RSV boundary Matthew 2.16 borders; RSV region Acts 19.1 country=RSV
communicate	Galatians 6.6 RSV share Hebrews 13.16 RSV share
comprehend	Isaiah 40.12 RSV enclose John 1.5 apprehend; RSV overcome
convenient	Proverbs 30.8 needful=RSV Ephesians 5.4 befitting; RSV fitting Philemon 8 befitting; RSV required Jeremiah 40.4, 5 right=RSV
conversant	Joshua 8.35 were; RSV lived 1 Samuel 25.15 went=RSV
conversation	1 Peter 3.1, 2 behavior=RSV
convince	Job 32.12 RSV confute John 8.46 convict=RSV
cunning	Genesis 25.27 skilful=RSV 1 Samuel 16.16 skilful=RSV 1 Chronicles 22.15 skilful; RSV skilled
curious	Exodus 28.8 skilfully woven=RSV Exodus 35.32 skilful; RSV artistic Acts 19.19 magical=RSV
curiously	Psalms 139.15 RSV intricately
delectable	Isaiah 44.9 that they delight in=RSV
denounce	Deuteronomy 30.18 RSV declare
discover	Psalms 29.9 strip bare=RSV Isaiah 22.8 take away the covering=RSV Micah 1.6 uncover=RSV
dote	Jeremiah 50.36 become fools=RSV
duke	Genesis 36.15 chief=RSV
was entreated	Genesis 25.21 RSV granted his prayer

	2 Samuel 21.14 RSV heeded supplications
	1 Chronicles 5.20 RSV granted their entreaty
feebleminded	1 Thessalonians 5.14 fainthearted=RSV
footmen	Numbers 11.21 RSV on foot Jeremiah 12.5 RSV men on foot
forwardness	2 Corinthians 9.2 readiness=RSV
furniture	Genesis 31.34 saddle=RSV
grudge	Psalms 59.15 tarry; RSV growl James 5.9 murmur; RSV grumble
halt	Psalms 38.17 fall=RSV 1 Kings 18.21 go limping=RSV
harness	1 Kings 20.11 armor=RSV 1 Kings 22.34 armor=RSV
harnessed	Exodus 13.18 armed; RSV equipped for battle
headstone	Zechariah 4.7 top stone=RSV
health	Psalms 42.11 help=RSV Psalms 67.2 salvation; RSV saving power
herb	Genesis 1.11 herbs; RSV plants Psalms 105.35 RSV vegetation
hitherto	Job 38.11 RSV thus far
imagine	Genesis 11.6 purpose; RSV propose Psalms 2.1 meditate; RSV plot Psalms 10.2 conceived; RSV devised
leasing	Psalms 4.2 falsehood RSV lies Psalms 5.6 lies=RSV
let	Isaiah 43.13 hinder=RSV Romans 1.13 hindered; RSV prevented
Libertines	Acts 6.9 RSV Freedmen
mean	Proverbs 22.29 RSV obscure
meat	Genesis 1.29, 30 food=RSV Deuteronomy 20.20 food=RSV Matthew 6.25 food=RSV John 4.32 RSV food
meat offering	Leviticus 2.1 meal-offering; RSV cereal offering
mortify	Romans 8.13 put to death=RSV Colossians 3.5 put to death=RSV
munition	Isaiah 29.7 stronghold=RSV Isaiah 33.16 RSV fortress Nahum 2.1 fortress; RSV ramparts
naughtiness	1 Samuel 17.28 RSV evil Proverbs 11.6 iniquity; RSV lust James 1.21 wickedness=RSV
naughty	Proverbs 6.12 worthless=RSV Proverbs 17.4 mischievous=RSV Jeremiah 24.2 bad=RSV
nephew	Judges 12.14 sons' sons; RSV grandsons Job 18.19 son's son; RSV descendant

