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for, assuming that it is judicial acquittal or release which is here in question, he argues that it is only because *δλοσχερής* is joined with *πάρεσις* that this meaning is conveyed. He concedes too much. Neither *πάρεσις* nor *πάρεσις δλοσχερής* means the same as *ἄφεσις*, and this passage falls into place with the general trend of Trench's argument.

This conclusion is further confirmed by Dionysius's language elsewhere in this very narrative, for he has occasion more than once to speak of acquittal or release and then he consistently uses *ἄφεσις*, *ἀφιέναι*. Thus, in describing the motive of the tribune Sicinius in making his appeal to Coriolanus, he writes: ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ οὐχ ὑπομένει κατήγορος ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος ὡς ἡμαρτηκῶς ἄφεσιν αἰτεῖσθαι τῆς τιμωρίας (c. xxxiv). Compare also cc. xlvī, and lx.

We have seen then that in one of the very few places where the word *πάρεσις* occurs¹ it is certainly not the equivalent of *ἄφεσις*. If we turn to the usage of the corresponding verb *παριέναι* a similar distinction in meaning from *ἀφιέναι* is usually perceptible. This is certainly the case in Ecclus. xxiii. 2, notwithstanding Bultmann's statement to the contrary. As Trench well observes: 'when the Son of Sirach prays that God *would not* "pass by" his sins, he assuredly does not use οὐ μὴ παρῆ as = οὐ μὴ ἀφῆ, but only asks that he may not be without a wholesome chastisement following close on his transgressions';² and, though the cases are not all equally clear, a similar nuance may be found in Xenophon *Hipparch.* vii. 10, in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* II, c. xxxv, in Josephus *Ant.* xv. 48, and in the Egyptian inscription printed in Dittenberger *O.G.I.S.* 669. 50 (*παρέντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπαίτησιν*). (In the Ephesian inscription published in Dittenberger *Syll.*³ 742, 33 and 39 *παρίημι* is used of the remission of debts with the debt as direct object.)

In the light of this evidence taken as a whole, we conclude that 'passing over' not 'remission' or 'forgiveness' is likely to be the true meaning of *πάρεσις* in Romans iii. 25.

J. M. CREED

A NOTE ON PHILO'S USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

In Philo's Greek writings there are according to Leisegang's index to the Cohn-Wendland text 55 allusions to and quotations from the text

¹ In Plutarch, *Comp. Dion. Brut.* 2 *πάρεσις* occurs with the meaning 'allowing to escape'. In Appian *Reg. fr.* 13 (quoted by Suidas) it means 'negligence', *ἀμέλεια* (Suidas). In Hippocrates and elsewhere *πάρεσις* is found as a medical term for 'paralysis'. Other occurrences are Phalaris, *Ep.* lxxxī. 1, where it is used of remission of debt, and B.U.G. 624. 21, an obscure papyrus of the time of Diocletian, where it probably has the same meaning.

² op. cit., p. 110.

of the O.T. outside the Pentateuch. In the Armenian writings there appear to be none. But the 55 should really be reduced to 50. 1 Sam. x. 22 and 23 in *De Migr. Abr.* 197 are really one quotation, as are 1 Kings xv. 11 and 2 Kings xviii. 3 in *De Conf. Ling.* 149; *Q.D.S.I.* 182 is drawn from Exod. xxiii. 10 rather than from Ps. xci. 11 (note the single angel), while Ezek. xliv. 21 and 25 add nothing to Lev. x. 9 and 21 in *De Spec. Legg.* 1. 98 and 112. Thus we have 50 as against about 2,000 from the Pentateuch. Danby's index to the Mishna shows a proportion of about 150 to 350 and Theodor's index to *Beresith Rabbah* shows about 1,250 quotations from outside the Pentateuch.

The distribution of the quotations is as striking as their rarity: about half of them come in groups of two or three in passages of a homogeneous character. Thus:

(1) *Q.D.S.I.* has groups of two, three, and three in sections 6-10 (Hannah and Samuel, from 1 Sam. i. 28 and ii. 5); 74-82 (the two powers of God from Pss. ci. 1, lxxv. 8, lxii. 11); and 136-9 (the prophet as the light of contemplation revealing sin in a midrash on the law of leprosy, from 1 Kings xvii. 10 and 18 and 1 Sam. ix. 9). This tract will be considered later.

