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Under present conditions, it has been frankly avowed, loyal Christians—loyal, I mean, to the kingdom of God—have found it impracticable to do what their loyalty demands. Within the limitations which its fusion with the State imposes the Church cannot assert its spirituality, its catholicity, its own conceptions, derived from the New Testament, of life and duty; it cannot exercise any effective discipline in its care of souls; it cannot insist upon anything like the New Testament standard of conduct among its members. No one has yet expressed, with the frank boldness of Lacordaire, his abhorrence of that monstrosity, that contradiction in terms, a national Church; but the experiences referred to are all working towards the dissolution of that conception on which the existence of national churches depends. There is a union in the minds of many good men of political apprehensiveness, with spiritual willingness that the old relation should cease, and give room for the free life of the Church. I do not think it is open to doubt that the movement in this direction is a movement toward the ideas of our Lord; and that only when it is consummated will it be possible to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, *and* to God the things that are God's. Justice can be done to both only when they are related in the lives of all men as they were in the life and experience of Jesus Himself.

J. DENNEY.

CONCORDANCES TO THE OLD TESTAMENT  
IN GREEK.

As the Concordance at present in course of publication by the Clarendon Press, at Oxford, approaches its completion, it is interesting to look back and see what has been done in this field of labour before.

The first to undertake any work of the kind was Conrad

Kircher. He was a Lutheran theologian, who was born at Augsburg, and died about the year 1622, having been pastor at Raub, about half-way between Vienna and Buda-Pesth, at Sonnenberg, Donauwerth in Bavaria, and Jaxthausen. His great undertaking was published at Frankfort in 1607, and is entitled "Concordantiae Veteris Testamenti Graecae Ebraeis vocibus respondententes πολύχρηστοι. . . . authore Conrado Kirchero, Augustano."

It is really a Hebrew Concordance giving the Greek equivalents to each Hebrew word. He gives first each Hebrew word—these are arranged under their roots—then a translation or explanation in Latin of the Hebrew, then each Greek corresponding word, with a Latin equivalent, arranged in no very definite order with the passages in which each occurs under it, and an occasional quotation from the Hexapla. Each column is numbered separately, and there is no separate paging of the work. Sometimes the Greek words seem to be given in the order of their first occurrence in the LXX. In the Hebrew the order is not strictly alphabetical, and the Hebrew conjugations of the verbs are not mentioned except in special cases, *e.g.*, מִאֲהָרָה = ἐραστής. Kircher corrects in one case a fault in the alphabetical order in a somewhat quaint way. The word לֵא is inserted out of its place, so we find this note in the body of the work.

"N.B.—Hoc (quantum sequitur sub לֵא) poni debuit post מִאֲהָרָה pag. 285. Id sero adversum operis ne sit fraudi rogamus."

And when we reach p. 285, we find a note,—

"Huc refer לֵא quod supra est fol. 176 usque 181. Id ut supra notavimus haud tempori fuit deprehensum; sed jam computatis paginis partim excusis."

The headings of the columns are very carelessly done; *e.g.*, in the middle of the article מִאֲהָרָה two columns are headed מִאֲהָרָה. The same word occasionally occurs twice, *e.g.*,

מְאִירוֹת is given under the root אָרַךְ, and also under the root אָרַה. Some of these mistakes may perhaps be considered to be the printer's errors, though Kircher says his work was read over for him by G. Jungermann. He occasionally points out what he considers may be of value to those who use his work, *e.g.*, that γειώρας = Chald. גִּיּוּרָא. As a rule he takes no notice of transliterated words, though some find a place, *e.g.*, ἀλληλουϊα, θεέ (אָת).

Very occasionally a proper name is inserted. At the end of the Hebrew Concordance an index of the Greek words is given with references to each column in the Concordance where it is to be found, with quotations from the apocryphal books—not including 3, 4 Maccabees—inserted in their proper places; but in this part of the work he gives no translation of the Greek. But when all is said, the work must be held to have been a great triumph of industry. Prepared originally for private use, during seven years' incessant labour, and in its first form only a catalogue of references, the Greek was afterwards inserted when publication was determined upon.

It is quite clear that Kircher estimated very highly the value of the study of the LXX., for fifteen years after the publication of his Concordance he published a work of which the title is "De Concordantiarum Biblicarum maxime Veteris Testamenti Graecarum Ebraeis vocibus respondentium vario ac multiplici in Sacrosancta Theologia usu plana ac perspicua ἀνάπτυξις," and although some of his reasons for the value of such a Concordance may appear of little weight now, he certainly did excellent work in directing men's attention to the LXX.

