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subject will learn a great deal from Dr. Brown, for though his book is not elementary it is perfectly clear and easily followed.

A new edition of the works of Mark Rutherford is being issued by Messrs. T. Fisher Unwin. The first volume published is *The Autobiography* (3s. 6d. net). It contains a memorial introduction by Mr. H. W. Massingham. The appearance of the volume itself is attractive, but, even if it were not, this introduction should ensure a considerable circulation. Mr. Massingham speaks of Hale White as the one imaginative genius of the higher order that Puritanism has produced since the time of Bunyan. 'Hale White is indeed the only great modern English writer sufficiently interested in provincial Dissent, and knowing enough about it, to give it a serious place in fiction, and to test its quality in a series of illuminating studies of its middle and later social types. In the larger sense of the word, Hale White was as much a man of science as the widely different Butler, a passionate believer in its intellectual importance, and a powerful witness to its moral value. But, above all, he was a student of the spiritual life, and of its dawn or eclipse in members of obscure

societies, whose faith is fast perishing out of rural England.'

From Messrs. Watts comes a small booklet, by Mr. Reddie Mallet, entitled *Cancer: A Word of Hope* (1s. net). Most of its forty-eight pages are devoted to an attack upon the medical profession, who are accused of exploiting disease for the sake of the fees; while the remaining pages seek to find the origin of cancer in gastro-intestinal disorders, and its cure in the drinking of lemon juice.

In an essay which is brief for so large a topic, *The Origin of the Gospel according to St. John* (The John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia; 50 cents), Professor James A. Montgomery adduces skillfully and concisely the grounds for his conviction that this Gospel is of Palestinian origin, no matter where it may have been actually written. These grounds are the accuracy of geographical and historical references, the degree to which the theological terms and ideas of the book represent Palestinian Judaism of the early first century, and, above all, the Aramaic features revealed by a study of the language. A scholarly work of which we regret only the brevity.

## Ecclesiastes xii. 8-14.

BY THE REVEREND G. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY, HAWARDEN.

THE present paper will deal with the translation and proper understanding of the seven verses comprised in the epilogue to Qoheleth, offering first, where needed, a criticism of previous renderings, and then suggesting a fresh revision of the same. The question of the date and authorship of the epilogue is reserved for another occasion.

It must be understood, however, that, though the present writer has, for purposes of this article, made as complete a study as possible of work done by previous investigators, he will touch only on the more important and salient points in the inquiry. More or less full discussions of the various problems under review are to be found in such works as those of Ginsburg, Barton, and others; and it could hardly be right or necessary to offer the student repetitions of what he can find elsewhere.

v.<sup>8</sup>.

The proper place for comment on this verse would, of course, be  $\text{r}^2$ ; but a few remarks on a recent suggestion on one important point in it may, under the circumstances, be fitly introduced here: Professor Burkitt (*Journal of Theological Studies* for October 1921, and *Ecclesiastes rendered into English Verse*, 1922), has shown that in Jewish Aramaic *hebbhel* (currently translated by 'vanity') is used to designate the vapour or exhalation 'that comes from the body as seen on a cold day'; and there seems to be sufficient reason for agreeing with him that the same primary meaning was probably also attached to the word in Biblical Hebrew. Whether, however, his rendering, 'Bubble of bubbles! All things are a bubble,' will commend itself to students and readers generally may be considered doubtful.

It may, on the one hand, be a matter of taste whether 'bubble' is sufficiently poetical as the equivalent of *hebbhel*; and Professor Burkitt himself agrees, on the other hand, that 'bubble' does not really express the physical significance of the Hebrew term. It adds, at any rate, something which is decidedly absent from the idea of *hebbhel*.

It appears, therefore, right to suggest (with McNeile, as it happens) that 'Vapour of vapours! All is vapour,' might be found preferable, considering that 'vapour' actually represents the exact meaning of *hebbhel*, and that, furthermore, many may find the rendering here proposed at least as poetical as 'Bubble of bubbles,' etc.

