

Language System,
Translation Technique,
and Textual Tradition
in the Peshitta
of Kings

Janet W. Dyk &
Percy S.F. van Keulen

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Language System, Translation Technique, and
Textual Tradition in the Peshitta of Kings

Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden

Studies in the Syriac Versions of the Bible and
their Cultural Contexts

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By

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LEIDEN · BOSTON
2013

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dyk, Janet Wilma, 1949-

Language system, translation technique, and textual tradition in the Peshitta of Kings / by Janet W. Dyk, Percy S.F. van Keulen.

pages cm. – (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute, Leiden. Studies in the Syriac versions of the Bible and their cultural contexts ; v. 19)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-24198-5 (hardback : alk. paper) – ISBN 978-90-04-25658-3 (e-book)

1. Bible. Kings. Syriac–Versions–Peshitta. 2. Bible. Kings–Criticism, textual. 3. Bible.

Kings–Criticism, interpretation, etc. 4. Bible. Kings–Comparative studies. I. Keulen, P. S. F. van. II. Title.

BS1334.S94P476 2013

222'.50436–dc23

2013021553

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual “Brill” typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0169-9008

ISBN 978-90-04-24198-5 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-25658-3 (e-book)

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

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PREFACE

This study presents the results of the project 'Computer Assisted Linguistic Analysis of the Peshitta' (CALAP), for which funding was granted by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) from 1999 to 2004. By implementing the computer in making a comparison of the Syriac and Hebrew versions of the books of Kings contained in the Peshitta and the Masoretic text, respectively, the aim of this project was to gain insight into the linguistic patterns encountered in both corpora in order to tackle the question as to which degree the differences between the two texts are to be ascribed to the language systems, to particular tendencies of the translator of the Peshitta, to the transmission history, or to the use of Hebrew sources other than the proto-Masoretic text.

The Peshitta Institute of Leiden University (PIL) and the Werkgroep Informatica of VU University (wivU), Amsterdam, collaborated in creating a hierarchically structured database of the Syriac version of the two books of Kings, analogous to the already available database for the Hebrew text at the wivU. The two initiators of the project, Konrad Jenner, head of the PIL, and Eep Talstra, founder and head of the wivU, had long discussed the possibility of combining the expertise of the two institutes. The methodological challenges involved in doing so have been described more thoroughly in a volume on a CALAP seminar held in 2003.¹

The text-historical and text-critical component in the project was carried out by Percy van Keulen who had already completed a volume on the textual history of the books of Kings.² The linguistic analysis was the responsibility of Janet Dyk, who had worked with the wivU on projects relating to the Hebrew Old Testament text.³ Both fields of expertise come together in the present monograph.

The results of the research presented in this study have been shaped and defined to a large extent by the use and application of databases and programs developed especially for analysing ancient texts. The programmer for the wivU, Constantijn Sikkels, developed the programs up to word and

¹ Van Keulen and Van Peursen, *Corpus Linguistics and Textual History*.

² Van Keulen, *Two Versions*.

³ Such as Dyk, *Participles*.

phrase level. Talstra developed the programs to deal with the higher syntactic levels of data and to create synopses of the texts.

We are indebted to NWO for financing the project during its initial years. Because we first had to develop a research instrument before we could apply it to the data, the completion of the project has taken more time than originally envisioned.

Finally, we express our thanks to the editors of the Monographs of the Peshitta Insitute Leiden Series for accepting the manuscript for publication.

Janet Dyk
Percy van Keulen

The abbreviations used in this volume are based upon S.M. Schwertner (ed.), *Theologische Realenzyklopaedie. Abkurzungsverzeichnis, 2. überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage* (Berlin, 1994), and where lacking, *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, 1999).

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

THE CASE AND THE METHOD

1. THE PUZZLE

Languages use raw phonetic material to convey meaning. The ways in which this is done are as diverse as the thousands of languages around the world. An interesting question is: in all this diversity, are there points of similarity, given the shared raw materials (sound) and end product (a message)? Can languages be compared in a significant manner? One approach is to compare the formal components of language: the phonetic material, the phonological system which filters this raw data, the grammar which ascribes specific systematic values to the smaller units, the syntax which organizes these smaller units into phrases, clauses, and larger units. The phonetic raw material employed and the strategies used to systematize this into meaningful expressions distinguish languages from one another; each aspect compared provides insight into how the languages both resemble and diverge from one another.

In this monograph we compare the Hebrew text of the books of Kings and the Syriac text of these books in the Peshitta, the ancient Syriac translation. The two languages involved are Northwest Semitic and are related both in language typology and in vocabulary. Though there can be no doubt that the Syriac text was translated from a Hebrew source text, both the source text and the original translation have been lost. All we have are much later manuscripts which bear the marks of a prolonged transmission history. The earliest preserved complete Hebrew text of Kings is the Masoretic text of the codex Leningradensis. The earliest Syriac text is not preserved in a single manuscript. Thus far, no attempt has been made to reconstruct such a text from the available sources. Most early manuscripts, however, witness a text which more or less matches that which in later centuries became the *textus receptus* of the Peshitta. It is this text, printed in the Leiden edition, which in the present study is taken as the standard text of the Peshitta of Kings. Variant readings from another manuscript, the sole surviving representative of a different early text type, are taken into account, since they may be prior to the readings of the 'average'¹ text of the ancient manuscripts. Thus, in

¹ See below, section 2.2.

comparing the Hebrew and Syriac texts of Kings, there are two categories of differences to be taken into account: (1) differences related to the translation of the source text into the target text; and (2) differences related to the transmission history of the Hebrew and Syriac texts used as a basis for the comparison.

1. Fundamental differences between source text and translation arise from the syntax, the vocabulary, and, in some cases, the script of the language systems involved. Other factors include the style of translation, which in its diverse parameters may be 'free' or 'literal',² and the translator's knowledge of the source language which affects both formal and semantic differences. Some observed differences could be described as relating to the general tendencies of translations towards explicitation, simplification, normalization, and levelling.³ Others relate to exegetical liberties taken by the translator: changes affecting the meaning of the text, sizeable additions, omissions, and transpositions.
2. The presence of many variant readings in the oldest manuscripts of the Peshitta of Kings, as well as the text-historical analysis of the text supported by all manuscripts, compel one to relegate many changes to the transmission process. The oldest manuscripts attest to at least two lines of textual development. One must also keep in mind that the source text may not have been completely identical to the Masoretic consonantal text.

In view of the number and the variety of the differences, the core question in comparing the Masoretic text and the Peshitta of Kings can be formulated as follows:

Which deviations between the Masoretic text and the Peshitta are related to the requirements of the Syriac language, which are related to other aspects of the translation process, and which are related to the transmission history of the translated text?

The interpretation of the deviations noted requires the expertise of at least two different disciplines: linguistics on the one hand and exegesis and textual history on the other. While linguistics is concerned with explaining differences which result from the change of language system inherent to translations, and systematic formal aspects involved in other changes observed in the translation, exegesis and textual history consider all intentional and

² Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, 279–325.

³ Lind, 'Translation Universals', 2–3.

inadvertent changes of the text which affect its meaning. Though these disciplines deal with the same textual data, their approaches are radically different.

The task of the linguist is to analyse and compare the language systems of the translation and of the (hypothetical) source text. In order to do so, a large collection of data is necessary, or at least all data belonging to a certain linguistic category within a given corpus. This means that ideally the full scope of data relevant to a certain linguistic phenomenon should be taken into account. Only within the framework of the whole can the individual cases be seen in a proper perspective. The larger text corpus is also necessary for bringing to light general tendencies apparent in translations which are not necessarily to be ascribed to the requirements of either of the languages involved.

Textual history and exegesis deal with the features of the received translation that defy explanation in terms of a difference in language system. The two disciplines cannot be neatly separated, since it is not at first clear whether a deviation from the Masoretic text was present in the source text from which the translation was made, was introduced by the translator, or arose in the course of textual transmission. Unlike linguistics, textual history and exegesis focus on what is incidental and specific. Deviations may be recurrent in a translation and even form certain patterns, but they are casuistic by nature, not caused by the requirements of a language system of the corpus. Exegesis and textual history examine textual phenomena in the widest possible perspective, but due to their disparate nature, the approach toward them remains more casuistic than systematic.

Thus the following oppositions between the two approaches can be noted:

<i>Linguistics</i>	<i>Textual History</i>
Language used	Composition
Systematic	Incidental
Collections of data	Details
Generic	Specific
Thematic	Casuistic

The difference in focus and strategy of each discipline colours the explanations provided for the divergence between a transmitted translation and the text believed to be the closest approximation to its source. Because linguistics views textual data as linguistically meaningful signs, a purely linguistic comparison of these entities runs the risk of ascribing to the language

system that which actually is due to composition and transmission. Text-historical data, such as variant readings between ancient manuscripts of the Peshitta and affiliations with other ancient versions, fall outside the scope of linguistics and are therefore not taken into account in explaining the textual features of the translation. In this approach, all differences between the Masoretic text, as a later form of the Hebrew text from which the Peshitta was translated, and what is considered the Syriac standard text will be explained, if possible, in terms of the requirements of the two language systems even when the exact forms of the source text and the original translation are unknown, as is the case with the Peshitta and its Vorlage.

A text-historical approach, on the other hand, may be too hasty in explaining features of the translation in terms of exegetical alterations, a different source text, or textual corruption. It is especially susceptible to this tendency when other ancient versions exhibit features which seem to parallel those of the translation under consideration.⁴ Though textual history is aware of the fact that the overwhelming majority of formal differences between source text and translation are due to a shift from one language to another, a systematic analysis of linguistic data lies beyond its expertise. As a consequence, the text-historical approach may overlook important linguistic considerations, and even when it does not, it may assess the importance of these linguistic arguments incorrectly.

This state of affairs makes it imperative that studies comparing the text of an ancient version to the Masoretic text apply both linguistics and textual history. The main advantage of this approach is that all data required for the assessment of the differences are brought into play. The combination of linguistics and textual history can assume three forms:

- Supplementation: an explanation in terms of one discipline can be more solidly based by demonstrating that the insights supplied by the separate disciplines provide extra dimensions and ramifications.
- Exclusion: insights from one discipline can in some cases show that an explanation in terms of the other approach is untenable.
- Confrontation: when taking all data pertaining to a certain instance into account, alternative explanations in terms of linguistics and in terms of textual history are conceivable.

⁴ From research on a corpus of translated Finnish, Mauranen ('Corpora, universals and interference', 79) concluded that 'on the whole, translations bore a closer affinity to each other than to untranslated texts. The results suggest that the source language is influential in shaping translations, but it cannot be the sole cause, because the translations resembled each other.' See also chapter 14, section 2.

Thus far, few studies have pursued the combination of the two disciplines. The present volume attempts to show that the study of the Peshitta as a translation has much to gain from applying both disciplines.

An added dimension in the research underlying this study was the use of a computer database. An initial electronic version of the Syriac text was created using principles developed by the Werkgroep Informatica of the VU University (wivU) in its work on the Masoretic text. This approach involves an analysis from graphic elements up through the higher levels of the textual hierarchy.⁵ Because elements function as part of a linguistic system, a proper analysis of a word necessitates not only the morphological paradigm within which it functions, but also the broader context of the phrase and clause within which it occurs.

The advantage of computer implementation lies in the scope of the treatable data and in the verifiability of the results. The drawback lies in the initially disproportionate amount of time required to prepare the data and to develop programs to deal with the data in the two languages concerned.

This volume is dedicated primarily to aspects of the functioning of words, but these could only be established on the basis of a linguistic analysis up to and including clause level.⁶ Programs designed for Hebrew had to be modified and at times reconstructed to process the data in a language-independent manner. New programs were developed to create synopses of the texts in the two languages, and to break down the synopsis from parallel clauses to parallel phrases, and from parallel phrases to parallel words. In this manner a database was built up from which data could be retrieved for the analysis of specific questions.⁷

2. TEXTUAL ASPECTS

2.1. *The Electronic Text*

This monograph uses the text of *The Old Testament in Syriac*, in particular the volume *The Books of Kings*, prepared by H. Gottlieb and E. Hammershaimb. The computer-assisted linguistic analysis of the Peshitta of Kings is based on the electronic form of this text prepared by P.G. Borbone,

⁵ On this approach see Van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation*, 137–179. For the theoretical background, see Jenner—Van Peursen—Talstra, 'CALAP: An Interdisciplinary Debate', 13–44.

⁶ For the analysis on word level see Bosman—Sikkel, 'A Discourse on Method', 85–113.

⁷ On the construction of the database needed for the analysis of word function, see Dyk, 'Data Preparation', 133–153.

available at the beginning of the CALAP project. The further processing of the data brought various mistakes in the electronic text to light which then could be rectified.

The transcription of Syriac letters in the electronic text follows the conventions of the WIVU for Hebrew. To the extent that transcription is required in the context of linguistic argumentation, the present monograph makes use of the same transcription. The two alphabets have corresponding letters except for the Hebrew ψ [F] which is lacking in Syriac (see table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Transcription of the Hebrew and Syriac alphabets

Hebrew			Syriac		
Letter	Name	Transcription	Transcription	Name	Letter
א	'aleph	>	>	'alaph	ܐ
ב	beth	B	B	beth	ܒ
ג	gimel	G	G	gamal	ܓ
ד	daleth	D	D	dalath	ܕ
ה	he	H	H	he	ܗ
ו	waw	W	W	waw	ܘ
ז	zayin	Z	Z	zayin	ܙ
ח	heth	X	X	heth	ܚ
ט	teth	V	V	teth	ܛ
י	yod	J	J	yudh	ܝ
כ	kaph	K	K	kaph	ܚ
ל	lamed	L	L	lamadh	ܠ
מ	mem	M	M	mim	ܡ
נ	nun	N	N	nun	ܢ
ס	samekh	S	S	semkath	ܣ
ע	'ayin	<	<	'e	ܥ
פ	pe	P	P	pe	ܦ
צ	tsade	Y	Y	tsadhe	ܥ
ק	qoph	Q	Q	qoph	ܩ
ר	reš	R	R	reš	ܪ
ש	šin	F			
ש	šin	C	C	šin	ܫ
ת	taw	T	T	taw	ܬ

2.2. The Choice of the Syriac Text

The text of Kings in *The Old Testament in Syriac* follows manuscript 7a1, but has been emended where it stands (nearly) alone vis-à-vis the rest of the ancient manuscripts up to the 12th century.⁸ The Leiden edition

⁸ See the introduction of the Kings volume, vi.

thus presents what may be considered the *Basic Textus Receptus* (BTR), the average text of the oldest manuscripts.⁹ This text is not the earliest text of the Peshitta of Kings that could be reconstructed from the extant ancient manuscripts. Such a reconstruction, resulting in a critical edition, would require the introduction of selected variant readings from one manuscript in particular, 9a1.

The significance of the text of 9a1 lies in its 400 unique readings in agreement with the Masoretic text.¹⁰ The editors of the Kings volume relegated all variant readings of 9a1 to the second apparatus and the indices, thereby giving priority to a rendering of the received standard text of the Peshitta. Their editorial policy was in line with the then (in the 1960s) prevailing evaluation of 9a1 as a revision. Early in the 20th century, W.E. Barnes explained the agreements between the Masoretic text and 9a1 in Chronicles in terms of a secondary assimilation to the Hebrew.¹¹ In D. Walter's 1964 dissertation on the Peshitta of 2 Kings, 9a1 was even left out of consideration.¹² In 1985, however, M. Weitzman drastically reassessed the text-historical value of 9a1 by advancing strong arguments for the view that 'where the MSS diverge, that reading (if any) which agrees with MT is likeliest to be original'.¹³ In a recently published volume dealing with all the unique readings of 9a1 in Kings, Walter arrives at the same conclusion.¹⁴ He also notes that 9a1 and the BTR 'have had independent histories of transmission which cannot be explained ... by reference to revisions to the Hebrew since the Hebrew does not support one reading against the other'.¹⁵ Here it suffices to say that we share Walter's views that the BTR and 9a1 each had their own history of transmission, and that the former (indicated by Walter as ED, edition) is the product of a conscious revision rather than of a gradual development.¹⁶ We will return to these issues in chapter 14.

The importance of 9a1 as a witness to the early Peshitta text renders it necessary to consider its readings in the comparison of the Syriac and the Hebrew texts. Thus, there are three entities involved in the comparison: 9a1, the BTR and the Masoretic text. Since the BTR and 9a1 are representatives

⁹ Koster, *Exodus*, 2.

¹⁰ In spite of its siglum, MS 9a1 may be considerably earlier than the 9th century, possibly dating from the 7th century (Konrad Jenner, personal communication).

¹¹ Barnes, *Chronicles*.

¹² Walter, *Peshitta of 2 Kings*.

¹³ Weitzman, 'Unique readings in 9a1', 254.

¹⁴ Walter, *Studies*, esp. 16–21, 124–125.

¹⁵ Walter, *Studies*, 56.

¹⁶ Walter, *Studies*, 125–127.

of the same translation, all variation between them is indicative of a text-historical development. By definition, readings which arose as a result of a text-historical development do not convey linguistic information regarding the original translation.¹⁷ Part of these readings can be detected by applying Weitzman's criterion mentioned above, namely, in cases where one reading is more in agreement with the Masoretic text than the other. Where the criterion fails because the distance to the Masoretic text is equal for both readings (either in terms of agreement or disagreement), it may be possible to identify the primary reading on the basis of intrinsic text-historical analysis or of a comparison with other ancient versions. The primary reading, however, may still not represent the original reading. Though the comparison of 9a1 and the BTR certainly helps us come closer to the original text, it is inadequate for reconstructing the integral original translation. Each variant must be assessed separately to see whether or not either 9a1 or the BTR attests the original reading.

Unfortunately it was not possible to prepare a full electronic text of 9a1 alongside that of the BTR. Thus, to the extent that the linguistic research conducted within the framework of this study makes use of large collections of data, these are derived from the database built on the BTR. The data, however, are consistently corrected and supplemented for 9a1.

3. THE APPROACH TAKEN

When making a comparison, it is essential to have units with a solid basis for being compared with one another. Here two versions of the books of Kings have been chosen—the Hebrew text and a Syriac rendering of it. In both versions, the text is divided into two books. Each corresponding book contains an equal number of chapters, and each corresponding chapter in the two versions contains an equal number of verses with one exception: 1Kgs 3:23 is skipped in the Peshitta (the Syriac text jumps in its numbering from v. 22 to v. 24). The units mentioned are assumed to be formally comparable to one another.

In order to be able to implement the computer in making the comparison, methods are needed whereby corresponding units are linked to one another.

¹⁷ This is not to suggest that these variant readings are unimportant from a linguistic point of view. One of two variant readings that do not entail a semantic difference might have been felt to be better Syriac at some time or place.

Taking one chapter at a time, coding symbols were inserted into the linear text to isolate the morphemes. With the aid of computer programs, patterns of morphemes are recognized as yielding particular grammatical functions within a word, patterns of words as forming phrases, and combinations of phrases as forming clauses.

Strategies were developed whereby these isolated formal units could be meaningfully compared with one another. A linear comparison of words or even of lexical entries (to allow for the elements which are not written independently but are attached to another form) soon runs aground because of the differing number of items needed in the separate languages to represent a corresponding unit. Consider the following verse:

2 Kgs 23:8 (BTR)

וַיָּבֵא אֶת כָּל כֹּהֲנֵי יְהוּדָה מִן הַעִירִים הַגְּבוּעִים וַיְדַלֵּם
 מִן הַמְּקוֹמֹת הַגְּבוּעִים אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא עַד בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע וְנָתַן אֶת בְּמֹת הַשְּׁעָרִים
 אֲשֶׁר פָּתַח שַׁעַר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ שֶׁר הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר עַל שְׂמֹאלוֹ אִישׁ בְּשַׁעַר הָעִיר

'And he brought all the priests from the cities of Judah, and he defiled the high places in which the priests had burned incense, from Dan and unto Beersheba and he tore down the high place which was in the entrance of the Gate of Salvation which is in the city on the left of a man'

וַיָּבֵא אֶת כָּל הַכֹּהֲנִים מֵעִירֵי יְהוּדָה וַיְטַמֵּא אֶת הַבְּמוֹת
 אֲשֶׁר קָטְרוּ שָׁמָּה הַכֹּהֲנִים מִגִּבְעַת עַד בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע וְנָתַן אֶת בְּמוֹת הַשְּׁעָרִים
 אֲשֶׁר פָּתַח שַׁעַר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ שֶׁר הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר עַל שְׂמֹאלוֹ אִישׁ בְּשַׁעַר הָעִיר

'And he brought all the priests from the cities of Judah, and he defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense, from Geba to Beersheba, and tore down the high places of the gates that were in the opening of the Gate of Joshua, the governor of the city, which were on the left of a man at the gate of the city'

The number of graphic words separated by blank spaces is 33 for the Masoretic text and 25 for the BTR. If we are to count separately the lexical items which are written connected to a following word (prepositions and conjunctions, as well as the definite article in Hebrew), we arrive at 45 in the Masoretic text and 40 in the BTR. Were pronominal suffixes to be counted separately, the count for the Peshitta would be raised by three. The difference in the number of lexical items is not too dramatic, but the count alone says little about the differences involved.

Quite early in the course of this research it became apparent that though vocabulary and internal phrase structure could vary considerably between the two versions, at clause level it was possible to have units which could be matched meaningfully to one another. To capture the correspondence at clause level, specially developed computer programs were implemented

to create a synopsis of the two versions in which corresponding clauses were matched chapter by chapter. At clause level, the units which gave a fairly dependable basis for comparison are phrases functioning as clause constituents, that is, the units with a corresponding syntactic function in relation to the predicate. Finally, the words occurring within the phrases were matched to one another, using the part of speech as significant determinant in the matching.

The units functioning as clause-level constituents in the example above are as follows:

Masoretic text		Peshitta (BTR)	
<i>Translation</i>	<i>Constituent</i>	<i>Constituent</i>	<i>Translation</i>
'and'	conjunction	conjunction	'and'
'he brought'	predicate	predicate	'he brought'
'all the priests'	object	object	'all the priests'
'from the cities of Judah'	complement	complement	'from the cities of Judah'
'and'	conjunction	conjunction	'and'
'he defiled'	predicate	predicate	'he defiled'
'the high places'	object	object	'the high places'
'of which is true'	relative particle	relative particle	'of which is true'
'they offered incense'	predicate	predicate	'they placed'
'there'	location	location	'in them'
'the priests'	subject	subject	'priests'
—	—	object	'incense'
'from Geba'	location	location	'from Dan'
—	—	conjunction	'and'
'unto Beersheba'	specification of preceding	specification of preceding	'unto Beersheba'
'and'	conjunction	conjunction	'and'
'he tore down'	predicate	predicate	'he tore down'
'the high places of the gates'	object	object	'the high place'
'of which is true'	relative particle	relative particle	'of which is true'
'the opening of the gate of Joshua, the governor of the city'	attributive clause	attributive clause	'in the entrance of the Gate of Salvation which is in the city'
'of which is true'	relative particle	relative particle	'of which is true'
'upon the left of a man'	attributive clause	attributive clause	'upon the left of a man'
'in the gate of the city'	location	—	—

Observing the centre columns, there are only a few differences between the two versions at clause-constituent level. First, the BTR has a verb with an explicit direct object while the Masoretic text has a verb in which the object is understood, 'offer incense'. Second, the BTR has an extra coordinating conjunction between the second and third main clauses. Third, the Masoretic text specifies a location at the end which is not rendered in the BTR.

When the phrases occurring as clause constituents and the words corresponding to each other within the phrases are compared, however, more differences appear. The verse will be presented in three portions, dealing with one main verb and its satellites at a time. Where the gloss is identical, it will be presented but once.

		← Masoretic text	Peshitta (BTR)		
<i>Form</i>	<i>Analysis</i>	<i>Gloss</i>		<i>Analysis</i>	<i>Form</i>
ו	Cj	'and'		Cj	ܘ
בא	Verb ipf c 3rd masc sg	'he brought'		Verb pf 3rd masc sg	ܒܘܥܐ
את	Object marker	—		—	—
כל	Noun const st sg	'all of'	'all of them'	Noun const st sg + sfx 3rd masc pl	ܟܠܡܢܐ
ה	Def article	'the'	—	—	—
כהנים	Noun abs st pl	'priests'		Noun emph st pl	ܟܗܢܝܡܐ
מ	Preposition	'from'		Preposition	ܡܢ
ערי	Noun const st pl	'cities of'	'cities'	Noun emph st pl	ܥܝܪܝܐ
—	—	—	'of'	Rel particle	ܐ
יהודה	Proper noun	'Judah'		Proper noun	ܝܗܘܕܐ

Within this portion alone, a number of differences become apparent. The verbs have different tenses in the respective languages. The Hebrew object marker את is not rendered. Where Hebrew employs construct state forms to connect the items within a phrase, Syriac uses pronominal suffixes and the particle ܐ. The Hebrew definite article ה has no lexical equivalent in Syriac.

In the following portion, again the first verbs have different tenses in the respective languages, the Hebrew object marker את is not rendered, and the definite article ה has no lexical equivalent in Syriac. Further, in the relative clause the Syriac has a verb with an explicit direct object while for the corresponding Hebrew verb the object is understood. Moreover, the Syriac renders the Hebrew locative particle by a preposition 'in' plus a suffix referring to the location. Of the two toponyms, the second is rendered by

a cognate while the first is rendered by a totally different toponym. An interesting question, not immediately obvious when comparing at word level, is whether the phrase ‘from Geba / Dan to Beersheba’ should be connected to the immediately preceding phrase, ‘the priests burned incense from Geba / Dan to Beersheba’, or whether this should be connected much further back to ‘and he brought them ... from the cities of Judah, from Geba / Dan to Beersheba’. Would the answer to this question be the same for both languages? Such questions cannot be answered at word level.

← Masoretic text Peshitta (BTR) →				
<i>Form</i>	<i>Analysis</i>	<i>Gloss</i>		<i>Form</i>
ו	Cj	‘and’		ܘ
יטמא	Verb ipf c 3rd masc sg	‘he defiled’		ܬܡܢܐ
את	Object marker	—		—
ה	Def article	‘the’		—
במות	N abs st pl	‘high places’		ܡܘܬܐ
אשר	Relative particle	‘of which is true’		ܐܫܪ
קטרו	Verb pf 3rd masc pl	‘they burned incense’	‘they placed’	ܩܬܪܘ
שמה	Locative particle	‘there’	‘in them’	ܡܝܢ
ה	Def article	‘the’		—
כהנים	N abs st pl	‘priests’		ܚܫܝܘܬܐ
—	—	—	‘incense’	ܩܚܝܒܐ
מ	Prep	‘from’		ܡܝ
גבע	Prop noun	‘Geba’	‘Dan’	ܕܢ
—	—	‘and’		ܘ
עד	Prep	‘until’		ܥܕ
—	—	‘to’		ܕ
באר שבע	Toponym (2 words)	‘Beer Sheba’	‘Beersheba’	ܒܝܥܝܬ ܫܥܝܒ

The third clause exhibits even more deviations between the two texts.

← Masoretic text Peshitta (BTR) →					
<i>Form</i>	<i>Analysis</i>	<i>Gloss</i>		<i>Analysis</i>	<i>Form</i>
ו	Cj		'and'	Cj	ו
נתן	Verb pf 3rd masc sg		'he defiled'	Verb pf 3rd masc sg	נתן
את	Obj marker		—	—	—
במות	N const st pl	'high places of'	'high place'	N emph st sg	במות
ה	Def article	'the'	—	—	—
שערים	N abs st pl	'gates'	—	—	—
אשר	Relative particle		'of which is true'	Relative particle	אשר
—	—	—	'in'	Prep	ב
פתח	N const st sg	'opening of'	'entrance'	N emph st sg	פתח
—	—	—	'of'	Relative particle	ו
שער	N const st sg	'gate of'	'gate'	N emph st sg	שער
—	—	—	'of'	Relative particle	ו
יהושע	Prop noun	'Joshua'	'Salvation'	N emph st	יהושע
שר	N const st sg	'chief of'	—	—	—
—	—	—	'of which is true'	Relative particle	ו
—	—	—	'in'	Prep	ב
ה	Def article	'the'	—	—	—
עיר	N abs st sg		'city'	N emph st sg	עיר
אשר	Relative particle		'of which is true'	Relative particle	אשר
על	Prep		'upon'	Prep	על
שמאל	N const st sg	'left of'	'his left'	N const st sg + sfx 3rd masc sg	שמאל

← Masoretic text Peshitta (BTR) →					
<i>Form</i>	<i>Analysis</i>		<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Analysis</i>	<i>Form</i>
—	—	—	‘of’	Relative particle	ܐ
איש	N abs st sg		‘man’	N emph st sg	ܐܝܫ
ב	Prep	‘in’	—	—	—
שער	N const st sg	‘gate of’	—	—	—
ה	Def article	‘the’	—	—	—
עיר	N abs st sg	‘city’	—	—	—

Besides the types of differences already encountered in the earlier portions of this verse, here the Syriac ܘܢܘܨܝܘܬܐ, ‘salvation’, entails a deviation from יהושׁע, ‘Joshua’. The following phrase in Hebrew, ‘governor of the city’, a phrase appositional to ‘Joshua’, is rendered as ‘which was / is in the city’. Twice a phrase mentioning the gates in Hebrew is skipped in Syriac. In Hebrew the ‘high places’ which were defiled are plural, while in Syriac the noun is singular.

Repeatedly the question arises: what is the nature of these differences? Should they be accounted for on the basis of a shift from one language system to another, are they to be explained in terms of general tendencies inherent to the translation process itself, or should they be assigned to text-historical factors? In this book we focus on differences of semantic consequence and try to expose the rationale behind them where possible.

4. THE PRESENTATION

The presentation of the material in this monograph is structured by the contribution of the two approaches and the results of combining them. Part One presents the two approaches separately. In chapter 2, complete lists of observed differences between the Masoretic text and the Peshitta are presented for 1Kings 1–2, with indications as to which differences could be ascribed to language system and which to transmission history. In chapter 3 the systematic treatment of the language data is presented, particularly focussing on word level. In chapter 4 some aspects of the analysis of the linguistic data are presented.

In Part Two the two approaches are brought together. These often supplement one another due to the difference in perspective, but at times the two approaches produce conflicting interpretations of the phenomena under consideration. The examples chosen are merely a limited selection of the cases that require explanation, but they are illustrative of various types of differences between the Masoretic text and the Peshitta and of the sorts of interpretations which can be offered for these.

In our presentation the main emphasis is on phenomena which can be explained at word level (Part Two, Section One). At this level we consider the variation in the rendering of various more or less synonymous expressions for 'law' and of different expressions for 'killing' and 'destruction' (chapter 5), the rendering of proper nouns and the tendency to subsume various terms within a single semantic field in Hebrew under a single Syriac term (chapter 6), Hebrew homographs which are not distinguished in Syriac (chapter 7), cases where the Syriac appears to preserve the word image of the Hebrew but deviates from its significance (chapter 8), and complicated word differences (chapter 9). The findings at word level are summarized (chapter 10).

Words are to be viewed not only as isolated entities but also in relation to the role they play in the larger units of the language: phrases, clauses, sentences, and whole texts. Differences at word level—especially those involving a change in part of speech—sometimes give rise to drastic differences on higher syntactic levels.

In Part Two, Section Two, we discuss a number of such items which are apparent as differences at word level but which require an explanation within the framework of a higher syntactic level—phrase level (chapter 11), clause level (chapter 12), or beyond clause level (chapter 13). Our conclusions are brought together in chapter 14.

PART ONE

THE TWO APPROACHES

CHAPTER TWO

EXEGESIS AND TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT IN 1 KINGS 1 AND 2

1. INTRODUCTION

The Syriac text of Kings contains numerous semantic differences to the Masoretic text. Part of these arose inadvertently in the translation process and reflect dependence on a source text different from the (proto-) Masoretic text, or represent an interpretation of the Hebrew diverging from the Masoretic interpretation as perceived by contemporary scholars. It is conceivable that a deviation from the Hebrew is inherent to the constrictions of the Syriac language system. Furthermore, a considerable number of differences represent corruptions due to faulty copying. Yet there are also many differences, introduced either by the translator or a scribe, which involve a deliberate departure from the primary source text.¹

Due to their number and extent, these semantic differences have left a clear mark on the Syriac text. Because to a certain degree the Peshitta owes to them its particular character as a version, it is appropriate here to discuss their nature and diversity. They demonstrate the difficulties involved in determining the nature of the differences between the Peshitta and the Masoretic text in general. Some can be explained both from an exegetical perspective as well as from a linguistic perspective.

Within the scope of this study it is not feasible to discuss all allegedly exegetical or text-historical differences in Kings. Therefore the first two chapters of Kings are chosen as a sample text. These chapters contain translational and exegetical features that can be considered characteristic for the entire Peshitta of Kings.

Most semantic differences discussed below are believed to represent intentional changes introduced by the translator (non-obligatory transformations) or a later reviser. Inner-Syriac corruption or dependence on a

¹ These deliberate changes comprise both exegetical changes and changes related to the style of translation that has been adopted. The former affect the meaning of the text, the latter do not, yet they cannot be considered obligatory from the viewpoint of Syriac syntax. In this contribution, differences to the Hebrew text as represented by proto-MT that are viewed as intentional are all termed 'exegetical'.

Hebrew source text different from the Masoretic text, however, is taken into consideration for a fair number of deviations. The classification adopted here reflects the results of an analysis of the data:² differences are grouped according to motive (intentional differences reflecting intentional textual change) or cause (unintentional differences resulting from inadvertent change).

