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statesmen, men of commerce, men of industry, men of all ranks and conditions; but it does not include them on the ground of their specialism. Its distinguishing feature is 'believe,' 'trust.' It includes men who, beneath all their special tastes and functions in life, are believers in the Christ. They do not merely attend to Him, agree with Him, admire Him; they trust Him.

Now it is clear that this attitude is at once different from and broader than those we have been considering. What account shall we take of it? In one word, these believers have learned this simple truth that the outer ministry of Christ, thronged as it is with gracious deeds and beautiful with a spirit which the world will never let die, does not exhaust all that He came to be and to do; that the sympathetic appreciation of this sermon, or that miracle, or that deed of kindness does not fulfil our present relation to Him. These believers have learned that there is another and essential aspect in which Christ is to be found, the aspect of Reconciler and Saviour between heaven and earth; that He came above all things to seek and to save the lost, to endow dead men with life, and by that gift of life to raise the whole quality and destiny of mankind. These believers have felt in their own experience the need of such a Deliverer, and out of a broad and deep conviction they have risen to the belief that Christ is the Deliverer that they need; and so there is an attitude not merely of respect, or agreement, or admiration—it is the attitude of a soul conscious of deep, even eternal needs, and of the glorious reality that in Christ God had answered the needs

He awakened in the soul. And so the Christ they see is more than teacher, reformer, embodiment of beauty, worker of great deeds, hero, leader; He is essentially and supremely Redeemer.

Once, my life was sad and dreary,
Love Divine I did not see:
Seeking earthly gain and pleasure,
Yet despising heavenly treasure—
Jesus had no charm for me.

Though the Spirit shone within me,
And His light I needs must see;
Sin and danger clear revealing,
To my future fears appealing—
Still He had no charm for me.

But I saw His tender pity
As He hung upon the Tree;
All my guilt and sorrow sharing,
All my sins upon Him bearing—
Then I felt His charm for me.

Oh, the depth of love and mercy,
Daily in His care of me!
While my thankful, joyful spirit
Found through His infinite merit
More and more His charm for me.

Praises to the Lord of glory!
He who died now lives for me:
Through His perfect mediation
I have now a full salvation—
He is all-in-all to me!¹

¹ J. Mountain, *Steps in Consecration*, 18.

Traces of Targumism in the New Testament.

BY RENDEL HARRIS, RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.

IT is said that the custom still prevails in the Jewish synagogues in Yemen of S. Arabia of following the reading of the lessons of the Old Testament by the Aramaic translation which we know under the name of Targum, a translation in which, on the one hand, the Scriptures were rendered from the classical Hebrew into the popular vernacular; and on the other hand, such changes were made and such expansions allowed as would secure the right understanding of the

text on the part of the worshipper, as regards both the text itself and its dogmatic implications.

What we have extant in Yemen synagogues is a survival; and, although the connecting links are not to be detected in any continuous form, we know enough to say that it is a survival from Palestinian custom and from a time at least as remote as the beginning of the Christian era: it does not follow that the Targum goes back so far as that time as an actual script; its genesis as a

written document is a much debated matter. If it began in oral form and was continued as an oral tradition, then we have an oral Volks-Bibel; if it assumed a literary form, it became an actual Volks-Bibel. In one form or the other it was the Volks-Bibel both of the early Christian Church and of the contemporary and almost coincident Jewish Synagogue. Both the Church and the Synagogue, for example, read the Book of Daniel in Targum, except for some preliminary sections. The Aramaic of Daniel is the Targum on Daniel. Hence those persons are wrong who tell us there is no Targum on Daniel: the text of Daniel, for nearly the whole of the book, is the Targum on Daniel. Equally at fault is the statement which is sometimes made, that there were no written Targums before the fourth or fifth century; but whether they were written or not, the Christian Church must have passed through a state of Targumism, if it emerges from the synagogue in which Targumism prevails: from the Aramaic it ran out into the use of another popular Scripture, the Septuagint. If we prefer to say so, two streams of popular Scripture and interpretation of Scripture flowed on side by side; the one spread over Eastern and Western lands, the other disappeared in the sands of Arabia. But the victory of the Septuagint was more than the triumph of one translation over another; there was a dogmatic triumph involved, the triumph of Christian Hellenism over reformed and reforming Judaism. For consider the theological meaning of Targumism, over and above its meaning as a translation. Its main object is the glory of God in the deletion of unworthy conceptions of God: it was the knife held at the heart of anthropomorphism: it was an attempt to conserve the conception of God in Glory, almost in Agnostic terms, by saying that 'He has no hands,' 'He has no feet,' 'He does not speak with voice, nor smell with nostril,' nor locate Himself spatially, nor 'come down,' nor 'go up.' These negative conceptions, with which we are familiar, were the natural result of Monotheism raising itself to the various degrees of abstraction, and were easily incorporated with some forms of Greek thought, as we may see, for instance, from the protests of Aristides in his Apology that God has neither form, nor colour, nor limbs, nor sex. But the zeal against anthropomorphism does not find a ready response in Greek circles, where the long experience of over-humanized