A remark may also be made on the variation *הַקְהֵלֶת* (instead of the usual *קְהֵלֶת*), 'the Qoheleth' (probably also to be so read in 7<sup>27</sup>, the ה feminine of the preceding verb to be taken as the article of the following noun). Commentators seem to have neglected to point out that an exact parallel to it is found in Ezr 2<sup>66</sup>, where 'has-sofereth' is used to designate a certain holder of office as 'the scribe,' and equally represents a well-known definite individual.

As for the term 'Qoheleth' itself, a fully equivalent rendering would be 'great holder of assemblies,' thus combining the idea of intensity with the simple indication of the holder of an office, and rendering unnecessary the suggestion of alternatives made in the Oxford *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, p. 875, col. 1.

v. 9<sup>a</sup>.

It is in this case first of all necessary to point out the flatness, lameness, and even meaninglessness of the renderings usually adopted. It is, indeed, surprising to find that Cheyne (*Job and Solomon*, 1887), following others or independently originating it, should have penned a translation like: 'And moreover (it should be said) that Koheleth was a wise man; further, he taught the people wisdom. . . .' Considering that Ecclesiastes then lay before the intelligent world of Jewish readers, where was the need to add that he was a wise man? His wisdom must have appeared a plain fact to all, and the only question was whether his wisdom was in agreement with the prevalent orthodoxy of the day.

Barton's rendering, 'And besides that Qoheleth was wise, he still taught the people knowledge,'

escapes this objection; but what is the point and where is the need of a declaration of this kind? Of course he taught the people, the book itself, to which the epilogue is appended, showing it.

Nor can it be said that the R.V., 'And further, because the preacher was wise, he still taught the people' (similarly the A.V.), is free from the charge of lameness and of making the writer of the epilogue say something that he need not have said.

But why not reproduce the best sense that the Hebrew can be made to yield by translating, 'And the more wise Qoheleth became, the more did he teach the people wisdom.' The phrase 'וְיָחַר שׁ' occurs only here, so that its exact meaning can only be determined by the sense here required, and it will surely bear the rendering 'the more that' quite as legitimately as 'besides that' or Cheyne's 'and moreover (it should be said) that.' The present writer, who, before looking at any translation or commentary, always took the passage in question to bear naturally the sense now indicated, was, indeed, glad to find that 'The Geneva Bible, Mendelssohn, Boothroyd, Preston, etc.' (see Ginsburg, p. 472), adopted the same rendering; and it is much to be hoped that the correctness of it will in the course of time be recognized by students generally. Ginsburg's objection (*ibid.*) is that the construction of the sense would on this view be artificial. But why should it be regarded as artificial? It, on the contrary, has a complete right to be regarded as the natural Hebrew sense of the phrase in question, and—as has been shown—yields a much better meaning than any of the other renderings referred to. Qoheleth, so the writer of the epilogue gives us to understand, was not satisfied with having composed a telling work in his early or middle life, nor was he then, resting from the task of reading or writing, content to lead a serene private life of increased personal enlightenment; no, he strenuously continued to impart to others the increase of wisdom which fell to his share as he advanced in years, insight, and knowledge.

v. 10<sup>b</sup>.

Not much need be said on this part of the verse. The majority of modern scholars are no doubt right in connecting *וְיָחַר* with the root *וְיָחַר* in the sense of 'weighing,' Arab. *wazana*, instead of (as the old versions took it) with the root (also *āzan*) from which *ōzen* ('ear') comes. The verb *וְיָחַר*

would be best expressed by the German *ergründen* ('to get to the bottom of'). Translate: 'And he pondered, and thoroughly investigated, and set in order many proverbs.' The entire verse should be taken to mean that Qoheleth was the author not only of the Book of Ecclesiastes, but also of extensive further collections of wise sayings. His literary output, like his public teaching, grew with the growth of the wisdom which he gradually accumulated.