Intentional differences:

- *Harmonization*: alteration of detail *a* in text A in accordance with detail *b* in text B. This can involve coordination of question and answer, plan and execution, command and fulfilment, or agreement between the narrator's account and utterances by characters in the story. Harmonization can also occur between texts that are not directly linked, but which use similar expressions or formulas. This type of harmonization is sometimes called 'levelling'.³ Since the distinction is a gradual one rather than one of principle, we have included all instances of levelling under harmonization. In this chapter we distinguish between
 - harmonization with passages in 1 Kings 1–2
 - harmonization with other passages in Kings
 - harmonization with passages outside of Kings
- *Exegetical change*: the Peshitta exhibits a semantic difference vis-à-vis the Masoretic text which is due to an exegetical decision. We distinguish between
 - changes created by the translator or a reviser
 - changes adopted from another version or an exegetical tradition
- *Accommodation to the context*
- *Explicitation and clarification*
- *Simplification*
- *Changes in epithets, titles, and designations*
- *Contemporization*

² A classification of differences based solely on exegetical method and translational technique, like that proposed by Smelik ('Concordance and Consistency', 290) and Van Staaldune—Sulman (*Targum of Samuel*, 89–132), is unsuitable for P Kings because it is inadequate for dealing with the sizeable text-historical component in this material.

³ It is possible that differences between corresponding texts in MT are not reflected in P because the Syriac is not able to represent the lexical variation of the Hebrew text. We speak of harmonization only if the agreement seems to have been consciously pursued, for instance, if the deviation from MT is conspicuous, or if it occurs in only one text tradition.

- *Unexplained variation in translation*
- *Ambiguous Syriac*: depending on its interpretation, the Syriac text may or may not involve a departure from the Hebrew text.

Text-historical differences:

- *Inner-Syriac corruption*
- *Source different from the Masoretic text*: the Hebrew text which is translated into Syriac differs slightly from the later Masoretic text, so that a semantic difference with the Masoretic text does not result from a conscious choice.

In cases where more than one interpretation is possible, the differences are classified according to the interpretation believed to be the most plausible. Each item is provided with citations and glosses of the Hebrew and Syriac texts involved. In a few cases where the Syriac manuscripts diverge, the text is divided over two or three columns, representing 9a1, the BTR, and, if opportune, P (indicating the text portions shared by 9a1 and the BTR).

2. INTENTIONAL DIFFERENCES

2.1. *Harmonization*

2.1.1. *Harmonization with Passages in 1 Kings 1–2*

2.1.1.1. *1 Kgs 1:4 (BTR)*

9a1 אַחַת מְבִיטָה אֲדָמָה וְיָפֵה
'and the maiden was very beautiful'

BTR אַחַת מְבִיטָה אֲדָמָה וְיָפֵה בְּמַעְרָתָהּ
'and the maiden was very beautiful in her appearance'

וְהִנְעִירָה יָפֵה עַד מְאֹד
'and the maiden was very beautiful'

In the BTR אֲדָמָה בְּמַעְרָתָהּ is added in accordance with 1 Kgs 1:6 which reports concerning Adonijah:

אֲדָמָה מְבִיטָה אֲדָמָה וְיָפֵה מְאֹד
'and moreover he was very handsome in his appearance'

גַּם הוּא טוֹב תָּאֵר מְאֹד
'and moreover he was of very handsome appearance'

Since these two verses are not directly linked but use similar expressions, we typify the modification as levelling.

2.1.1.2. 1 Kgs 1:8a

לֹא מָסָה בַּעֲדֵי אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ '(...)' were not behind Adonijah'
 לֹא הָיוּ עִם אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ '(...)' were not with Adonijah'

LXX B οὐκ ἤσαν ὀπίσω Ἀδωνείου
 '(...)' were not behind Adonijah'

Ant. οὐκ ἤσαν μετὰ Ὀρνιά
 '(...)' were not with Ornia'

Compare 1 Kgs 1:7

וַיִּעֲזְרוּ אַחֲרָיו בְּעֵדֵי אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ
 'and they assisted (lit.: helped behind) Adonijah'

וַיִּעֲזְרוּ אַחֲרֵי אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ
 'and they assisted (lit.: helped behind) Adonijah'

Vv. 7, 8 are complementary in contrasting those who are for Adonijah with those who are not. In all likelihood, the translator rendered עִם אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ as בַּעֲדֵי אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ under the influence of v. 7. It seems that the change of preposition in v. 8 was not required in Syriac, since in 1 Kgs 1:37 the same Hebrew expression עִם הָיָה is translated as חַבַּר אִתּוֹ:

1 Kgs 1:37

וְכַדְמָרְיָהוּ אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ חַבַּר אִתּוֹ, וְכַדְמָרְיָהוּ אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ חַבַּר אִתּוֹ
 'and as the Lord was with my lord, the king, so may he be also with Solomon'

כַּאֲשֶׁר הָיָה יְהוָה עִם אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ כֵּן יִהְיֶה עִם שְׁלֹמֹה
 'as YHWH was with my lord, the king, so may he be also with Solomon'

Still, the possibility cannot be excluded that the wish to stay close to the Hebrew source prompted the translator in v. 37 to use expressions that are not natural Syriac. The issue can only be decided on the basis of further research, which is beyond the scope of this chapter.

The agreement between the Peshitta and the Septuagint in v. 8 may be due to convergence. There is no need to postulate a variant reading אַחֲרֵי in the Hebrew Vorlagen of the Peshitta and the Septuagint, though this possibility cannot be excluded.

2.1.1.3. 1 Kgs 1:8b

וְזָדוֹק הַכֹּהֵן וְבִנְיָהוּ בֶן יְהוֹיָדָה וְנָתָן הַנָּבִיא וְשִׁמְעִי וְדֵי וְהַיָּרִיבִים
 'but Zadok, the priest, and Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, and Nathan, the prophet, and Shimei and Dei and the warriors of David (did not follow Adonijah)'

In this verse the names of Adonijah's opponents are listed, and in v. 10 the names of those Adonijah did not invite to the festive slaughter. Naturally, the

6h18 8h4) the apodosis does begin with α . On the other hand, the absence of renderings of הנה in vv. 14, 22 fits Williams's argument that the Peshitta tends to leave הנה unrendered when the addressees cannot personally perceive what is focused on by הנה.⁵ Thus, in v. 14 Bathsheba cannot personally see that Nathan enters the room after her; in v. 22 the same holds true for the reader. In contrast, in the apodosis of v. 42 the Peshitta duly renders הנה because the addressees can see that Jonathan is entering the room. Still, the possibility remains that all changes in vv. 14, 22, 42 are harmonizations.⁶

2.1.1.5. 1 Kgs 1:15 (BTR)

וַיֵּלֶךְ בַּת־שֶׁבַע לְאֵלֵי מְלֶכֶת דָּוִד 'then Bathsheba went in unto King David'

This passage reports the execution of Nathan's command of v. 13:

1 Kgs 1:13

וַיֵּלְכוּ לְאֵלֵי מְלֶכֶת דָּוִד 'and go in unto King David'

By the addition of α in the BTR, v. 15 conforms exactly to v. 13.

2.1.1.6. 1 Kgs 1:17

In this report of how Bathsheba carries out the instruction given by the prophet Nathan in v. 13b, the Peshitta has levelled the form of address for David:

1 Kgs 1:17

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו 'my lord, the king'

וַיֹּאמֶר 'my lord'

1 Kgs 1:13

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו 'my lord, the king'

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו 'my lord, the king'

Possibly, without having a particular passage in mind, the translator merely aligned the form of address in v. 17 with the form occurring in other portions of direct speech addressed to David (1 Kgs 1:2, 13, 17–20, 24–27, 36–37), that is, 'our / my lord, the king'.⁷

⁵ Williams, *Studies*, 180.

⁶ The difference between 'Jonathan' in MT and 'Nathan, the prophet' in P in v. 42 will be treated in section 2.2.1.5.

⁷ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו, 'our lord, the king': 1 Kgs 1:2 (2 ×), 11 (majority of MSS); וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו, 'my lord, the king': 1 Kgs 1:13, 18, 20 (2 ×), 24, 27 (2 ×), 37; also וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו, 'my lord, King David': 1 Kgs 1:37.

כי שלמה בנד ימלך אחרי והוא ישב על כסאי תחתי
 'Solomon your son shall be king after me,
 and he will sit upon my throne in my stead'

In the BTR a rendering of תחתי, 'in my stead', is lacking. 9a1 offers בלו, which is the usual translation of תחתי in Kings.⁹ The BTR may have omitted בלו, in order to have the phrase agree exactly with other quotations of David's declaration of Solomon's kingship in vv. 13, 17:

והעלכתו כוכ נלף בלו, סס נלכ חל בלו
 כי שלמה בנד ימלך אחרי והוא ישב על כסאי

An alternative possibility is that in the transmission process בלו was left out to avoid repetition.

2.1.1.10. 1Kgs 1:33

David's order to anoint Solomon king (vv. 33–34), the narrator's report of its execution (vv. 38–39), and Jonathan's account of the same event (vv. 44–45) are more in line with each other in the Peshitta than in the Masoretic text:

1Kgs 1:33

ססבלס, 'and bring him ...'
 והורדתם אתו 'and bring him down ...'

1Kgs 1:38

ססבלס, 'and they brought him ...'
 וילכו אתו 'and they led him ...'

In Kings, the Peshitta usually renders ירד Hiphil as נגל Aphel.¹⁰ The unique rendering with חל Aphel in 1Kgs 1:33 suggests harmonization with v. 38.

2.1.1.11. 1Kgs 1:39

סנשב י סס במוס סנל נבס מוס וסנעס
 'and Zadok, the priest, and Nathan, the prophet, took the horn of oil'
 ויקח צדוק הכהן את קרן השמן
 'and Zadok, the priest, took the horn of oil'

The addition of 'and Nathan, the prophet' in the Peshitta brings v. 39 into conformity to v. 34, where David orders both Zadok and Nathan to anoint Solomon:

⁹ For instance, in 1Kgs 1:35; 16:28; 2Kgs 15:7; 21:18, 26.

¹⁰ 1Kgs 2:6, 9; 5:23; 17:23; 18:40; 2Kgs 11:19; 16:17. The exception is 1Kgs 1:53, where סלל Aphel is found.

וַיִּמְשַׁח אֹתוֹ שָׁם זָדוֹק הַכֹּהֵן וְנָתָן הַנָּבִיא
 'and they will anoint him there, Zadok, the priest, and Nathan, the prophet'

וּמֹשֶׁח אֹתוֹ שָׁם צְדוֹק הַכֹּהֵן וְנָתָן הַנָּבִיא
 'and he will anoint him there, Zadok, the priest, and Nathan, the prophet'

Further in v. 39, the number of the verb **מָשַׁח** is adapted to the plural subject 'Zadok, the priest, and Nathan, the prophet':

9a1	וַיִּמְשַׁחוּ	'and they anointed'
BTR	וַיִּמְשַׁחוּהוּ	'and they anointed him'
	וַיִּמְשַׁח	'and he anointed'

A similar adaptation occurs in v. 34: **וַיִּמְשַׁחוּ אֹתוֹ** and **וּמֹשֶׁח אֹתוֹ** (see also in v. 38, 7a1 **וַיִּסְמְלוּהוּ** for **וַיִּרְדֵּד**). In these instances the explicit subject is **זָדוֹק הַכֹּהֵן וְנָתָן הַנָּבִיא**.

In the first part of v. 39, however, the singular verb form **יִמְשַׁח** is retained in spite of the plural subject. The same is true in v. 38 (with the exception of 7a1). In Syriac, as in Hebrew (see v. 34), a subject of the type 'X and Y' can occur with a singular verb form when the subject immediately follows the verb.¹¹ The question, then, arises why the Peshitta adapted the verb form in the particular cases mentioned. As in 1Kings 1 the adaptation occurs only in vv. 34, 39 in conjunction with the verb **מָשַׁח**, its purpose may have been harmonization with Jonathan's report in v. 45, **וַיִּמְשַׁחוּ אֹתוֹ שָׁם זָדוֹק הַכֹּהֵן וְנָתָן הַנָּבִיא**, 'and they have anointed him there, Zadok, the priest, and Nathan, the prophet'. This explanation gains in probability when we observe that in v. 39 the Peshitta is oddly selective: it adapts only one of two verb forms, though both occur with the same plural subject:

וַיִּמְשַׁח אֹתוֹ שָׁם זָדוֹק הַכֹּהֵן וְנָתָן הַנָּבִיא ... וַיִּמְשַׁחוּהוּ
 'and Zadok, the priest, and Nathan, the prophet, took the horn ... and anointed Solomon.'

2.1.1.12. 1Kgs 1:44

וַיִּרְכַּב אֹתוֹ וַיִּסְמְלוּהוּ
 'and they had Solomon ride ...'
 וַיִּרְכַּבוּ אֹתוֹ
 'and they had him ride ...'

The Peshitta makes the object explicit either for reasons of clarity or in accordance with **וַיִּרְכַּבוּ אֹתוֹ**, **וַיִּסְמְלוּהוּ** in v. 38.

2.1.1.13. 1Kgs 1:45

וַיִּמְשַׁחוּ אֹתוֹ שָׁם
 'and they anointed him there'

¹¹ See Gesenius—Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, §146f, g; Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, §322.

והנה אחז בקרנות המזבח
'and behold, he has taken hold of the horns of the altar'

1Kgs 1:50

אִינְוֹ אֶסְמַח בְּפִיטְלֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ
וַיִּחְזַק בְּקִרְנוֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ
'and he grasped the horns of the altar'

In v. 51 Solomon is informed of Adonijah's seeking refuge at the altar in exactly the same terms as used by the narrator in v. 50: אִינְוֹ אֶסְמַח בְּפִיטְלֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ. It is tempting to assume that v. 51 was brought into conformity with the preceding verse. This would explain why in v. 51 וְהִנֵּה is not rendered in the Peshitta. Williams argues that the Peshitta did not render הִנֵּה here because Solomon, who is the addressee, cannot actually see that Adonijah has seized the horns of the altar.¹⁶ His argument, however, is flawed by the fact that the Peshitta does represent הִנֵּה earlier in v. 51:

1Kgs 1:51

וְהִנֵּה אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ יָרָא אֶת הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה
'behold, Adonijah is afraid because of you'
הִנֵּה אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ יָרָא אֶת הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה
'behold, Adonijah fears King Solomon'

Though Solomon cannot 'see' that Adonijah is afraid, the Peshitta does use כִּי.¹⁷

Moreover, an argument in favour of the interpretation of v. 51 as harmonization is the fact that the Peshitta employs exactly the same formula to harmonize 1Kgs 2:29 with 2:28, so that in Kings the phrase אִינְוֹ אֶסְמַח בְּפִיטְלֵי appears four times in all.¹⁸

2.1.1.16. 1Kgs 1:51b

... אִינְוֹ אֶסְמַח בְּפִיטְלֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ ...
אִינְוֹ אֶסְמַח בְּפִיטְלֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ ...
'and it was reported to King Solomon ...
and he said, Let King Solomon swear to me today ...'

¹⁶ Williams, *Studies*, 180.

¹⁷ It is difficult to understand why Williams maintains that in 1Kgs 1:51a Solomon, who has not met with Adonijah, can see that Adonijah was afraid (Williams, *Studies*, 180).

¹⁸ 1Kgs 1:50, 51; 2:28, 29. The occurrence of אִינְוֹ to render וַיִּחְזַק in v. 50 and אִינְוֹ in v. 51 should not be explained in terms of harmonization, because elsewhere in Kings אִינְוֹ can be found to render both Hebrew verbs (אִינְוֹ in 1Kgs 6:6, 10; וַיִּחְזַק Piel in 1Kgs 9:9; 2Kgs 2:12; 4:8, 27; 15:19).

1Kgs 2:5–6, 9

MT		BTR
5 וגם		מסע
אתה ידעת את		אנע נב אנט נבנ
אשר עשה לי יואב		גבבו לר מרכ
6 ועשית כחכמתך		סבבו למ אק עבבבו
ולא תורד שיבתו בשלם שאל		מלא ונטע עבבבו מכלמ לעמל
9 ועתה		מע
אל תנקוהו		לר ולבמס,
כי איש חכם אתה		ג לבא אנט עבבבו
וידעת את אשר תעשה לו		מגב נבנ גולבבו למ
והורדת את שיבתו בדם שאל		מאנט עבבבו מנמל לעמל
<p>'And further, you know what Joab (...) did to me (...). And act in accordance with your wisdom and do not let his grey head go down to Sheol in peace.</p> <p>And now, do not consider him innocent for you are a wise man and you know what you must do to him and bring his grey head with blood down to Sheol.'</p>	<p>5</p> <p>6</p> <p>9</p>	<p>'And now, you know well what Joab (...) did to me (...). And do to him in accordance with your wisdom and do not let his grey head go down to Sheol in peace.</p> <p>Now, you shall not acquit him for you are a wise man and know what you will do to him and bring his grey head with blood down to Sheol.'</p>

In vv. 5–6, the first part of the section, the BTR exhibits two differences vis-à-vis the Masoretic text that are not shared by g₀₁:

1. In v. 6 it has the plus מל after סבבו.
2. V. 5 is introduced by the interjection מסע. Here g₀₁ offers אפ, which is closer to וגם of the Masoretic text.

These two BTR-readings strengthen the correspondence between the two parts: the phrase מל סבבו, 'and do to him', in v. 6 not only mirrors גבבו לר in v. 5, but also corresponds to מל גולבבו in v. 9; מסע in v. 5 corresponds to the introductory מע (BTR and g₀₁) in v. 9, while there is no such correspondence in the Masoretic text and g₀₁.¹⁹

¹⁹ Williams (*Studies*, 95) suggests that in the renderings of ועתה as מע in 1Kgs 1:12 and 2:9 the conjunction ו is omitted because we are dealing with sentence-initial particles.

These readings peculiar to the BTR may therefore be considered harmonizations. It should be noted that by adding the prepositional phrase ל in v. 6, the BTR turns the intransitive verb חב into a transitive. Accordingly, the meaning of the clause containing חב changes from ‘and act according to your wisdom’ into ‘and do to him according to your wisdom’.

2.1.1.18. *1Kgs 2:8* (BTR)

9a1	סגבט לט בטר	‘and I swore to him by the Lord’
BTR	סגבט לט בטר אלת	‘and I swore to him by the Lord God’
	ואשבט לו ביהוה	‘and I swore to him by YHWH’

In the Peshitta of Kings a number of instances of אלת (with or without possessive suffix pronouns) after references to the Lord have no counterpart in the Masoretic text and other versions. Common to all manuscripts of the Peshitta are pluses in 1Kgs 8:54, 56; 15:14; 20:36, where אלת follows טר . Unique to the BTR are the pluses in 1Kgs 1:47; 2:8; 15:5; 18:24, all after טר , and in 1Kgs 8:30; 2Kgs 19:15, after other references to the Lord. 9a1, on the other hand, stands alone in offering the plus אלת גאט after טר in 1Kgs 22:16.²⁰

Part of these pluses may be explained as harmonizations:

- attested by the BTR and 9a1. In 1Kgs 15:14 the Peshitta harmonizes with v. 3, where the full expression appears in a context that exhibits similar phraseology. In 1Kgs 8:56 the Peshitta adds אלת to bring the expression $\text{בטט סמ טר אלת גטט נטט לטט}$, ‘Blessed is the Lord God who gave rest to Israel’, into line with בטט סמ טר אלת גאט , ‘Blessed is the Lord God of Israel’, in v. 15 of that chapter. The rendering of the unusual expression אדני יהוה in 1Kgs 8:53 as אלת טר may be seen in conjunction with the expansion of v. 56 (compare 1Kgs 2:26, where the Peshitta has reduced יהוה אדני to טר).
- attested by the BTR only. The expansion אלת טר in 1Kgs 1:47 occurs in the context of a free citation of the direct speech recorded in the BTR of 1Kgs 1:36, where God is addressed as אלת טר . Thus,

However, in the free rendering of גטט as אלת in 1Kgs 2:5 the conjunction ו is actually represented. Though this undermines Williams’s explanation, his interpretation of אלת as a sentence-initial particle still makes good sense in 1Kgs 2:5.

²⁰ With regard to references to God, P exhibits only one minus (in 1Kgs 8:23). Non-quantitative differences in the designations used occur in P 1Kgs 3:11; 12:22 (אלת for אלהים of MT), and 1Kgs 8:53 (אלת טר for יהוה אדני of MT); moreover, 9a1 alone has אלת גאט , ‘the spirit of God’, in accordance with רוח יהוה in 1Kgs 18:12 (BTR אלת גאט) and אלת גאט , ‘the messenger of God’, in accordance with מלאך יהוה in 2Kgs 1:15 (BTR אלת גאט).

it probably represents a harmonization with the latter passage. In 1 Kgs 8:30 the BTR expands with אלהינו, 'our God', probably after the example of vv. 57, 61 (Peshitta אלהינו) because in v. 30 Solomon refers to 'your people' for the first time in his prayer. In 1 Kgs 15:5 the BTR harmonizes with the full expression אלהינו / אלהינו in vv. 3, 4. In 1 Kgs 18:24 the BTR adds אלהינו in accordance with vv. 36, 37, or אלהינו reflects a different exemplar (P = Ant. VG codex Toletanus). In 1 Kgs 19:15 the BTR expands in accordance with the parallel passage in the Peshitta of Isa 37:16.

- attested by 9a1 only. In 1 Kgs 22:16, 9a1 expands in accordance with the form of the messenger formula in the preceding verse.

1 Kgs 2:8 makes reference to David's oath to Shimei, which is recorded in 1 Sam 19:23. Since the Samuel passage does not mention God, it cannot have served as a model for the expansion in 1 Kgs 2:8. Perhaps אלהינו was added under the influence of 1 Kgs 1:30, where in a comparable reference to an oath the full designation אלהינו אלהינו is used (in accordance with the Masoretic text).

The alternative possibility is that the expansion in the BTR in 1 Kgs 2:8 is not to be understood as a harmonization with a specific parallel passage, but rather as an expression of the solemn character of the oath.²¹

2.1.1.19. 1 Kgs 2:9 (BTR)

9a1 —
 BTR אלהינו אלהינו אלהינו אלהינו
 'and bring down his folly upon his head'
 MT —

The BTR adds the phrase under the influence of 1 Kgs 2:45,²² where Solomon tells Shimei אלהינו אלהינו אלהינו אלהינו, 'the Lord has brought down your wickedness on your head'.

2.1.1.20. 1 Kgs 2:22 (9a1)

9a1 אלהינו אלהינו אלהינו אלהינו
 'why have you asked for Abishag, the Shilommite, (to be) wife for Adonijah?'
 ולמה את שאלת את אבישג השנמית לאדניהו
 'why do you ask for Abishag, the Shunammite, for Adonijah?'

²¹ An analogous situation may be found in P 1 Kgs 20:36, where the expansion אלהינו occurs in the context of a prophetic motivation preceding an announcement of doom.

²² Thus also Walter, *Studies*, section (201).

The plus רִבְדֻּר has the effect of bringing the wording of Solomon's question in line with Bathsheba's request stated in the previous verse:

1 Kgs 2:21

9a1

P

BTR

$\text{וְאֵת אֲבִישָׁג אֲחִיךָ לְאִשָּׁה לְאֲדֹנִיָּהוּ$ $\text{וְאֵת אֲבִישָׁג אֲחִיךָ לְאִשָּׁה לְאֲדֹנִיָּהוּ$

יתן את אבישג השנמית לאדניהו אחיך לאשה

'may Abishag (...) be given to Adonijah, your brother, as wife'

A comparable plus occurs in Antiochene text of v. 22:

$\text{Καὶ ἵνα τί σὺ αἰτῆς τῆν Ἀβεισάκ τῷ Ὀρνεία εἰς γυναῖκα}$

The pluses in 9a1 and the Antiochene text of v. 22 are to be explained as harmonizations. If the plus was already extant in the Vorlage of the Peshitta, the question needs to be answered why it is lacking in the BTR. It is improbable that it was later omitted to bring the Syriac into closer conformity to the Masoretic text, because such a tendency is not common to the BTR. In all likelihood, the harmonizations in 9a1 and Antiochene represent inner-Syriac and inner-Greek developments, respectively. Either they arose independently or 9a1 was influenced by the Antiochene text.

In v. 21, 9a1 and the BTR exhibit a different word order. In 9a1, רִבְדֻּר occurs in a similar position in vv. 21, 22, that is, before the phrase 'for Adonijah'. The position of רִבְדֻּר in the BTR of v. 21 corresponds to that of לְאִשָּׁה in the Masoretic text. Perhaps the deviating word order in v. 21 of 9a1 represents a later development. However this may be, the plus in v. 22 of 9a1 certainly implies the word order of v. 21 according to 9a1, since it presents a harmonization with the latter text only.

2.1.1.21. 1 Kgs 2:25

$\text{וַיִּפְגַּע בּוֹ וַיְמַלְאוּ אֹתוֹ חַרְבֵי מָוֶת}$ 'and he attacked him and killed him'
 $\text{וַיִּפְגַּע בּוֹ וַיָּמָת}$ 'and he attacked him and he died'

This case is treated elsewhere.²³

2.1.1.22. 1 Kgs 2:33 (BTR)

9a1 לְעֹלָם וָעֶד 'forever'
 BTR לְעֹלָם 'forever'
 עַד עוֹלָם 'forever'

²³ See chapter 5, section 2.1.5-7.

In the Peshitta of Kings, the distribution of the expressions **חגרה לחגר** and **לחגר** tends to agree with the distribution of **עד עולם** and **לעולם**, respectively.²⁴ Only in 1Kgs 2:33 (2nd), does the BTR have **לחגר** for **עד עולם** of the Masoretic text. In all likelihood, the latter reading results from levelling with the first occurrence of **לחגר** in 1Kgs 2:33 (corresponding to **לעולם** in the Masoretic text).

2.1.1.23. 1Kgs 2:42a

In the Masoretic text, Solomon reminds Shimei of having warned him not to leave Jerusalem. The text of the original warning is recorded in vv. 36–37. Solomon's words in v. 42 do not present an exact reproduction of his original warning but they seem to merge two distinct announcements of vv. 36–37. Below, the elements of vv. 36–37 that are resumed in v. 42 are underlined:

1Kgs 2:42

הלוֹא הִשְׁבַּעְתִּיךָ בַיהוָה וְאָעַד בְּךָ לֵאמֹר
בַּיּוֹם צֵאתָ וְהִלַּכְתָּ אֲנִי וְאֲנִי
יָדַע תִּדְעַ כִּי מוֹת תָּמוּת

'Did I not have you swear by YHWH and warn you
"In the day you go out and go anywhere else
you shall certainly know that you will surely die"?'

1Kgs 2:36–37

בְּנֵה לָךְ בַּיִת בִּירוּשָׁלַם וְיֹשְׁבֵת שָׁם
וְלֹא תֵצֵא מִשָּׁם אֲנִי וְאֲנִי
(37) וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם צֵאתָ וְעִבַרְתָּ אֶת־נַחַל קִדְרוֹן
יָדַע תִּדְעַ כִּי מוֹת תָּמוּת

'Build yourself a house in Jerusalem and live there
and do not go out from there anywhere else.
(37) It will happen that in the day you go out and cross the Kidron brook,
you shall certainly know that you will surely die.'

In v. 42 the Peshitta is markedly different from the Masoretic text:

1Kgs 2:42

וְכִסְמוֹתָהּ וְהִפְסֵם כִּי חָסַרְעָלָם הֵאָחֲזוּ נִסְלָם נִמְזֹסִם
מִבֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים וְהִבְטִיחַ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים

'In the day you go out of Jerusalem and cross the Kidron brook
you shall certainly know that you will indeed die.'

²⁴ **חגרה לחגר** corresponds to **עד עולם** in 1Kgs 2:33, 45; 9:3; **לעולם** corresponds to **לחגר** in 1Kgs 1:31; 9:5; 10:9; 2Kgs 5:27; 21:7. Also in 1Kgs 8:13, where MT has **עולמים**, P follows closely with **לחגר**.

LXX B lacking

Ant. καὶ εἰπὰς μοι Ἀγαθὸν τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἤκουσα

‘and you said to me, “The word is good which I have heard.”’

The addition of **ܘܢܘܨܘܚܘܢ** brings Solomon’s quotation of Shimei’s words into closer conformity to the latter’s saying as recorded in 1 Kgs 2:38:

ܘܢܘܨܘܚܘܢ, **ܘܢܘܨܘܚܘܢ**, **ܘܢܘܨܘܚܘܢ**, **ܘܢܘܨܘܚܘܢ**

ܘܢܘܨܘܚܘܢ

‘The word is good which you have spoken, my lord, the king.

So your servant will do.’

טוב הדבר כאשר דבר אדני המלך

כן יעשה עבדך

‘The matter is fine. As my lord, the king, has spoken,

so will your servant do.’

LXX B Ant. Ἀγαθὸν τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἐλάλησας κύριε βασιλεῦ. οὕτως (LXX B οὕτω) ποιήσει ὁ δοῦλός σου

‘The word is good which you have spoken, my lord, the king. So your servant will do.’

The absence of **ܘܢܘܨܘܚܘܢ** in the BTR of 1 Kgs 2:42 could be the result of further inner-Syriac harmonization, involving removal of the element that has no counterpart in v. 38. An alternative possibility is that in the tradition represented by the BTR **ܘܢܘܨܘܚܘܢ** was considered redundant alongside **ܘܢܘܨܘܚܘܢ** and consequently removed.²⁵

In 9a1, the majority text of the Septuagint, and the Antiochene text, **שמעת**, ‘I have heard’, is rendered as an attributive clause dependent on ‘word’.²⁶ In Hebrew, finite clauses can be used attributively and apparently **שמעת** was interpreted in that sense. Interestingly, the presence of **ܘܢܘܨܘܚܘܢ** in 9a1 brings v. 42 into closer conformity to the Syriac of v. 38 since there is a correspondence between ‘The word is good which I have heard’ in v. 42 and ‘The word is good which you have spoken’ in v. 38 (different from the Masoretic text). *Mutatis mutandis*, this correspondence is also found in the Greek text. A tendency to enhance the congruity between these verses may underlie both the Syriac and Greek versions.²⁷

²⁵ Cf. Burney (*Notes*, 26), who notes regarding the Hebrew: “Good is the matter; I have heard it,” i.e. I intend to obey it.’

²⁶ See section 3.2.5.

²⁷ For the text-historical relationship between P, LXX and Ant. in these verses, see section 3.2.5.

2.1.2. *Harmonization with Other Passages in Kings*

2.1.2.1. *1Kgs 1:9*

This is the first occurrence of the expression ‘those of the house of Judah / Israel’ which in the Peshitta of Kings is used to render various Hebrew expressions:

1. ‘All men of Judah / Israel’: 1Kgs 1:9 כל אנשי יהודה וכל מסוגא, כל איש ישראל 8:2; כל איש יהודה 2Kgs 23:2; 9a1 כל אנשי יהודה, BTR וכל מסוגא.
2. ‘The house of Judah / Israel’: 1Kgs 12:21 בית יהודה, ובת מסוגא, ובת ישראל. In 1Kgs 12:23 and 2Kgs 19:30, ‘the house of Judah’ and ‘the house of Israel’ are rendered unchanged in the Peshitta.
3. ‘Israel’: In 1Kgs 12:18, 19 and BTR 2Kgs 17:21, plain ישראל is expanded to ובת ישראל.

In these expressions, the Peshitta prefixed the relative א where the narrative focus is on the members of the ‘house’ or nation rather than on the political entity as such (see, for instance, 1Kgs 12:18, 19). Similar modifications, involving references to Israel and other nations, occur elsewhere in Kings.²⁸

The apparent predilection for the expression מסוגא / ובת ישראל may have various motivations. In 1Kgs 12:18, 19 and the BTR of 2Kgs 17:21 ישראל was probably expanded to ובת ישראל in conformity to בית יהודה in 1Kgs 12:21, 23.²⁹ 2Kgs 17:21 harks back to events recounted in 1Kings 12. This may have prompted a later editor to replace לבת ישראל, preserved in 9a1, by the designation of Israel that prevails in 1Kings 12, ובת ישראל. Similar contextual adaptations of designations can be encountered elsewhere.³⁰

In 1Kgs 1:9; 8:2; 12:18, 19, 21; 2Kgs 23:2 reference is made to the people gathered on a special occasion. The translator may have extended the expression ‘house of Israel / Judah’, common in the Masoretic text of 1Kings 12, to other texts mentioning the gathering of the people.

2.1.2.2. *1Kgs 1:48*

Both 9a1 and the BTR offer a plus vis-à-vis the Masoretic text:

²⁸ See chapter 6, section 1.4.

²⁹ In the same verse, שבט בנימין, ‘the tribe of Benjamin’, is similarly expanded into the curious expression שבט בנימין ובת ישראל, ‘the tribe of the house of Benjamin’.

³⁰ For instance, in the BTR of 2Kgs 17:19 and 23, בנת מסוגא and בנת ישראל were substituted for ‘Judah’ and ‘Israel’, probably in agreement with the expression בני ישראל in 2Kgs 17:7, 9, 22.

9a1	BTR
ומתב לך הנה את בן הנה את בן הנה	ומתב לך הנה את הנה את בן הנה

9a1 'who has given me today a son who sits upon my throne'
 BTR 'who has given me a son today who will sit upon my throne'
 אשר נתן היום ישב על כסאי
 'who has given me today one who sits upon my throne'

Pluses similar to that of the Peshitta occur in Targum Jonathan and the Septuagint:

TJ דיהב יומא דין בר יתיב על כורסי מלכותי
 LXX B ὁς ἔδωκεν ἀσήμερον ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματός μου καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μου
 LXX A x ὁς ἔδωκεν μοι σήμερον ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματός μου καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μου

Although the Masoretic text is remarkably terse,³¹ we need not assume that the ancient versions reflect a different Hebrew text. The various pluses in the versions only make explicit what is implicit in the Masoretic text.³² The variation between the expansions suggests that these were made independently of each other.

The addition of בן in 1 Kgs 1:48 brought this text into closer agreement with 1 Kgs 3:6:

ומתב לך הנה את בן הנה
 'and you have given him a son who will sit on his throne'
 ותתן לו בן ישב על כסאו
 'and you have given him a son sitting on his throne'

In 1 Kgs 8:25 the translation of איש as בן probably served the same purpose:

ולא יבנה לך בן מן הנה את בן הנה את בן הנה
 'a son shall not be wanting to you from before me who sits upon the throne of Israel'
 לא יכרת לך איש מלפני ישב על כסא ישראל
 'there shall not be cut off to you a man from before me who may sit on the throne of Israel'

2.1.2.3. 1 Kgs 2:4

לא יבנה לך בן מן הנה את בן הנה את בן הנה
 'a man shall not be wanting to you who sits upon the throne of Israel'

³¹ Thus Thenius, *Bücher der Könige*, 11: '... darüber dass Jemand überhaupt auf seinem Throne sass, konnte sich David nicht freuen.'; Berlinger, *Könige*, 11.