(2) *De Plant.* 29-39 quotes Pss. xciv. 9 and xxxvii. 4 to prove that God has planted sense in the body and virtue in the soul.

(3) *De Ebr.* 84; this, as Bousset¹ has shown, is part of a philosophical tract which explains the 'father' of Deut. xviii. ff. as philosophy and the 'mother' as 'encyclical education'. In this section Prov. iii. 4 and iv. 3 show that 'to purpose what is good in the sight of God and man' is the same as to be an obedient son to father and mother. This tract has been revised, as Bousset shows, in a theological sense, and the reviser in 31 inserts a reference to the Divine Wisdom as mother, incidentally incorporating Ecclus. xxiv. 30.

De Ebr. 143-9 quotes 1 Sam. i. 11, 14, and 15 to prove that Hannah stands for grace, her seeming drunkenness for mystical contemplation; Samuel for the mind entirely devoted to God.

(4) *De Conf. Ling.* 39-51 quotes Ps. xxxi. 18, Jer. xv. 10, and Ps. lxxx. 6 to show that one must flee to God for help against sophists.

(5) *De Migr. Abr.* 157 quotes Pss. xx. 5 and xlii. 3 as referring to tears of joy in a passage inserted into a midrash on mixed multitudes.

(6) *De Somn.* 2. 242-6 quotes Pss. xxxvii. 4, lxxv. 9, and xlvi. 4 to prove that Wisdom is the delight of God and the river of God.

These groups account for 23 out of 50. Seven quotations deal with Hannah and four with the Divine Wisdom; I suspect that the thought

¹ *Jüdisch-Christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria u. Rom* (Göttingen, 1915), pp. 85 ff.

of 'education' as 'mother' and of philosophy as a 'father' in *De Ebr.* 84 really comes from the Wisdom tradition; note the allusion to springs in 12. Outside the groups two quotations (*De Migr. Abr.* 38 and *Q.D.S.I.* 78) repeat the quotation from 1 Sam. ix. 9 with the same purpose as *Q.D.S.I.* 139, and one (*De Somn.* 1. 254) repeats 1 Sam. i. 28 in the sense of *Q.D.S.I.* 6.

Three (Jer. iii. 4 in *De Cher.* 49, Jer. ii. 13 in *De Fug. et Inv.* 196, and Prov. viii. 22 in *De Virt.* 62) deal with the Divine Wisdom. Finally, *De Migr. Abr.* 196 quotes 1 Sam. x. 22, 23 to prove that Samuel, the dedicated to God (cf. *Q.D.S.I.* 111), must call Saul from the 'baggage', body, and senses before he anoints him to the kingdom of Wisdom. Now in *Q.D.S.I.* 5 Hannah as grace was the gift of the Wisdom of God. Thus the Hannah and Samuel quotations look as though they belonged to the same family, and account for 20 out of the total of 50. (It may be noted that Ps. xxxvii. 4 in *De Plant.* 39 also belongs to Wisdom in *De Somn.* 2. 242.) The association is easy to understand. I have suggested elsewhere¹ that Wisdom reflects the contact of Judaism with Egypt in the third century B.C. Ecstasy and contemplation² were also part of the tradition of Egyptian religion. Judaism had to read it into O.T., and Hannah, the mother of Samuel the *ro'eh*, seemed a suitable figure.

Thus the Hannah-Samuel-Wisdom group are not 'Philo' but 'testimonies' going back ultimately to the Wisdom tradition of Palestine. This is confirmed by a comparison of the quotations in *Q.D.S.I.* with those of other tracts. Normal Alexandrine usage either introduces quotations from outside the Pentateuch with a stilted periphrasis, e.g. 'A certain disciple of Moses, named peaceful, who is called in the ancestral tongue Solomon' (*D.C.E.R.* 177; the convention goes back to Aristobulus)³ or introduces allegorical types as well known, without mentioning the source. This tract introduces Hannah in this way, but goes on, 'For she says in the first book of the Reigns'. In 74 ff. we have, 'As the Psalmist says somewhere . . . therefore it is said elsewhere . . . and that which has been said resembles what is said elsewhere.' [Contrast *De Plant.* 39, 'Quaffing a draught of this unmixed delight, the *θιασώτης* of Moses, no unimportant person, addressed his own mind in the Psalms' (*ὑμνωδία* not even *ὑμνοι*)], while in 136 we have 'the widow in the Reigns'. This confirms the view that *De Ebr.* 84 really comes from the Wisdom tradition; it is introduced by the phrase 'it seems to me also to be well said in the Proverbs'; the

¹ *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*, pp. 55 ff.