## v.10.

In this verse Qoheleth is, furthermore, credited with having been a careful and painstaking student of the sayings of the sages that were before him. He was not only author of many words of wisdom, but also studiously made search for similar work done in the past; and the natural inference would be that he made collections of these more ancient sayings, so that he was a great editor besides being an original writer of much distinction.

As for the terms in which this statement is made,  $\text{וְכָתוּב}$  appears—as Grätz has pointed out—well represented by Aquila's  $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$  ('useful,' 'full of worth'); so also Vulgate *verba utilia*. In the second half of the verse some writers have resorted to emendations; but there is really no need of it.  $\text{וְכָתוּב}$  is an adverbial accusative qualifying  $\text{וְכָתוּב}$  ('that which was written').

Translate: 'Qoheleth sought to find out sayings of worth, and that which was written in uprightness, words of truth.'

An appropriate amplified paraphrase would be: 'Insincere writings were something like an abomination to Qoheleth; he searched with all his might for words of real value, sincerity, and truth among the works left behind by authors of the past.'

## v.11.

The opening clause: 'The words of the wise are like goads' (*i.e.* they prick and stimulate to thought), requires no further discussion; but the following clause has been a great *crux*. Can any one pretend that a satisfactory meaning is to be gleaned from renderings like, 'as driven nails are the masters of assemblies,' or, 'as driven nails are collectors of sentences,' or again, 'as driven nails are the members of collections' (the sayings themselves being the members)? In the present writer's view the difficulty has been caused by the hitherto unques-

tioned assumption that the word  $\text{בַּעֲלֵי}$  is the construct plural of  $\text{בַּעַל}$  ('master'); but the same word, including the Massoretic pointing, may be rendered by 'in the leaves' ( $\text{עֲלֵי}$ , 'a leaf'; pl.  $\text{עֲלִים}$ , constr. pl.  $\text{עֲלֵי}$ ; with the preposition  $\text{ב}$  prefixed,  $\text{בְּעֲלֵי}$ ); and the suggestion is that the actually correct translation is, 'like nails (or metal fasteners) fixed in the leaves of collected sayings.' Having first used the simile of goads to express the stimulating character of the sayings, the codex, whether of vellum or papyrus, with its metal fasteners employed to hold the leaves together, supplies him with another suitable simile to indicate the sharp penetrating force of the same sayings of the wise.

As regards the book-form gradually assumed by early MSS., see, *e.g.*, Sir E. Maunde Thompson in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xvii. p. 620, col. 2, where he states as an established fact that 'the codex form of MS. gradually thrusts its way into use in the first centuries of our era.'<sup>1</sup>

The remark should be added that the late use of 'ale' in the sense of the leaf of a book is paralleled by the same development of meaning in the employment of the Latin *folium*, and also of the Greek  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$  (see the *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, by E. A. Sophocles, Boston, 1870).

With reference to the last clause of the verse, 'they were given by one shepherd,' Professor Burkitt thinks that 'this is surely some corruption,' the phrase 'from one shepherd' being in his opinion 'nonsense.' To this view it is necessary to offer the strongest opposition possible. The clause makes excellent sense. The writer of the epilogue wants to emphasize the idea that, though the leaves of collected sayings before him may contain expressions of opinion that are apparently contradictory to each other, yet do they all emanate from the same Eternal Source of wisdom, the same Shepherd (*i.e.* the Deity)<sup>2</sup> having inspired them all. With this compare the Talmudic declaration that, when leading teachers in Israel take opposite sides on certain important questions, it yet remains true that 'both these and those are the words of the living God,' each side reflecting an

<sup>1</sup> The first century is definitely included by him. The bearing of this on the time to which the composition of the epilogue belongs is obvious enough; but of that at a later date.

<sup>2</sup> See particularly Ps 23<sup>1</sup>, 'The Lord is my shepherd,' and Ps 80<sup>2</sup>, 'O Shepherd of Israel, give ear.'

aspect of eternal truth and thus giving expression to a thought of the Divine mind.

v.<sup>12</sup>.