³² Similarly Stade—Schwally, *Books of Kings*, 64.

לא יכרת לך איש מעל כסא ישראל
 'there shall not cut be off to you a man from upon the throne of Israel'

1Kgs 8:25

ולא יבוא לפני מלכי ישראל
 'a son shall not be wanting to you from before me who sits upon the throne of Israel'

לא יכרת לך איש מלפני ישב על כסא ישראל
 'there shall not be cut off to you a man from before me who may sit on the throne of Israel'

1Kgs 9:5

ולא יבוא לפני מלכי ישראל
 'a man shall not be wanting to you on the throne of Israel'

לא יכרת לך איש מעל כסא ישראל
 'there shall not cut off to you a man from upon the throne of Israel'

In 1Kgs 2:4, the Peshitta puts **ל** in place of a rendering of **מעל**, thus conforming to 1Kgs 8:25 in both Hebrew and Syriac. The Hebrew phrase of 1Kgs 2:4 recurs in 1Kgs 9:5, but there the Peshitta renders **מעל** as **ל**. This confirms that the rendering in 1Kgs 2:4 does not represent a transformation that is obligatory.

In 1Kgs 2:4 the harmonization with 1Kgs 8:25 is only partial, since the reading **ל** from 1Kgs 8:25 has not been adopted. The latter reading deviates from the Masoretic text and is to be regarded as a harmonization with 1Kgs 3:6.³³

A similar harmonization to the formulation of 1Kgs 3:6 appears in 1Kgs 1:48.³⁴ The reason for the harmonizations in 1Kgs 1:48; 8:25 could be that in the context of these passages **ל**, 'son', is a more accurate reference to Solomon than **ל**, 'man'. 1Kgs 2:4, then, was not altered in a similar fashion because the mentioning of 'your sons' earlier in the verse made it sufficiently clear that **ל** had to be understood as a reference to one of David's descendants. In 1Kgs 9:5 the Peshitta may have retained **ל** for a similar reason: the context makes it abundantly clear that Solomon is the man on the throne of Israel.

³³ See section 2.1.2.2.

³⁴ See section 2.1.2.2.

2.1.3. *Harmonization with Passages outside of Kings*

2.1.3.1. *1Kgs 1:2 (BTR)*

9a1	BTR
	ܣܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܩܒܝܢ
ܠܚܘܠ ܠܚܘܠ ܠܚܘܠ ܠܚܘܠ	ܠܚܘܠ ܠܚܘܠ ܠܚܘܠ
ܠܡܨܘܠܐ ܡܨܘܠܐ ܡܨܘܠܐ	ܠܡܨܘܠܐ ܡܨܘܠܐ ܡܨܘܠܐ

9a1 'let them search for our lord, the king, a young virgin'
 BTR 'behold, let your servants before you search for our lord, the king, a young virgin'

ܒܩܩܫܘ ܠܐܕܢܝ ܗܡܠܚ ܢܥܪܐ
 'let them search for my lord, the king, a young virgin'

The plus in the BTR makes the subject of ܠܚܘܠ explicit. According to Weitzman,³⁵ this is a later addition, made because 'unlike Hebrew and earlier Aramaic dialects, classical Syriac does not use an indefinite third person plural subject instead of the passive'. However, in 1Kgs 1:23; 2:39 the Peshitta uses ܡܨܘܠܐ to render ܘܝܓܝܕܘ with an indefinite subject. Indeed, in 1Kgs 2:29, 41 ܡܨܘܠܐ can be found to correspond to the impersonal passive form ܘܝܓܕ Hophal. This state of affairs raises questions as to Weitzman's interpretation of the plus in v. 2.

It is more likely that the addition was meant to align this passage with the Peshitta (BTR) of 1Sam 16:16, where Saul's servants ask their lord to let them search for someone who can play the harp:³⁶

1Sam 16:16

BTR ܣܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܩܒܝܢ ܠܚܘܠ ܘܒܐܐ
 'behold, let your servants before you search for a man'
 ܥܒܕܝܚ ܠܦܢܝܚ ܝܒܩܩܫܘ ܐܝܫ
 'let your servants before you search for a man'

The expansion on the basis of 1 Sam 16:16 highlights the dedication of David's servants to their lord.

2.1.3.2. *1Kgs 1:23*

9a1	BTR
ܡܨܘܠܐ ܠܚܘܠ ܠܚܘܠ ܠܚܘܠ	ܡܨܘܠܐ ܠܚܘܠ ܠܚܘܠ ܠܚܘܠ
ܡܨܘܠܐ ܠܚܘܠ ܠܚܘܠ	ܡܨܘܠܐ ܠܚܘܠ ܠܚܘܠ

³⁵ Weitzman, *Introduction*, 283.

³⁶ Thus also Berlinger, *Könige*, 9.

9a1 'and he fell on his face and prostrated himself on the ground'

BTR 'and he fell on his face upon the ground and prostrated himself'

וּשְׁתַּחוּ לְמֶלֶךְ עַל אַפְּיוֹ אֶרֶצָה

'and he prostrated himself to the king upon his face towards the ground'

The Syriac text of 9a1 breaks up the single action described in the Masoretic text into two actions: 'he fell on his face' and 'he prostrated himself'. A similar bipartite structure occurs in vv. 16, 31:

1 Kgs 1:16

סְבִיבָה בַּשֶּׁבַע סִמְעוֹנָה לְמֶלֶךְ

וּתְקַדַּת בַּת שֶׁבַע וְתִשְׁתַּחוּ לְמֶלֶךְ

'Bathsheba bowed and prostrated herself to the king'

1 Kgs 1:31

סְבִיבָה בַּשֶּׁבַע בַּלְּוָסָה, עַל אִוְרָה סִמְעוֹנָה לְמֶלֶךְ

וּתְקַדַּת בַּת שֶׁבַע אַפִּים אֶרֶץ וְתִשְׁתַּחוּ לְמֶלֶךְ

'Bathsheba bowed her face on the ground and prostrated herself to the king'

In the Masoretic text of v. 23, two complements depend on a single verb. It is unlikely that the Peshitta intended to avoid this construction in Syriac, since it is present in the BTR of v. 23 as well as in v. 31. Also in Gen 19:1; 42:6; 48:12, where phrases virtually identical to that of 1 Kgs 1:23 appear, the Peshitta follows the Hebrew closely.³⁷

Neither 9a1 nor the BTR can be explained in terms of harmonization with v. 16 or v. 31, for both leave לְמֶלֶךְ of the Masoretic text unrendered and expand the text by using the verb נָפַל rather than יָרָד.

Interestingly, in v. 23 both Syriac readings bear close resemblance to texts in Samuel. Thus, the BTR duplicates the following texts:

1 Sam 20:41

נָפַל בַּלְּוָסָה, עַל אִוְרָה סִמְעוֹנָה

וַיִּפֹּל לְאַפְּיוֹ אֶרֶצָה וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ

'and he fell on his face to the ground and prostrated himself'

2 Sam 14:4

נָפְלוּ עַל אִוְרָה סִמְעוֹנָה

וַתִּפֹּל עַל אִוְרָה אֶרֶצָה וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ

'and she fell on her face to the ground and prostrated herself'

³⁷ Gen 19:1 וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ לוֹ אַפִּים אֶרֶצָה; 42:6 וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ לוֹ אַפִּים אֶרֶצָה; 48:12 וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ לְאַפְּיוֹ אֶרֶצָה; 1 Sam 20:41 וַיִּפֹּל עַל אִוְרָה סִמְעוֹנָה; 2 Sam 14:4 וַתִּפֹּל עַל אִוְרָה סִמְעוֹנָה.

2Sam 14:22

וַיִּפֹּל עַל אָרְצוֹ בְּפָנָיו וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ
וַיִּפֹּל יוֹאָב לְאִפְיוֹ אֶרְצָה וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ

'and Joab fell on his face to the ground and prostrated himself'

Like the BTR in 1Kgs 1:23, the Peshitta of Judg 13:20 closely concurs with the above texts owing to a difference vis-à-vis the Masoretic text:

Judg 13:20

וַיִּפְּלוּ עַל אֲפְסוֹתָם בְּפָנֵיהֶם אֶל אֲרָצָה וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ

'and they fell on their faces to the ground and prostrated themselves'

וַיִּפְּלוּ עַל פְּנֵיהֶם אֶרְצָה

'and they fell on their faces to the ground'

As regards 9a1 in 1Kgs 1:23, its phraseology parallels that of

1Sam 25:23

וַתִּפֹּל עַל אָרְצָהּ בְּפָנֶיהָ וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ

וַתִּפֹּל עַל פְּנֵיהָ וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֶרֶץ

'and she fell on her face and prostrated herself on the ground'

Furthermore, the sequence וַיִּפֹּל וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ is known from 2Sam 1:2; 9:6.

In summary, in 1Kgs 1:23 the deviations from the Masoretic text in the BTR and 9a1 bring these texts into closer conformity to related passages in Samuel. It may be supposed, then, that the above texts of 9a1 and the BTR were each modelled after a different set of passages in Samuel. The agreement with the Samuel passages may have been pursued for its own sake, but other considerations could have played a role. The bipartite structure may have been introduced to structure v. 23 in a manner analogous to similar passages in vv. 16, 31. By using נָפַל the Peshitta stresses the differences between Nathan (v. 23) and Bathsheba (vv. 16, 31) regarding their doing obeisance to Solomon. Perhaps the difference in terminology reflects a difference in rank here. נָפַל may express a higher degree of submission than כָּרַע, and hence be more appropriate for a courtier like Nathan.³⁸

It is impossible to tell whether the BTR or 9a1 takes textual priority.

2.1.3.3. 1Kgs 2:34 (BTR)

9a1 אֶחָדָם בְּבֵיתוֹ בְּחַדְשׁוֹ

'and he was buried in his house in the wilderness'

³⁸ A similar sensitivity to ceremony and protocol is manifest in LXX 3 Kingdoms 2 (not mirrored there by P; see Schenker, *Septante*, 60–62).

BTR כְּאֵלֶּם־בְּחַבְּוֹתָא בְּחַבְּוֹתָא
 'and he was buried in his grave in the wilderness'

וַיִּקְבֹּר בְּבֵיתוֹ בַּמִּדְבָּר
 'and he was buried in his house in the wilderness'

Ant. καὶ ἔθαψεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
 'and he buried him in his grave in the wilderness'
 9a1 LXX TJ VG = MT

1Sam 25:1

מִבְּיַתוֹ, מִבְּחַבְּוֹתָא 'and they buried him in his grave'
 וַיִּקְבְּרוּהוּ בְּבֵיתוֹ 'and they buried him in his house'

1Sam 28:3

מִבְּחַבְּוֹתָא, בְּרַמָּה כְּחַבְּוֹתָא
 'and they buried him in Ramah in his grave'

וַיִּקְבְּרוּהוּ בְּרַמָּה וּבְעִירוֹ
 'and they buried him in Ramah and in his town'

In 1Kgs 2:34 בְּחַבְּוֹתָא, 'in his grave', of the BTR corresponds with ἐν τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ of the Antiochene text. Both here and in the Peshitta of 1Sam 25:1 the reading מִבְּחַבְּוֹתָא deviates from בְּבֵיתוֹ, 'in his house'. There is good reason to consider 'in his grave' secondary to 'in his house' since it is more natural to be buried in a grave than in a house.³⁹ However, if the grave is believed to be situated in the house or on the estate, then 'in his grave' merely specifies 'in his house'.⁴⁰ Conversely, it is possible that 'in his grave' was intended to dissociate the grave from the house. The reading may represent a dogmatic correction that was made because interment in the house was prohibited.⁴¹

For the BTR of 1Kgs 2:34, a connection with either the Antiochene text or the Peshitta of 1Sam 25:1; 28:3 is probable. It cannot be established which text the BTR followed.

2.1.3.4. 1Kgs 2:3

וְהַיְשָׁרָה וְהַיְשָׁרָה אֲשֶׁר תֵּלְכוּ
 'and wherever you go you may succeed'

וְאֵת כָּל אֲשֶׁר תִּפְנֶה שָׁם
 'and wherever you turn'

³⁹ Klostermann, *Könige*, 273.

⁴⁰ Berlinger, *Könige*, 13; Thenius, *Bücher der Könige*, 21.

⁴¹ Stade—Schwally, *Books of Kings*, 70.

Owing to a plus, the Peshitta, unlike the Masoretic text, exhibits a chiasmic structure in the final part of the verse:

MT	P
למען	ܡܚܠܠ ܗܝ
תשכיל	a ܗܝ ܠܥܕ
את כל אשר תעשה	b ܥܠ ܗܘܠܥܒܕ
ואת כל אשר תפנה שם	b' ܘܥܠܡܬܐ ܗܘܠܥܘܠ
	a' ܗܥܘ

Since the plus has no parallel in the other ancient versions, it is more likely to represent an addition in the Peshitta than to reflect a Hebrew reading lacking in the Masoretic text. Syriac syntax does not require the expansion, and the sentence is perfectly intelligible without it. In all likelihood, the plus is based on Josh 1:8, the only other place in the Peshitta where ܠܥܕ and ܗܥܘ occur parallel to one another (being renderings of צלח Qal and שכל Hiphil, respectively).

Provided there is a link with Josh 1:8, the rendering of ܘܐܬ ܕܠܥܠܡܬܐ ܗܘܠܥܘܠ as ܘܥܠܡܬܐ ܗܘܠܥܘܠ could be due to influence from Josh 1:7b, ܘܥܠܡܬܐ ܕܠܥܠܡܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܬܐ, ‘in order that you may succeed wherever you go’. This assumption is supported by the observation that other occurrences of פנה Qal in Kings are all rendered as ܥܒܕ (Pael and Ethpeel) in the Peshitta.⁴² ܘܥܠܡܬܐ ܗܘܠܥܘܠ in 1 Kgs 2:3 is not borrowed directly from the Syriac of Josh 1:7b, for that passage reads ܡܚܠܠ ܗܘܝ ܠܥܕ ܕܥܠܡܬܐ ܗܘܠܥܘܠ.

Josh 1:2–9 and 1 Kgs 2:2–4 use similar deuteronomistic phraseology to describe comparable scenes: Joshua exhorts the people to keep the law and the commandments and David summons his son and successor, Solomon, to do the same. The parallel may have prompted either the translator or a later reviser to make the Syriac version of 1 Kgs 2:3 conform to (the Hebrew version of) Josh 1:7–8.

2.2. Exegetical Change

2.2.1. Exegetical Changes Deriving from the Translator or Reviser

2.2.1.1. 1 Kgs 1:9a

ܥܠ ܥܘܠܡܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܬܐ	‘upon the big rock’
ܥܡ ܥܘܒܢ ܗܘܠܥܘܠܬ	‘by the stone Zoheleth’

⁴² ܥܒܕ Pael: 1 Kgs 7:25 (4×); Ethpeel: 1 Kgs 8:28; 10:13; 17:3; 2 Kgs 2:24; 5:12; 13:23; 23:16. Had P translated 1 Kgs 2:3 without considering Josh 1:7–8, it might have rendered b' as ܘܥܠܡܬܐ ܗܘܠܥܘܠܬ.

In the Hebrew text the rock Zohelath indicates the place where Adonijah slaughtered sheep and oxen. In the Peshitta, on the other hand, the rock is presented as the altar used for the slaughtering. The difference is due to the prepositions preceding *כרס* and *אבן*. The other ancient versions offer prepositions whose meanings agree with *עם*. Unlike Targum Jonathan, the Peshitta does not render *עם* with the cognate form *כר*, but with *ל*. The use of *ל* could reflect an intentional change since it has no (indirect) textual support from other ancient versions.

ל כרס זכא reflects *הגדלה* (ה) *אבן הגדלה*. It could be that *הגדלה* was in the source text,⁴³ or the translator himself may have misread *הזחלת* as *הגדלה*, or rendered an obscure term by a familiar one that fitted the narrative. If the source text actually read *הגדלה*,⁴⁴ that reading may be interpreted as an inner-Hebrew corruption of *הזחלת*, since *הגדלה* constitutes the *lectio facilior* and is not supported by other ancient versions.⁴⁵

The phrase *ל כרס זכא* makes good sense in the context, because a big rock is well suited as an altar to slaughter on. Since the phrase exhibits two inter-related differences vis-à-vis the Masoretic text, it probably reflects a change introduced by the translator, although a text-historical background cannot be ruled out.

2.2.1.2. 1 Kgs 1:9b

ומוא ... אלכלתו וכלב משמוא סלכדו, כלכא
'and he invited ... and all the house of Judah, and the king's servants'

ויקרא ... ולכל אנשי יהודה עבדי המלך
'and he invited ... and all the men of Judah, the king's servants'

In the Masoretic text, *עבדי המלך* is asyndetically bound to *יהודה*, thus appearing to be in apposition.⁴⁶ However, 'the king's servants' are not identical to 'all the men of Judah'. The Peshitta seems to have solved this problem by making 'the king's servants' a distinct group alongside 'all the house of Judah'. The conjunction *ו* and the preposition *ל* in *כלכא סלכדו, כלכא* mark the prepositional phrase *לכדו, כלכא* as an object of *מוא* and parallel to *אלכלתו וכלב משמוא*. The reading of LXX B, *καὶ τοὺς ἀδερσοὺς Ἰουδα παῖδας*

⁴³ *אבן הגדלה* may have been interpreted either as *הגדולה*, 'the big rock', or as *הגדלה*, 'the rock of largeness'.

⁴⁴ Thus Berlinger, *Könige*, 9.

⁴⁵ LXX, Ant., and VG offer transliterations, TJ interprets. See Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 55–56.

⁴⁶ See chapter 11, section 3.3, for more examples.

τοῦ βασιλέως, ‘and the prominent men of Judah, the servants of the king’, may be another solution to the same problem, since it makes identification of the two groups possible.⁴⁷

2.2.1.3. *1Kgs 1:21* (BTR)

Where the Masoretic text has ‘and when my lord, the king, lies down with his fathers’, the BTR adds **שלום**, ‘in peace’, possibly to create a contrast with 1Kgs 2:6, where David urges Solomon not to let Joab go down to Sheol in peace (**שלום**). The connection with the latter verse is also suggested by 1Kgs 2:33, ‘Their blood will come back on the head of Joab and the head of his seed forever, but upon David and his seed and his house and his throne there will be peace forever from YHWH.’ An alternative possibility, though far-fetched, is that the BTR likens David to Josiah, whom in 2Kgs 22:20 is promised to be gathered to his tomb **שלום**, ‘in peace’.

2.2.1.4. *1Kgs 1:36*

9a1 **אמן סחבא נסחא**
‘amen, let it be so’

BTR **אמן סחבא נסחא נסחא אלהיך**
‘amen, may the Lord, your God, do so’

אמן כן יאמר יהוה אלהי אדני המלך
‘amen, may YHWH, the god of my lord, the king, say so’

3 MSS **אמן כן יעשה יהוה אלהי אדני המלך**
‘amen, may YHWH, the god of my lord, the king, do so’

LXX B **Γένοιτο οὕτως πιστώσαι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ βασιλέως**
‘let it be, may the god of my lord, the king, thus confirm (it)’

Ant. **Γένοιτο οὕτως πιστώσαι ὁ θεὸς τοῦς λογοῦς τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ βασιλέως οὕτως εἶπε Κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου κύριε μου βασιλεῦ**
‘let it be, may God thus confirm the words of my lord, the king, thus says the Lord, your God, my lord, the king’

TJ **אמן בין תהי רעוא מן קדם יי אלהיה דברוני מלכא**
‘amen, may there be thus pleasure from before the Lord, the god of my master, the king’

VG = MT

⁴⁷ Possibly this reading developed from ἀνδρας, which is offered by MSS A b o c₂ e₂. It is more likely, however, that ἀδρους was changed to ἀνδρας because it fits the tendency, apparent in the Ant. and Hexaplaric MSS, to bring the Greek text into closer conformity to MT. See Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien* I–III, [525], [532].

of 9a1 also bears some resemblance to Targum Jonathan (תרגי and תרגי).⁵¹ The fact that in the BTR the phrase אלהי אלהים agrees with Κύριος ὁ θεός σου in the Antiochene text could be due to the influence of the latter, but it is conceivable that אלהי reflects the original Syriac.⁵²

2.2.1.5. 1Kgs 1:42, 43

In these verses the Peshitta offers נח, 'Nathan', where the Masoretic text has יונתן, 'Jonathan'.⁵³ Since the deviation occurs twice, it appears to be intentional. The translator did not mean to identify Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, with the prophet Nathan, because in v. 44 'Nathan, the son of Abiathar', refers to 'Nathan, the prophet', using the third person. The nature of the deviation remains obscure.

2.2.1.6. 1Kgs 2:8

מבית אהרן	'from the House of Horim'
מבחרים	'from Bahurim'

This case is treated elsewhere.⁵⁴

2.2.1.7. 1Kgs 2:15

אתה יודע כי לי הייתה המלוכה
 'you know that rightly the kingship belonged to me'
 את ידעת כי לי הייתה המלוכה
 'you know that the kingship was to be mine'

1Kgs 2:15 (sequel)

9a1	P	BTR
	אמר נבוכדנצר	
אמר נבוכדנצר		אמר נבוכדנצר
	אמר נבוכדנצר	
	אמר נבוכדנצר	

'and the kingship was taken from me and became my brother's, for it was his because of the Lord'

ותסב המלוכה ותהי לאחי כי מיהוה הייתה לה
 'but the kingship turned away and became my brother's, for it became his because of YHWH'

⁵¹ Thus Mulder, *1Kings*, 70.

⁵² See section 2.5.1.

⁵³ See chapter 6, section 2.

⁵⁴ See chapter 6, section 2, note 260.

וכי התענית בכל אשר התענה אבי
 'and because you bore all the hardships that my father bore'

The Syriac rendering indicates that the translator interpreted the Hebrew spatially as 'and because you humbled yourself *in every place* where my father humbled himself'. Since ענה Hitpael is rare in the Old Testament, the translator may have had difficulty in interpreting the correct relationship to the phrase beginning with ב.

A similar spatial interpretation of a Hebrew phrase seems to be reflected in the Syriac of 1Kgs 2:3:

1Kgs 2:3

ܡܚܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܒܕ ܫܠܡܝܫܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܘܠܐ ܘܥܒܘ
 'that you may prosper in all that you do, and wherever you go you may succeed'

למען תשכיל את כל אשר תעשה ואת כל אשר תפנה שם
 'in order that you may prosper in all that you do and all that you turn to'

The rendering of שם as ܗܘܐ ܥܘܠܐ is remarkable, since elsewhere in Kings פנה is rendered as ܥܘܠܐ Ethpeel.⁵⁸ It has been argued that שם should be understood figuratively as 'in everything to which you turn your attention', rather than literally, 'wherever you turn to'.⁵⁹ Regardless of the interpretation of the Hebrew, it is doubtful whether the translator meant ܗܘܐ ܥܘܠܐ, 'wherever you go', to be understood literally rather than figuratively.⁶⁰ Possibly, the rendering in 1Kgs 2:3 was chosen under influence of Josh 1:7–8 where the expression תשכיל בכל אשר תלך (v. 7) may be interpreted figuratively (compare v. 8). Thus, it is debatable whether ܗܘܐ ܥܘܠܐ in 1Kgs 2:3 reflects a spatial interpretation.

2.2.1.9. 1Kgs 2:37

ܫܦܥܘ ܒܗ ܘܫܩܘܠܘ ܘܫܦܥܘ ܒܗ ܘܩܒܪܘ
 'and attack him and kill him'
 'and attack him and bury him'

⁵⁸ 1Kgs 8:28 (פנה אל אהפער חל); 10:13; 17:3; 2Kgs 2:24; 5:12; 13:23; 23:16.

⁵⁹ According to Ehrlich (*Randglossen*, 217), שם is to be taken in the sense of אליו, so that we must proceed from the expression אל פנה, 'turn one's attention to'. Two phenomena argue in favour of Ehrlich's view: 1. The parallelism with את כל אשר תעשה, which might suggest that שם is to be understood materially rather than spatially; 2. The occurrence of a similar phrase in Prov 17:8, אל כל אשר יפנה ישכיל, 'where he turns his attention to, he succeeds'. Ehrlich's view is accepted by Mulder (*1Kings*, 91).

⁶⁰ By no means was this rendering chosen because the literal, spatial sense would not have been conveyed by ܥܘܠܐ Ethpeel. 1Sam 14:47 and the occurrences in Kings noted above prove otherwise.

This case is treated elsewhere.⁶¹

2.2.2. *Exegetical Changes Adopted from an Ancient Version or Exegetical Tradition*

2.2.2.1. *1Kgs 1:9*

חַרְמַי יֵאֵר 'the fuller's spring'
עֵין רֹגֵל 'the spring of Rogel'

TJ עֵין קִצְרָא

Whereas the Septuagint and Vulgate transliterate רֹגֵל, the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan translate it as 'fuller's spring'. The agreement may be explained from dependence on the same Jewish exegetical tradition. The background of the rendering is unknown.⁶²

2.2.2.2. *1Kgs 1:14, 22*

מִלְּפָנֵי מֶלֶךְ ... מִלְּפָנֵי 'speaking ... before the king'
עִם הַמֶּלֶךְ ... מִדְּבַר 'talking ... with the king'

TJ מִלְּפָנֵי מֶלֶךְ ... קִדְמָא 'speaking ... before the king'

Instead of rendering עִם, 'with', as חַרְמַי, the cognate preposition which is also commonly used after מִלְּפָנֵי Pael,⁶³ the Peshitta renders עִם as מִלְּפָנֵי, 'before'. In all likelihood, מִלְּפָנֵי is meant to express deference.⁶⁴ The parallel rendering in Targum Jonathan could be an autonomous translational feature, but there is a possibility that מִלְּפָנֵי and קִדְמָא reflect an exegetical tradition.

2.2.2.3. *1Kgs 1:33, 38, 45*

שִׁילֹחַ 'Shiloah'
גִּיחֹן 'Gihon'

TJ שִׁילֹחַ 'Shiloah'

This case is treated elsewhere.⁶⁵

⁶¹ See chapter 5, section 2.1.5.8.

⁶² For a review of possible explanations see Smolar—Aberbach, *Studies*, 112–113; Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 56–58. See also the discussion on 'Shiloah' in section 2.7.2.

⁶³ See *CSD*, 273b.

⁶⁴ See Van Keulen, 'Points of Agreement', 228–233.

⁶⁵ See section 2.7.2.

2.2.2.4. *1Kgs 1:38, 44*

	מע"ה סוג'ה חפלק	'the archers and shooters with slings'
	הכרתי והפלתי	'the Cherethites and Pelethites'
TJ	קשתיא וקלעיא	'the archers and slingers'
LXX VG		(use transliterations)

The renderings in Peshitta and Targum Jonathan are roughly similar. So far, no linguistic connection between these renderings and the Hebrew has been recognized. The expression 'archers and slingers' reflects the bipartite structure of 'Cherethites and Pelethites', and may be linked with the interpretation of the latter as bodyguards (on the basis of 2 Sam 20:23).⁶⁶

In the Peshitta מע"ה סוג'ה חפלק recurs in 1 Chr 18:17, but elsewhere הכרתי והפלתי is rendered נכר'ה ספלקה, 'free men and labourers'.⁶⁷ Probably the Peshitta and Targum drew upon the same Jewish exegetical tradition.

2.2.2.5. *1Kgs 2:5a*⁶⁸

9a1	סעב אנה אהי נכפוכ	'and he beleaguered them as in battle'
BTR	סעב אנה אהי נכפוכ	'and he counted them as in battle'
	וישם דמי מלחמה בשלם	'and he placed the blood of war in time of peace'
TJ	ודמי דיתחשיב דמהון עלוהי כדם תבירי קרבא	'and my blood (ודמי) that was reckoned their blood is upon him as the blood of those who had fallen in war (and he sat for them in an ambush of peace) ⁶⁹ <i>alternative translation:</i> 'and it seemed (reading ודמי as ודמי) that their blood was viewed by him as the blood of those who had fallen in war (idem) ⁷⁰
LXX Rahlfs	καὶ ἔταξεν τὰ αἵματα πολέμου ἐν εἰρήνῃ	'and he put the blood of war in peace'
Ant.	καὶ ἐξεδίκασεν αἷμα πολέμου ἐν εἰρήνῃ	'and he avenged the blood of war in peace'

⁶⁶ Thus Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 178–180.

⁶⁷ In 2 Sam 8:18; 15:18; 20:7, 23. Weitzman (*Introduction*, 165, n. 4) argues that the rendering ספלקה may arise from a misreading of the Hebrew as ופלחי, whence the guess that כרתי was a contrasting term.

⁶⁸ The treatment presented here deviates in certain respects from the one given in Van Keulen, 'Points of Agreement', 212.

⁶⁹ Similar translations in Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 177; *The Aramaic Bible*, 214.

⁷⁰ Translation in Mulder, *1 Kings*, 94.

Here the Masoretic text refers back to events reported in 2 Samuel. When Abner, Ishbosheth's commander of the army, was negotiating with David about defecting to him (2 Sam 3:17–21), David let him go *in peace* (v. 21). Amasa was appointed commander of the army in place of Joab (2 Sam 19:13). Both Abner and Amasa, however, were murdered by Joab (2 Sam 3:26–27; 20:9–10). Although they were at peace with David, Joab, who was under David's command, shed their blood as though they were enemies at war, and consequently brought bloodguilt upon David (as is explicit in the sequel of the Antiochene text by *καὶ ἔδωκεν αἷμα ἀθῶνον ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου*, 'and he put innocent blood on my life').⁷¹

The interpretative renderings of 1 Kgs 2:5 in the BTR and Targum Jonathan are clearly related since they share a few features which deviate from the Masoretic text, such as the absence of a reference to peace and the use of the root חשב. The meaning of these renderings, however, is not entirely clear. Targum Jonathan explains that Solomon must kill Joab to avenge the bloodguilt that is on David, since he himself is accounted culpable for Joab's killing of Abner and Amasa.⁷² However, the comparison 'my blood ... is upon him as the blood of those fallen in war' is confusing, since it is not unlawful to shed blood in war. As regards the alternative translation, two interpretations may be considered: either Joab regarded Abner and Amasa as enemies at war whom he was allowed to kill, or by killing the army commanders, Abner and Amasa, Joab avenged David's men who had fallen in the wars with Saul and Absalom, in particular Joab's brother Asahel, whom had been killed by Abner. Interestingly, the latter interpretation is related to the rendering in the Antiochene text.⁷³ The Syriac text of the BTR is in line with the alternative

⁷¹ For the exegetical problems caused by the Hebrew phrase see Mulder, *1 Kings*, 94–95; Noth, *1 Könige*, 30.

⁷² Thus Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 177.

⁷³ According to Klostermann (*Könige*, 268) and Burney (*Notes*, 15), τὰ αἷματα πολέμου, 'the blood shed in war', refers to the blood of Asahel, Joab's brother, whom was killed by Abner (2 Sam 2:23). Since the killing occurred in time of war, Joab was not entitled to avenge his brother's death. Several exegetes hold *καὶ ἐξεδόκησεν* to be a translation of ויקם and emend שם of MT as ויקם on the basis of Ant., which may represent the Old Greek here (for instance, Burney, *Notes*, 15; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 95; Klostermann, *Könige*, 268; Stade—Schwally, *Books of Kings*, 67). It has been objected that the verb נקם is not to be expected in 1 Kgs 2:5, because it is lacking in 2 Sam 3:27, 30, where Joab's motives are explained. Moreover, נקם would be inappropriate to qualify Joab's action which involved illegitimate murder, incurring bloodguilt (Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* I, 332–333). Montgomery—Gehman notice that 'the alleged corruption of intelligible ויקם to וישם is improbable' (*Kings*, 98). Whatever the text-critical assessment of ויקם, the BTR and תג are best explained as interpretations of a Hebrew text reading וישם.

translation and allows for both interpretations suggested for the Aramaic. Therefore, the alternative translation is preferred here, even though this translation ignores the vocalization of the extant manuscripts.

As regards the Syriac, ܓܘܐܝܝܢ, ‘and he counted’, of the BTR represents the original Syriac reading and ܓܘܐܝܢܝܘܬܐ, ‘and he beleaguered’, of 9a1 a later corruption (interchange of letters). Three arguments can be adduced in favour of the primacy of the BTR-reading:⁷⁴

1. While ܓܘܐܝܝܢܝܘܬܐ can be perfectly understood as an interpretation of the Hebrew text, it is hard to link ܓܘܐܝܝܢܝܘܬܐ to the latter, either textually or exegetically.
2. The same root ܓܘܐܝܢܝܘܬܐ / ܓܘܐܝܢܝܘܬܐ is used in the BTR and Targum Jonathan. It is far-fetched to assume that this remarkable agreement resulted from the interchange of two letters in the older Syriac text.
3. The reading of 9a1, ‘and he beleaguered’, is not in accordance with the report of events in 2Sam 3:26–27; 20:9–10, whereas the interpretative rendering of the BTR is in harmony with it. It would be extremely felicitous if accordance with the Samuel account only affected the interchange of two letters. The simplest explanation of ‘and he beleaguered’ of 9a1 is to consider this reading the result of inner-Syriac corruption.

In summary, the Peshitta, represented by the BTR, Targum Jonathan, and possibly the Antiochene text all offer comparable interpretations of a Hebrew similar to that of the Masoretic text. The rendering of the Peshitta appears to be in an abbreviated form of that of Targum Jonathan.⁷⁵

2.2.2.6. 1Kgs 2:5b

9a1	P	BTR
		ܓܘܐܝܝܢܝܘܬܐ
		ܓܘܐܝܝܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܘܫܘܪܐ ܕܘܫܘܪܐ ܕܘܫܘܪܐ ܕܘܫܘܪܐ ܕܘܫܘܪܐ
9a1	‘and he took their blood by the sword that was around his waist and he trampled (on them) with the shoes on his feet’	
BTR	‘and he shed their blood by the sword that was around his waist and he trampled (on them) with the shoes on his feet’	

⁷⁴ Pace Walter (*Studies*, section (290)), who refrains from specifying which reading is an inner-Syriac corruption of the other.