² Cumont, *Rel. Or.* 89 and 92, and notes ad loc. *L'Égypte des Astrologues*, pp. 147, n. 3 (note the *Therapeutae*!), and pp. 151 ff.; and cf. A. D. Nock in *Gnomon*, 15. 7, pp. 361 ff. (July 1939).

³ Eus., *Pr. Ev.* 13. 12. 14.

subject is entirely Alexandrine, but the straightforward mention of the source suggests that the reference is taken over bodily from a set of Wisdom-testimonies.

Quotations from these testimonies and the groups noted above, which would seem to be taken over from sources in view of the resemblance of the way in which they are grouped to the grouping of the Wisdom-passages, account for 30 out of the 50; in the 20 left Ps. xxiii. 1 appears twice (*De Agric.* 50 and *De Mut. Nom.* 115), and likewise Hos. xiv. 9 (*De Plant.* 138 and *De Mut. Nom.* 139). I suspect that these are for the most part genuine Philonic additions to his material. Yet another is *De Gigant.* 17, where Philo has added to the well-known proof of the existence of souls in the air (*ibid.* 6-16 = *De Plant.* 2-27 = *De Somn.* 1. 133-45 = Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* 2. 42 with the *air* altered to the *aether*)¹ a quotation from Ps. lxxviii. 49 to prove that evil angels are bad men; it does not recur in the other two passages.

Further confirmation may be found in the tract *De Conf. Ling.* Here, apart from a group of three already noticed, we have the large number of four isolated quotations. This tract has a curious uniformity, since the general midrash on the building of the Tower of Babel, as agreement of men or of the parts of man's nature to commit evil, is interpolated with digressions which seem to have in view the theme with which Philo opens the tract, an attack on Jews who revile the story of Genesis as being no better than pagan mythology. The digressions suggest that these critics are tending towards a heretical Gnosticism, if they have not already arrived there.² Of course Philo may be incorporating some one else's writings, but it looks as if the introduction was his own, and Gnostic tendencies cannot go back far beyond his date in Judaism.

The tract *De Mut. Nom.* contains five quotations, four in the main midrash and one in an interpolated section 60-130; this section replies to anti-semites who ridicule the fuss made over the change of Abram to Abraham and Sarai to Sarah. It has the additional advantage of enabling Philo to suppress the covenant of circumcision, for the midrash breaks off at Gen. xvii. 5 and resumes at xvii. 16 in 130 (note the formula of transition 'having dealt sufficiently with the change of names'. Circumcision was unpopular with the Greek world, and Philo keeps it discreetly in the background). On the other hand, the author of the insertion knows Hebrew, for it gives parallels to the change of names which appear to be reasonably possible for allegorical etymology.

¹ For this passage cf. Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff.

² Cf. *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*, pp. 45, 49, 50, and 62 for particular points in this tract.

Thus it is not from Philo.¹ Yet it contains a quotation from Ps. xxiii. 1 which reappears in *De Agric.* 50, and, since it deals with the Logos, is probably Philonic. The main midrash contains four quotations of which one is Hannah noted above; one (Hos. xiv. 9 in 139) appears also in *De Plant.* 138 at the end of a section where it may well represent an insertion by Philo, as it may also in *De Mut. Nom.* It may be one of Philo's own contributions; on the other hand, the quotation from Job ('as Job says') in 49 (with a text widely different from LXX) suggests a source which is of a more 'Palestinian' type. But the last quotation (Isa. xlvi. 22 in 169) has an introduction ('as it is sung in the prophetic utterances') which looks Alexandrine. I can only suggest that this tract has been edited in Alexandria from a source which stood in closer contact with the Palestinian tradition, and that it has been revised by Philo.