Kircher's Concordance held the field for more than a hundred years, though it was felt that it was not a very convenient work to use. It was not based upon the best editions of the LXX.; it had in it many inaccuracies, and, in consequence of its arrangement, it was a troublesome

work to use if all the occurrences of a Greek word were to be investigated. Sooner or later there was bound to be a Concordance which should really be a Greek Concordance. Some went so far as to consider that it was almost a fraud that such a work as Kircher's should be called a Greek Concordance at all. More than one attempt was made to compile a work that should be more useful than Kircher's. Sir Henry Savile compiled, or, if he did not actually do the work himself, caused to be compiled, a Concordance. It was a mere work of scissors and paste for the greater part. Two copies of Kircher were cut up and distributed in alphabetical order according to the Greek words, and the Hebrew equivalents were inserted either in MS. or from the headings of Kircher's articles. He makes very much the same kind of omissions that Trommius does, *e.g.*, of paraphrastic renderings. His work still exists in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford (press-mark, Auct. E. I. 2, 3). A specimen was printed and published by the University Press in 1714 under the superintendence of Gagnier, of whom we shall hear later. Hearne (iii. 76, Doble's ed.) seems doubtful whether the work was done by Sir H. Savile. The difficulty appears to be that though Gagnier ascribes the work to Savile, he assigns it to a time when Savile had been long dead. Other attempts of a similar kind appear to have been made, but they were all based upon Kircher. A Concordance to the LXX. following the Greek order of the words by Dr. Ambrose Aungier, Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, which was completed in 1647, is still in existence in manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It seems in many parts to be an abridged transcript of Kircher.<sup>1</sup> At length the wished-for book appeared in 1718. It was the work of Trommius.

Abraham van der Trommen, or Tromm, or Trommius,

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for this information to the kindness of Dr. Bernard, of Trinity College, Dublin.

as he generally called himself, was a Protestant theologian who was born at Groningen, in Holland, about 1633 and died in 1719, after having been pastor at Haren and then at Groningen. He was married four times, and was a pupil of the second Buxtorf, a famous Hebraist, at Bale, from whom he quoted the Latin version he gives of the Hebrew and Chaldee words in his Concordance. His Concordance was published at Amsterdam, in 1718; and though he disclaims anything of the kind, yet he treats the work of Kircher, his predecessor, with considerable disdain. Even on his title-page he must needs say "contra atque in opere Kircheriano factum fuerat." He had previously compiled a Flemish Concordance to the Bible, and therefore gained some experience in this kind of work before attempting his *magnum opus*. In his preface he points out what he considers to be the leading faults of Kircher's Concordance. (1) It was really a Hebrew Concordance, not a Greek one. (2) It contains many misquotations. This, as we have seen, was probably due to the fact that at first Kircher only put down the references and afterwards inserted the quotations. (3) He complains that the Hebrew words are in confusion, through Kircher's attempt to follow the order of the Hebrew roots. No doubt in this Kircher was the more scientific of the two. While Kircher had based his Concordance on the Bale edition of 1550, which was copied from the Aldine edition, Trommius followed that published at Frankfort in 1597, and an edition of the Vatican text published in London in 1653.

Trommius gives many more quotations from the Hexapla than Kircher did. He does not quote the transliterated words, and omits passages which are paraphrastic or do not give the meaning of the Hebrew. Proper names are, as a rule, omitted, and both Concordances omit indeclinable words and pronouns. The apocryphal quotations are by no means complete. A certain number of passages

are given by both compilers, derived from scholia and other sources, but not actually to be found in the present text of the LXX. These are marked with a § by Trommius.

Though the book is by no means perfect, it is in some respects an advance upon Kircher. Trommius generally notices the Hebrew conjugations and also inserts conjectures as to what the Hebrew reading of the LXX. was. But the work is disfigured by a considerable number of misprints and misplacements of passages in succession. This was probably due to a slip of the MS. being misplaced, as we gather from these mistakes that each slip contained about six or seven lines of MS. Curious mistakes occur sometimes; e.g. *εἶργον*, in what is now quoted as I. Es. 5, 69 (72), is taken as "pro *ἔργον*." There are, of course, no quotations from the LXX. version of Daniel, as represented by the Codex Chisianus, for that was not edited till 1722. So far as a rough calculation can settle the point, there would seem to be four quotations in Trommius for every three in Kircher.

The Concordance, properly so called, is followed by a Hebrew and Chaldee Index, arranged alphabetically and not by roots as in Kircher. This is followed by Montfaucon's Lexicon to the Hexapla, and a collation of the Frankfort and Vatican editions as to the numeration of chapters and verses by that well-known LXX. scholar, Lambert Bos.

Trommius must have been eighty-four years of age when his Concordance was published, and he followed it up by a short *Epistola Apologetica* for his work, which the present writer has been unable to meet with in any of the libraries he has consulted.<sup>1</sup>

Trommius had so openly challenged the method of

<sup>1</sup> Neither has he seen a copy of Gagnier's specimen, printed at the Clarendon Press.