⁷⁵ Thus Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 176.

ויתן דמי מלחמה בחגרתו אשר במתניו ובנעלו אשר ברגליו
 ‘and he put the blood of war on the belt that was around his waist and on the sandals that were on his feet’

TJ ואשד דמהון באספניקי דבצרציה ודש בטלריתא דברגלוהי
 ‘and he shed their blood on the belt that was around his waist and he trampled (on them) with the boots that were on his feet’

ANT. και ἔδωκεν ἀίμα ἀθώσον ἐν τῇ ζώνῃ μου και ἐπι τῇ ζώνῃ τῆς ὀσφύος μου και ἐν τῷ ὑποδήματι μου τῷ ἐν τῷ ποδί μου
 ‘and he put innocent blood on my life and on the belt around my waist and on my sandal that is on my foot’

LXX B ἐν τῇ ζώνῃ αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐν τῇ ὀσφύι αὐτοῦ και ἐν τῷ ὑποδήματι αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐν τῷ ποδί αὐτοῦ
 ‘(and he put the blood of war) on his belt that was around his waist and on his sandal that was on his foot’

In their renderings $\text{אשד} / \text{ואשד}$, the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan agree in specifying ויתן in a similar way. Both versions, moreover, contain a plus over against the Masoretic text and all other versions: $\text{שד} / \text{ודש}$, ‘he trampled’. The plus may represent an exegetical expansion intended either to create two parallel clauses or to amplify Joab’s guilt. In 2 Kgs 7:17 the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan use the same verbs to express the action of trampling down a person.

Whereas the parallel use of $\text{אשד} / \text{ואשד}$ might be attributed to polygenesis, this is not possible for the parallel use of $\text{שד} / \text{ודש}$, since the context does not adduce compelling arguments for the insertion of these verbs. The latter parallel is probably due to dependence on a common exegetical tradition. Seen in that light, the variant reading אשד of ga1 is best accounted for as an inner-Syriac corruption.

2.2.2.7. 1 Kgs 2:7

$\text{כלל גמטא שרצתהו ככלהובג}$ ‘for they served me with everything’
 כי בן קרבו אלי ‘for they rallied to me’

TJ ארי אגון סופיקו צרכי ‘for they supplied my needs’

LXX VG = MT

Ant. different from MT LXX VG P TJ, not relevant here

The Peshitta and Targum Jonathan both paraphrase the Masoretic text: the paraphrases are different in wording but similar in import. Possibly, the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan—independently of each other—arrived at a similar contextual exegesis on the basis of 2 Sam 17:27–29; 19:32. On the other hand, the occurrence of the third masc pl pronoun in a corresponding

position in the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan might suggest dependence on some exegetical tradition. If that be the case, at least one of the two versions must have interpreted the exegetical tradition freely.⁷⁶

2.3. *Accommodation to the Context*

2.3.1. *1Kgs 1:2 (2 ×)*

לַחֵן מַלְכָּא	‘our lord, the king’
אֲדִנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ	‘my lord, the king’

In the Peshitta the suffix is adjusted because the reference to David is made by ‘his servants’. The adjustment is also found in the Septuagint (codex B excluded) and the Vulgate. As the correction is required by the context, its occurrence in various versions may be due to polygenesis.

2.3.2. *1Kgs 1:35*

וְגִיד מַלְכָּא	‘that he may be king’
לְהִיּוֹת נָגִיד	‘to be ruler’

The Peshitta uses מַלְכָּא, ‘leader’, to translate נָגִיד in 1Kgs 14:7; 16:2; 20:5. Only in 1Kgs 1:35 is נָגִיד rendered as מַלְכָּא. By contrast, Targum Jonathan renders נָגִיד consistently as מַלְכָּא throughout Kings. Since the context of 1Kings 1 deals with the theme of royal succession, the translator either considered מַלְכָּא to be more fitting here than מַלְכָּא, or he brought v. 35 into conformity with v. 45:

1Kgs 1:45

וַיִּמְשָׁחוּ אֹתוֹ ... וַיִּמְשָׁחוּ אֹתוֹ ...	‘and anointed him ... that he might be king’
וַיִּמְשָׁחוּ אֹתוֹ ... לְמֶלֶךְ	‘and anointed him king’

2.3.3. *1Kgs 2:19*

וַיִּשֶׂם בְּסֵאתָא לְאִמַּתְּ מַלְכָּא	‘and they set a throne for the king’s mother’
וַיִּשֶׂם בְּסֵאתָא לְאִמַּתְּ מַלְכָּא	‘and he set a throne for the king’s mother’

LXX B, Ant. καὶ ἐτέθη θρόνος τῆ μητρὶ τοῦ βασιλέως
 ‘and a throne was set for the king’s mother’

⁷⁶ This case is an example of *dissimilar modification*. See Van Keulen, ‘Points of Agreement’, 222–223 (§ 2.2.2.2).

The Peshitta and the Septuagint offer *ad sensum* renderings for וישם כסא, reflecting their awareness that the phrase does not mean to say that the king himself set a throne for his mother.⁷⁷ Whereas the Septuagint chose a passive form, the Peshitta preferred a third masc pl verb, showing once more the Peshitta's preference for a third masc pl verb form to render the indefinite subject.

2.4. *Explicitation and Clarification*

2.4.1. *1 Kgs 1:16*

The Peshitta specifies the addressee by adding a vocative, even though the addressee's identity is obvious in the context:⁷⁸

ܡܚܐ ܠܚܪ ܒܬܫܒܥܐ	'What is the matter, Bathsheba?'
מה לדך	'What is the matter?'

2.4.2. *1 Kgs 1:25*

The Peshitta makes the subject explicit:

ܘܢܫܐ ܐܕܘܢܝܗ ܫܪܕ	'for Adonijah has gone down today'
כי ירד היום	'for he has gone down today'

2.4.3. *1 Kgs 1:47*

ܘܫܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܒܐ	'and the king bowed on his bed'
וישתחו המלך על המשכב	'and the king bowed on the bed'

There are more places in Kings where the Peshitta adds the possessive pronoun suffix.⁷⁹ In 1 Kgs 1:47 the possessive pronoun is also found in the Septuagint (codex Vaticanus excluded, which agrees with the Masoretic text), the Antiochene text, and the Vulgate. The agreement may be due to polygenesis.

2.4.4. *1 Kgs 2:8a*

ܡܢ ܩܒܝܠܐ ܘܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܗܘܪܝܡ	'from the tribe of Benjamin, from the House of Horim'
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⁷⁷ If the Hebrew form וישם were to be read as a Hiphil, which is paradigmatically possible (though the one being caused to set is not mentioned), then the Syriac rendering could be interpreted as an *ad sensum* rendering of the Hiphil.

⁷⁸ For more examples of specification of participants, see chapter 13, section 1.3.

⁷⁹ See chapter 11, section 3.2, and chapter 13, section 1.4.

Masoretic text that could account for the omission of **ל**. Conversely, the secondary addition of **ל** is explicable.

2.4.6. 1Kgs 2:28

והשמה הגיעה ליוב כי נהרג אדונייהו
 'and the news reached Joab that Adonijah had been killed'

ובא השמה ליוב 'and the news came to Joab'

1Kgs 2:25

והכהו ונהרגו
 'and he attacked him and killed him'
 ויפגע בו וימת 'and he attacked him, and he died'

Since the Masoretic text does not state the contents of the news that reached Joab, it is not exactly clear whether *והשמה* refers to Adonijah's execution (v. 25), Abiathar's expulsion (vv. 26–27), or both. The Peshitta precludes all uncertainty by making explicit that the news which came to Joab was about Adonijah's execution. The connection with events recorded in v. 25 is underlined by the use of the same verb, **הכה**.

2.5. Simplification

2.5.1. 1Kgs 1:27, 36, 51; 2:38

In a few passages of the Masoretic text the king is addressed in the third person. In some cases, the Peshitta replaces this polite form of address by the second person:

1Kgs 1:27

כי יצונו, הוה המלך
 'by your will, my lord, the king'
 מאת אדני המלך 'by order of my lord, the king'

1Kgs 1:36

BTR ויהי כדבר הוה אלהיך
 'so may the Lord, your God, do'

כן יאמר יהוה אלהי אדני המלך
 'may YHWH, the God of my lord, the king, so order'

1Kgs 1:51

והנה אדונייהו ירא את המלך שלמה
 'behold, Adonijah is afraid of you'

הנה אדנייהו ירא את המלך שלמה
 'behold, Adonijah fears King Solomon'

1Kgs 2:38

עפני פה דבר נאסוהו גוה חלמ

'the word you have spoken is good, my lord, the king'

טוב הדבר כאשר דבר אדני המלך

'The matter is fine. As my lord, the king, has spoken ...'

P = LXX B Ant. Ἀγαθὸν τὸ ῥήμα ὃ ἐλάλησας κύριε βασιλεῦ

1Kgs 22:6

והעלם להם גוה כהנבא חלמ

'and the Lord will deliver them into your hands, oh king'

ויתן אדני ביד המלך

'and the Lord will deliver (it) into the hand of the king'

1Kgs 22:12

והעלם להם גוה כהנבא חלמ

'and the Lord will deliver them into your hands, oh king'

ונתן יהוה ביד המלך

'and YHWH will deliver (it) into the hand of the king'

LXX καὶ δώσει Κύριος εἰς χεῖράς σου

'and the Lord will deliver (it) into your hands'

1Kgs 22:15

והעלם להם גוה כהנבא חלמ

'and the Lord will deliver them into your hands, oh king'

ונתן יהוה ביד המלך

'and YHWH will deliver (it) into the hand of the king'

Along with the change in person, third person references to the king in the Masoretic text are rendered as vocatives in the Peshitta.⁸⁵ In 1Kgs 2:38 the difference may be text-historical in nature, since in this phrase all the deviations from the Masoretic text are shared by the Septuagint.

In 1Kgs 1:2 the Peshitta retains the third person reference in לחי חלמ, 'our lord, the king', but in the BTR the insertion of חנבא מנבא, 'see your servants before you', preceding the direct speech makes the second person more prominent than in the Hebrew text.

⁸⁵ Thus 1Kgs 1:27; 2:38; 22:6, 12, 15.

2.5.2. 1Kgs 1:28

The Peshitta sometimes simplifies by replacing an explicit reference to a character by an implicit one when the character's identity is unambiguous, as in 1Kgs 1:28:

9a1, 7a1 ,ܟܠܘܚܘܢܐ ܕܡܡܘܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܡܢܗ ܕܠܟܐ
'and she entered before the king and stood before him'

BTR (minus 7a1) ܟܠܟܐ ܡܢܗ ܕܡܡܘܐ ,ܟܠܘܚܘܢܐ ܕܠܟܐ
'and she entered before him and stood before the king'

ותבא לפני המלך ותעמד לפני המלך
'and she came before the king and stood before the king'

LXX B και εισήλθεν ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως και ἔστη ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ

Ant. και εισήλθεν και ἔστη ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως

VG *quae cum fuisset ingressa coram rege et stetit ante eum*

TJ = MT

Of two similar explicit references to the king in the Masoretic text, the former corresponds to an implicit reference in the BTR, and the latter with an implicit reference in 9a1 (and 7a1). The text of 9a1 and 7a1 corresponds to that of the Septuagint and the Vulgate. The fact that the version of 9a1 is shared by several ancient witnesses need not imply that it goes back to a Hebrew source different from the Masoretic text.⁸⁶ Each translator could have modified a source identical to the Masoretic text in a similar way, since it seems a natural procedure to shorten the second one of two successive identical references.⁸⁷ Moreover, it is not to be ruled out that one version influenced the other. Since there is no Hebrew text attested that is in concord with the witnesses, an explanation in terms of convergent translation or influence from other versions is preferable here.

9a1 and 7a1 probably do not represent alternative modifications of an older Syriac text corresponding to the Masoretic text. The difference between 9a1 and the BTR is in the order of elements. In v. 28, 9a1 is more likely to represent the original Syriac because it is more logical for a translator to shorten the second reference to identical participants than the first one. The version of the BTR must result from further modification of an

⁸⁶ As claimed by Burney, *Notes*, 8; Stade—Schwally, *Books of Kings*, 62.

⁸⁷ The version of Ant. may represent a more drastic modification. Thus Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien* I–III, [534]: 'L gibt M freier wieder, als die gewöhnliche griechische Übersetzung.'

already modified Syriac text. Possibly, the BTR sought to bring about an alternation of explicit and implicit references to King David in v. 28:

סכח חלכא דמנא סאדכו ... סחלל סנחמס, סמכול סנכ חלכא
 'then King David answered and said ... and she entered before him and stood
 before the king'

2.5.3. 1Kgs 1:41

סכל גוכוכב ססס למ 'and all who had been invited to him'
 וכל הקראים אשר אתו 'and all those invited who were with him'

The Peshitta reduced two clauses in the Masoretic text to one without changing the meaning. In v. 49 an almost identical Syriac text appears:

1Kgs 1:49
 סנבל סחלמס ܕܒܥܝܐ גוכוכב ססס לאדנכא סמכ
 'then all the men who had been invited to Adonijah were afraid and rose'
 ויחרדו ויקמו כל הקראים אשר לאדניהו
 'then all those invited to Adonijah trembled and rose'

The combination *ܐܫܪ ܠ* is not rendered in the usual manner.⁸⁸ Unlike the preposition *ܠ* in *ܠܐܕܢܝܗܘ*, *ܠ* in *ܠܐܕܢܝܟܐ* functions as complement to the verb *ܕܒܥܝܐ*. This suggests that in v. 49, as in v. 41, the Peshitta translated freely.⁸⁹

The agreement in expression between vv. 41 and 49 may be accidental since both verses provide *ad sensum* renderings of a slightly different Hebrew. Intentional levelling is unlikely because the Peshitta makes no effort to make the first part of the verses correspond to one another (v. 41 *ܠܐܕܢܝܟܐ*; v. 49 *ܕܒܥܝܐ גוכוכב*).

That the addition of *ܕܒܥܝܐ* in v. 49 is not syntactically required can be deduced from a comparable phrase in v. 41 which has not been thus expanded. Possibly the addition of *ܕܒܥܝܐ* was prompted by the phrase *סמכ סאדכו*, 'and they arose and each went his way', in the sequel of v. 49.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ *ܐܫܪ ܠ* is most commonly rendered as *ܘ*. In most instances where MT Kings uses *ܐܫܪ ܠ* to express a genitive relationship, P offers a construction with *ܘ*: 1 Kgs 1:8; 6:22; 10:28; 15:27; 16:15; 17:9 (various MSS); 19:3; 2 Kgs 7:2; 11:10; 14:11. Where *ܐܫܪ ܠ* is followed by a personal pronoun suffix, P uses *ܘܗܝܐ*: 1 Kgs 1:33; 4:2; 15:20; 22:31; 2 Kgs 16:13. An alternative construction adds the particle *ܘܗܝܐ*: 1 Kgs 20:4; 2 Kgs 8:6.

⁸⁹ Cf. the only other instances of *ܕܒܥܝܐ* in P Kings: 2 Kgs 10:19, 20.

⁹⁰ For other examples of reduction and discussion, see chapter 13, section 3.

2.5.4. *1Kgs 2:2–3*

ܐܘܪܘܩܝܢ ܘܒܝܥܝܢ
 ܘܫܡܪܝܢ ܐܬ ܡܫܡܪܬ ܝܗܘܗ ܐܠܗܝܢ
 ܘܠܠܚܬ ܒܕܪܒܝܢ
 ܘܠܫܡܪ ܡܫܡܪܬܝܢ ܘܡܫܦܦܬܝܢ ܘܥܕܘܬܝܢ

- (2) 'be strong and be a man,
 (3) and keep the observances of the Lord, your God,
 and walk in his ways
 and keep his statutes and his commandments and his judgments and his testimonies'

ܐܘܪܘܩܝܢ ܘܒܝܥܝܢ
 ܘܫܡܪܝܢ ܐܬ ܡܫܡܪܬ ܝܗܘܗ ܐܠܗܝܢ
 ܘܠܠܚܬ ܒܕܪܒܝܢ
 ܘܠܫܡܪ ܡܫܡܪܬܝܢ ܘܡܫܦܦܬܝܢ ܘܥܕܘܬܝܢ

- (2) 'be strong and become a man,
 (3) and keep the charge of YHWH, your God,
 to walk in his ways,
 to keep his statutes, his commandments and his judgments and his testimonies'

The two forms of the Hebrew infinitive construct in subordinate clauses in *1Kgs 2:3* are matched by two imperatives preceded by *ܐ* in the Peshitta. As a result, in the Syriac text cited above there is a continuous string of five coordinated clauses containing imperatives.⁹¹ These transformations involve a change in meaning: whereas the Hebrew text explains how Solomon is to keep the charge of YHWH, the Peshitta presents a list of exhortations.

There are more cases in Kings where the Peshitta appears to have assimilated the Hebrew infinitive construct to the tense of the preceding Syriac verb (Waw-perfect, Waw-imperfect, and Waw-imperative).⁹² When considering passages in Kings containing deuteronomistic phraseology,⁹³ it appears that the Peshitta renders the Hebrew infinitive as a finite verb only when preceded by a sequence of finite verbs of the same tense.⁹⁴ When preceded by a single finite verb, the Hebrew infinitive is rendered as an infinitive in Syriac as well.⁹⁵ This seems to suggest that the motive for rendering

⁹¹ See the presentations of clause hierarchy of *1Kgs 2:1–12* in Talstra—Jenner—Van Peursen, 'Linguistic Data Types and Analytical Instruments', 68–69.

⁹² Several of these instances are discussed in Williams, *Studies*, 136–139, 145. See also chapter 13, section 1.1, on the relative distribution of tenses in MT and P.

⁹³ On Kings' passages with deuteronomistic phraseology, see chapter 5, section 1.

⁹⁴ Thus *1Kgs 2:3*; *6:12*; *11:33*, 38.

⁹⁵ Thus *1Kgs 3:14*; *8:25*; *9:4*.

a Hebrew infinitive as a finite verb in Syriac was to simplify complicated constructions, and that the change is related to the style of translation adopted. The issue, however, requires more research.

2.6. *Changes in Epithets, Titles, and Designations*

2.6.1. *Changes in the Designation of Narrative Characters in 1 Kings 1*

In the Masoretic text of 1 Kings 1, epithets and titles linked to narrative characters roughly follow three patterns:

1. A person's identity is stated in full only when introduced by the narrator or by a speaker. Thus:
 - 'Adonijah, the son of Haggith' in vv. 5, 11; 'Adonijah' in vv. 8, 13, 18, 24, 41, 42, 43, 49, 50, 51. 'King Adonijah' in v. 25 is contextual.
 - 'Bathsheba, the mother of Solomon' in v. 11; 'Bathsheba' in vv. 15, 16, 28, 31. In 1 Kgs 2:13, when Bathsheba reenters the narrative after a space of 35 verses, she is again introduced as 'Bathsheba, Solomon's mother'.
 - 'Jonathan, the son of Abiathar' in v. 42; 'Jonathan' in v. 43.
 - 'Joab, the son of Zeruiah' in v. 7; 'Joab, commander of the army' in v. 19; 'Joab' in v. 41.
2. The name appears consistently with a particular epithet in apposition:
 - 'Abishag, the Shunammite' in vv. 3, 15; also in 1 Kgs 2:17, 21, 22.
 - 'Abiathar, the priest' in vv. 7, 19, 25, 42.
 - 'Zadok, the priest' in vv. 8, 26, 32, 34, 38, 39, 44.
 - 'Nathan, the prophet' in vv. 8, 9, 22, 23, 32, 34, 38, 44, 45. The exception is 'Nathan' in v. 11.
 - 'Benaiah, son of Jehoiada' in vv. 8, 26, 32, 36, 38, 44. The exception is 'Benaiah' in v. 10.
3. A person is referred to in various ways, sometimes by name, sometimes by title, and sometimes by name and title. The designation chosen depends on the narrative context and on the family relationship or social position of the speaker. This applies to David and Solomon:
 - 'King David' in vv. 1, 13, 28, 32, 38; 'the king' in vv. 2, 3, 4 (2×), 15 (3×), 16 (2×), 22, 23 (2×), 28 (2×), 29, 31, 32, 33, 36, 44, 47, 48; 'our lord, David' in v. 11; 'David' in v. 8; 'my lord, the king' in vv. 2 (2×), 13, 18, 20 (2×), 21, 24, 27 (2×), 36, 37; 'my lord' in v. 17; 'my lord, King David' in vv. 31, 37; 'our lord, King David' in vv. 43, 47.
 - 'Solomon' in vv. 11, 37, 38, 39, 43, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53; 'Solomon, his brother' in v. 10; 'your son, Solomon' in v. 12; 'Solomon, your son' in

vv. 13, 17, 30; 'Solomon, your servant' in vv. 19, 26; 'my son, Solomon' in v. 21; 'Solomon, my son' in v. 33; 'King Solomon' in vv. 34, 51 (2×), 53 (2×).

For the patterns 1 and 2, the Peshitta most often follows the Masoretic text. In a few instances, however, the Peshitta, or the BTR, seems to observe the patterns more strictly than the Masoretic text does. Thus, in v. 11, **נבִי**, 'the prophet', is added to 'Nathan' in conformity with vv. 10, 22, 23, 32, 34, 38, 44. In v. 11, **בִּן חַגְגִּית**, 'son of Haggith', is lacking in the BTR. The phrase was probably omitted because in v. 5 the narrator's reference to Adonijah already has the apposition. Yet, the phrase is not inappropriate in v. 11 since there Nathan refers to Adonijah for the first time. In v. 10 the Peshitta adds **בִּן יְהוֹיָאָדָא**, 'son of Jehoiada', to 'Benaiah' in accordance with the designation occurring elsewhere in 1Kings 1–2.⁹⁶ As the phrase is not added in 1Kgs 2:30 (2×), it is more likely that the addition of 'son of Jehoiada' in v. 10 was meant as a harmonization with v. 8.⁹⁷

For pattern 3 as well the Peshitta usually follows the Masoretic text. The sparse deviations from this are dealt with elsewhere in this chapter.⁹⁸

2.6.2. *Different Patterns in the Titles of Kings*

In 1Kings 1–2, the titles of kings may vary between parallel passages of the Masoretic text, the BTR, and 9a1.⁹⁹ These variations can only be evaluated properly within the framework of an inquiry into the distribution of diverse patterns of titles over 1 and 2Kings.

In the Masoretic text in 68 instances the designation **הַמֶּלֶךְ** is followed by the name of the king (pattern x **הַמֶּלֶךְ**).¹⁰⁰ In only two instances does the name of the king precede **הַמֶּלֶךְ** (pattern **x הַמֶּלֶךְ**).¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ 1Kgs 1:19, 26, 32, 36, 44; 1Kgs 2:25, 29, 34, 35, 46.

⁹⁷ See section 2 above.

⁹⁸ In v. 2, 'our lord, the king', see section 2.3.1; v. 11, 'our lord, the king' in the majority of MSS, see section 2.1.1.6; v. 15, 'King David' in the BTR, see sections 2.1.1.5 and 2.6.2; v. 32, 'the king' in the majority of MSS, see section 2.6.2; v. 51, 'King Solomon' (2×), see sections 2.1.1.6 and 2.6.2.

⁹⁹ Thus in 1Kgs 1:15, 32, 51; 2:17, 29, 35, 41.

¹⁰⁰ MT 1Kgs 1:13, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 39, 43, 51, 53 (2×); 2:19, 22, 23, 25, 29, 45; 4:1; 5:7 (2×), 27; 6:2; 7:13, 14, 40, 45, 51; 8:1, 2, 5; 9:15, 26, 28; 10:10, 13 (2×), 16, 21, 23; 11:1; 12:6, 18 (2×); 14:25, 27; 15:1, 18, 20, 22 (2×); 2Kgs 3:6; 12:7, 8; 16:10, 11 (2×), 15, 16, 17; 18:9, 13, 17; 19:1, 5; 20:14; 22:3; 23:23, 29.

¹⁰¹ MT 1Kgs 2:17; 2Kgs 9:15.

In the Peshitta (BTR and / or 9a1), pattern x **حله** occurs 82 times.¹⁰² Pattern **حله** x appears in 13 instances.¹⁰³ It is shared by 9a1 and the BTR only three times.¹⁰⁴ Ten times it occurs in only one text tradition: seven times in 9a1;¹⁰⁵ three times in the BTR;¹⁰⁶ once it appears in two early manuscripts of the BTR only.¹⁰⁷

In 62 instances the pattern x **حله** in the BTR and / or 9a1 corresponds to the Hebrew x **המלך**.¹⁰⁸ Where the Masoretic text has **המלך** x, the Peshitta has the corresponding pattern **ח** **ח** x.¹⁰⁹

There is no concord between the Peshitta and the Masoretic text in the following instances:

- Differences shared by the BTR and 9a1:
 - Pattern x **حله** instead of pattern **המלך** x: does not occur.
 - Pattern x **حله** instead of one element in the Masoretic text (either proper noun or **המלך**): 1 Kgs 1:15,¹¹⁰ 5:1 (1st); 2:35, 41; 3:16; 9:14 (2 ×); 10:2, 12, 27.
 - Pattern x **حله** instead of two unconnected elements in the Masoretic text: 1 Kgs 11:27.
 - Pattern **ח** **ח** x instead of pattern **המלך** x: 2 Kgs 18:17; 20:14.
 - Pattern **ח** **ח** x instead of one element in the Masoretic text: does not occur.
 - One element instead of pattern x **המלך** in the Masoretic text:

¹⁰² P 1 Kgs 1:13, 15, 31, 32 (6h18 7a1 8h4 9a1), 34, 37, 38, 39, 43, 51 (2 ×; 1st minus 6h18 8h4), 53 (2 ×); 2:19, 22, 23, 25, 29 (2 ×; 2nd BTR only), 35, 41, 45; 3:16; 5:1 (BTR minus 6h18 8a1), 7 (2 ×), 27; 7:13, 14, 40, 45, 48 (BTR), 51; 8:1, 2, 5; 9:14 (2 ×), 15, 26, 27 (BTR), 28; 10:2, 10 (2 ×; 1st BTR; 2nd 6ph2 9a1), 12, 13 (1st), 16, 21, 23, 26 (BTR), 27; 11:1, 27, 28; 12:6, 18 (2 ×; 1st P; 2nd BTR only); 13:6 (9a1); 14:25, 27; 15:1, 18 (9a1), 22 (2 ×; 1st P; 2nd BTR only); 2 Kgs 3:6; 12:7, 8; 16:10, 11 (1st), 15, 16, 17; 18:9, 13; 19:1 (minus 6h18 8a1*), 5 (BTR); 22:3; 23:13 (BTR), 23, 29; 25:16 (BTR).

¹⁰³ P 1 Kgs 2:17 (9a1); 6:2 (9a1); 9:27 (9a1); 10:26 (9a1); 15:20 (9a1); 17:1 (BTR); 2 Kgs 9:15; 16:11 (9a1 lacking), 12 (9a1 lacking); 17:1 (9a1); 18:17 (minus 6h18 6ph2); 19:1 (6h18 8a1), 5 (9a1); 20:14.

¹⁰⁴ 2 Kgs 9:15; 18:17 (minus 6h18 6ph2); 20:14.

¹⁰⁵ In 9a1 1 Kgs 2:17; 6:2; 9:27; 10:26; 15:20; 2 Kgs 17:1; 19:5.

¹⁰⁶ BTR 1 Kgs 17:1; 2 Kgs 16:11, 12.

¹⁰⁷ 6h18 8a1 2 Kgs 19:1.

¹⁰⁸ P 1 Kgs 1:13, 31, 32 (6h16 8h4 9a1), 34, 37, 38, 39, 43, 51 (2nd), 53 (2 ×); 2:19, 22, 23, 25, 29 (1st), 45; 5:7 (2 ×), 27; 7:13, 14, 40, 45, 51; 8:1, 2, 5; 9:15, 26, 28; 10:10 (2nd 9a1), 13 (1st), 16, 21, 23; 11:1; 12:6, 18 (2 ×; 2nd BTR); 14:25, 27; 15:1, 18 (9a1), 20 (9a1), 22 (2 ×; 2nd BTR); 2 Kgs 3:6; 12:7, 8; 16:10, 11 (1st), 15, 16, 17; 18:9, 13; 19:1 (minus 6h18, 8a1*), 5 (BTR); 22:3; 23:23, 29.

¹⁰⁹ 1 Kgs 2:17 (9a1); 2 Kgs 9:15.

¹¹⁰ However, 9a1 and the BTR use pattern x **حله** for different instances of **המלך** in MT 1 Kgs 1:15. The expansion attested by the BTR can be explained as harmonization (see section 2.1.1.5). 9a1 may represent a subsequent erroneous transposition of this expansion.

- חלכ only: 1 Kgs 10:13 (2nd).
- Proper noun only: 1 Kgs 4:1.
- Differences between the Masoretic text and the BTR not shared by 9a1:
 - Pattern x חלכ instead of pattern המלך x : 1 Kgs 2:17.
 - Pattern x חלכ instead of one element in the Masoretic text (either proper noun or המלך): 1 Kgs 2:29 (2nd); 5:1; 7:48; 9:27; 10:10 (1st), 26; 11:28; 2 Kgs 23:13; 25:16.
 - Pattern חלכ x instead of one element in the Masoretic text: 1 Kgs 17:1.
 - One element instead of pattern x המלך :
 - חלכ only: 1 Kgs 1:32 (BTR minus 6h18 7a1 8h4).
 - Proper noun only: 1 Kgs 6:2; 10:10 (2nd; minus 6ph2); 15:20.
- Differences between the Masoretic text and the BTR where 9a1 is not attested:
 - Pattern חלכ x instead of pattern x המלך : 2 Kgs 16:11 (2nd).
 - Pattern חלכ x instead of one element in the Masoretic text: 2 Kgs 16:12.
- Differences between the Masoretic text and 9a1 not shared by the BTR:
 - Pattern x חלכ instead of pattern המלך x : None.
 - Pattern x חלכ instead of one element in the Masoretic text (either proper noun or המלך): 1 Kgs 13:6.
 - Pattern חלכ x instead of y המלך x ('x king of y'): 2 Kgs 17:1.
 - Pattern חלכ x instead of pattern x המלך : 1 Kgs 6:2; 15:20, 22 (2nd); 2 Kgs 19:5.
 - Pattern חלכ x instead of one element in the Masoretic text: 1 Kgs 9:27; 10:26.
 - One element instead of pattern x המלך :
 - Proper noun only: 1 Kgs 12:18 (2nd).

In most instances, the differences between the Masoretic text and the BTR and / or 9a1 have no parallels in the ancient versions. This lack of textual support and the high number of instances involved suggest that the deviations derive from the translator or some later scribe.

We may, therefore, conclude that where the BTR and / or 9a1 have a designation consisting of two elements over against a single element (either המלך or the proper noun) in the Masoretic text, we are dealing with an expansion; cases where the Peshitta exhibits only one element of a bipartite pattern in the Masoretic text are to be considered reductions; cases where bipartite designations exhibit a different order in the Peshitta and the Masoretic text are to be interpreted as modifications.

Among the expansions, the sequence x חַלַּק predominates.¹¹¹ This is to be expected, since the sequences x הַמֶּלֶךְ and x חַלַּק are the standard patterns in the Masoretic text and the Peshitta. It is surprising, therefore, to find in the BTR and 9a1 a few expansions of the pattern x חַלַּק as well.¹¹²

It is not less peculiar to find seven instances where the Masoretic text has x הַמֶּלֶךְ and the BTR and / or 9a1 offer(s) the deviating pattern x חַלַּק .¹¹³ This stands in marked contrast to the sole instance where the BTR renders x הַמֶּלֶךְ as x חַלַּק (1Kgs 2:17) in accordance with the majority pattern.

It appears that both 9a1 and the BTR show a tendency to expand towards a double designation. However, they diverge in the degree to which they favour the pattern x חַלַּק . Whereas the BTR shows a pronounced preference for modification or expansion towards pattern x חַלַּק , 9a1 exhibits only a slight preference for modification or expansion towards this pattern above pattern x חַלַּק .¹¹⁴ When the instances common to both traditions are left out of consideration, 9a1 even appears to have a clear preference for pattern x חַלַּק .¹¹⁵ However, there is no clear-cut distinction between the BTR and 9a1 as to the pattern favoured in instances unique to each tradition. Thus, the BTR of 1Kgs 17:1 has an expansion towards pattern x חַלַּק which is not shared by 9a1,¹¹⁶ whereas in 1Kgs 13:6 9a1 has an expansion towards pattern x חַלַּק that does not appear in the BTR.

What may have prompted the translator or later scribes to alter some of the references to the kings encountered in the Hebrew source or in the original Peshitta, respectively? There are no signs that the Peshitta (BTR and / or 9a1) pursued uniformity of designation. Like the Masoretic text, the Peshitta refers to kings in various ways: by the personal name (x), the title 'king', or by designations of the type 'x, the king', 'King x', and 'x, king of y'. Though no strictly observed system in the modifications, expansions, and abridgements exhibited by the Peshitta vis-à-vis the Masoretic text is discernible, part of the deviations, allow for an explanation in terms of stylistic devices:

¹¹¹ P 1Kgs 1:15, 51 (1st; minus 6h18 8h4); 2:35, 41; 3:16; 5:1 (BTR minus 6h18 8a1); 7:48 (BTR); 9:14 (2x), 27 (BTR); 10:2, 10 (1st BTR), 12, 26 (BTR), 27; 11:28 (BTR); 13:6 (9a1); 2Kgs 23:13 (BTR); 25:16 (BTR).

¹¹² 1Kgs 9:27 (9a1); 10:26 (9a1); 17:1 (BTR); 2Kgs 16:12 (BTR).