In any case, there seems only one explanation of the rarity of quotations from outside the Pentateuch in Philo's writings and the groups into which they fall, namely that the bulk of Philo goes back to an Alexandrine tradition of exegesis which was established when the Pentateuch alone had been translated into Greek² but was reinforced for the reasons noted above with a set of testimonies dealing with Wisdom and Hannah. Some of these Philo incorporates as he found them; some (e.g. Jer. iii. 4 in *De Cher.* 49) he has perhaps worked in himself. The other groups appear to represent later infiltrations from Palestine or possibly from Hellenistic centres, which had developed a tradition of biblical exegesis when more of the scriptures were available in Greek. It is, of course, possible that the isolated quotations also represent such infiltrations, but I am inclined to think that they represent a first stage towards recognizing the rest of the Bible in Alexandrine exegesis and therefore are, at any rate for the most part, to be ascribed to Philo. Their rarity suggests that he deserves more credit for fidelity to his sources than for originality of thought.

WILFRED L. KNOX

THE BIBLICAL ROOT ŠDY-ŠD: NOTES ON 2 SAM. i. 21; JER. xviii. 14; PS. xci. 6; JOB v. 21

I

THE value of the Ugaritic inscriptions for Biblical studies is to-day widely recognized. At times, however, their significance is indirect rather than direct, their importance residing in what they suggest

¹ Cf. Stein, 'Die allegorische Exegesis von Philo', in *Ztschr. f. d. A. T. Wiss.*, 1928-9 (51), pp. 20 ff.

² For the priority of the Pentateuch in the LXX cf. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, pp. 11 ff.

rather than in what they contain. Such an instance, we believe, occurs in the section of the Dn'il epic (E 1, lines 34-45) recently published by Dr. H. L. Ginsberg.¹ In this passage, Dn'il, grieved by the death of a loved one, pronounces a curse of drought upon the land, in which there occurs the following line (no. 44):

bl-tl bl-rbb bl-šr' thmtm.

'Let there be neither dew nor rain nor upsurging of the Deep.'

Both in thought and phrasing, this line resembles, as Ginsberg has noted, the lament of David over Saul and Jonathan in 2 Sam. i, in which ver. 21 a is particularly difficult:

הָרִי בְנִלְבַּע אֶל-טַל וְאֶל-מָטָר עֲלֵיכֶם וְשָׂדֵי תְרוֹמוֹת

The Masoretic text is usually rendered:

'Let there be no dew nor rain upon you nor fields of offerings.'²

This is taken to mean that David lays a curse on the hills of Gilboa that there be no fields bearing fine fruits, worthy of being set aside for sacred imposts. That this is far-fetched and unsatisfactory is obvious, and emendations have therefore been copious, none of which commend themselves. In fact, they amply justify H. P. Smith's judgement that 'the variety of suggestions shows the difficulty of the reading'.³

On the basis of the Ugaritic parallel *בל שרע תהמתם*, Ginsberg now emends *תְרוֹמוֹת וְשָׂדֵי* into *וְשָׂרַע תְהוֹמוֹת*. He interprets *שרע* from the Arabic *سرع* 'hasten', meaning here 'surge upward'.

The change of *תְרוֹמוֹת* into *תְהוֹמוֹת* has much to recommend it, the two words being graphically very close. The suggested reading of *וְשָׂרַע* for *וְשָׂדֵי* is, however, unconvincing. Graphically, the words are too far distant, and the testimony of the Versions is unanimous in reading the consonants in the meaning of 'fields'. Moreover, the interpretation of *שרע* in the meaning of 'upsurge' or 'inrush'⁴ is insufficiently attested.

We believe that the solution to the difficulty can be found without

¹ 'A Ugaritic Parallel to 2 Sam. i. 21' in *J.B.L.* lviii, Part II, June 1938, pp. 209 ff.

² So LXX, ἀγροὶ ἀπαρχῶν; Aquila, ἀφαιρευμάτων; Vulgate, *nequi sint agri primitiarum*. So Syriac *سَعْلًا؟ صَفْحًا مَع*. This view is adopted by the medieval Jewish commentators; cf. Kimhi, *ad loc.*, who is followed by Authorized Version, as above, and the Jewish Version, which renders *תְרוֹמוֹת* as 'choice fruits'.

³ *I.C.C.*, on Samuel (New York, 1899), p. 262. The suggestions advanced may be studied there and in Brown-Driver-Briggs Lexicon, s.v. *תְרוֹמוֹת*, p. 929 a.

⁴ So T. H. Gaster, who edited the same text in *Studi i Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, 1937, xv, pp. 28, 49.