	1 Timothy 5.4 grandchildren=RSV
occupied	Exodus 38.24 used=RSV Judges 16.11 wherewith no work hath been done; RSV used
occupier	Ezekiel 27.27 dealer=RSV
occupy	Ezekiel 27.9 deal; RSV barter Luke 19.13 trade=RSV
outlandish	Nehemiah 13.26 foreign=RSV
out of hand	Numbers 11.15 RSV at once
overran	2 Samuel 18.23 outran=RSV
peculiar	Exodus 19.5 mine own possession; RSV my own possession Deuteronomy 14.2 for his own possession=RSV
person	Deuteronomy 1.17 RSV be partial Proverbs 28.21 RSV show partiality Acts 10.34 RSV shows no partiality
persuade	Acts 19.8 RSV pleading Acts 28.23 RSV trying to convince
pitiful	Lamentation 4.10 RSV compassionate
prefer	Esther 2.9 remove; RSV advance Daniel 6.3 distinguished=RSV John 1.15 become; RSV rank
presently	1 Samuel 2.16 first=RSV Proverbs 12.16 RSV at once Matthew 21.19 immediately; RSV at once Matthew 26.53 even now; RSV at once
prevent	Job 3.12 receive=RSV Psalm 119.147 anticipate; RSV rise before Matthew 17.25 spake first to him; RSV spoke to him first 1 Thessalonians 4.15 precede=RSV
provoke	2 Corinthians 9.2 stir up=RSV Hebrews 10.24 RSV stir up
publish	Deuteronomy 32.3 proclaim=RSV 1 Samuel 31.9 carry the tidings; RSV carry the good news
purchase	Psalm 78.54 gotten; RSV won 1 Timothy 3.13 gain=RSV
quarrel	Leviticus 26.25 vengeance=RSV Mark 6.19 set herself against; RSV grudge Colossians 3.13 complaint=RSV
quick	Numbers 16.30 alive=RSV (Note that KJ has alive for the same Hebrew in Numbers 16.33) Psalm 55.15 alive=RSV Psalm 124.3 alive=RSV
quicken	Psalm 119.50 RSV give life 1 Corinthians 15.36 RSV come to life Ephesians 2.1 make alive=RSV
record	Jobs 16.19 witness=RSV Philippians 1.8 witness=RSV
recover	2 Kings 5.3, 6, 7, 11 RSV cure

refrain	Job 7.11 RSV restrain Psalm 119.101 RSV hold back Proverbs 10.19 RSV restrain
reins	Job 16.13 RSV kidneys Psalm 7.9 hearts=RSV
repent self	Deuteronomy 32.36 RSV have compassion on Judges 21.6, 15 RSV have compassion on
replenish	Genesis 1.28 RSV fill Genesis 9.1 RSV fill
require	Ezra 8.22 ask=RSV
reward	Deuteronomy 32.41 recompense; RSV requite Psalm 54.5 requite=RSV 2 Timothy 4.14 render to; RSV requite
rid	Genesis 37.22 deliver; RSV rescue Exodus 6.6 RSV deliver Leviticus 26.6 cause to cease; RSV remove
riotous	Proverbs 23.20 gluttonous=RSV Proverbs 28.7 gluttons=RSV
road	1 Samuel 27.10 raid=RSV
room	2 Samuel 19.13 RSV place 1 Chronicles 4.41 stead; RSV place Psalm 31.8 place=RSV Luke 14.7 seat; RSV place
secure	Judges 8.11 RSV off its guard Judges 18.7, 10 RSV unsuspecting
securely	Proverbs 3.29 RSV trustingly
slime	Genesis 11.1; 14.10 RSV bitumen
sottish	Jeremiah 4.22 RSV stupid
strait	2 Kings 6.1 RSV small Isaiah 49.20 RSV narrow Matthew 7.13 narrow=RSV
straitly	Genesis 43.7 RSV carefully
straitness	Deuteronomy 28.53, 55, 57 distress=RSV Job 36.16 RSV cramping Jeremiah 19.9 distress=RSV
suffer	Genesis 20.6 RSV let Matthew 19.14 RSV let
take thought	1 Samuel 9.5 be anxious; RSV become anxious Matthew 6.25 be anxious=RSV
tale	Exodus 5.8, 18 number=RSV 1 Samuel 18.27 number=RSV 1 Chronicles 9.28 count=RSV
target	1 Samuel 17.6 javelin=RSV 1 Kings 10.16 buckler; RSV shield
tell	Genesis 15.5 number=RSV Psalm 22.17 count=RSV Psalm 48.12 number=RSV