¹¹³ 1Kgs 6:2 (9a1); 15:20 (9a1), 22 (2nd, 9a1); 2Kgs 16:11 (2nd, BTR); 18:17 (minus 6h18 6ph2); 19:1 (6h18 8a1), 5 (9a1); 20:14.

¹¹⁴ The total proportion for the BTR is 18:5 (instances common to 9a1 and instances peculiar to the BTR combined). The total proportion for 9a1 is 11:9.

¹¹⁵ Proportion 1:7.

¹¹⁶ As to 2Kgs 16:11, 12, where the BTR modifies and expands towards pattern x חַלַּק , one cannot speak definitively, since for these verses 9a1 is not preserved.

- Expansions that may be explained in terms of harmonization and levelling occur in:
 - BTR 1Kgs 1:15 **חַלַּק וְאָמַר** is harmonized with v. 13 (command—execution).
 - 1Kgs 1:51 **וְיַחַדְלֵם עִלְיָהֶם**. **חַלַּק** is supplemented in accordance with **וְיַחַדְלֵם עִלְיָהֶם** later in the same verse.
 - 1Kgs 2:41 **וְיַחַדְלֵם עִלְיָהֶם** is harmonized with the parallel phrase in v. 29.
 - 1Kgs 9:14 **חַלַּק שִׁנִּיר לְחַלַּק עִלְיָהֶם** shows levelling of dissimilar designations.
 - BTR 1Kgs 9:27 **חַלַּק שִׁנִּיר** (**9a1 חַלַּק שִׁנִּיר**). **חַלַּק** is supplemented in accordance with **חַלַּק עִלְיָהֶם** in vv. 26 and 28.
 - A few expansions, resulting in full references, appear where a new section in the narrative opens, or where new subject matter is introduced: 1Kgs 2:35; 3:16; 7:48; 10:2, 26, 27; 17:1.
 - Contextual adaptation occurs in the BTR 2Kgs 23:13 **חַלַּק בַּעֲבַד**. The addition is meant to prevent confusion with **חַלַּק וְאָמַר** earlier in the verse.
 - Where two references to the same king follow one another closely, the second one is sometimes shortened:
 - 1Kgs 10:13 **הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה ... חַלַּק עִלְיָהֶם** instead of **... הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה חַלַּק עִלְיָהֶם**.
 - BTR (minus 6h19 8h4) 1Kgs 1:31–32 **חַלַּק (32) ... חַלַּק וְאָמַר** instead of **חַלַּק (32) ... חַלַּק וְאָמַר** in 9a1 6h19 8h4 (= Masoretic text).¹¹⁷
 - In the BTR of 1Kgs 10:10 the first reference is expanded and the second one is shortened (not in 6ph2 7a1): **וְיַחַדְלֵם עִלְיָהֶם ... חַלַּק עִלְיָהֶם**. Compare 9a1 **וְיַחַדְלֵם עִלְיָהֶם ... חַלַּק** = **לְמֶלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה**.
 - BTR 1Kgs 15:18–20 **חַלַּק וְאָמַר (20) ... חַלַּק וְאָמַר**.¹¹⁸ Compare **הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה ... חַלַּק וְאָמַר** and 9a1 **חַלַּק וְאָמַר ... חַלַּק וְאָמַר**.
 - 1Kgs 12:18 9a1 **חַלַּק וְאָמַר ... חַלַּק וְאָמַר** instead of **הַמֶּלֶךְ רְחַבְעָם ... חַלַּק וְאָמַר**.
- The second reference is left unshortened in the BTR of 1Kgs 12:18 and in 15:22 (**חַלַּק וְאָמַר ... חַלַּק וְאָמַר**).¹¹⁹ In the BTR of 1Kgs 2:29 it is actually expanded: **וְיַחַדְלֵם עִלְיָהֶם ... חַלַּק עִלְיָהֶם**.

¹¹⁷ It is possible that the BTR was influenced by Ant., which also lacks a reference to David, the more so since the minus is not shared by all MSS attesting the BTR.

¹¹⁸ In the BTR, **חַלַּק וְאָמַר** is added in conformity to **חַלַּק וְאָמַר** in 1Kgs 15:17.

¹¹⁹ In 1Kgs 15:22 9a1 has **חַלַּק וְאָמַר ... חַלַּק וְאָמַר**.

The reason why 9a1 and / or the BTR in a few instances deviate from the standard pattern and use pattern $\text{חלכ} x$ is unclear. Text-historical factors and considerations of style could have played a part in the following instances:

- In 2 Kgs 17:1 9a1 pattern $\text{חלכ} x$ may result from shortening $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ} \text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$ (BTR = Masoretic text) to $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$.
- 2 Kgs 19:5 9a1 and 2 Kgs 20:14 mention $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$ along with $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$. The former designation, consisting of a name and a title, is an adaptation to the internal structure of the latter.
- In 1 Kgs 15:20, 22 (2nd), both in 9a1, and 2 Kgs 16:11 (2nd), 12 (2nd), both in the BTR, instances of the pattern $\text{חלכ} x$ occur that are not reflected by $\text{חלכ} x$ in the Masoretic text. Due to these deviations, throughout 1 Kgs 15:18–22 9a1¹²⁰ and 2 Kgs 16:10–15,¹²¹ a lively alternation of designations of the same king occurs. It is conceivable that the variation was intentionally created for stylistic reasons. Moreover, in 2 Kgs 16:12 (2nd) ‘Ahaz’ may have been expanded to $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$ in accordance with $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$ in v. 11 (2nd).

The fact that both textual traditions include instances of $\text{חלכ} x$ that do not run parallel to $\text{חלכ} x$ suggests that the former pattern represented good Syriac. The data do not allow for linking the deviations of patterns $\text{חלכ} x$ and $x \text{חלכ}$ to different stages of Syriac. It suffices to say that already in the Syriac text common to 9a1 and the BTR alterations towards both patterns appear.

Still, where text traditions differ from one another as to the bipartite pattern chosen, the question of their relative chronology arises. This question can be answered by means of textual comparison. A deviation from the Masoretic text which is represented by one text tradition only may be expected to be secondary to the reading that is in accordance with the Masoretic text. As we have seen, both 9a1 and the BTR contain deviations from the Masoretic text that are not shared by the other tradition and which are thus to be considered secondary, as in 1 Kgs 2:17 where 9a1 follows the Masoretic text and the BTR modifies secondarily, thus ‘conforming to usage elsewhere in Kings’.¹²² Text traditions exhibiting contrasting expansions, as in 1 Kgs 9:27; 10:26, are not likely to have arisen independently. It is tempting

¹²⁰ 1 Kgs 15:18 $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$, 20 $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$, 22 (1st) $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$, 22 (2nd) $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$.

¹²¹ 2 Kgs 16:10 (2x) $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$, 11 (1st) $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$, (2nd) $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$, 12 (1st) $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$, (2nd) $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$, (3rd) $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$, 15 $\text{חלכ} \text{חלכ}$. 9a1 is lacking in 2 Kgs 16:10–15.

¹²² Walter, *Studies*, section (227).

to assume that the primary expansion x חלכ, preserved in 9a1, was secondarily changed in the BTR towards the more common pattern x חלכ. Then, however, it is strange to find that the BTR left the pattern x חלכ unmodified in 2 Kgs 18:17; 20:14 (and in 2 Kgs 16:11, 12, if the original translator had introduced it there), while it even introduced the pattern in 1 Kgs 17:1. Apparently, in the transmission of the Peshitta of Kings the scribes did not pursue a rigid consistency of expression.

2.6.3. 1 Kgs 2:8

הַ עַבְדְּךָ וְהַבְּנֵי־הַיְהוּדָה מִבְּהַר הַחֹרִים
 'from the tribe of Benjamin, from the House of Horim'

בן הימיני מבחורים
 'a Benjaminite from Bahurim'

In the Peshitta of Kings, gentilic names preceded by the article in Hebrew are rendered in various ways:

- A. as a substantivized adjective (for instance, in 1 Kgs 1:3, 15; 2:7, 17, 21, 22; 9:20; 11:5, 33; 2 Kgs 3:21).
- B. as הַ + tribal name (1 Kgs 2:8 only).
- C. as הַ + toponym (1 Kgs 17:1; 21:17, 28; 2 Kgs 1:3, 8; 9:36).
 Construction C occurs moreover
 - a. as a literal rendering of מִן אֲשֶׁר + toponym (2 Kgs 5:4; 14:25—Peshitta and Targum Jonathan agree with the Masoretic text).
 - b. as a rendering of מִן + toponym (1 Kgs 19:16—Targum Jonathan agrees with the Masoretic text).

Constructions B and C occur only after a personal name. Conversely, however, when in the Hebrew text a personal name is followed by a gentilic with the article, the Peshitta may also use construction A, as in 1 Kgs 2:7 בֶּזַיִל הַגִּלְעָדִי for בְּרִזְלֵי הַגִּלְעָדִי, 'Barzillai, the Gileadite'; 1 Kgs 14:21 נַחֲמָה הַעַמּוֹנִיתָ for נַעֲמָה הַעַמּוֹנִיתָ, 'Naamah, the Ammonitess'.¹²³

Targum Jonathan is more consistent than the Peshitta in the application of these constructions. When a personal name is followed by a gentilic in Hebrew, Targum Jonathan nearly always uses construction C, as in 1 Kgs 1:3, 15; 2:17, 21, 22; 14:21 (Peshitta: construction A), as well as in 1 Kgs 17:1; 21:17,

¹²³ See also 1 Kgs 11:29 אַחִיָּה הַשִּׁלּוֹנִיתָ, 'Ahijah, the Shilonite prophet', for אחיה השילני הנוביא, 'Ahijah, the Shilonite, the prophet'. In 1 Kgs 12:15; 15:29 P offers the same expression אַחִיָּה הַשִּׁלּוֹנִיתָ for אחיה השילני of MT.

28; 2 Kgs 1:3, 8; 9:36 (Peshitta: construction C). The sole exception is 1 Kgs 2:7 (Targum Jonathan: ברזילי גלעדאה).

In the Peshitta construction C involves a departure from the Hebrew text only in connection with the prophets Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1; 21:17, 28; 2 Kgs 1:3, 8; 9:36) and Elisha (1 Kgs 19:16).

As construction B occurs only in 1 Kgs 2:8, it is conceivable that its appearance is related to the addition of אַבִּישָׁג.¹²⁴

2.7. Contemporization

2.7.1. 1 Kgs 1:3, 15; 2:17, 21, 22

In 1 Kings 1–2, Abishag is called ‘the Shunammite’ in the Masoretic text,¹²⁵ but אַבִּישָׁג, ‘the Shilommite’, in the Peshitta.

Compared with the spelling of the Hebrew gentilic, the Peshitta replaces Waw by Yudh and Nun by Lamadh, and adds Waw. Other ancient versions¹²⁶ have forms presupposing השונמית. Though Lamadh replaces Nun word medially in one instance in the Peshitta of Kings,¹²⁷ in the case of אַבִּישָׁג an explanation on the basis of similarity of letters is improbable due to the combination of letter differences and the structure of the resulting form. The deviation from the Hebrew, therefore, is likely to be intentional.

אַבִּישָׁג also occurs in the Peshitta of Cant 7:1 (2×), where it corresponds to השולמית, ‘the Shulammitte’. According to a Jewish medieval exegetical tradition, the Hebrew השולמית in that passage is the feminine form of שלמה, ‘Solomon’, and refers to Solomon’s bride.¹²⁸ This raises the question whether the form אַבִּישָׁג in 1 Kings 1–2 intentionally associates Abishag with the Shulammitte or Solomonite girl of Cant 7:1.¹²⁹ However, Kings does not even hint that Abishag became Solomon’s wife. More importantly, the Peshitta renders השונמית as אַבִּישָׁג not only in the case of Abishag but also in the case of Elisha’s hostess mentioned in 2 Kgs 4:12, 25, 36.¹³⁰ This

¹²⁴ See section 2.4.4.

¹²⁵ Spelled השונמית in 1 Kgs 1:3, 15; 2:17, and השנמית in 1 Kgs 2:21, 22.

¹²⁶ LXX, Ant., TJ, VG.

¹²⁷ See chapter 6, section 1.1.6.6.

¹²⁸ See Rowley, ‘The Meaning of “The Shulammitte”’, 84–91, esp. 84–85.

¹²⁹ Thus Berlinger, *Könige*, 9.

¹³⁰ Considering that in 2 Kgs 4:8 P mentions Shiloh (שִׁלּוֹ versus שׁוֹנָם in MT) as the woman’s residence, it is surprising that in 2 Kgs 4:12 she is referred to as אַבִּישָׁג, ‘Shilommite’. Rather, one would expect P to have אַבִּישָׁגָה, which is the female counterpart of אַבִּישָׁג, ‘the Shilonite man’, attested in 1 Kgs 11:29; 12:15; 15:29. The simplest explanation is that in

suggests that, rather than being peculiar to 1 Kings 1–2, **שילוח** is the Peshitta's usual rendering of **השונמית**. The true basis for the consonantal differences is clarified by Eusebius's statement that in his days Shunem was called Shulem.¹³¹ The identity of Shulem and Shunem is also supported by the fact that in the text tradition of Cant 7:1 in the Septuagint, forms with Lambda as well as with Nu are attested.¹³² It is quite possible, therefore, that **שילוח** in 1 Kings 1–2 represents a contemporization.

2.7.2. 1 Kgs 1:33, 38, 45

שילוח	'Shiloah'
גחון	'Gihon'
LXX (Rahlfs)	Γών 'Gihon'
TJ	שילוחא 'Shiloah'

The Peshitta and Targum Jonathan identify the spring **גחון**, 'Gihon', with **השילוח**, 'the Shiloah', of Isa 8:6. **שליח**, literally 'emission', originally denoted the conduit that ran from the source rather than the source itself.¹³³ This is also indicated by the fact that Isa 8:6 speaks of the gently flowing waters of Shiloah. Later the word came to designate the pool to which the springwater was conducted.¹³⁴ Thus, Peshitta and Targum Jonathan may have contemporized the name of the place.¹³⁵

Alternatively, 'Shiloah' could be part of a reinterpretation which also includes the rendering 'fuller's spring' for 'spring of Rogel' in the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan of 1 Kgs 1:9. In light of 2 Kgs 18:17 and Isa 7:3, where the conduit is stated to be on the highway to the fuller's field, the spring of Rogel could have been renamed as the fuller's spring. In the Peshitta of Kings there are more places where influence from the book of Isaiah can be detected.¹³⁶ The rendering 'fuller's spring' for 'spring of Rogel' is also found in the Peshitta of 2 Sam 17:17.

2 Kgs 4:8 P originally read **שלום**, but that in the course of transmission the final Mem was accidentally dropped. If this explanation applies, P was consistent in rendering **שונם** and **שונמית** as **שלום** and **שלומית**, respectively. For **שלום** instead of **שילום**, 'peace', in MT 2 Kgs 4:23, see chapter 8, section 1.21.

¹³¹ Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann), 158, 11 f.

¹³² LXX A [= Rahlfs] Σουλαμίτις; LXX B Σουμανέτις.

¹³³ Cf. one of the meanings of Akkadian *šilīhtu* proposed in AHW 1235b: 3) Seitenkanal?

¹³⁴ John 9:7 Σιλωάμ; cf. Neh 3:15 **השילוח**.

¹³⁵ See also Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 58–60.

¹³⁶ See Walter, 'The Use of Sources', 188–199, and the case of 1 Kgs 14:10, discussed in chapter 13, section 5.

A third possibility is a linguistic connection between גחון and גיח. According to Ishodad, גיח is a Hebrew name referring to the fact that the water of the source spurts intermittently in the air.¹³⁷ On comparable grounds, he adds, the Nile is called Gihon. The name Gihon can be connected to גיח, 'break forth, bubble up' (Syriac ܓܝܚ). The fact that Ishodad mentions Gihon when commenting on גיח is interesting. Possibly, the connection made by Ishodad actually underlies the rendering of גחון as גיח.

Since all other ancient versions transliterate גחון, the agreement between Peshitta and Targum Jonathan is probably due to dependence on the same exegetical tradition.¹³⁸

2.8. Unexplained Variation in Translation

2.8.1. 1Kgs 2:4

לכחלם פגוד, כפפגל'ה יך חלם לבחם י סגך חלם נפחם
 'to walk before me in truth from all their heart and from all their soul'
 ללכת לפני באמת בכל לבבם ובכל נפשם
 'to walk before me in truth with all their heart and with all their soul'

1Kgs 8:23

והכלם סגכח'ה יך חלם לבחם י סגכח'ה יך חלם נפחם
 'who walk before you in truth with all their heart and with all their soul'
 והלכים לפניך בכל לבם
 'who walk before you with all their heart'

1Kgs 8:48

והפג'ה יך חלם לבחם י סגך חלם נפחם
 'and they turn to you from all their heart and from all their soul'
 וישבו אלך בכל לבבם ובכל נפשם
 'and they turn to you with all their heart and all their soul'

1Kgs 14:8

סגל'ה יך חלם לבחם י
 ואשר הלך אחרי בכל לבבו
 'and who walked after me with all his heart'

¹³⁷ Van Den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išodad de Merv*, 117.

¹³⁸ Dray (*Translation and Interpretation*, 58–60) apparently overlooks that the substitution occurs not only in TJ, but also in P. As yet another possibility for the substitution she mentions

2 Kgs 10:31

לכלת לכה בנהגתיהם וזכור אלם א ודאמפולת הך חלת לבת
 'to walk in the law of the Lord, the God of Israel, from all his heart'

ללכת בתורת יהוה אלהי ישראל בכל לבבו
 'to walk in the law of YHWH, the God of Israel, with all his heart'

2 Kgs 23:3

ולבלין פתמנאס, ספתוסגולס ספנאס, חלת לבתם, סכלתס נפסס
 'and to keep his commandments and his testimonies and his statutes with all their heart and with all their soul'

ולשמר מצותיו ואת עדותיו ואת חקתיו בכל לב ובכל נפש
 'and to keep his commandments and his testimonies and his statutes with all the heart and with all the soul'

2 Kgs 23:25

ודאפנ, לאה זכור חלת לבת סכלתס נפס סכלתס נפס
 'who had turned to the Lord with all his heart and with all his soul and with all his strength'

אשר שב אל יהוה בכל לבבו ובכל נפשו ובכל מאדו
 'who had turned to YHWH with all his heart and with all his soul and with all his strength'

The expression בכל לבב + third masc suffix, 'with his / their whole heart', occurs in the Masoretic text in 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:48; 2 Kgs 10:31.¹³⁹ In the Peshitta, these instances are rendered as חלת לב + third masc suffix, 'from his / their whole heart'. The same Hebrew expression is translated as חלת לב + suffix in 1 Kgs 8:23; 14:8; 2 Kgs 23:3, 25. The variation in preposition occurs between passages containing identical verbs and complements preceding the adverbial phrase.¹⁴⁰ In all instances, 9a1 and the BTR agree in the choice of preposition, so that there is no hint of an inner-Syriac development.

Although 1 Kgs 8:23 shows signs of harmonization with 1 Kgs 2:4,¹⁴¹ it does not conform to the latter passage in its use of preposition. This may indicate that no difference in meaning was felt between א and ח in the context of the expression.

that the targumist (*sic*) was influenced by his esteem for Hezekiah, who according to 2 Kgs 20:20 constructed the conduit.

¹³⁹ For the syntactic construction used in 1 Kgs 2:4 see Dyk, 'Some Results', *passim*.

¹⁴⁰ Thus חלת לבב in 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:23; לאה זכור in 1 Kgs 8:48; 2 Kgs 23:25.

¹⁴¹ Cf. the pluses חלת לבב and חלת לבב.

The difference appears to reflect a fluctuation in the style of translation: since the preposition ܐܢܝ, is not cognate to the Hebrew preposition ַב, it represents a deviation from the source text. This suggests that Syriac naturally favoured the use of ܐܢܝ. Where the Peshitta rendered with ַב the wish to stay close to the exemplar by representing its formal characteristics apparently prevailed.

It is not impossible that the variation results from a change of translators. However, such a hypothesis can only be substantiated if the variation appears to converge with other translational variations in the direct context. This issue deserves closer consideration but goes beyond the scope of this chapter.

2.8.2. 1Kgs 1:13, 17, 20, 24, 27, 30, 35, 46, 48

1Kgs 1:13, 17, 30

9a1	ܐܢܝ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ	'and he sits (ptc) on my throne'
BTR	ܐܢܝ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ	'and he will sit (ipf) on my throne'
	ܘܗܘܐ ܝܫܒ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ	'and he will sit (ipf) on my throne'

1Kgs 1:24

	ܐܢܝ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ	'and he will sit (ipf) on my throne'
	ܘܗܘܐ ܝܫܒ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ	'and he will sit (ipf) on my throne'

1Kgs 1:20

9a1	ܐܢܝ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܨܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܨܝܢܐ	'Who sits (ptc) upon the throne of my lord, the king?'
BTR	ܐܢܝ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܨܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܨܝܢܐ	'Who will sit (ipf) upon the throne of my lord, the king?'
	ܡܝ ܝܫܒ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܨܝܢܐ	'Who will sit (ipf) on the throne of my lord, the king?'

1Kgs 1:27

	ܐܢܝ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܨܝܢܐ	
	ܡܝ ܝܫܒ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܨܝܢܐ	
	ܐܢܝ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܨܝܢܐ	'Who will sit (ipf) on the throne of my lord, the king?'

1Kgs 1:35

	ܐܢܝ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ	'(that he may come) and will sit (ipf) on my throne'
	ܘܝܫܒ ܥܠ ܥܘܨܝܢܐ	'(and he is to come in) and will sit (pf cons) on my throne'

1Kgs 1:46

וְכִסֵּי הַכִּסֵּי יֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסֵּי הַמְּלָכָה

‘and also Solomon sits (ptc) on the throne of the kingdom’

וְגַם יֹשֵׁב שְׁלֹמֹה עַל כִּסֵּי הַמְּלָכָה

‘and also Solomon sits (pf) on the throne of the kingdom’

1Kgs 1:48

ga1 וְיֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסֵּי יֹשֵׁב (‘a son) who sits (ptc) on my throne’

BTR וְיֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסֵּי יֹשֵׁב (‘a son) who will sit (ipf) on my throne’

יֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסֵּי (‘someone sitting (ptc) on my throne’)

In 1 Kings 1, the expression *יֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסֵּי* occurs nine times. In 1Kgs 1:13, 17, 20, 24, 27, 30, *יֹשֵׁב* is vocalized as an imperfect. These instances appear in syntactic contexts that refer to a future state: ‘N will be king after me and he will sit on my throne’ (1Kgs 1:13, 17, 24, 30); ‘Who will sit on the throne of my lord, the king, after him?’ (1Kgs 1:20, 27). In 1Kgs 1:35 *יֹשֵׁב* is pointed as a perfect consecutive. This verbal form is dependent on the imperative *קְחוּ* in v. 33 whose imperative quality is continued by a string of perfect consecutives: ‘Take with you the servants of your lord and have my son Solomon ride on my own mule ... (v. 35) ... and he is to come in and sit on my throne.’¹⁴² In 1Kgs 1:46, where *יֹשֵׁב* indicates a present state, the Masoretic text has vocalized a perfect, whereas in v. 48 *יֹשֵׁב* is pointed as a participle.

With the exception of 1Kgs 1:46, the BTR offers *יֹשֵׁב* (Peal imperfect) for *יֹשֵׁב* in the instances mentioned. Since in Syriac the imperfect may indicate a future action or state and as such often carries a modal nuance,¹⁴³ *יֹשֵׁב* seems an appropriate rendering of the Hebrew in 1Kgs 1:13, 17, 20, 24, 27, 30, 35. In 1Kgs 1:46, the Peshitta uses a participle to indicate that Solomon is sitting on the throne at the very moment Jonathan is speaking (vv. 43–48 are direct speech).¹⁴⁴ In 1Kgs 1:48, where *יֹשֵׁב* must be taken as a participle (*יֹשֵׁב* in the Masoretic text), the imperfect *יֹשֵׁב* of the BTR seems to represent an *ad sensum* rendering alongside the literal translation *יֹשֵׁב* (necessarily participle) of ga1. Remarkably, in the same expression in 1Kgs 3:6 *יֹשֵׁב* is rendered as *יֹשֵׁב* not only in the BTR, but also in ga1:

וְיֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסֵּי יֹשֵׁב (‘a son) who will sit on his throne’

יֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסֵּי (‘a son) sitting on his throne’

¹⁴² Mulder, *1 Kings*, 67.

¹⁴³ Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 82; Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 266.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 83.

In 1 Kgs 1:48 (BTR) and 3:6, ܐܘܢܝܢ is attributive to 'son', which is the object of the verb ܐܫܝܢ; this produces an effect similar to the infinitive: 'who has given me this day a son to sit on my throne'.¹⁴⁵

9a1 agrees with the BTR in 1 Kgs 1:24, 27, 35, 46, but differs from it in vv. 13, 17, 20, 30, 48 by reading ܐܘܢܝܢ (ܐ) instead of ܐܘܢܝܢ (ܐ) of the BTR. In 1 Kgs 1:13, 17, 20, 30, 48 the participle ܐܘܢܝܢ apparently serves to indicate the future state, like the imperfect of which it is the continuation in vv. 13, 17, 30.¹⁴⁶ The future, however, is also indicated by the imperfect ܐܘܢܝܢ in 1 Kgs 1:24, 27, 35. Whereas the participle ܐܘܢܝܢ indicates the future state in five instances, in 1 Kgs 1:46 it indicates the immediate present.

Thus, a comparison between the BTR and 9a1 shows that, as far as the expression 'sitting on the throne' is concerned, the use of tenses is more systematic in relation to mode in the BTR than in 9a1. It is worthy of note that whereas the BTR renders ܘܝܫܝܢ identically in similar phrases (1 Kgs 1:13, 17, 30, 24 / 1 Kgs 1:20, 27 / 1 Kgs 1:48; 3:6), 9a1 shows variation:

1 Kgs 1:13, 17, 30 ܐܘܢܝܢ; 24 ܐܘܢܝܢ

1 Kgs 1:20 ܐܘܢܝܢ; 27 ܐܘܢܝܢ

1 Kgs 1:48 ܐܘܢܝܢ; 3:6 ܐܘܢܝܢ

Apparently, in 9a1 the imperfect ܐܘܢܝܢ and the participle ܐܘܢܝܢ are used interchangeably to indicate the future. It is tempting to explain the more coherent distribution of tenses in the BTR as a secondary systematization of the older situation reflected by 9a1. No definite conclusions, however, can be drawn here, since that would require a systematic inquiry into the use of tenses in the various text traditions of the Peshitta of Kings.

2.8.3. 1 Kgs 1:34, 45; 2:15

ܠܡܠܟ in the expression ܡܫܫܚ ܠܡܠܟ is rendered as ܐ + imperfect ܐܘܢܝܢ (Aphel) in 1 Kgs 1:34 and as ܐ + imperfect ܐܘܢܝܢ + ܐܘܢܝܢ in 1 Kgs 1:45:

1 Kgs 1:34

BTR ܐܘܢܝܢ ... ܐܘܢܝܢ

'and they shall anoint him ... that he may reign'

ܘܡܫܫܚ ܐܘܢܝܢ ...

'and he shall anoint him ... king'

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 98a, c; cf. Williams, *Studies*, 142–143.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 83; Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 270.

1 Kgs 1:45

וּמָשַׁח אֹתוֹ, ... וְגַם אֶל מְלָכָה

'and anointed him ... that he might be king'

וַיִּמְשָׁחוּ אֹתוֹ ... לְמֶלֶךְ

'and anointed him ... king'

The construction with **ו** + imperfect **מָשַׁח** (Aphel) appears six times in the Peshitta of Kings.¹⁴⁷ The alternative construction with **ו** + imperfect **מָשַׁח** + **מְלָכָה** is found twice.¹⁴⁸ The variation is hard to explain, the more so since both constructions are found in similar phrases, as comparison of 1 Kgs 1:34 (BTR), 45; 2 Kgs 9:3, 6, 12 reveals. The variation in rendering לְמֶלֶךְ also occurs outside the context of the expression 'to anoint king':

1 Kgs 2:15

וְעַל כֵּן כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל אָמְרוּ אֵלַי וְעָלַי

'and upon me all Israel set their faces that I would be king'

וְעָלַי שָׂמוּ כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל פְּנֵיהֶם לְמֶלֶךְ

'to me all Israel set their faces to reign'

1 Kgs 6:1

וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי מָשַׁח אֶת שְׁלֹמֹה לְמֶלֶךְ (it was ...), when Solomon had become king'

וְכֵן הָיָה לְמֶלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה (it was ... in) Solomon's reign'

1 Kgs 10:9

וַיַּעַשׂ אֵלַי מֶלֶךְ

'he made you king'

וַיַּשְׁמֵךְ אֶת מֶלֶךְ

'he made you king'

1 Kgs 14:2

וְהוּא הוּא אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֵלַי

'it is he who has said to me that I shall be king'

וְהוּא דָּבַר עָלַי לְמֶלֶךְ

'he said about me to (be) king'

¹⁴⁷ Apart from 1 Kgs 1:34, the construction occurs in 1 Kgs 5:15 וְגַם מָשַׁח אֶת שְׁלֹמֹה, 'that him they had anointed that he might reign', for MT מָשַׁח אֶת שְׁלֹמֹה לְמֶלֶךְ, 'that him they had anointed king'; 19:15 וְגַם מָשַׁח אֶת חֲזַאֵל לְמֶלֶךְ, 'and anoint Hazael that he may reign', for MT מָשַׁח אֶת חֲזַאֵל לְמֶלֶךְ, 'and anoint Hazael king'; 19:16 וְגַם מָשַׁח אֶת יְהוּ בֶן יָמְשִׁי לְמֶלֶךְ, 'and (anoint) Jehu, the son of Jamshi, that he may reign', for MT מָשַׁח אֶת יְהוּ בֶן נִמְשִׁי לְמֶלֶךְ, 'and Jehu, the son of Nimshi, you will anoint king'; 2 Kgs 9:6, 12 וְגַם מָשַׁח אֶת יְהוּ לְמֶלֶךְ, 'I have anointed you that you may reign', for MT מָשַׁח אֶת יְהוּ לְמֶלֶךְ, 'I anoint you king'.

¹⁴⁸ Besides 1 Kgs 1:45, this construction appears in 2 Kgs 9:3 וְגַם מָשַׁח אֶת יְהוּ לְמֶלֶךְ, 'I have anointed you that you may be king', for MT מָשַׁח אֶת יְהוּ לְמֶלֶךְ, 'I anoint you king'.

The Peshitta commonly uses א + imperfect to render the Hebrew infinitive.¹⁴⁹ One possible explanation is that the translator construed למלך as a preposition + infinitive in all instances where he used the construction with א + imperfect. In 1 Kgs 10:9 the translator rendered למלך as a noun, probably because he interpreted למלך as preposition + noun, as the Masoretes did.¹⁵⁰ In 1 Kgs 14:2 the Peshitta agrees with other ancient versions (Hexapla, Targum Jonathan, Vulgate) in rendering למלך verbally, contrary to the pointing of the Masoretic text.

On the other hand, it is quite conceivable that the use of the construction with א + imperfect is idiomatic in all instances noted above¹⁵¹ and that it does not necessarily imply that the translator interpreted למלך as a preposition + infinitive.¹⁵² Strong support for this view is lent by:

1 Kgs 19:16

סללענד ... נסענ וננסע נכר

'and Elisha ... anoint that he may be prophet'

ואת אלישע תמשח ... לנביא

'and Elisha you will anoint ... to (be) prophet'

Though נביא is unequivocally a noun, the Peshitta adds the imperfect of the verb 'be', rendering נכר וננסע.¹⁵³ Similarly, the use of א + imperfect in the expression 'to anoint king' may be idiomatic in Syriac.

Furthermore, it is unlikely that the variation between א + imperfect חלף (Aphel) and א + ננסע imperfect + חלף reflects a difference in meaning, or a difference in interpretation of למלך. Evidence that both expressions can be used interchangeably is supplied by 2 Kgs 9:3, 6, where the command to anoint Jehu king and the execution of that command are reported. In the Masoretic text command and execution are identically phrased, but in the

¹⁴⁹ According to Williams, this happens when the subject of the second member is not the same as the subject of the first member. This provides the motivation for the construction with א + imperfect being used after the verb 'anoint', rather than the infinitive (Williams, *Studies*, 140, 143).

¹⁵⁰ The verb שים requires למלך to be construed as preposition + noun.

¹⁵¹ Thus, the use of א + imperfect חלף (Aphel) in the expression 'to anoint king' may be idiomatic in Syriac, or ננסע could require a following א -clause when the verb has a double object.

¹⁵² Likewise, the fact that TJ renders למהוי מלכא, 'to be king', in all instances listed here (as well as in 1 Kgs 2:15; 10:9; 14:2; see below) need not imply that it interpreted למלך as an infinitive. See Van Staaldoune—Sulman, *Targum of Samuel*, 162, 163.

¹⁵³ See chapter 12, section 3, for extra verbs occurring in Syriac to cover double-object constructions in Hebrew, and chapter 12, section 4, for differences between Hebrew and Syriac in the use of the copula.

Peshitta there is variation in expression. Dissimilation here runs counter to the tendency toward levelling that prevails in the Peshitta of Kings. Another indication that both expressions can be used interchangeably is the parallel use of ܘܢܗܘܘܢ and ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ following ܘܢܗܘܘܢ in 1 Kgs 19:16 (see citations above).

Though the above observations are relevant, more linguistic data are required to investigate the variation. This task is beyond the scope of the present study. Possibly there is no rationale at all behind the variation, as random variation in rendering is a common phenomenon in translations.