Olympians was harder to be eradicated than the scattered Hebrew expressions of God who walked in a garden, or God who smelled a sacrifice. If the Christian Church breathed the air of Targumism at its birth, and it almost surely did, it accomplished the growth of its earlier years under a change of atmosphere. This will be admitted readily enough by students of the New Testament. They would probably say off-hand that the New Testament and the Targums have nothing in common: the Aramaic elements in the N.T. are due to the speech of Jesus outside the synagogue, and not of Jesus and His disciples, acting as Meturgemans inside the synagogue. Occasionally, however, a suggestion is made that the exclusion of Targum from the N.T. is too sweeping: thus in Mr. Walker's article on Targum in Hastings' DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE we are told as follows:

'We find in the NT traces of Aramaic readings of Heb. verses in books like the Psalms (reference made to Mt 27⁴⁶, cf. Ps 22²; Eph 4⁸, cf. Ps 68¹⁹). The agreement of these with readings still found in Targums, which we know were not reduced to their present form until long after, cannot be purely accidental.'

The writer suggests that our Lord used the Targum of Ps 22 upon the Cross (*Sabachthani*) or a nearly coincident text; and that St. Paul with his 'gave gifts to men' against the Hebrew and the Septuagint is suspiciously under Targum influences. Surely this raises a wider question than the explanation of a couple of curious textual agreements: if there is Targum in the N.T. we ought to find it in dogmatic expression as well as in textual coincidence. Let us see whether anything can be said under this head.

The Christian Church from the time of the first formulation of its Creed had for one of its articles the statement that

'He ascended into heaven'
and
'Sitteth at the right hand of God.'

Now, however ancient the Creed itself may be, this statement cannot be primitive, even if we should point to its occurrence in the N.T. itself. It could not have been formulated in a Christianized synagogue, for the 'right hand of God' is a tabooed term. 'Right hand' implies 'left hand' and other organs and dimensions. We know the trouble that there is in our own day, when people

think only occasionally about God and religion, to make the language of the Creeds intelligible; how many-fold more was it difficult when the community was always thinking on the themes in question, and fortifying itself at every point against human terms for the definition or action of Deity. The question before us is peculiarly interesting; for the Christians either deduced the Session at the Right Hand, or proved it, when otherwise inferred, by the first verses of Ps 110. When we take the language back into the Psalm, both the Christian and the Jew are up against the same taboo in language: we must not say

‘Sit at my right hand, until I make,’ etc.

First let the Jew explain to us the speech of Jahveh. One method of the Jewish interpreter of the Psalm is to leave the sentence out, and substitute a statement that the Lord promised to give David the victory over Saul. Another explanation is that the Lord said by His Word that He would give me (David) the dominion because I had devoted myself to the *Law of His right hand*. This is very ingenious; by importing from the Pentateuch the fiery law of God’s right hand, and making David sit at the study of that law, the right hand becomes impersonal and non-local, and the problem is solved. Even the speech of God, ‘The Lord said to my Lord,’ is got rid of by an ordinary Targum periphrasis, that what God does, He does by His Word. There is no doubt that the passage furnished perplexity in Targumizing circles. But do we find anything similar in the N.T.? The answer is in the affirmative. For instance, the writer to the Hebrews has three references to the Session at the Right Hand, all of which probably go back to the Psalm which he definitely quotes: in two of the cases he writes, not the right hand of God, but

‘The right hand of the Majesty’ (He 1³).

‘The right hand of the throne of the Majesty’ (He 8¹).

These are pure Targumisms, such as occur constantly in the Targum on O.T., where mention is made of God’s hands, organs, or dimensions. Here is another Targumic substitute closely allied to the foregoing: when Jesus is brought before the high priest and adjured to declare Himself, He tells His judges that they will see ‘the Son of man sitting at the *right hand of the Power*, and coming

on the clouds of heaven.’ This is a composite quotation, part of it from the 110th Psalm and part from the seventh chapter of Daniel; The thing to notice is that the expression ‘the right hand of God’ has been replaced by the ‘right hand of the Power.’ This is, again, a substitution after the manner of the Targum: and the Synoptic tradition reports our Lord as using Targumic language, which would not lose its meaning for its judges because of the caution of its expression.

Our next example is in the twelfth chapter of John, where, at the close of a strong anti-Judaic statement, a quotation is made from the sixth chapter of Isaiah, about the blinding of the eyes of the unbelieving and the hardening of their hearts, upon which the evangelist remarks:

‘Isaiah said these things *when he saw his glory*, and he spake of him.’