Kircher in his Concordance that those who had valued the labour and methods of the older Concordance felt that they must take up the cudgels in behalf of the older work. Oxford was the *locale* of the defence of Kircher. At the time of the publication of Trommius' Concordance there was living in Oxford an Oriental scholar of some fame named Jean Gagnier. He was born in Paris about 1670, and migrated from Paris to England, where he placed himself first of all under the patronage of the Bishop of Worcester. He joined the English Church, and was appointed, in 1717, to act as substitute for Professor Wallis.<sup>1</sup> The eighteenth century saw much done for the study of the LXX. and other Greek versions. We have but to mention the names of Hody (d. 1707), Grabe (d. 1711), Bos (d. 1717), Montfaucon (d. 1741), Biel (d. 1745), and Breitinger (d. 1776),<sup>2</sup> to prove this, and therefore much attention was directed to their works as they came out. Gagnier undertook the defence of Kircher and published at Oxford his work, of which the following is the title: "Vindiciae Kircherianae sive Animadversiones in Novas Abrahami Trommii Concordantias Graecas Versionis vulgo dictae LXX. Interpretum. . . . Oxonii e Theatro Sheldoniano A.D. 1718."

It was published in the very same year that Trommius' Concordance saw the light, and is a laboured defence of Kircher and an attack upon Trommius. Gagnier almost seems to imply that Trommius did little else but piece together Kircher's Concordance cut up into slips to suit his own ideas as to the arrangement of a Concordance. This, at any rate, is what seems to have been done with a view to publication by Savile, and, as Gagnier was contemplating the publication of a Concordance on his own

<sup>1</sup> Doble's edition of *Hearne's Collections*, vol. i. p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> The first volume of the edition of Holmes and Parsons was published in 1795.



account, his wrath may have been deeply stirred at feeling that such a publication was scarcely required for the present. At any rate, many thought, as we can gather from letters still in existence (Ballard MSS. in the Bodleian Library), that Gagnier had transgressed all the bounds of moderation in his *Vindiciae*, and the dispute about the rival merits of the two Concordances died away.

No other Concordance to the LXX. seems to have seen the light for nearly 170 years. In 1887 there was published "A Handy Concordance to the LXX., giving various readings from Codices Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus and Ephraemi with an Appendix of Words from Origen's Hexapla, etc., not found in the above MSS. (Bagster)." The preface is signed G.M., and dated 1887. Pronouns and prepositions are omitted. It contains no proper names. No Hebrew equivalents are given except under *θεός* and *κύριος*, and then they are given in English characters. No references to the Apocrypha are inserted. In some of the longer and commoner words only references are given to passages where there is a various reading. The various readings are given at the foot of each article. The Appendix also contains words from the twelve Uncials of Holmes and Parsons, but "no attempt has been made to give *all* the references where a word occurs." It is impossible in any satisfactory way to compare the number of entries with that in previous Concordances. It is an extremely useful and handy book as far as it goes, but something more is still felt to be desired in the way of a complete setting forth of the Hebrew equivalents and of Hexaplaric references, and also of the Greek of the Apocrypha. Trommius had done this as far as he could, but he had no critical apparatus before him of the actual readings of A and B, to say nothing of any other MSS., and *ℵ* was not discovered till long after his time. How far this want is being supplied by the Concordance now

being published<sup>1</sup>—the first part saw the light in 1892—it is not for the present writer to determine. Neither has he included in the present article any notice of the Lexicons to the Greek Old Testament of Biel and Schleusner, or of such works as Rosenerch's Vocabulary of the LXX., published as a Lexicon in 1624.

HENRY A. REDPATH.

A FORGOTTEN KINGDOM IN A PROPHECY OF  
BALAAM.

It is not often that a conjectural emendation is of so much interest to the historical student as one proposed by Prof. D. H. Müller, of Vienna,<sup>2</sup> an article from whose pen on the recent discoveries at Senjirli appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1894. It relates to a much disputed passage at the end of the section on Balaam (Num. xxiv. 23, 24), which some have explained by the light of 1 Maccabees i. 1 (cf. viii. 5) as pointing to the Macedonian invasion of Asia, or even (see the Targums, and cf. Dan. xi. 30) to a still later time.

That "ships from Cyprus," which was tributary to Sargon, should be described as able to "afflict Asshur" and to "afflict Eber" was certainly strange, and the passages in 1 Maccabees and in Daniel are irresistibly suggestive.

Hence long ago Leibnitz wrote thus: "Il y a un bel endroit dans la dernière prophétie de Bileam à la fin qui pourroit faire croire qu'il avoit été poussé quelques fois par l'Esprit de Dieu. C'est qu'il paroît avoir prédit la venue d'Alexandre le grand dans l'orient, et le renversement de

<sup>1</sup> *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* (including the Apocryphal Books), by the late Edwin Hatch, M.A., D.D., and Henry A. Redpath, M.A., assisted by other scholars (Oxford).

<sup>2</sup> See his *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form* (Wien, 1895), i. 215, 216.