2.8.4. 1 Kgs 1:51; 2:29, 41

The Peshitta often renders a Hebrew third person indefinite subject as a third masc pl verb form in cases where

1. the Masoretic text has a third masc pl verb form, as in 1 Kgs 1:23; 2:39 (ܘܢܗܘܘܢ for ויגידו, 'and they reported');
2. the Masoretic vocalization indicates a stem formation with passive voice and an impersonal subject,

as in:

1 Kgs 2:29, 41¹⁵⁴

ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܚܠܘܩܢ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ 'and they reported to King Solomon'
 (v. 41 ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܚܠܘܩܢ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ) 'and it was reported to (King) Solomon'

Two possible explanations present themselves: either the translator interpreted the Hebrew verb forms as Hophals, as Targum Jonathan seems to have done, but rendered them actively according to good Syriac,¹⁵⁵ or the translator took the Hebrew forms to be Hiphil imperfects in which the third masc sg expresses the vague subject *one*.¹⁵⁶

Relevant information occurs in the following passage where the Masoretic text reads a Hophal (וַיִּגֵּד) and the Peshitta renders an Ethpaal:

1 Kgs 1:51

ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܚܠܘܩܢ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ
 'and it was reported to King Solomon'

¹⁵⁴ Also in 1 Kgs 10:7 ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܚܠܘܩܢ, 'they had not told me', for מַדּ לֹא הִגִּד לִי, 'it was not told me'; 2 Kgs 6:13; 8:7 ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܚܠܘܩܢ, 'and they told him', for מַדּ לֹא הִגִּד לִי, 'and it was told him'.

¹⁵⁵ Thus Morrison (*First Book of Samuel*, 70) with respect to similar phenomena in 1 Samuel.

¹⁵⁶ Joüon—Muraoka, *Grammar*, §155d.

ויגד לשלמה
'and it was reported to Solomon'

This case suggests that the translator did actually interpret ויגד as a Hophal form. Thus, similar cases show variation: 1Kgs 1:51 offers a literal rendering of the Hebrew, thus staying close to the source text; on the other hand, 1Kgs 2:29, 41; 2Kgs 6:13; 8:7; 10:7, are rendered more freely, perhaps in order to produce good Syriac.¹⁵⁷

Interestingly, a similar fluctuation occurs in the Septuagint (LXX B: ἀπηγγέλη in 3Kgdms 2:29, 39, 41, and ἀπήγγειλαν in 3Kgdms 10:7; ἀνηγγέλη in 3Kgdms 1:23, 51 and ἀνήγγειλαν in 4Kgdms 6:13; 8:7). As the switch in voice does not correspond to that of the Peshitta, there is no reason to suppose the latter being influenced by the Septuagint. The Antiochene text renders ויגד with ἀπήγγειλαν in all passages mentioned. Whereas it mostly agrees with the Peshitta in using the impersonal third masc pl subject, it deviates from the latter in 3Kgdms 1:51. In light of this divergence, secondary influence of the Antiochene text regarding the usage of the impersonal third masc pl subject in the Peshitta of Kings is improbable.

The Peshitta also renders passively in:

1Kgs 2:21

9a1

P

BTR

ܘܥܠܡ ܕܥܘܠܡܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܢ
ܕܥܘܠܡܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܢ
ܕܥܘܠܡܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܢ

9a1 'Let Abishag, the Shilommite, be given as wife to Adonijah, your brother'

BTR 'Let Abishag, the Shilommite, be given to Adonijah, your brother, as wife'

יתן את אבישג השנמית לאדניהו אחיך לאשה

'may Abishag, the Shunammite, be given to Adonijah, your brother, as wife'

LXX B Δοθήτω δὴ Ἀβεισά ἢ Σωμανεῖτις τῷ Ἀδωνεῖα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου εἰς γυναῖκα

Ant. Δοθήτω δὴ Ἀβεισάκ ἢ Σωμανεῖτις Ὀρνεία τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου εἰς γυναῖκα

TJ = MT

In the Masoretic text an impersonal passive verb form (Hophal imperfect) is followed by an accusative of the affected object introduced by the object marker את:¹⁵⁸ 'that there be given Abishag the Shunammite ...'. The Peshitta

¹⁵⁷ Interestingly, a similar variation in rendering occurs in P 1Samuel: 1Samuel favours ܘܥܠܡܢ as a rendering of ויגד (19:19; 23:7; 27:4), but once it has ܘܥܠܡܢ (15:12). See Morrison, *First Book of Samuel*, 70.

¹⁵⁸ Joüon—Muraoka, *Grammar*, §128b.

simplifies by rendering 'Abishag' as the subject (compare the Septuagint). Here, too, apparently the translator construed יהוה as a Hophal.

An identical Hebrew construction is simplified differently in the Peshitta in:

1 Kgs 18:13

הלא נטלת לבי, טובב ויבבוא

'And have I not told my lord what I did?'

הלא הגד לאדני את אשר עשיתי

'Has my lord not been told what I did?'

Septuagint, Antiochene text, and Targum Jonathan reflect הַגִּד of the Masoretic text.

Beside the two categories distinguished at the beginning of this section, the Peshitta uses the impersonal third masc pl vb form to render third masc sg verb forms which seem to have a personal subject. The reason for this may be exegetical.¹⁵⁹

2.8.5. 1 Kgs 2:4

חַלַּל וְנִסְבַּח מִוֹצֵא פִּי אֱלֹהֵי בְרַחֲמֵי, וְיֵאֵמַר מִוֹצֵא

'for the Lord will establish his words which he spoke concerning me'

לְמַעַן יִקִּים יְהוָה אֶת דְּבָרֵי אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר עָלַי

'so that YHWH will establish his word which he spoke concerning me'

TJ Ant. VG = P 'his words'

LXX = MT 'his word'

1 Kgs 12:15

חַלַּל וְנִסְבַּח מִוֹצֵא פִּי אֱלֹהֵי בְרַחֲמֵי, וְיֵאֵמַר

'that the Lord might establish his words which he had spoken'

לְמַעַן יִקִּים הַקִּים יְהוָה אֶת דְּבָרֵי אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה

'that YHWH might establish his word which YHWH had spoken'

In 1 Kgs 2:4; 12:15 the Peshitta reads 'his words' instead of 'his word' as in the Masoretic text. In the former passage the Peshitta shares the plural with other versions, but in 1 Kgs 12:15 it stands alone in this.

The expression 'establish the word', with YHWH as (implicit) subject, also occurs in 1 Kgs 6:12; 8:20. In the latter passage the Peshitta agrees with the Masoretic text in reading the singular. In 1 Kgs 6:12 the Peshitta has 'my

¹⁵⁹ Of the two cases in this category, 1 Kgs 2:19; 2 Kgs 5:4, the former is treated in section 2.3.3 of this chapter.

words' for 'my word' of the Masoretic text. Here, the number of the Hebrew noun is not indicated by the consonantal text and the number of the Syriac equivalent is only expressed by a secondary graphic device (the *seyame*). Thus, the Syriac text of 1 Kgs 6:12 can only be taken to indicate that at some point during the textual transmission the plural was favoured.

In other references to 'the word of the Lord' in Kings, the Peshitta usually agrees with the Masoretic text in reading a singular. Only within the context of the expression 'the Lord will establish his word' does the Peshitta clearly favour the plural (in three out of four instances, though 1 Kgs 6:12 is of limited significance, as explained). The nature of the variation with the Masoretic text in 1 Kgs 2:4; 12:15 is unclear. In view of the agreement with other versions, the plural in 1 Kgs 2:4 could have a text-historical background, either from a source different from the Masoretic text or through the influence of other versions (most probably the Antiochene text, which among the versions mentioned above exhibits the highest proportion of agreements with the Peshitta over against the Masoretic text). The fact that the plural in 1 Kgs 12:15 (and in 1 Kgs 6:12) is not supported by other versions, however, raises doubt as to the text-historical interpretation of 1 Kgs 2:4. It is not impossible that the Peshitta made the former passage(s) conform to the latter in number.

Though the difference in number in 1 Kgs 2:4; 12:15 is likely the result of intentional change, the reason for the variation remains obscure.

2.9. *Ambiguous Syriac*

In the following text, the Syriac allows for two interpretations. One is in accordance with the usual interpretation of the Hebrew text:¹⁶⁰

1 Kgs 2:18

ܘܥܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ
 טוב אנכי אדבר עליך 'Very well. I will speak about you ...'

The same interpretation is reflected by the Greek of the Septuagint.

The Peshitta of 1 Kgs 18:24, however, presents the possibility of another interpretation in 1 Kgs 2:18:

1 Kgs 18:24

ܘܥܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ
 טוב הדבר 'you have spoken well'
 'the matter is good'

¹⁶⁰ For instance, Mulder, *1 Kings*, 108: 'Very well ... I myself will speak to the king about you'; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 103: 'It is well, I shall speak on thy behalf to the king'; likewise Cogan, *1 Kings*, 6.

Here **יפני** qualifies **לחבו**. In 1Kgs 8:18 as well, **יפני** qualifies a verb: **יפני חבו**, ‘you did well’. It seems that in 1Kgs 2:18 **יפני** could be taken in a similar sense: ‘I will speak favourably about you to the king.’ There is no way of ascertaining how the translator wished **יפני** to be understood here.

3. TEXT-HISTORICAL DIFFERENCES

3.1. *Inner-Syriac Corruption*

3.1.1. 1Kgs 1:8

והג ‘and Dei’
ורעי ‘and Rei’

The other ancient versions have forms that agree with **רעי**. The Syriac form probably entails corruption. The interchange of Resh and Dalath (which are graphically similar in both Hebrew and Syriac) could have occurred during the transmission of the Hebrew text, during the translation, or during the transmission of the Syriac text.¹⁶¹

3.1.2. 1Kgs 1:27

9a1	P		BTR

9a1 ‘If this matter has come about by your order, my lord, the king, you did not inform (your servants ...)’

BTR ‘Indeed, this matter has come about by your order, my lord, the king, and you did not inform (your servants ...)’

אם מאת אדני המלך נהיה הדבר הזה ולא הודעת

‘Has this matter come about by order of my lord, the king, and you have not informed (your servant ...)?’

Since the Peshitta generally translates **אם** with **ܐܝܢ**, 9a1 most likely represents the original Syriac, in which case **ܐܝܢ**, ‘yes, indeed’, of the BTR is a secondary development. The Masoretic text of 1Kgs 1:27 is commonly held to be one of the rare cases in which **אם** is used to introduce a single question.¹⁶² The translator seems not to have taken **אם** as an interrogative particle, since

¹⁶¹ For more examples of the interchange of these letters and discussion, see chapter 3, section 1.2, and chapter 6, section 1.1.6.2.

¹⁶² Gesenius—Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 150f; Joüon—Muraoka, *Grammar*, § 161d.

he rendered **וְ** in accordance with its usual function as the conjunction **וְ** which introduces a conditional clause. As a consequence, **וְ** must be taken as the beginning of the apodosis. In Syriac the apodosis is not usually introduced by **וְ**,¹⁶³ but in v. 27 the Syriac text may simply reflect the Hebrew source, due to a literal style of translation.

The reading **וְ** of the BTR suggests that the Syriac sentence is meant to be understood as a reproach.

3.1.3. *1Kgs 1:34*

9a1	וְגַבְלָהּ עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל	'and he may reign over Israel'
BTR	וְגַבְלָהּ עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמֶלֶךְ עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל	'that he may reign over Israel' 'as king over Israel'

וְגַבְלָהּ of the BTR is in line with the usual rendering of the expression **מָשַׁח לְמֶלֶךְ** in Kings (see section 2.8.3), and probably represents the original reading. **וְגַבְלָהּ** is likely to be due to confusion of letters. The possibility cannot be excluded that the change was intentional, as the reading highlights David's resolve that Solomon become king of Israel ('They will anoint him ... and he will be king of Israel').

3.1.4. *1Kgs 1:42a*

9a1	וְהָיָה כִּשְׁכֵּן	'and when he was speaking ...'
BTR	וְהָיָה כִּשְׁכֵּן עוֹדֵנוּ מְדַבֵּר	'and he was still speaking ...' 'he was still speaking ...'

In (nearly) identical clauses in 1Kgs 1:14, 22; 2Kgs 6:33, **כִּ** corresponds to **עוֹד**.¹⁶⁴ Whereas in 1Kgs 1:42 the BTR reading **כִּ** is in line with the aforementioned texts, **כִּ** of 9a1 diverges. In 2Kgs 6:33, **כִּ** is a variant reading attested by a few late manuscripts only (12a1fam, among others), and for that reason it is unlikely that it preserves the original text. In 1Kgs 1:42, too, **כִּ** of 9a1 may be secondary. The change could have been triggered by the frequency of clauses introduced by **כִּ** in Kings.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Thus Nöldeke (*Syriac Grammar*, § 339): 'The conjunction **וְ** does not serve the purpose of introducing the apodosis (...). Where it seems to stand for this in the O.T., it is a literal translation of the Hebrew **וְ** (...).'

¹⁶⁴ Other renderings for **עוֹד** in the BTR include: **כִּ** (13 ×: 1Kgs 8:60; 10:5, 10; 22:8, 44; 2Kgs 2:12, 21; 4:6 (2 ×); 5:17; 6:23, 33; 24:7), **כִּ** (6 ×: 1Kgs 12:2; 20:32; 2Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35), and **כִּ** (1 ×: 1Kgs 12:5). Once it is left unrendered (1Kgs 22:7).

¹⁶⁵ 156 × in the BTR.

3.1.5. 1Kgs 1:42b

חמד מלךו גביו שלם אדם 'come, for you are a mighty hero'
 בא כי איש חיל אתה 'come, for you are a mighty man'

In 2Kgs 2:16, גביו שלם, 'mighty heroes', renders אנשים בני חיל, 'mighty men', an expression related to איש חיל. In 2Kgs 24:16, however, אנשי החיל is rendered as גבוי א מללם, 'mighty men'.¹⁶⁶ The expression גביו שלם corresponds to חיל (ה)גבור, 'mighty hero', in 1Kgs 11:28 (1st); 2Kgs 5:1; 24:14 (pl).¹⁶⁷ In view of 2Kgs 2:16, there is no need to suppose that the Peshitta of 1Kgs 1:42 originally read גביו שלם. It cannot be ruled out, however, that גביו שלם in 1Kgs 1:42; 2Kgs 2:16 (pl) results from a secondary adaptation of גביו שלם to the more common expression.¹⁶⁸

3.2. Source Different from the Masoretic Text

3.2.1. 1Kgs 1:18

אנתו, מלכא לא ידע 'you, my lord, the king, did not know'
 עתה אדני המלך לא ידעת
 'now, my lord, the king, you did not know'

The first word in both versions begins with a different letter, both belonging to the velar-glottal area of the articulatory track, where fuzziness has been documented.¹⁶⁹ A linguist would suspect that the phonological component has influenced the rendering, however, there is more to be said. The Peshitta, Septuagint, Vulgate, and part of the manuscript tradition of Targum Jonathan have renderings implying אתה, 'you', in the source text. The reading is actually attested in many manuscripts of the Masoretic text. Burney notices that 'the pronoun is necessary to mark and emphasise the change of subject in clause *b*, in contrast to the subject of clause *a*, אדניה [Adonijah]'.¹⁷⁰ Presumably ועתה of the Masoretic text arose under the influence of ועתה at the beginning of the previous clause, ועתה הנה אדניה מלך. This could be either

¹⁶⁶ In Samuel, too, גביו שלם is the rendering of איש חיל, namely, in 1Sam 31:12; 2Sam 11:16 (pl), but see note 168.

¹⁶⁷ Likewise in 1Sam 9:1; 16:18 (גביו שלם).

¹⁶⁸ See 2Sam 23:20; 24:9, where P has גבוי א מללם, 'a man, a mighty hero', and גבוי א מללם, 'men, mighty heroes', for בן איש חיל (Q^{re}), 'the son of a mighty man', and איש חיל, 'a mighty man', respectively. Possibly, the Syriac expressions result from the merging of original גביו שלם and גביו שלם.

¹⁶⁹ See chapter 3, section 1.1.2.

¹⁷⁰ Burney, *Notes*, 7; see also Thenius, *Bücher der Könige*, 6; Mulder, *1Kings*, 57.

a scribal error or an aural error that arose when the proto-Masoretic text was dictated to a copyist.

3.2.2. *1Kgs 1:32*

ga1 6h18 7a1 8h4	וַיֹּאמֶר מֶלֶךְ דָּוִד	'and King David said'
BTR (rest)	וַיֹּאמֶר מֶלֶךְ	'and the king said'
	וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד	'and King David said'
Ant.	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς	'and the king said'

As the agreement with the Antiochene text occurs in only a part of the BTR manuscripts, it is probably due to secondary influence from the former.

3.2.3. *1Kgs 1:52*

	קַיִן שְׂעָרֵי רִישׁוֹ	'(not one) of the hairs of his head'
	מִשְׁעָרָתוֹ	'(not one) of his hairs'
TJ	מִסַּעַר רִישׁוֹ	'(not one) of the hairs of his head'
Ant.	ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ θριξί	'(no) hair of his head'
	LXX VG = MT	

The longer version of the saying in 1Kgs 1:52, as attested by the Peshitta, Targum Jonathan, and the Antiochene text, is known from 1Sam 14:45 (משְׁעָרָתוֹ רִישׁוֹ), and, in a slightly different form, from Ps 40:13; 69:5 (מִשְׁעָרִית) (ראשִׁי). The shorter version of the saying, represented by the Masoretic text, Septuagint, and Vulgate of 1Kgs 1:52, appears in 2Sam 14:11 (מִשְׁעָרָת בֶּןֶךְ 'not one of the hairs of your son'). Since the shorter version is firmly attested among the ancient versions, it is probable that the longer version results from a secondary expansion. In view of the textual affiliations between the Peshitta of Kings and Targum Jonathan on the one hand, and the Peshitta of Kings and the Antiochene text on the other, the variant is unlikely to have arisen by polygenesis.

3.2.4. *1Kgs 1:53*

	וַיֹּאמֶר	'and he brought him'
	וַיִּרְדּוּהוּ	'and they brought him down'
	LXX B Ant. (minus b) VG = P	
	TJ = MT	

As the Peshitta does not avoid the indefinite third person plural subject elsewhere,¹⁷¹ it is difficult to see why it would have changed the number of

¹⁷¹ For instance, it appears in 1Kgs 1:23; 2:29, 39, 41.

the verb form in 1 Kgs 1:53. There is a possibility that the singular form stood in the source text, the more so since it is also attested by the codex Vaticanus and the Antiochene text.

3.2.5. 1 Kgs 2:38

טוב הדבר באשר דבר אדני המלך

כן יעשה עבדך

'The word is good which you have spoken, my lord, the king.
So will your servant do.'

טוב הדבר באשר דבר אדני המלך

כן יעשה עבדך

'The matter is good. As my lord, the king, has spoken,
so will your servant do.'

LXX B Ant. Ἀγαθὸν τὸ ῥήμα ὃ ἐλάλησας κύριε βασιλεῦ. οὕτως (LXX B οὕτω) ποιήσει ὁ δοῦλός σου

'The word is good which you have spoken, my lord, the king. So your servant will do.'

The Syriac and Greek translations of 1 Kgs 2:38 share two remarkable features vis-à-vis the Masoretic text:

1. Instead of a comparative clause introduced by באשר,¹⁷² the Peshitta and the Greek texts have an attributive clause, connected by a relative particle with כן and ῥήμα, respectively. Consequently, whereas כן serves to introduce the apodosis of the preceding באשר clause, the equivalents כן and οὕτως merely introduce an independent clause. An almost identical situation occurs in 1 Kgs 2:42, which refers back to 1 Kgs 2:38.¹⁷³
2. The Syriac and Greek renderings of the verb דבר contain second person forms instead of third person as in the Masoretic text. Whereas the phrase 'my lord, the king' is the subject of דבר in the Masoretic text, it is a vocative in the Peshitta.

The concentration of agreements between the Peshitta and the Greek witnesses, which also extends to v. 42, suggests a direct text-historical relationship.¹⁷⁴ The Peshitta may have followed the Septuagint rather than the other way around. It is hard to tell whether, and to what extent, the Septuagint in its turn reflects a Hebrew source different from the Masoretic text.

¹⁷² Gesenius—Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 161a; Joüon—Muraoka, *Grammar*, § 174a.

¹⁷³ See section 2.1.1.24.

¹⁷⁴ See section 2.9.1.

3.2.6. 1Kgs 2:22

9a1

P

BTR

מלך אביאטר כהן

מלך אביאטר כהן

מלך אביאטר כהן

‘(rather ask the kingship for him, for he is my brother who is elder than I), and for him is Abiathar, the priest, and (9a1 + for him is) Joab, the son of Zoriah (6h18 9a1 + the commander of the army)¹⁷⁵

ולו ולאביתר הכהן וליואב בן צרויה

‘(and ask the kingship for him, for he is my elder brother), both for him, and for Abiathar, the priest, and for Joab, the son of Zeruiah!’

LXX B Ant. και αὐτῷ Ἀβιαθάρ ὁ ἱερεὺς
και αὐτῷ Ἰωάβ ὁ υἱὸς Σαρουίας (Ant.: Σαρουία)

ὁ ἀρχιστρατήγος ἑταῖρος
‘and he has Abiathar, the priest,
and he has Joab, the son of Saruia, the commander in chief, as a companion’

SYH מלך אביאטר כהן
מלך אביאטר כהן

‘and he has Abiathar, the priest,
and he has Joab, the son of Zoriah, the commander in chief, as a companion’

VG *et habet Abiathar sacerdotem*
et Ioab filium Sarviae
‘and he has Abiathar, the priest,
and Joab, the son of Sarvia’

TJ הלא בעיצא חדא הוו
הוא ואביתר כהנא ויואב בר צרויה
‘were they not in one plan,
he and Abiathar, the priest, and Joab, the son of Zeruiah?’

In 1Kgs 2:22 in the Masoretic text, Bathsheba’s request to Solomon to give Abishag to Adonijah for a wife elicits an angry reply. Solomon hints at the fact that Abiathar and Joab were accomplices when Adonijah attempted to seize power (1Kgs 1:7, 19, 41, 42), and hence can be expected to benefit from Adonijah’s kingship.

Since the conjunction ו and the preposition ל preceding אביתר and the preposition ל preceding יואב are not represented in the Syriac text, the second part of Solomon’s reply in the Peshitta is markedly different from that in the Masoretic text. In the BTR there is one nominal clause: ‘and for him (are) Abiathar the priest and Joab the son of Zoriah’. In 9a1 two nominal

¹⁷⁵ Alternative, less literal translations are: ‘and he has Abiathar the priest and the son of Zoriah’; ‘on his side are Abiathar the priest and Joab the son of Zoriah’ (Mulder, 1Kings, 110).

clauses are created when the prepositional phrase ל , functioning as the predicate of the verbless clause, is repeated: 'and for him (is) Abiathar, the priest, and for him (is) Joab the son of Zorih, the commander of the army'.

The Septuagint (accurately mirrored by the Syrohexapla), Vulgate, and Targum Jonathan all present renderings conveying a sense similar to the Peshitta: Adonijah has Joab and Abiathar as companions. It has been argued that this agreement between the versions is traceable to a Hebrew source text which either read $\text{ולו אביתר הכהן ולו יואב בן צרויה}$ ¹⁷⁶ or $\text{ולו אביתר הכהן ויואב בן צרויה}$.¹⁷⁷ This text seems to make more sense than the Masoretic text in the context of Solomon's pronouncement because it adds a second argument to the one of Adonijah's seniority: Adonijah has powerful allies.¹⁷⁸ The Masoretic text, then, would be corrupt.

Yet in its present shape it presents a meaningful text which exhibits two, apparently related, differences with the Peshitta and the Septuagint rather than one. Both the complexity of the variation and its internal consistency argue against interpreting the Masoretic text in terms of a scribal error.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, Targum Jonathan reflects the Hebrew of the Masoretic text as a source rather than the hypothetical retroversion from the Septuagint and the Peshitta.

Since the versions offer renderings of v. 22b that can be more easily understood than the Masoretic text, it could be argued that these simplify a proto-Masoretic source text. The agreement between the Peshitta, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate might suggest a shared dependence on a Hebrew text already containing the modification as proposed above.

The question arises: which Syriac text of v. 22b takes priority—the BTR or 9a1? Whereas the Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the Antiochene text all reflect $\text{ולו אביתר הכהן (ולו) יואב בן צרויה}$, the plus 'the commander of the army', which specifies Joab's office, is limited to 9a1, Septuagint (and Syrohexapla), and the Antiochene text. No reason is apparent why the Vulgate and the BTR would have omitted 'the commander of the army' if it were present in their source texts. Conversely, it is easy to conceive of a reason why it was added, since the specification of Joab's office improves the parallelism between Joab and Abiathar in the verse.¹⁸⁰ In this respect, then, the BTR

¹⁷⁶ Thus Burney, *Notes*, 20; Stade—Schwally, *Books of Kings*, 69; Thenius, *Bücher der Könige*, 17.

¹⁷⁷ Thus Montgomery—Gehman, *Kings*, 99.

¹⁷⁸ Thus Thenius, *Bücher der Könige*, 17; Mulder, *1 Kings*, 111.

¹⁷⁹ Contra Stade—Schwally, *Books of Kings*, 69.

¹⁸⁰ See Walter, *Studies*, section (305).

may represent a Syriac text that is anterior to that of 9a1. The Syriac of 9a1 and the Greek of the Septuagint correspond almost word for word. Compared to the BTR, 9a1 shows two more agreements with the Septuagint (underscored):

ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲓⲃⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲓⲃⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲓⲃⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ
 και αὐτῷ Ἰωᾶβ ὁ υἱὸς Σαρουίας ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ἐταῖρος

It is quite possible that 9a1 adopted these elements from the Septuagint (6h18, lacking ⲛⲓ, representing an earlier stage). Why 9a1 did not represent ἐταῖρος is obscure. This element is likely to have been in the Greek text consulted by 9a1, because it is attested by all Greek manuscripts of the Septuagint and the Antiochene text.

3.2.7. 1Kgs 2:26

ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ ‘to your field’
 על שׂדֵיך ‘upon your fields’

Many manuscripts of the Masoretic text offer שׂדֵיך, ‘your field’, a reading presupposed by Peshitta, Septuagint, Antiochene text, and Vulgate.

3.2.8. 1Kgs 2:28

ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲃⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲓⲃⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲓⲃⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲓⲃⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ
 ‘since Joab had leaned after Adonijah, and after Solomon he had not leaned’

כי יואב נטה אחרי אדניה ואחרי אבשלום לא נטה
 ‘for Joab had leaned after Adonijah but had not leaned after with Absalom’

LXX M N* N^a e f g i j n p z rell.
 και ὀπίσω Σαλωμών οὐκ ἔκλιθεν
 LXX B A x a₂ και ὀπίσω Ἀβεσσαλώμ οὐκ ἔκλιθεν
 Ant. και ὀπίσω Σολομώντος οὐκ ἔκλινε
 VL et non declinasset post Solomonem
 VG A m r et post Absalom non declinasset
 VG C cet. et post Salomon(em) non declinasset
 TJ ובתר אבשלום לא אתפני
 Ethiopian and Josephus (*Antiquitates* VIII, 13) attest ‘Solomon’

The reading ‘Solomon’ is contextually more appropriate than ‘Absalom’ because v. 28 refers to the fact that in the struggle for the succession of David between Adonijah and Solomon Joab supported the former. At the same time, within the narrative setting of 1 Kings 1–2 the statement that Joab had not leaned towards Solomon is redundant, being already implied by the preceding remark that Joab had leaned towards Adonijah.

The remark that Joab had not joined Absalom is historically correct, though its relevance in the context of 1 Kgs 2:28 is not clear. Therefore, the reading 'Solomon' is better explained as a correction of 'Absalom' than vice versa. The logical redundancy of the former reading is an indication of its secondary nature.

The reading 'Solomon' is widely attested in the ancient witnesses. It is highly improbable that it is due to polygenesis. The distribution of 'Solomon' over the witnesses suggests that it originated in the Old Greek or its Hebrew source—the Hexaplaric manuscripts being the only ones that attest 'Absalom'¹⁸¹—and that it spread from the Septuagint to other witnesses such as the Vetus Latina, Vulgate, and Peshitta. As 'Solomon' is common to all ancient manuscripts of the Peshitta, the Syriac reading is certainly old and probably original.

4. CONCLUSION

A comparison of the Peshitta and the Masoretic text of 1 Kings 1–2 reveals deviations which defy explanation as transformations required by the target language. These are of a varied nature and are analysed as either exegetically motivated changes or corruptions which arose in the process of textual transmission. The types of differences discerned, such as harmonization, levelling, clarification, and exegetical deviation concurring with Targum Jonathan, appear in the rest of Kings as well, although their distribution fluctuates according to genre, content, textual affiliation, and other variables. The high rate of deviations shared by manuscripts attesting the BTR is another trait characteristic of Kings as a whole. This phenomenon shows that the translation has undergone considerable textual evolution even in the later stages of transmission.

For a number of differences an alternative explanation in terms of linguistically motivated changes could not be ruled out. Since the linguistic research required to deal with these instances would go beyond the scope of this study, the questions must be left unsettled here. These issues show, however, that the textual critic and exegete studying ancient versions cannot do without linguistic expertise in order to substantiate the conclusions. Thus, this chapter underscores the necessity to approach deviations from the Masoretic text in the Peshitta from both a linguistic angle and an exegetical / text-historical one.

¹⁸¹ The presence of the reading 'Absalom' in LXX B may be due to influence of the Hexaplaric text. Thus see Wevers, 'Study in the Textual History of Codex Vaticanus', 178–189.

CHAPTER THREE

LINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS

The data to be treated can be divided into three main linguistic levels: below word level (section 1), word level (section 2), and above word level (section 3). Each level is distinguished by characteristics peculiar to that level. In this chapter, the aspects which have been recognized are noted, and explanation is given of how these are isolated and made available for analysis. In chapter 4 some dimensions of what this approach makes available for analysis will be discussed.

1. BELOW WORD LEVEL

The first and most obvious difference between the Hebrew and Syriac texts under investigation is the scripts in which they are recorded. While the Hebrew text is recorded in the so-called *square letter* (*k^etab m^erubba'*) or *Assyrian character* (*k^etab 'ashuri*),¹ the Syriac text used is recorded in one of the cursive Syriac scripts, called *Estrangelo*. For processing in an electronic database, the texts have been transcribed into characters of the Roman alphabet. Because the programs available for Hebrew are built on the transcription conventions of the wivU, the Syriac electronic text has been converted automatically to concur with the transcription of the Hebrew database.²

Within the electronic text, various sorts of graphic material have been noted: the letters of the alphabet, diacritical marks which indicate contrastive information for lexical or morphological analysis, accents which are not contrastive for the morphological analysis, and punctuation marks which appear outside of the boundaries of words. The transcription of the letters of the two alphabets is given in chapter 1, table 1.1. The two alphabets

¹ The name *'ashuri* (Assyrian) is used then in the widest sense, including all countries on the Mediterranean inhabited by Aramaeans; Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 5a1.

² For extensive documentation on the conventions used in the database of the wivU, see Talstra—Sikkel, 'Genese und Kategorienentwicklung'; Dyk, 'Data Preparation'; Verheij, *Grammatica Digitalis*.

have corresponding letters except for the Hebrew ψ [F] which is lacking in Syriac.

The fact that corresponding letters are used in the two scripts is not to suggest that the pronunciation of these letters was identical in the two languages. When working with written texts, several factors must be taken into consideration:

Most languages have existed and still exist as purely oral forms of communication. Writing is no more than a secondary, graphic and largely inadequate representation of spoken language. ... Granted the importance of writing, in particular for the knowledge of ancient languages, a student of linguistics must remember that writing is still only a secondary representation of languages, that it reflects a standard speech while true dialectal forms transpire but rarely, and that spoken language provides the final clue for understanding its written expressions, formulated in common types of script the rigid conservatism of which helps concealing local pronunciations.³

... the analysis of speech sounds of ancient languages is based mainly on their written notation which is imperfect and often conservative. Thus, it does not reveal all the phonetic richness of the language and does not follow its evolution in an adequate way. ... Therefore, it is a matter of great methodological importance to distinguish between orthography and phonology in considering written documents. ... Particularly interesting and more revealing are the lapses, as well as the transcription of one language in the alphabet of another when this script is inherently unfitted to be the vehicle for an automatic transcription. Such material, apart from a few scattered glosses, consists generally in proper names. ... Proper names change pronunciation along with the rest of the language and ... their transcription in other languages may provide some help in following the evolution of speech sounds, often concealed by the conservatism of scribal practices. Although this phonetic material is in general limited and subject to mishearing, it cannot be neglected in the study of ancient languages ...⁴

As explained in the introduction, the electronic text contains only consonants. Though often the two languages have entirely different vocabulary, there are also many corresponding forms which are similar in their consonant array. In some cases, the string of consonants forming the corresponding words is identical, and sometimes there is variation which at a closer look appears to be systematic. In order not to distinguish only two categories of similarity—identical and not identical—the spelling differences have been analysed more closely.

³ Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 86.

⁴ Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 95.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to clarify what is meant here by 'corresponding'. As explained in the introduction,⁵ lists of parallel lexemes have been produced on the basis of a synopsis of parallel phrases functioning as constituents within parallel clauses. A 'corresponding' word is the word which appears in the Syriac text for the Hebrew word at that point.⁶ This is not to say that it is always a translation of the Hebrew item. Often such lists can be instructive: not only do the most common renderings for a word become apparent, but also synonyms, and at times, when there is a glaring divergence from the norm, an exegetical or textual issue is brought to light.

Certain differences in the spelling of corresponding words can be accounted for systematically. The ways in which the two forms are related manifest various categories:

- systematic phonological shift
- interchanging of letters similar in form within each of the separate alphabets
- variability in the recording of *matres lectionis*
- assimilation of the alveolar nasal [N]
- possible influence of grammar in the spelling of corresponding forms
- translation of components of a word
- words written as a unit or as more than one unit
- doubled consonants written as a single consonant
- metathesis

In comparing corresponding forms, we have allowed for those differences which can be accounted for in a systematic manner, so that besides identical and non-identical forms, there are also forms we label as 'cognate'. Each type of difference will be considered in turn.

1.1. *Systematic Phonological Shift*

1.1.1. *Voiced / Voiceless Variation in Plosives*

In some forms which are translation equivalents in Hebrew and Syriac, the only difference is in the voicing of a plosive. Examples occur with voiced in Hebrew corresponding to voiceless in Syriac and vice versa. This involves the labial plosives כ [B] → ܟ [P] and פ [P] → פ [B],⁷ the alveolar plosives

⁵ See chapter 1, section 3.