translate	2 Samuel 3.10 transfer=RSV Hebrews 11.5 RSV take up
unspeakable	2 Corinthians 9.15 RSV inexpressible
usury	Exodus 22.25 interest=RSV Leviticus 25.36 interest=RSV Matthew 25.27 interest=RSV
vain	Judges 9.4; 11.3 RSV worthless
vex	Exodus 22.21 wrong=RSV Numbers 25.17 RSV harass Acts 12.1 afflict; RSV lay violent hands upon
virtue	Mark 5.30 power=RSV Luke 6.19 power=RSV
volume	Psalms 40.7 roll=RSV Hebrews 10.7 roll=RSV
wealth	Ezra 9.12 prosperity=RSV Esther 10.3 good; RSV welfare 1 Corinthians 10.24 good=RSV
wealthy	Psalms 66.12 RSV spacious Jeremiah 49.31 at ease=RSV
witty inventions	Proverbs 8.12 discretion=RSV

XIV. THE REVISION COMMITTEE AND THE ADVISORY BOARD

IN THE following list of the members of the Committee, only those institutions are listed with which the men were connected at the time of their election to the Committee. The date of death is given only in the case of those who died while still in active membership. The Section to which each member has been assigned is indicated by O.T. (Old Testament) and N.T. (New Testament).

President Frederick C. Eiselen, Garrett Biblical Institute, 1929. Died May 5, 1937. O.T.

President John R. Sampey, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1929-1938. O.T.

Dean Luther A. Weigle, Yale University Divinity School, 1929-. O.T. and N.T.

Professor William P. Armstrong, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1930-1937. N.T.

Professor Julius A. Bewer, Union Theological Seminary, 1930-. O.T.

Professor Henry J. Cadbury, Harvard University, 1930-. N.T.

Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed, University of Chicago, 1930-. N.T.

- Professor Alexander R. Gordon, United Theological College, Montreal, 1930. Died 1930. O.T.
- Professor James Moffatt, Union Theological Seminary, 1930. Died June 27, 1944. O.T. and N.T.
- Professor James A. Montgomery, University of Pennsylvania, 1930-1937. O.T.
- Professor Archibald T. Robertson, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1930. Died Sept. 24, 1934. N.T.
- Professor James Hardy Ropes, Harvard University, 1930-1932. N.T.
- Professor Andrew Sledd, Emory University, 1930-1937. N.T.
- Professor J. M. Powis Smith, University of Chicago, 1930. Died Sept. 26, 1932. O.T.
- Professor Charles C. Torrey, Yale University, 1930-1937. O.T.
- Professor William R. Taylor, University of Toronto, 1931. Died Feb. 24, 1951. O.T.
- Reverend Walter Russell Bowie, Grace Church, New York, 1937-. N.T.
- Professor George Dahl, Yale University, 1937-. O.T.
- President Frederick C. Grant, Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1937-. N.T.
- Professor William A. Irwin, University of Chicago, 1937-. O.T.
- Dean Willard L. Sperry, Harvard University Divinity School, 1937-. O.T.
- Professor Leroy Waterman, University of Michigan, 1937-. O.T.
- Professor Millar Burrows, Yale University, 1938-. O.T. and N.T.
- Professor Clarence T. Craig, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, 1938-. N.T.
- President Abdel R. Wentz, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, 1938-. N.T.
- Professor Kyle M. Yates, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1938-. O.T.
- Professor William F. Albright, Johns Hopkins University, 1945-. O.T.
- Professor J. Philip Hyatt, Vanderbilt University, 1945-. O.T.
- Professor Herbert G. May, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, 1945-. O.T.
- Professor James Muilenburg, Pacific School of Religion, 1945-. O.T.
- Professor Harry M. Orlinsky, Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, 1945-. O.T.
- Dean Fleming James, University of the South, 1947-. O.T.

The Chairman and the General Secretary of the International Council of Religious Education are members ex officio of the American Standard Bible Committee, without assignment to Sections, but charged with a special responsibility for matters of general policy, finance, and public relations. The men who have thus served as members of the American Standard Bible Committee are:

- Dr. Robert M. Hopkins, Chairman ICRE, General Secretary World's Sunday School Association, 1929-1931.
- Dr. Hugh S. Magill, General Secretary ICRE, 1929-1936.
- Dr. Harold McAfee Robinson, Chairman ICRE, General Secretary Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1931-1937.
- Dr. Roy G. Ross, General Secretary ICRE, 1936.
- Dr. Walter D. Howell, Chairman ICRE, Secretary Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1937-1938.
- President Arlo A. Brown, Chairman ICRE, Drew University, 1938-1948.
- Dr. Paul C. Payne, Chairman ICRE, General Secretary Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1948-.