The suggestion to be made in connexion with this verse is that עשה does not here mean 'make,' but 'acquire,' 'obtain as one's possession' (for fairly numerous instances of this meaning of the verb see the *Oxford Hebr. Dict.*, p. 795, col. 1). The young disciple of the wise is warned to rest content with the possession and study of the Divine Library of the books comprised in the Sacred Canon, which includes the 'words of the wise' spoken of in v.<sup>11</sup>, and not to collect or study writings not belonging to the authorized collection, be such outside books extra-canonical Jewish works or purely Greek literature. Two reasons are assigned for this warning: to begin with, there would be no end of amassing writings of this nature, and secondly, the study of them would be mere weariness of the flesh. But what really lies behind the warning is the danger of contracting opinions contrary to the Divine teaching embodied in Jewish tradition.

v.<sup>13</sup>.

It appears to be right to take the verb שמע as used here in the late (Talmudic) sense of 'to understand from,' 'to infer' (see, e.g., Jastrow, *s.v.*). The rendering would therefore be, 'The end of the matter<sup>1</sup> (from which) all else is to be gathered,' or, '(in which) all is comprised' is, 'Fear God and keep his commandments'; and to fortify this statement the author of the verse adds, 'for this is the whole of man,' or, 'for this is the entire man,' so that nothing beyond fearing God and keeping His commandments is needed to make man what he should aim at being.

Modern commentators generally commit themselves to the statement that לְכָל־אָדָם can only mean 'all men' or 'every man'; but it surely may quite legitimately (as is recognized in the Oxford [2nd] edition of *Gesenius' Grammar*, p. 411, note 1), also mean 'the whole man' (so in Field's *Hexapla* :

<sup>1</sup> The omission of the article before *dābhār* need cause no surprise in the late Heb. of Qoheleth; cf. similar omissions in Dn 8<sup>18</sup> 11<sup>21</sup>, as referred to in the Oxford (2nd) edition of *Gesenius' Grammar*, p. 410.

"Ἄλλος· τοῦτο γὰρ ὅλος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, and the Vulgate: *hoc enim est omnis homo*);<sup>2</sup> and, as has been seen, the sense of the passage, if this rendering be adopted, fits in well with the idea of the all-sufficiency of the canonical writings for the proper and complete development of man's higher nature.

v.<sup>14</sup>.

Considering that 'for every act,' with which the verse opens, naturally includes secret as well as hidden deeds, it would appear that the specification, 'upon everything hidden' must be a very early gloss, which an early copyist embodied in the verse. The clause 'whether it be good or bad' would thus follow 'will bring into judgment,' and the right meaning seems to be that God will bring every act of man into judgment to determine, or decide, whether such act was good or bad.

The following translation of the epilogue, based on the preceding remarks and criticisms, is, therefore, now submitted to the consideration of scholars :

v.<sup>8</sup> Vapour of vapours, said Qoheleth, all is vapour.

v.<sup>9</sup> And the wiser Qoheleth became, the more did he teach the people knowledge; and he pondered and thoroughly investigated, and set in order many proverbs.

v.<sup>10</sup> Qoheleth endeavoured to find sayings of worth, and that which was written in uprightness, words of truth.

v.<sup>11</sup> The words of the wise are like goads, and like metal fasteners fixed in the leaves of collected sayings: they were given by one and the same shepherd.

v.<sup>12</sup> And as for that which is over and above (these writings), be warned, my son: Of amassing many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh.

v.<sup>13</sup> The end of the matter (in which) all else is comprised is: Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole of man.

v.<sup>14</sup> For God will bring every act into judgment<sup>3</sup> (to determine), whether it was good or bad.

<sup>2</sup> Ginsburg's references to Jewish authorities holding the same view require scrutiny.

<sup>3</sup> An early gloss adds, 'upon everything hidden.'