⁶ Cf. Borbone's definition of 'corresponding word' in his 'Correspondances lexicales', esp. 2. Cf. also Borbone-Jenner, *The Old Testament in Syriac. Part V Concordance*, Vol. 1 *The Pentateuch*, xii.

⁷ Cf. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 110: 'Interchanges between *b* and *p* are frequent in

ד [D] → ל [T] and ת [T] → נ [D], and the velar plosives ג [G] → כ [K] and כ [K] → ג [G].⁸ This correspondence between voiced and voiceless plosives is attested sporadically in the material treated:

- פ [P] sometimes where Hebrew has ב [B]
פּוּל [PRZL] for ברזל [BRZL], ‘iron’ (1Kgs 6:7)
- ב [B] sometimes where Hebrew has פ [P]
בּחַיִּי [XBYJBH] for חפציבה [XPYJBH], ‘Hephzibah’ (2Kgs 21:1)
- ל [T] sometimes where Hebrew has ד [D]
לְגַעַר [TD>] for דשא [DC>], ‘tender grass’ (2Kgs 19:26)
- נ [D] sometimes where Hebrew has ת [T]
נְלַסְר [DLSR] for תלאשר [TL>FR], ‘Telassar’ (2Kgs 19:12)⁹
- כ [K] sometimes where Hebrew has ג [G]
כּוּסָה [SKR] for סגר [SGR], ‘close, shut’ (1Kgs 11:27)
- ג [G] sometimes where Hebrew has כ [K]
גְרִיד [GRD], ‘scrape, strip’, for כרת [KRT], ‘cut’ (1Kgs 18:5)¹⁰

1.1.2. Fuzziness in Velars, Glottals, and Pharyngeals

Certain Hebrew words are rendered in Syriac in a form in which the velar or glottal sound is recorded by a different letter from the velar or glottal area of the articulatory tract. This could testify to the possibility that the two phonological systems made different distinctions in this area.¹¹ We find:¹²

Semitic languages and some of them go probably back to the time when the *b/p* was one phoneme. For similar variation within Syriac material, cf. Bakker, *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*, 46: ܡܘܨܪܝܐ [>GPVWS], ‘Egypt’, and 53: ܡܘܨܪܝܐܢܝܐ [>GBVJ], ‘Egyptians’. For similar variation within Hebrew material, cf. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, Part One, Section A: *Proper Names*, 315, entry 1378: צופח [YWPX], transcribed in Greek sometimes with a φ and sometimes with a β in the middle of the word.

⁸ Cf. the variation presented by Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, Part One, Section A: *Proper Names*, 271, entry 854: כּבּרַת [KBRT] (χαβραθα, χαφ-); 272, entry 866: 1/כּנּוּה [KLNH/W] (χλαωννη, γλαωννη); 273, entry 871: כּנּרַת [KNRT]; 274, entry 884: כּשּׁר [KFD].

⁹ See also sections 1.1.3 and 1.3.

¹⁰ For a discussion of this correspondence, see chapter 8, section 1.11.

¹¹ Consider the difficulties of English speakers in distinguishing two back fricatives in Dutch: [χ] and [h]. Though it is sometimes difficult to produce the desired phonetic quality, there is also the challenge of dividing the mental vowel chart of the velar / glottal area into more phonemes as required by Dutch in comparison to English.

¹² Cf. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 140, 141, on the ‘widespread reduction’ of Semitic laryngals, pharyngeals, and velars. For similar variation within Hebrew material, cf. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, Part One, Section A: *Proper Names*, 315, for example, entry 1371: צבעוּת [YB<WN], or 317, entry 1401: צעַר [Y<R], where the *ϰ* [<] is sometimes preserved, sometimes transcribed in Greek with a γ, and sometimes skipped, testifying to weakening and elision of the pharyngeal.

- ג [G] where Hebrew has ע [<]
 גדג [GDW]¹³ for עדו [<DW], 'Iddo' (1 Kgs 4:14)
 גז [GZ>] for עזא [<Z>], 'Uzza' (2 Kgs 21:18, 26)¹⁴
 ד [<] where the Hebrew has א [>]¹⁵
 דל [SL<] for סלא [SL>], 'Silla' (2 Kgs 12:21)
 דלמנאסר [CLMN<SR] for שלמנאסר [CLMN>SR], 'Shalmaneser' (2 Kgs 17:3)
 ד [<] where the Hebrew has ח [X]
 דפ [PR<] for פרח [PRX], 'a bud, blossom' (1 Kgs 7:26)
 ד [<] where the Hebrew has ק [Q]
 דקר [<VR] for קטר [QVR], 'steam, smoke' (2 Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 16:4)

One of the correspondences found within the corpus suggests yet another possible variation:

- ד [Q] where the Hebrew has כ [K]¹⁶
 דמלך [<MLJQ] for ענמלך [<NMLK], 'Anammelech' (2 Kgs 17:31)

Because the rules for spelling variation are only applied to pairs of words which occupy a corresponding position within a clause-level synopsis of the analysed texts, this is the only pair which has surfaced, and it has other aspects which must be taken into consideration.¹⁷ We have therefore no undisputed evidence that these two sounds were confused in practice. That these two sounds could be clearly distinguished can be seen in the consistent contrast maintained between the names of two late Israelite kings:

- יהויקים [JHWJQJM] for יהויקים [JHWJQJM], 'Jehoiakim', and
 יהויכין [JHWJKJN] for יהויכין [JHWJKJN], 'Jehoiachin' (2 Kgs 24:6)

¹³ But see 7a1 17a4 גדג for גזג of the other manuscripts.

¹⁴ Cf. LXX Γάζα, Γάζης for עזה [<ZH], 'Gaza' (Gen 10:19; 1 Kgdms 6:17; 4 Kgdms 18:8 etc.), and Γόμορρα for עמרה [<MRH], 'Gamorrha' (Gen 10:19; 14:2, 8, 10 etc.). However, in P עזה [<ZH], 'Gaza', is rendered גזא [<>Z>] (1 Kgs 5:4; 2 Kgs 18:8; Gen 10:19; 1 Sam 6:17, and elsewhere). Likewise, P offers גזא [<>Z>] for עזא [<Z>], 'Uzza' (2 Sam 6:3, 6, 7), and for עזה [<ZH], 'Uzza', (2 Sam 6:8); גזא [<Z>] for עזא [<Z>], 'Uzza' (Ezr 2:49; 1 Chr 13:7, 9, 11); גמרה [<MWR>] for עמרה [<MRH], 'Gamorrha' (Gen 10:19; 14:2, 8, 10 etc.).

¹⁵ According to Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, Parts Two and Three, 20, the interchange of ע [<] and א [>] 'may have phonetic origins, whether as a pharyngalization of a more original glottal, or as a glottalization of a more original pharyngeal'.

¹⁶ Though most of the entries in Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, Part One, Section A: *Proper Names*, with כ [K] are written in Greek with χ, some are written with κ; conversely, though most entries with ק [Q] are written in Greek with κ, some are written with χ. There is thus some basis to assume an association between the two in actual language data.

¹⁷ See chapter 6, section 2, note 311.

1.1.3. *Fluidity of Sibilants*

The sibilants appear to be particularly variable in their representations in corresponding words. In some cases, a phonological rule can be deduced, for example, when various alveolar sibilants shift to the corresponding plosives while maintaining the same values for the phonetic features of voice, point of articulation, and emphatic pronunciation, as listed in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Systematic phonological shift from sibilant to plosive¹⁸

<i>sibilant</i>	<i>plosive</i>
ז [Z] (voiced coronal alveolar)	א [D] (voiced coronal alveolar)
צ [Ȳ] (voiceless emphatic alveolar)	כּ [V] (voiceless emphatic alveolar)
ץ [C] (voiceless [palato-] alveolar)	ט [T] (voiceless [coronal] alveolar) ¹⁹

Thus, though this switch is not obligatory, we find:

א [D] sometimes occurs where Hebrew has ז [Z]:²⁰

אֶסֶד [DHB >] for זָהָב [ZHB], ‘gold’

אֶמְבֵּס [MDBX >] for מִזְבֵּחַ [MZBX], ‘altar’

כּ [V] sometimes occurs where Hebrew has צ [Ȳ]:²¹

כַּבֵּשׁ [VBJ >] for צִבִּי [ȲBJ], ‘gazelle’ (1 Kgs 5:3)

כַּפֵּס [VWP >] for צֹף [ȲWP], ‘flow, float, swim’ (2 Kgs 6:6)

כַּלֵּל [VLL >] for צֶלֶל [ȲL], ‘shade, shadow’²² (2 Kgs 20:9, 10, 11)

כַּנְר [NVR] for נִצְר [NYR], ‘guard, keep’

ט [T] sometimes occurs where Hebrew has צ [C]:²³

טַלַּט [TLT] for Hebrew שְׁלֹשׁ [CLC], ‘three’

טַבַּט [JTB] for Hebrew יֹשֵׁב [JCB], ‘sit, remain, dwell’

In other cases, it would be difficult to deduce a phonological principle behind the variation, particularly since we cannot be certain how the consonants were pronounced. We find the following:

¹⁸ This phonological rule was presented previously in Dyk, ‘Linguistic Aspects’, 522.

¹⁹ An exception to this rule is the minimal pair אַחַשׁ [KWC] for אַחַשׁ [KWC], ‘Cush’ (2 Kgs 19:9), and אַחַשׁ [KWT] for אַחַשׁ [KWT], ‘Cuth’, or ‘Cuthah’ (2 Kgs 17:24, 30).

²⁰ According to Gray, *Introduction*, 19, this occurs when it represents a Proto-Semitic inter-dental voiced fricative [ð].

²¹ According to Gray, *Introduction*, 20, this occurs when it represents a Proto-Semitic emphatic alveolar voiceless fricative.

²² See also section 1.8, below.

²³ According to Gray, *Introduction*, 20, this occurs when it represents a Proto-Semitic inter-dental voiceless fricative [θ]; cf. also Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria–Palestine*, 28–30: ‘The correspondences of * \underline{t} divide the first-millennium NWS dialects into two groups. Old Aramaic preserved an independent phoneme * \underline{t} , whereas * \underline{t} had merged with * \underline{s} in Phoenician and Hebrew. It appears that the change * \underline{t} > [θ] gradually diffused through Palestine’ (30).

ש [F] disappears in all cases and is replaced in corresponding lexemes usually by ש [S]:²⁴

שָׁמַר [XSK] for חָשַׁד [XFK], 'withhold, keep back' (2 Kgs 5:20)

שָׁמַר [<SR] for עָשָׂר [<FR], 'ten'

שָׁמַר [SP>] for שָׁפָה [FPH], 'lip, brim, edge'²⁵

but occasionally by ש [C]²⁶

שָׁמַר [<CJ>] for עֲשִׂיָּה [<FJH], 'Asahiah' (2 Kgs 22:12, 14)

שָׁמַר [CRJ>] for שְׂרִיָּה [FRJH], 'Seraiah' (2 Kgs 25:18)²⁷

י [Z] appears sometimes for י [Y]

יָמַל [BZQT] for בִּצְקָת [BYQT], 'Boscath' (2 Kgs 22:1)

יָמַל [ZDJQ] for צְדִיק [YDJQ], 'upright, just, righteous'

יָמַל [Z<Q] for צָעַק [Y<Q], 'call, shout, cry' (1 Kgs 20:39; 2 Kgs 4:1)²⁸

ש [S] appears sometimes for ש [C]²⁹

שָׁמַר [<STRWT] for עֲשִׁתְרֵת [<CTRT], 'Ashtoreth' (2 Kgs 23:13)³⁰

ש [S] appears sometimes for י [Y]

שָׁמַר [>JSXQ] for יִצְחָק [JYXQ], 'Isaac' (1 Kgs 18:36; 2 Kgs 13:23)

י [Y] appears sometimes for ש [S]

יָמַל [QYM] for קָסַם [QSM], 'practice divination' (2 Kgs 17:18)

יָמַל [PYX>] for פֶּסַח [PSX], 'Passover' (2 Kgs 23:23)

Furthermore, י [Y] appears in some corresponding lexemes as י [<], where it seems the fluidity of the sibilants and the fuzziness of the lower end of the articulatory track intersect or overlap:³¹

²⁴ According to Gray, *Introduction*, 11, 14, Hebrew is the only Semitic language to retain the Proto-Semitic voiceless palatal sibilant [š].

²⁵ See also section 1.3, below.

²⁶ Rendering ש [F] as ש [C] may lie behind נָגַשׁ [NGF], 'exact (tribute)', being rendered מָדַב [QRB], 'draw near', as though the Hebrew read נָגַשׁ [NGC], 'approach' (2 Kgs 23:35). For treatment of this case, see chapter 13, section 4.1. It should be remembered that the Syriac translator worked from an unvocalized source text in which ש [F] and ש [C] were not distinguished.

²⁷ See also sections 1.3 and 1.6.

²⁸ Hebrew has both יָמַל [Z<Q] and צָעַק [Y<Q] meaning 'call, shout, cry'. Both are elsewhere in P Kings rendered as יָמַל [JLL]: יָמַל in 1 Kgs 22:32; צָעַק in 2 Kgs 2:12; 6:5.

²⁹ Cf. the difference in pronunciation between ש [C] and ש [S] used to distinguish friend from foe (Judg 12:6).

³⁰ See also chapter 6, section 2, note 311.

³¹ According to Gray, *Introduction*, 11, 19, these cases go back to the Proto-Semitic emphatic alveolar voiced fricative. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 131, comments that: 'Early Aramaic practice of indicating [this phoneme] by "q" and the later spelling "ʿ", e.g. in ʿr̥q > ʿr̥; "earth", confirm the independent phonemic status of [this phoneme] and its emphatic character, expressed by the clear velarization of the sound symbolized by "ʿ". For comparable variation in the transcription of Hebrew material in Greek, cf. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, Part One, Section A: *Proper Names*, 315, entry 1372: צְדָדָה [YDDH] where the י [Y] is sometimes preserved, sometimes transcribed as σ (testifying to its sibilant character), sometimes as γ (the representation often chosen for the י [<]), sometimes as χ (voiceless

כח [$<N>$] for קאצ [Y>N], 'flock, (small) cattle'³²
 כחכ [$>R<>$] for קאצ [Y>N], 'land, country'
 כחכ [$R<<$] for קאצ [RY>], 'break to pieces, crush'³³

Additionally, ו [V] can be found in cognate words for Hebrew ת [T]:

כחכ [V<>] for תהח [T<H], 'wander, err' (2 Kgs 21:9)³⁴

1.2. Interchange of Letters Similarly Written

The [D] and [R] are sometimes interchanged with each other in corresponding lexemes. This has often been explained as a result of the similarity in the shapes of the two letters in both alphabets. Yet there is also the possibility of acoustic resemblance between the two:

The dental basis of articulation of these phonemes³⁵ is supported by their traditional and modern realizations. ... the *r* was realized as a uvular non-rolled [R] in one of the traditional European pronunciations of Hebrew ... This uvular articulation would explain ... its systematic non-gemination in the Masoretic vocalization of the Hebrew Bible. However, the Septuagint still shows gemination of the Hebrew *r* ... The variations in ancient and modern articulations of *r* have no phonemic value ...³⁶

Plus-vocalic features of *l* and *r* are apparent also in Semitic. In classical Semitic languages, a sequence of abutting consonants generally may not belong to one syllable so as to form a "consonant cluster" ... However ... plus-vocalic sonorants or liquids (*l, r*) ... may be followed by another consonant at the end of a word ... or preceded by another consonant in the beginning of a word ...³⁷

Thus the possibility should not be disregarded that the [R] might have approximated the [D] in pronunciation, perhaps even as a voiced coronal alveolar plosive versus voiced coronal alveolar flap. These letters might have been confused not only by their shape, but also by their sound, provided that the texts were recited in the process of translation or transmission.³⁸

variation of the γ), and is sometimes skipped (indicating a weakening and eliding of the pharyngeal / laryngeal).

³² See also section 1.9.

³³ See also section 1.8.

³⁴ See also section 1.3.

³⁵ That is what Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 132, calls the 'two dental liquids *l* and *r*, and one dental nasal *n*'.

³⁶ Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 132, 133.

³⁷ Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 136, 137.

³⁸ For similar variation within transcription of Hebrew material, see Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, Part One, Section A: *Proper Names*, 315, entry 1372: צדדה [YDDH]

Examples include:³⁹

Word-initial position:

גבלט [DBLT] for רבלה [RBLH], 'Riblah' (2 Kgs 25:21)⁴⁰

Word-medial position:

גדוּס [XDWY] for חרוּץ [XRWY], 'Haruz' (2 Kgs 21:19)

גדוּס [XDXS] for חרחס [XRXS], 'Harhas' (2 Kgs 22:14)

גדוּס [>RDMLK] for אדרמלך [>DRMLK], 'Adrammelech' (2 Kgs 17:31)⁴¹

Word-final position:

גדוּס [ZBWR] for זבוד [ZBWD], 'Zabud' (1 Kgs 4:5)

Table 3.2 presents the variation in the spelling of corresponding words in the Masoretic text and the Peshitta of Kings.

The chart is arranged according to the point of articulation from the front to the back of the oral cavity, with the voiced variants listed before the voiceless. In the arrangement, the manner of articulation of the consonants has been distinguished, giving first the flap–plosive variation, then the sibilant–plosive variations, and finally the remaining variation among sibilants alone. Within the sibilant–plosive variations, the plosives are listed first in the order of an approximation of the point of articulation.⁴² As can be seen, except in the case of the Hebrew ψ [F], a letter may also be written as the corresponding letter in the other alphabet.⁴³

with the first δ [D] sometimes being written in Greek transcription as ρ , perhaps motivated by dissimilation. Cf. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 191: 'Dissimilation is ... a differentiation of two or more identical sounds in a word by substituting for one of them another sound of similar type or position.' Cf. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 177, for dissimilation through *r*.

³⁹ For more examples of the interchange of [D] and [R], see chapter 8, sections 1.5, 1.7, 1.12, and 2.4, and chapter 9, sections 2 and 4.

⁴⁰ See also section 1.5.

⁴¹ See also section 1.9. For a discussion of this example, see chapter 6, section 4.2.

⁴² One should bear in mind that many of these consonants have a fricative pronunciation in certain environments. Cf. Gray, *Introduction*, 10–13, and Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 109–150, for differing descriptions of the articulatory nature of the consonants.

⁴³ Muraoka (*Classical Syriac for Hebraists*, 5) in his chart of corresponding consonants does not mention the following variation found in our material: β [B]— ϕ [P], ψ [Y]— χ [Z], ψ [C]— ω [S], ψ [F]— α [C], λ [G]— κ [K], δ [K]— θ [Q], ν [<]— γ [G], ρ [Q]— σ [<], π [X]— τ [<], κ [>]— σ [<], nor the interchange of [D] and [R]. The difference could lie in the fact that Muraoka's chart portrays systematic language development, while the present chart captures variation encountered in the corpus.

Table 3.2: Systematic spelling variation

<i>front</i>		<i>mid</i>		<i>back</i>	
Hebrew	Syriac	Hebrew	Syriac	Hebrew	Syriac
		ר [R]	ܪ [R]		
ב [B]	ܒ [B]	ד [D]	ܕ [D]	ג [G]	ܓ [G]
פ [P]	ܦ [P]	ת [T]	ܬ [T]	כ [K]	ܟ [K]
		ו [V]	ܘ [V]	ק [Q]	ܩ [Q]
		ז [Z]	ܙ [Z]	צ [C]	ܥ [C]
		י [Y]	ܝ [Y]	ח [X]	ܚ [X]
		ס [S]	ܣ [S]	ט [T]	ܬ [T]
		ש [C]	ܫ [C]		
		פ [F]	ܦ [F]		

So much variation, where few of the differences appear to be motivated by systematic phonological rules, could point to acoustic or articulatory variation. Certain letters appear to have been recorded by another letter which sounded similar or was articulated in a similar fashion.⁴⁴

The fact that at the front and back of the oral cavity, certain voiced plosives correspond to the voiceless variant could point to a different manner of articulation of a plosive in the two languages, for example, with or without aspiration.⁴⁵ If such an articulatory distinction lies behind the data observed, then it could be the Syriac plosive which was articulated without aspiration, at least in non-final position. The fact that in word-final position the Hebrew

⁴⁴ A comment by Kaufman, 'Reflections', 146–147, seems to indicate a similar observation: according to him the use of a different letter need not indicate a different phonetic correspondence, but only a different graphic representation (as cited in Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria–Palestine*, 29). This would be even more plausible where the articulatory features were distributed differently in the separate languages.

⁴⁵ For an example from modern languages, Spanish voiced and voiceless plosives are articulated without aspiration. In English, on the contrary, the plosives are distinguished both by voice and aspiration, that is, the voiceless plosives are aspirated while voiced plosives are not. This can and does lead to a confusion of the voiceless Spanish plosives: because Spanish plosives lack of aspiration, the English ear can take them to be the voiced plosive, which in English is the one without aspiration.

ך [K] is written sporadically as the emphatic ܟ [Q] in Syriac could point to the presence of strong aspiration in the pronunciation of the Hebrew sound word finally. More data is required to sharpen this analysis.

1.3. *Variation in the Recording of Matres Lectionis*

In languages in general, the so-called ‘semi-vowels’ *y* and *w* present a challenge as to whether these should be analysed as consonants or vowels. Most often it is their position in the syllable which determines their status as consonant or vowel. In addition, the glottal stop and aspiration function in some languages as separate consonants and in others as features of articulation dependent on the position in the syllable or word. In Hebrew and Syriac precisely these elements came to be used to indicate the presence of vowels, the so-called *matres lectionis* [>], [H], [W], and [J]. These seem to appear almost at random in many corresponding lexemes and are at times interchanged with one another due to differences between the two languages in spelling conventions and in vocalization. Thus:

- ܐܘܬܘܬ [XT>] for אחות [>XWT], ‘sister’ (1Kgs 11:19)
 ܒܥܠܘܬ [B<LWT] for בעלות [B<LWT], ‘Baaloth’ (1Kgs 4:16), and בעלת [B<LT],
 ‘Baalath’ (1Kgs 9:18)
 ܒܝܫܒܐ [BRCB<] for באר שבע [B>R CB<], ‘Beer Sheba’ (1Kgs 5:5)
 ܚܡܘܪ [XMR>] for חמור [XMWR], ‘he-ass’ (1Kgs 2:40)
 ܫܥܐ [W<D] for יעד [J<D], ‘appoint a time of meeting’ (1Kgs 8:5)
 ܚܡܘܪ [KWMR>] for כמר [KMR], ‘idoltrous priest’ (2Kgs 23:5)
 ܚܚܡܝܢ [XKJM] for חכם [XKM], ‘wise’ (1Kgs 5:21)
 ܝܒܘܕܢܐܨܪ [NBWKDNYR] for נבוכדנאצר [NEKDN>YR], ‘Nebuchadnezzar’ (2Kgs 24:1)
 ܘܒܕܐ [ZBJD>] for זבודה [ZBWDH], ‘Zebidah’ / ‘Zebudah’ (2Kgs 23:36)⁴⁶
 ܚܘܐ [<W>] for עוא [<W>], ‘Ava’ (2Kgs 17:24), and עוה [<WH], ‘Ivah’ (2Kgs 18:34; 19:13)
 ܫܒܢܐ [CBN>] for שבנה [CBNH] (2Kgs 18:18, 26) and שבנא [CBN>], ‘Shebna’ (2Kgs 18:37; 19:2)

Each of the languages separately has this variation: Hebrew manifests considerable variation in the presence of these letters.⁴⁷ Not infrequently, an additional initial ܐ [>] is encountered in the Syriac form:⁴⁸

⁴⁶ K^ctib זבִּידָה [ZBJD]; Q^ere זבִּוּדָה [ZBWDH].

⁴⁷ Examples involving proper nouns can be found in chapter 6, section 3.

⁴⁸ Cf. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria–Palestine*, 48: ‘The prothetic *aleph* appears throughout the NWS dialects’; see also Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 194. See also chapter 6, section 1.1.1.1.

ܝܗܘ [JTR] (BTR) and ܝܗܘܐ [>JTR] (9a1) for יתרו [JTR], ‘Jether’ (1Kgs 2:5)

The manuscripts of the Peshitta of Kings show a bewildering variation of spelling for ‘Israel’ and ‘Jerusalem’; for the latter, the Masoretic text also manifests variation:

ܝܣܪܐܝܠ [>JSR > JL], ܝܣܪܐܝܠ [>JSRJL], ܝܣܪܐܝܠ [JSRJL], ܝܣܪܐܝܠ
[JSR > JL]⁴⁹ for ישראל [JFR > L], ‘Israel’
ܝܪܘܫܠܝܡ [>WRCLM], ܝܪܘܫܠܝܡ [>WRJCLM], ܝܪܘܫܠܝܡ [>WRCLJM], ܝܪܘܫܠܝܡ
[>RCLM]⁵⁰ for ירושלים [JRWCML] and ירושלים [JRWCJLM], ‘Jerusalem’

The theophoric element יהו [JHW] occurring in Hebrew proper nouns consists of three *matres lectionis* and is susceptible to considerable variation in the rendering in Syriac.⁵¹

1.4. Assimilation of the Alveolar Nasal

In many languages nasals accommodate themselves to the following consonant. In Hebrew and Syriac, the alveolar nasal assimilates completely to the following consonant in certain environments.⁵² This phenomenon appears to be playing a role in some corresponding words:

ܬܚܦܢܝܫ [TXPJS] for תחפניש [TXPNJS], ‘Tahpenes’ (1Kgs 11:19, 20 [1st])⁵³
ܓܢܒܬܐ [GBWT] for גנבת [GNBT], ‘Genubath’ (1Kgs 11:20)⁵⁴

1.5. Possible Influence of Grammar on the Spelling

Grammar appears to have affected the spelling in some corresponding forms. The word-initial switch between [J] and [N] in related forms seems to reflect the verbal grammar in which in Hebrew the imperfect third masc

⁴⁹ Cf. Index Nominum, Kings volume of *The Old Testament in Syriac*: xcii– xciii.

⁵⁰ Cf. Index Nominum, Kings volume of *The Old Testament in Syriac*: xcii.

⁵¹ See section 1.6.

⁵² Cf. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 186: ‘The natural tendency of the speaker is to limit effort in his speech and to avoid sharp shifts in the use of speech organs. This leads to a chain of assimilations of one sound to another.’ Lipiński gives a long list of ‘main types of Semitic consonantal assimilation’ (187). Many of these main types involve nasals. Cf. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria–Palestine*, 43, 44: ‘All the dialects exhibit assimilation of the *nun* to a following non-laryngeal consonant, when that consonant was part of the same word as the *nun*. In Ammonite, Moabite, Edomite, and Hebrew, this assimilation extended to laryngeals as well. ... It is doubtful, however, that these instances of assimilation reflect a shared innovation: *nun* assimilates to a following consonant in several Semitic languages. The assimilation of *nun*, then, is most likely a case of independent development in the NWS dialects.’

⁵³ See chapter 6, sections 2 and 3.4.

⁵⁴ See also section 1.3.

begins with [ʃ] and in Syriac with [N]. The letters in Syriac could have been confused, thus indicating an inner-Syriac corruption. However, since the switch occurs where it could be related to a form of the imperfect, it is likely that grammar played a role:

ܢܠܥܡ [NBL<M] for יבלעם [JBL<M], 'Ibleam' (2 Kgs 9:27)
 ܝܟܡܥܡ [NQM<M] for יקמעם [JQM<M], 'Jokmeam' (1 Kgs 4:12)
 ܝܟܬܥܠ [NQT>JL] for יקתאל [JQT>L], 'Joktheel' (2 Kgs 14:7)
 ܝܝܪܐ [J>JR] (7a1) and ܝܝܪܐ [N>JR] (9a1) for ייאר [J>JR], 'Jair' (1 Kgs 4:13)

It is theoretically possible that due to hypercorrection a reversal of the grammatical elements took place, so that the Hebrew [N] is replaced by [ʃ] in:

ܐܠܢܬܢ [>LJTN] for אלנתן [>LNTN], 'Elnathan' (2 Kgs 24:8)
 ܢܒܫܝܗ [JBZX] for נבחו [NBXZ], 'Nibhaz' (2 Kgs 17:31)
 ܢܡܫܝܗ [JMCJ] for נמשי [NMCJ], 'Nimshi' (1 Kgs 19:16; 2 Kgs 9:2, 14, 20)

Still, in these cases, the simplest explanation is that the Syriac letters were confused by a copyist.⁵⁵

The nominal masculine plural ending in Hebrew is [M] and in Syriac [N]. This switch appears also in the spelling of some forms:

ܡܝܪܝܢ [MYRJN] for מצרים [MYRJM], 'Egypt'

This switch may, however, not be related to the grammatical plural ending, but to a broader phonological phenomenon affecting languages more generally.⁵⁶ Thus see:

ܝܢ [>N] for אם [>M], 'if'

Finally, since the lexica allow for feminine words ending in [T] in both languages and in ה [H] for Hebrew and ܐ [>] for Syriac, variation in these nominal feminine endings has been taken into account:

ܐܡܬܐ [>MT >] for אמה [>MH], 'maid servant'

On the basis of an inventory of the data, the differences in table 3.3 have been accepted as systematic variation as described above. The variation occurring in all positions has been arranged alphabetically according to the Hebrew letter involved.

⁵⁵ See chapter 6, section 1.1.7.4.

⁵⁶ For example, Spanish 'Jerusalén' for 'Jerusalem'.

Table 3.3: Spelling differences accepted as systematic variation

<i>All positions</i>	<i>Word-initially</i>	<i>Word-medially</i>	<i>Word-finally</i>
⊠ [>] - ⊡ [<]	⊠ [>] may be added	⊠ [>], ⊡ [W], ⊡ [J], or ⊡ [N] may be omitted	⊠ [>], ⊡ [J], or ⊡ [T] may be omitted
⊢ [B] - ⊣ [P]			
⊤ [G] - ⊥ [K]			
⊦ [D] - ⊧ [Z], ⊧ [R], ⊧ [T]			
⊨ [Z] - ⊩ [D]	⊠ [>], ⊡ [W], or ⊡ [J] may be omitted	⊠ [>], ⊡ [W], or ⊡ [J] may be inserted	⊠ [>], ⊡ [W], ⊡ [N], or ⊡ [T] may be added word finally
⊫ [X] - ⊬ [<]			
⊭ [V] - ⊮ [T]			
⊯ [K] - ⊰ [G], ⊰ [Q]			
⊲ [S] - ⊳ [Y]	⊠ [>], ⊡ [W] or ⊡ [J] may be inserted after an initial consonant		
⊴ [<] - ⊵ [G]			
⊶ [P] - ⊷ [B]	⊡ [J] - ⊠ [>], ⊡ [N]		⊡ [H] - ⊠ [>], ⊡ [W], ⊡ [J]
⊸ [Y] - ⊹ [Z], ⊹ [V], ⊹ [<]	⊡ [N] - ⊡ [J]		⊡ [M] - ⊡ [N]
⊺ [Q] - ⊻ [<]			
⊼ [R] - ⊽ [D]			
⊿ [F] - ⊠ [S], ⊠ [C]			
⊡ [C] - ⊡ [S], ⊡ [T]			
⊣ [T] - ⊣ [D], ⊣ [V]			

1.6. *Translation of Components of a Word*

The renderings of several proper nouns are not to be explained by phonetic variation, but by the translation of a component of the name.

The element ‘son of’ in proper nouns has been translated instead of transcribed: בן [BN] is rendered as בּו [BR]:

בּוֹנֵהוּ [BRXWR] for בן חור [BN XWR], ‘Ben Hur’ (1 Kgs 4:8)⁵⁷

This also can occur with the element ‘daughter of’ in proper nouns:

בּוֹלְטַבְּ [BRTCB<]⁵⁸ but also בּוֹלְטַבְּ [BT<CB<]⁵⁹ for בת שבע [BT CB<], ‘Bathsheba’⁶⁰

The components [>X], ‘brother’, and [>B], ‘father’, are spelled identically in both languages. In one name, the two are interchanged in a rendering:⁶¹

אַחִישַׁר [>BJNCR] for אַחִישַׁר [>XJCR], ‘Ahishar’ (1 Kgs 4:6)⁶²

Within proper nouns we accept as systematic correspondence the translation of elements as shown in table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Translation of components of a name

Hebrew	Syriac
בן [BN]	בּו [BR]
בת [BT]	בּוֹלְטַ [BRT]
אב [>B]	אַב [>B]
אח [>X]	אַח [>X]

1.7. *Spelling of the theophoric element [JHW]*

The theophoric element, spelled in full as [JHW], is spelled in various ways in proper nouns. Though this in itself could be reduced to phonetic variation, or variation in the writing of *matres lectionis*, the variation occurs within

⁵⁷ See also section 1.7, below.

⁵⁸ See Index Nominum, Kings volume of *The Old Testament in Syriac*: xciv.

⁵⁹ 8 × in 1 Kings 1–2.

⁶⁰ See also chapter 6, section 1.3.2.

⁶¹ Cf. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, Part One, Section A: *Proper Names*, 210, entry 96: אַחִישַׁר [>XJMLK] also written Ἀβιμῆλεχ. See for the confusion of אח [>X] and אב [>B] in the Hebrew text, Ps 34:1 (cf. 1 Samuel 21).