The reference is of course to the opening verses of the chapter, where Isaiah affirms that he has seen the Lord, exalted on His lofty throne. It is well known that this statement caused much heart-searching to interpreters; in the Ascension of Isaiah, the Apocryphal writer makes this statement of the prophet the ground of his martyrdom. He was, in fact, put to death for blasphemy. The Fourth Gospel has his own explanation:

‘He saw *the glory of God*’;

and this is the well-known Targum substitution, in cases where an explanation of a hard text is required. Let us see how the actual Targum on Isaiah will get over the difficulty: he says,

‘I saw *the glory of God* resting on a lofty throne,’ etc.;

but this is precisely the language of the Fourth Gospel, which must therefore be held to Targumize.

This is a peculiarly interesting example because, as I have shown elsewhere, the Gospel is at this point drawing upon a primitive book of *Testimonies*, and the Targumism which we have detected is much older than the Fourth Gospel.

This substitution of the ‘Glory’ or ‘Splendour’ for the name of God occurs in places where the Divine Presence would be expressed with too strong a sense of locality. A strict Targumist would not talk of the Face of God; he might, however, speak of the Presence of the Glory. It

is interesting to see that there are traces of this expression in the N.T.

Here is a curious group of passages which have some sort of interrelation. In Eph 1⁴ we are told that God chose us who are believers in Christ before the foundation of the world, with a view to our being 'holy and blameless before him':

ἅγιους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ.

The parallel passage in Colossians is 1²⁹, where we are told that Christ is to present us 'holy and blameless and unrepachable before him':

παραστήσαι ἡμᾶς ἅγιους καὶ ἀμώμους καὶ ἀνεκλήτους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ.

One of these passages is, no doubt, the source of the other.

Now turn to the doxology at the end of Jude's Epistle: we find that God is spoken of as 'able to make us stand before his glory blameless with exceeding joy':

καὶ στῆσαι κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἀμώμους ἐν ἄγαλλιάσει.

We are now struck with the parallelism of the language in Jude and that in Colossians; the sentiments are almost equivalent, the terms in which expression is made almost the same: we especially note the use of a preposition κατενώπιον which occurs nowhere else in the N.T. and only rarely in the LXX. There is, then, some connexion between the passages quoted.

We notice, then, in the next place, that where Colossians says 'before him,' the Epistle of Jude says 'before his glory.' This is a Targumism, and must be added to those that we have already detected: the writer did not wish to speak of being presented before God or before the Face of God, so he made a conventional synagogue modification.

We may find another similar Targumism in a parallel passage in the Apocalypse. In c. 14⁴⁻⁵, we are told of the first-fruits of a redeemed humanity, gathered to God and the Lamb, and who are without falsehood; it is said of them that they are 'without blame *before the throne of God*':

ἄμωμοί εἰσιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Modern editors of the Greek text have reduced this sentence to an unrelated, disjointed ἄμωμοί εἰσιν, and they certainly have every MS. of any weight on their side. For all that, it is extremely unlikely that this can be the right text; the parallels show that the missing five words are necessary. They cannot have been added from Jude or Ephesians. We therefore restore them provisionally and remark that we have here another Targumism for 'before God' or 'before the face of God': this time it is 'before the throne of God,' which meets the Targumist's difficulty very satisfactorily.

We can hardly detach from the foregoing cases the parallel which is furnished by the thirteenth Ode of Solomon (the Mirror Ode), which ends up with an injunction to be without blame (= ἄμωμοι) at all times *before Him*. The Ode helps us again to see that the printed text of the Apocalypse is at fault. It also shows that there is some common religious formula in circulation, which all the writers quoted have been working upon.

Perhaps it is Gn 17¹, 'Walk *before me*, and *be thou perfect*,' where the Syriac has the equivalent of ἄμωμος.

It is evident, then, that the time is ripe for a renewed critical study of the Targums, both from the point of view of textual criticism and from the standpoint of the higher criticism, and in particular further investigation is required into the reaction of the Targums on the New Testament.

Contributions and Comments.

Paul at Athens.

Two things about Paul's visit at Athens (Ac 17) seem to have become commonplaces with recent writers: (1) That Paul was disappointed at the results; (2) that in the First Epistle to the Corinthians he acknowledges his mistake in

preaching at Athens as he did (1 Co 1¹⁸⁻²³, specially 2⁹). The article on Paul by Dr. G. G. Findlay, in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, says that Paul's sermon 'made no decided impression on this audience.' Ramsay, in *St. Paul the Traveller*, says that 'Paul was disappointed and perhaps disillusioned by his experience in Athens,' and so