With the Committee has been associated an Advisory Board made up of representatives from each of the denominations affiliated with the International Council of Religious Education. This Board has acted in an advisory capacity; its members have been consulted with respect to the principles underlying the revision, have reviewed drafts, and have made many valuable suggestions. The representatives of the denominations who have thus served on the Advisory Board are:

- Advent Christian Church: President O. R. Jenks, Aurora College, Aurora, Ill.
- African Methodist Episcopal Church: Rev. Charles W. Abington, Philadelphia, Pa.
- African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church: Bishop John W. Martin, Chicago, Ill.
- American Baptist Convention: Professor Charles N. Arbuckle, Andover-Newton Theological Seminary, Newton Center, Mass.
Dr. W. W. Adams, Central Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Kansas
- American Lutheran Church: Dr. H. C. Leupold, Capitol University Theological Seminary, Columbus, Ohio
- Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church: Professor G. G. Parkinson, Due West, S. C.
- Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North America: Rev. J. Vincent Nordgren, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec: Professor H. L. MacNeill, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont.
Professor N. H. Parker, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont.
- Baptist Union of Western Canada: Rev. G. G. Harrop, Saskatchewan, Canada

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Church of God: Rev. Otto F. Linn, Dundalk, Md.

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Pasadena, Calif.

Rev. Roy E. Swim, Kansas City, Mo.

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Dr. J. Gordon Howard, Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio

Five Years Meeting of Friends in America: Professor William E. Berry,
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Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Ky.

Mennonite Brethren in Christ: Dean J. A. Huffman, Taylor University,
Upland, Ind.

Methodist Church: Dr. C. A. Bowen, Nashville, Tenn.

Dean B. Harvie Branscomb, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. Lucius Bugbee, Cincinnati, Ohio

President F. G. Holloway, Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md.

Missouri Lutheran Synod: Dr. George V. Schick, Concordia Seminary, St.
Louis, Mo.

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Pa.

National Baptist Convention of America: Rev. C. J. Gresham, Atlanta, Ga.

National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.: Dr. Marshall A. Talley, Nashville,
Tenn.

Presbyterian Church, U.S.: Professor Donald W. Richardson, Union Theo-
logical Seminary, Richmond, Va.

Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.: Professor John W. Bowman, Western Theo-
logical Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rev. Park Hays Miller, Philadelphia, Pa.

Protestant Episcopal Church: Rev. Cuthbert A. Simpson, New York, N. Y.

Reformed Church in America: President John W. Beardslee, Jr., New

Brunswick Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.

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Dr. Clifton J. Allen, Nashville, Tenn.

United Baptists of the Maritime Provinces: Professor W. N. Hutchins, Wolfville, Nova Scotia

United Brethren in Christ (Old Constitution): Rev. J. Ralph Pfister, Huntington, Ind.

United Church of Canada: Rev. Frank Langford, Toronto, Ont.

Rev. C. A. Myers, Toronto, Ont.

Professor R. B. Y. Scott, Montreal, Canada

United Lutheran Church in America: Dean E. E. Flack, Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio

United Presbyterian Church in North America: President John McNaugher, Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Professor James L. Kelso, Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Scholars who have rendered aid at various points, in response to the request of the Committee, are Professor G. R. Driver, of Oxford University, who read and commented upon the drafts of many of the Old Testament books; Professor John F. Fulton and Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, of Yale University, who dealt with questions in the history of medicine; Professor Alexander M. Witherspoon, of Yale University, to whom were referred disputed issues with respect to English usage; and Professor John C. Trever, of Drake University, later Director of the Department of English Bible of the Division of Christian Education, National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, who made a detailed study of the terms used in the Bible as names of trees.

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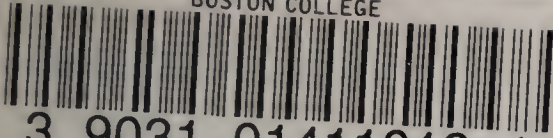
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