⁶² See also section 1.5 and chapter 6, section 2.

both Hebrew and Syriac and is not the result of a systematic difference between the languages:⁶³

אדנייהו [>DWNJ >] for אדנייהו [>DNJHW], 'Adonijah' (1Kgs 1:8)⁶⁴
 יהוידע [JHWJD <] for יהוידע [JHWJD <], 'Jehoiada' (1Kgs 4:4)
 יהויקים [JHWJQJM] for יהויקים [JHWJQJM], 'Jehoiakim' (2Kgs 24:6)
 יהושע [JHCW <] for יהושע [JHWCW <], 'Joshua' (1Kgs 16:34)

Within proper nouns we accept as systematic correspondence the various spellings of the theophoric element [JHW] as in table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Spelling variation of the theophoric element [JHW]

Hebrew	Syriac
יהו [JHW]	ܝܗܘ [JHW]
הו [JH]	ܚ [J >]
יו [JW]	ܘ [JW]
	ܝ [J]
	ܚ [>]

1.8. Conflation and Expansion of Words

Even within a single language, certain words, in particular proper nouns, are written sometimes as a single word and sometimes as more than one word. For example:

בית אל [BJT >L] and בית אל [BJT >L] for בית אל [BJT >L], 'Bethel'
 (2Kgs 23:17, 19)
 נפת דאר [NPT D >R] for נפת דאר [NPT D >R], 'the region of Dor', but
 evidently understood as a proper noun in Syriac (1Kgs 4:11)

In Hebrew, numbers above ten tend to be written as more than one word, while Syriac runs these together:⁶⁶

אחת עשרה [>XT <FRH], 'eleven (one-ten)' (1Kgs
 6:38)
 שבע מאות [CB <M >>] for שבע מאות [CB < M >WT], 'seven hundred' (1Kgs 11:3)

⁶³ For more examples, see chapter 6, section 1.3.1. For the disambiguation in Syriac of two kings which in Hebrew are both spelled in two different ways, see chapter 6, section 4.1.

⁶⁴ See also section 1.3.

⁶⁵ This also occurs in the manuscripts with variation of [D] and [R]: נפת דאר [NPTDWR] and נפת דאר [NPTRWR], see Index Nominum in the Kings volume of *The Old Testament in Syriac*: xciv.

⁶⁶ See also Van Keulen, 'Lexicographical Troubles with the Numerals 1–20'.

Because of the resemblance of the component parts, such a word break has been ignored when comparing corresponding forms.

1.9. *Single and Double Consonants*

In a number of corresponding words in the corpus, it appears that Hebrew consonants written twice have been rendered by a single consonant in Syriac. The rest of the form would fit into the spelling variation as described above. Examples include:

ܐܝܫܫܚܪ [>JSKR] for יֵשׁשׁכֵר [JFFKR] (K^etib), ‘Issachar’ (1 Kgs 4:17)
 ܠܒ [LB >] for לֵב [LBB], ‘heart’, though Hebrew also has לֵב [LB]
 ܡܠܟܗ [MLKW >] for מַמְלָכָה [MMLKH], ‘kingdom’
 ܬܫܥܝܘܢ [TC < SR] for תֵּשַׁע עֶשְׂרֵה [TC < <FRH], ‘nineteen’

1.10. *Metathesis*

According to Lipiński, there is evidence of metathesis in all Semitic languages. It can involve either contiguous consonants or consonants separated by a vowel, as in כבש [KBF], כשב [KFB], ‘young ram, lamb’. Further:

... there are not enough examples of metathesis in the same language to warrant a definite statement on the phonetic conditions in which metathesis occurs. However, there is little doubt that one of the consonants involved in many cases is either l or r, i.e. one of the two “liquids”. ... Aramic tar‘a ... parallels ... š‘r “gate”, “door” ...⁶⁷

The examples found in Kings are not limited to the occurrence of a liquid [L] or [R], as mentioned by Lipiński. Metathesis can be observed in the following forms, often in combination with other phonological rules already mentioned:

ܐܘܘܘܠܝܗܘ [>LYJ >] for אֲזַלְיָהוּ [>YLJHW], ‘Azaliah’ (2 Kgs 22:3)
 ܪܘܙܘܢ [HDRWN] for רֵזוֹן [RZWN], ‘Rezon’ (1 Kgs 11:23) (with added initial ܪ [H])
 ܢܒܗܙ [JNBZX] for נִבְחָז [NBXZ], ‘Nibhaz’ (2 Kgs 17:31)
 ܡܢܚܡ [MXNJM] for מְנַחֵם [MNXM], ‘Menahem’ (2 Kgs 15:14)
 ܒܫܪ [SBR] for בִּשֵׁר [BFR], ‘announce’ (1 Kgs 1:42)
 ܫܘܐ [S > W] for סוּא [SW >], ‘So’ (2 Kgs 17:4)
 ܥܚܒܘܪ [<BKWR] for עֲכַבּוּר [<KBWR], ‘Achbor’ (2 Kgs 22:12, 14)
 ܫܥܪ [TR < >] for שַׁעַר [C < R], ‘gate’ (2 Kgs 25:4)
 ܬܦܫܗ [TXPJS] for תִּפְסַח [TPSX], ‘Tiphseh’ (1 Kgs 5:4)

⁶⁷ Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 193.

Also the case of רִדְמַלְכ [$>\text{RDMLK}$] for אֲדַרְמֶלֶךְ [$>\text{DRMLK}$], ‘Adrammelech’, mentioned in section 1.2 as the confusing of [D] and [R] might actually be a case of metathesis.⁶⁸

1.11. *The Computer Program*

A computer program has been developed to compare corresponding lexemes and register whether these are identical in spelling, are the result of one or more of the spelling variations described above, or are non-identical.⁶⁹ All the data were submitted to the same program. It is thus possible to compare the proportion of identical, related, and non-identical forms occurring in texts.

All of the rules described above have been built into the program, with the following adjustments.

- The possibility of variation between Hebrew א [$>$] and Syriac ܐ [$<$] has been restricted to its occurrence in content words (adjectives, nouns, proper nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs), excluding its possible occurrence in relational words (prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, negations, interrogatives). This prevents a number of short words wrongly being identified as spelling variations, for example, the Hebrew preposition אֶל [$>\text{L}$] and the Syriac preposition ܐܠ [$<\text{L}$], while Hebrew also has a preposition עַל [$<\text{L}$] to which the Syriac ܥܠ [$<\text{L}$] corresponds in many cases.
- The same restriction of parts of speech is applied to the possibility of ܐ [$>$] being inserted at the beginning of the word. This prevents the Syriac preposition ܐܠ [L] from being registered as a spelling variation of the Hebrew preposition אֶל [$>\text{L}$], while the Hebrew also has a preposition לְ [L], or the Syriac negation ܐܠܐ [$\text{L}>$] being registered as a spelling variation of the Hebrew negation אֵל [$>\text{L}$] (distinguished from the Hebrew preposition by means of vocalization), while Hebrew also has a negation אַל [$\text{L}>$].
- Metathesis necessitates a separate treatment: it is not possible to build this into the same program which processes the other rules in one run. We have, therefore, chosen not to treat this phenomenon automatically, but leave it *pro memoria*.

⁶⁸ See also chapter 8, section 1.34, for a discussion of the possible influence of metathesis in the rendering of ܕܡܠܟ [DXC], ‘guardsmen, attendants’, for ܕܡܠܟܐ [XRC], ‘artisan’ (2 Kgs 24:14, 16).

⁶⁹ We thank Constantijn Sikkell for his meticulous programming of the spelling variation.

The results are useful when comparing the use of vocabulary occurring within the texts.

A category which would be interesting to add to the comparison involves those cases where Syriac uses a word which is a cognate to a synonym of the Hebrew word, such as

לבב [LBB], 'heart', rendered as ܠܒܒ [LB>]; compare Hebrew לב [LB]
 אהל [>HL], 'tent', rendered as ܐܗܠ [MCKN>]; compare Hebrew משכן [MCKN]

To avoid having to pick these out by hand, it is possible to have a program search the electronic Hebrew lexicon for forms which could be taken to be synonymous to the chosen Syriac rendering. This remains a desideratum.

2. WORD LEVEL

Except in cases of *scriptio continua*,⁷⁰ a word in a written document is commonly understood to be the segment of text occurring between blank spaces. More exactly, what occurs between blank spaces is a graphic word. In Hebrew and Syriac, graphic words include language data of various grammatical categories and syntactic levels, and can be divided into minimal units with meaning, called morphemes. The morphemes are of several types: lexemes (here taken to refer to those forms listed as independent entries in the lexicon), affixes (concatenative prefixes, infixes, suffixes, and non-concatenative affixes), and clitics (elements with word and phrase functions but which are not listed separately in the lexicon and are not capable of occurring in isolation). The characteristics of each of these elements will be treated in the remainder of this chapter.

2.1. *The Electronic Lexicon*

Rather than redoing the lexicography, in constructing the database of the WIVU it has been the policy to follow an established lexicon. For Hebrew, the *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* by Koehler—Baumgartner has been used. For Syriac, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, edited by J. Payne Smith, has been relied upon, supplemented where necessary with material from *Thesaurus Syriacus* by R. Payne Smith, on which volume the former is based.

⁷⁰ Documents written in *scriptio continua* exhibit no blank spaces between words.

The electronic lexicon supplies lexical information inherent to the entry itself and not deducible from the morphology. This information is relevant to the syntactic analytical programs, and includes elements as described and illustrated below. The lexical entry, transcribed according to the conventions of this project, is separated by a tab from the information on the entry. The fields of lexical information concerning an entry are separated by colons (:).⁷¹ The specific information being illustrated by an example is given in bold. Not all entries have information for all of the possible fields.

2.1.1. *Lexical Entry*

The entries in the electronic lexicon are listed alphabetically in transcription. Homographs are distinguished from one another by means of one or more equals signs (=).

```
<WL      16921:sp=adjv:gl=wicked
<WL=    4877:sp=subs:gn=m:de=<WL>:gl=iniquity, injustice
<WL==   9463:sp=subs:gn=m:gl=newborn babe
<WL===  4447:sp=verb:gl=do iniquity
```

2.1.2. *Numerical Code*

Each entry is assigned an arbitrary and unique numerical code.

```
>XRJ    8563:sp=adjv:gl=latter, last
>XRJN  18059:sp=adjv:gl=other, next
```

2.1.3. *Part of Speech*

The discussion on what the parts of speech are and how many of these should be posited boasts a long history:

The traditional theory of 'the parts of speech', and the standard definitions of classical grammar, reflect ... ancient and medieval attempts to force together the categories of grammar, logic and metaphysics. Other commonly held views about language derive not so much from philosophical speculation as from the subordination of grammar to the task of interpreting written texts, and especially to that of interpreting works written in Greek and Latin by the classical authors.⁷²

⁷¹ The abbreviations used for the information on an entry in order of appearance are as follows: sp = part of speech; ls = lexical set; st = state; ps = person; gn = gender; nu = number; de = dictionary entry; gl = gloss.

⁷² Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, 3.

Chomsky classified the major lexical categories of English according to nominal [N] and verbal [V] features, whereby nouns [+N, -V] and verbs [-N, +V] are maximally distinct, adjectives [+N, +V] are presented as a mixed category and prepositions [-N, -V] are undefined as to category.⁷³ The database of Anderson and Forbes distinguishes as many as seventy-six different parts of speech in order to accommodate the different ways in which elements function in syntax.⁷⁴

The approach of the WIVU to parts of speech is perhaps more closely reflected by the following description of syntactic categories:

Words belong to different **syntactic categories**, such as nouns, verbs, etc., and the syntactic category to which a word belongs determines its **distribution**, that is, in what contexts it can occur. ... The grammar of English, and indeed of any language, will have to have access to the categorial information attached to lexical items since this information plays a part in the formation of sentences.⁷⁵

On the basis of distinctive functioning in syntactic structures, the electronic lexicon distinguishes the following parts of speech (noted as: sp=), here listed alphabetically:

adjv = adjective
 advb = adverb
 conj = conjunction
 inrg = interrogative
 intj = interjection
 nega = negative
 prep = preposition
 pron = pronoun
 subs = substantive (noun)
 verb = verb

>JD> 4567: **sp=inrg**:gn=f:gl=who, which, what
 >JKW 18049: **sp=advb**:gl=where is he, what is it (contr.
 of >JK>+HW)
 >JLN 1877: **sp=subs**:gl=tree, tree trunk

2.1.4. *Lexical Set*

The parts of speech are further divided into lexical sets (noted as: ls=) which indicate subsets within a part of speech manifesting a particular syntactic behaviour. These include:

⁷³ Chomsky, 'Remarks'.

⁷⁴ Cf. Andersen—Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized*, 20–42.

⁷⁵ Haegeman, *Introduction*, 28–29 (emphasis original).

card = cardinal (numerals)
 demo = demonstrative (pronoun)
 gentl = gentile (adjective)
 inrg = interrogative (pronoun)
 nmex = noun of existence
 ordn = ordinal (adjective)
 padj = possible adjective
 pcon = possible conjunction
 pint = possible interjection
 pinr = possible interrogative
 ppre = possible preposition
 prop = proper (noun)
 pers = personal (pronoun)
 quot = quotation (verb)
 vbex = verb of existence

>JK 7583:sp=prep:ls=**pcon**:gl=as, almost, about
 >JKN 1877:sp=advb:ls=**pint**:gl=how, as, so that

2.1.5. *State*

Where the state of a form (noted as: st=) is lexically determined, as is the case with proper nouns, this information is recorded:

abs = absolute

>BJCG 3371:sp=subs:ls=prop:**st=abs**:gn=f:gl=Abishag
 >BJTR 12149:sp=subs:ls=prop:**st=abs**:gn=m:gl=Abiathar

2.1.6. *Person*

When the person (noted as: ps=) of an entry is lexically determined, as in the case with personal pronouns, this is noted as follows:

first = first person
 second = second person
 third = third person

>N> 18583:sp=pron:ls=pers:**ps=first**:nu=sg:gl=I
 >NWN 12263:sp=pron:ls=pers:**ps=third**:nu=pl:gl=they,
 them

2.1.7. *Gender*

Gender (noted as: gn=) is specified within the lexicon only when thus encountered in the lexica on which the databank has been based, or when it is clear from syntax what the gender of a lexeme is:

m = masculine
f = feminine

>WMN 19051:sp=subs:**gn=m**:gl=workman, craftsman
>WMNW 10883:sp=subs:**gn=f**:gl=art, craft, skill

2.1.8. *Number*

Where the number of an entry (noted as: nu=) is lexically determined, this is indicated as follows:

sg = singular
du = dual
pl = plural

>JLJN 8053:sp=inrg:**nu=pl**:gl=who, which, what
>NT 1601:sp=pron:ls=pers:ps=second:gn=m:**nu=sg**:gl=you

2.1.9. *Dictionary Entry*

Syriac lexica often provide a form with the emphatic state ending as lexical entry. Since the syntactic analysing rules employed assume the absolute state, we have provided an absolute state form for all items. In such cases, the entry in the electronic lexicon deviates from the entry in the source lexicon. These cases have been noted by the addition of the dictionary form (noted as: de=).

>X 4973:sp=subs:**de=>X**:gl=brother
>JL= 2609:sp=subs:**de=>JL**:gl=stag, hart

2.1.10. *Gloss*

Finally, a gloss (noted as: gl=) has been added for the convenience of the user and for the disambiguation of homographs. This is illustrated in all of the examples above.

2.2. *Coding Conventions*

The database of the wivU takes as point of departure a single maximum matrix in which the various types of grammatical information are isolated and made available to the analytical programs. The maximum matrix for a word in the Hebrew database contains the following fields of information which are identified and isolated by the codes indicated:

Table 3.6: Maximum matrix for Hebrew coding

pfm	vbs	lex	vbe	nme	prs	vpm
!!]]		[/	+	:

Abbreviations:

pfm	preformative	vbe	verbal ending	prs	pronominal suffix
vbs	verbal stem	nme	nominal ending	vpm	vowel pattern
lex	lexical entry				

The maximum matrix for a word in the Syriac database contains a few more fields than for the Hebrew database. This expansion reflects both differences in the morphology of the two languages and the attempt to isolate more morphological phenomena than has been done thus far in the Hebrew database (see table 3.7).⁷⁶

Preceding the information contained in this matrix, elements may occur which are independent entries in lexica, but which are not written as separate words, for example, certain prepositions, and for Hebrew the definite article, the question marker $\text{-}\eta$, and the post-positioned η -locative. Items occurring as distinct lexical entries are separated from one another by a hyphen (-).

Table 3.7: Maximum matrix for Syriac coding⁷⁷

pfm	pxf	vbs	lex	vix	frv	vbe	nme	emph	prs	vpm
!!	@@]]		^^		[/	~	+	:

Additional abbreviations:

pxf	passive stem formation prefix	emph	emphatic marker
vix	verbal infix		
frv	final (reduplicated) verbal stem element		

⁷⁶ In the Hebrew database, any verbal form with some sort of doubling phenomenon in the so-called 'intensive' stem formations has been coded as a variation of the Piel, Pual, or Hitpael. The diversity of the forms thus coded leads to questioning whether it would not be instructive to expand the possibility for differentiating amongst these. See Verheij, *Bits, Bytes, and Binyanim*, esp. Appendix B.

⁷⁷ It should be noted that the Turgama project has chosen not to incorporate this innovation in their database, tagging all forms with any type of doubling or reduplication indiscriminately with 'd' added at the end of the word, and treating all infixes of the Pael, Paupel, Peauel, Payel, and such like, as added or deleted letters.

When the particular form occurring in a text does not fully reflect the form appearing in the lexicon, or when a morpheme does not occur in its paradigmatic form, the item can be traced to its lexical entry or paradigmatic form as follows:

- '—the following letter belongs to the lexical entry or paradigmatic form of a morpheme but does not appear in the surface text;
- '&'—the following letter appears in the surface text but does not belong to the lexical entry or paradigmatic form of a morpheme.

Example:

ܐܘܡܢ [JMJT] (1Kgs 1:13) coded JM (>&J [T==

JM> is taken to be the lexical entry of the verb; in this occurrence of the form, the < >] does not appear in the surface text, but a , [J] does.

The various Syriac morphemes occurring under each of the code symbols are given in table 3.8 in alphabetical order.

Table 3.8: Morphemes occurring in Syriac

pfm	px	vbs	lex	vix	frv	vbe	nme	emph	prs	vpm
!!	@>T@	] >]		^W^	|	[	/	~>	+H	:p
!>!		] M]		^J^	| B	[W	/>		+H=	
!M!		] S]		^M^	| BS	[WN	/W		+HWN	
!N!		] C]		^R^	| J	[J	/WT		+HJ	
!N=!		] T]		^G^	| K	[J=	/J		+HJN	
!T!					| L	[JN	/J=		+J	
!T=!					| M	[JN=	/JN		+K	
					| MR	[N	/N		+KWN	
					| Y	[N=	/T		+KJ	
					| Q	[T	/T=		+N	
					| QL	[T=	/TJN		+NJ	
					| R	[T==				
					| RG	[TWN				
					| RM	[TJ				
						[TJN				

A comment on the morpheme under 'frv' (final [reduplicated] verbal stem element) is necessary. The elements listed here are not in themselves morphemes, but are the actual letters occurring in the data as a result of the reduplication of letters of the lexical entry. The list can be expanded to include other forms encountered in the data. More sophisticated programs could, for example, process a coded number (1st, 2nd, 3rd) of the letter of the verbal root which is reduplicated. One would then have in the column 'frv' only combinations of the numbers '1', '2', and '3', and the appropriate

letters would be derived by the program from the lexical entry itself. For example, ܘܚܕܐ, ‘he made fierce, made as brute beasts’, where the third letter of the verbal root is repeated, would be coded as B<R | ܘܚܕܐ, and ܘܚܘܕܐ, ‘he shook, trembled, drove away’, where the first and third letters of the lexical entry are reduplicated, would be coded as Z (W< | ܘܚܘܕܐ. This approach would be helpful for further research into the patterns of reduplicated verbal stem elements, but it was not possible to implement it within this project. Each of the items mentioned above will be treated separately below in the sections on nominal and verbal inflection.

2.2.1. Nominal Inflection

The grammatical and lexical properties of a nominal element are identified by isolating the following items: the lexical entry, the nominal ending, the optional presence of a pronominal suffix and of a vowel pattern indicating a particular analysis, and additionally for Syriac also the possibility of the presence of the emphatic marker.⁷⁸

Table 3.9: Syriac nominal inflection

Nominal Ending		Number			
Gender	State	Undetermined	Singular	Dual	Plural
Undetermined	Absolute	W			
	Construct	WT			
Masculine	Absolute			TJN	JN
	Construct				J
Feminine	Absolute		>		N
	Construct		J= T		T=

The presence of a nominal ending is obligatory for all substantives, adjectives, and the non-finite verbal forms, infinitive and participle. The presence of a nominal ending indicates, as default value, that the form has the following characteristics: part of speech ‘substantive’, ‘number’ is singular, while ‘gender’ and ‘state’ are yet to be determined by the specific ending. The nominal ending is introduced by the ‘/’ followed by one of the nominal endings, which determine certain grammatical functions as given in table 3.9.

The endings ‘W’ and ‘WT’ require that a verbal ending be present, since these are the nominal endings occurring with infinitives. They indicate only state, not gender or number.

⁷⁸ This includes the notation ‘c’ for ‘construct state’ and ‘a’ for ‘absolute state’, indicating the presence of a state detectable only from the vowel pattern present.

When a form ends in the emphatic marker ‘~>’, the state is ‘emphatic’. This overrules the value for state derived from the nominal ending present.

2.2.2. Verbal Inflection

2.2.2.1. Verbal Ending

When a form has a verbal ending, introduced by ‘[’, the following default values are assumed: part of speech is ‘verb’, the voice ‘active’, and the verbal stem ‘Peal’. Under these circumstances, the following endings yield the grammatical functions as indicated in table 3.10. The grammatical functions of these endings are further specified when other parameters are more exactly defined.

Table 3.10: Syriac verbal endings

Verbal Ending		Number	
Gender		Undetermined	Singular Plural
Undetermined		T	N
Masculine		T=	TWN W WN
Feminine	J	JN T== TJ	JN= N= TJN

When a form occurs without ‘preformative’, with a ‘verbal ending’ and without a ‘nominal ending’, the form is analysed as a perfect. Combined with the information already noted above, the verbal endings yield grammatical functions as indicated in table 3.11.

Table 3.11: Syriac verbal endings for perfect

Verbal Ending Perfect		Number	
Person	Gender	Singular	Plural
First	Undetermined	T	N
Second	Masculine	T=	TWN
	Feminine	TJ	TJN
Third	Masculine	[empty]	W WN
	Feminine	T==	J JN=

2.2.2.2. *Preformative*

When a form has a ‘preformative’ and a ‘verbal ending’ and no ‘nominal ending’, it is analysed as an imperfect. To the information presented above, the values in table 3.12 are added.

Table 3.12: Syriac verbal preformatives

Preformative		<i>Number</i>	
<i>Person</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>First</i>	<i>Undetermined</i>	>	N=
<i>Second</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	T*	
	<i>Feminine</i>	T=*	
<i>Third</i>	<i>Undetermined</i>	N	
	<i>Feminine</i>	T=	

* Only when ‘verbal ending’ is empty. The plural values are derived on the basis of the verbal endings as listed in section 2.2.2.1.

An empty ‘preformative’ (! !) on a form with a ‘verbal ending’ and without a ‘nominal ending’ yields the analysis of imperative, having the grammatical function of ‘second person’.⁷⁹ In combination with the values listed above, the grammatical functions are assigned as in table 3.13.

In these cases, the empty verbal ending yields the analysis: number = singular; gender = masculine; the ‘verbal ending’ ‘J’, which at first was listed as ‘undetermined’ for number, in the imperative is analysed as number = singular.

Table 3.13: Syriac verbal endings with empty preformative

Empty Preformative without nominal ending		<i>Number</i>	
<i>Second Person</i>		<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Gender</i>	<i>Masculine</i>		W
			WN
	<i>Feminine</i>	J	JN=

When a form has both a ‘verbal ending’ and a ‘nominal ending’, we have a non-finite verbal form—an infinitive or a participle. These are distinguished as follows:

⁷⁹ Coding the imperative as having an ‘empty preformative’ is not meant as a statement concerning the primacy of one of these two forms over the other (see Joüon—Muraoka, *Grammar*, §48a). The coding system at most recognizes the systematic resemblance of the

- when both ‘verbal stem’ and ‘final (reduplicated) verbal stem element’ (see section 2.2.2.3) are absent:
 - when there is no ‘preformative’: verbal tense = participle
 - when there is a ‘preformative’ ‘M’: verbal tense = infinitive; having no number and no gender
- when there is either a ‘verbal stem’ or a ‘final (reduplicated) verbal stem element’ and there is a ‘preformative’ ‘M’: verbal tense = participle
- when there is a ‘nominal ending’ ‘W’ or ‘WT’: verbal tense = infinitive.

2.2.2.3. *Verbal Stem*

Consistent with the decision to take *CSD* as the lexical basis, the verbal stem formations given in this lexicon are encoded in the database. Doing so provides a basis for a reevaluation of the treatment of stem formations in lexicā.⁸⁰ As indicated above (section 2.2.2.1), when a verbal ending is present, the default value for the verbal stem formation is Peal. The presence of other elements overrules this value as discussed below.

Preceding the lexical entry, various letters can occur which indicate a particular stem formation. These are isolated in the coding system by two closing square brackets (]]).

Preceding the verbal stem is the slot for the passive stem formation prefix $\lambda\aleph$ [>T], isolated by @ @. This can occur in combination with all other stem formations.

Certain letters indicative of a particular stem formation occur in the middle of the lexical entry itself. These are here called the ‘verbal infix’ and are isolated by ^ ^. The verbal infix occurs, for example, in the passive participle Peal, in the Pael, Paulel, Paupel, Payel, Parel, Pamel, and the passive stem formations related to these (the $\lambda\aleph$ Eth- formations).

The ‘voice’ is taken to be ‘passive’ in the following cases: when the ‘vowel pattern’ is indicated to be passive (noted ‘ : p ’) and when there is a ‘verbal infix’ ‘J’ (noted ‘ ^ J ^ ’) in a Peal. The presence of the ‘passive stem formation prefix’, $\lambda\aleph$ [>T], isolated in the coding system by @ @, does not automatically yield a passive voice. It is necessary to combine the presence of the ‘passive stem formation prefix’, $\lambda\aleph$ [>T], with the lexical properties of the verbal root involved. For examples, see table 3.15.

formation of the imperative and imperfect forms without attaching further significance to the observation as to derivation.

⁸⁰ In the notes accompanying the examples in tables 3.14 and 3.15, the treatment of Sokoloff will be provided for comparison. For a discussion of the stem formations, see chapter 4, section 2.1.1.

Stem formations which traditionally are related to some sort of doubling phenomenon (the intensive stem formations) are indicated in the coding system by a ‘|’ following the lexical entry. After this sign, reduplicated letters and the [ʔ] of the Pali are recorded. When there is a ‘final (reduplicated) verbal stem element’, the default value of the verbal stem is ‘Pael’. This is overruled by the presence of elements indicating a particular stem formation.

Thus the information needed to specify the stem formation comes from various positions. Table 3.14 gives a survey of some of the possible stem formations.

Table 3.14: Syriac possible non-passive verbal stem formations

Stem formation	Verbal stem	Verbal infix	Final element ⁸¹	Examples (third masc sg perfect)
Peal				ܘܒܥܘܢ JBC [, ‘be dried up, arid’
Pael			|	ܘܒܥܘܢ CDR | [, ‘send, dismiss’
Palel			| L	ܘܒܥܘܢ JB | B [, ‘make a joyful sound, shout’ ⁸²
Palal			| L	ܘܒܥܘܢ B<R | R [, ‘make fierce, make as brute beasts’ ⁸³
Palpel			| PL	ܘܒܥܘܢ BS | BS [, ‘tear in pieces (as wild beasts)’ ⁸⁴
Palpal			| PL	ܘܒܥܘܢ Z (W< | Z< [, ‘shake, tremble, drive away’ ⁸⁵

⁸¹ The letters P and L in this list refer to the letters of the verbal root concerned: P = first letter, L = final letter. The other letters indicate the actual letters themselves.

⁸² Listed in *CSD* as a Pael of ܘܒܥܘܢ. If the root is ܘܒܥܘܢ, then this form has a doubling of the final consonant and should be called the Palel. Sokoloff lists this as the Pael of ܘܒܥܘܢ, which would be coded as JBB | [.

⁸³ Sokoloff recognizes two roots: 1. ܘܒܥܘܢ meaning ‘seek, examine, glean’; 2. a quadrilateral demonstrative verb ܘܒܥܘܢ Peal meaning ‘be wild, uncultivated’.

⁸⁴ Listed in *CSD* under ܘܒܥܘܢ, but called the Palpel of ܘܒܥܘܢ. Cf. the treatment in *CSD* of ܘܒܥܘܢ, which occurs more often and is listed as a biliteral root; the verb is recognized as occurring in the stem formations: ‘Pe., Ethpe., Pa., Ethpa., Aph., Palpel and Ethpalpal’. The infrequency of ܘܒܥܘܢ has apparently given rise to a less consistent treatment of this verb in comparison to the more frequently occurring ܘܒܥܘܢ. Sokoloff lists the verb under ܘܒܥܘܢ ‘(Pal. ܘܒܥܘܢ ...) Quad’, which would be coded BS (S | BS [. This means that Sokoloff lists quadrilateral entries both for derived stem formations of trilateral roots as well as for quadrilateral roots themselves (cf. Sokoloff’s listing for ܘܒܥܘܢ, previous note, and for ܘܒܥܘܢ, next note).

⁸⁵ Note that the Palpel and the Palpal are not distinguished in the coding system. Sokoloff lists this under ܘܒܥܘܢ ‘(Pal. ܘܒܥܘܢ ...) Quad’, thus concurring with *CSD* in the analysis but not in the lexical entry.

Stem formation	Verbal stem	Verbal infix	Final element	Examples (third masc sg perfect)
Pali			| J	ܦܠܝ GRD | J [, 'be lacking, fail, be left without' ⁸⁶
Paulel	^W^		| L	ܦܘܠܘܠ Q^W^R | R [, 'cool, become cool' ⁸⁷
PaueI	^W^		|	ܦܘܥܘܠ C^W^TP | [, 'communicate, associate' ⁸⁸
Paupel	^W^		| P	ܦܘܦܝܠ R^W^ (B = | RB [, 'magnify oneself, talk big' ⁸⁹
Peauel	^W^		|	(see table 3.15: Ethpeauel of ܦܘܘܠ XZ > [])
Payel	^J^		|	ܦܘܝܠ (> &H^J^MN | [, 'believe in, put faith in' ⁹⁰
PageI	^G^		|	ܦܘܓܝܠ C^G^N (> &J = | [, 'remove, alter, translate' ⁹¹
Pamel	^M^		|	ܦܘܡܝܠ X^M^SN | [, 'grasp firmly, hold fast' ⁹²
Parel	^R^		|	ܦܘܪܝܠ P^R^S (> &J | [, 'strip, expose, unmask' ⁹³
Aphel	] >]			ܦܘܪܝܠ] >] BHT [, 'put to shame, dishonour' ⁹⁴

⁸⁶ Sokoloff list this as a quadriliteral verb, ܦܠܝܝܠ, separate from ܦܠܝܝܠ.

⁸⁷ Listed in *CSD* as a separate entry ܦܘܠܝܠ 'PaueI conj. of ܘܠ'. The latter verb is listed as meaning 'grow cold, cool'. Sokoloff lists both ܦܘܠܝܠ, 'be cold, frosty', and ܦܘܠܝܠ, 'cool', as separate verbal roots, but not ܘܠ.

⁸⁸ Listed in *CSD* under the verb ܦܘܥܘܠ, but since the passive participle form given begins with a ܦ, the listed form is not a simple Peal. The entry lists the passive stem formation called the 'Ethpauel'. No verb ܦܘܥܘܠ is listed. Sokoloff lists this as the quadriliteral ܦܘܥܘܠ with a 'QuadRef' form for those forms with the ܦܘܥ prefix. The unexplained 'QuadRef' most likely indicates 'quadriliteral reflexive'.

⁸⁹ Listed in *CSD* as Palpel of ܦܘܦܝܠ; this denotation does not account for the Waw in the middle of the form. *CSD* lists an Ethpauel for this verb: see table 3.15. Sokoloff lists this verb as the quadriliteral ܦܘܦܝܠ.

⁹⁰ Listed in *CSD* as Paiel of ܦܘܝܠܝܠ. Sokoloff lists this verb as the quadriliteral ܦܘܝܠܝܠ.

⁹¹ Listed in *CSD* under ܦܘܓܝܠ with comment 'Pahli conj. from ܦܘܓܝܠ see verb ܦܘܓܝܠ'. Sokoloff lists this form as the quadriliteral ܦܘܓܝܠܝܠ, noting that it is a Shaphel of '√2# ܦܘܓܝܠ', listed as meaning 'be concealed, conceal', 'contaminated by ܦܘܓܝܠ pa.', listed in the Pael as meaning 'take away, remove'.

⁹² Listed in *CSD* under ܦܘܡܝܠ with comment 'Pamel conj. of ܦܘܡܝܠ, has same meanings as the Pael but intensified'. Sokoloff lists this form as the quadriliteral ܦܘܡܝܠܝܠ, noting 'dissim. < √ܦܘܡܝܠ'. The abbreviation 'dissim.' is not explained; '<' stands for 'loanword from'; '√' indicates 'verbal root'.

⁹³ Listed in *CSD* under ܦܘܪܝܠ and called a 'Parel conj. '; its passive stem formation ܦܘܪܝܠܝܠܝܠ is called an 'Ethpali'. If it is a 'Parel', then the root should not contain the [R]. There is no listing of a related verbal root without the [R] (ܦܘܪܝܠܝܠ). Sokoloff lists this form as the quadriliteral ܦܘܪܝܠܝܠܝܠ. See also *CSD* listing of ܦܘܪܝܠܝܠܝܠ as 'PAREL conj. of root ܦܘܪܝܠ not used in Syriac'; see also Ethpael in table 3.15. Sokoloff lists ܦܘܪܝܠܝܠܝܠ as a quadriliteral verbal root.

⁹⁴ Listed in both *CSD* and Sokoloff as Aphel under verbal root ܦܘܪܝܠܝܠ.

Stem formation	Verbal stem	Verbal infix	Final element	Examples (third masc sg perfect)
Maphel	] M]			ܡܦܗܠ] M] SKN [, 'make poor, pretend to be poor' ⁹⁵
Saphel	] S]			ܫܦܗܠ] S] RHB [, 'hasten, impel, urge on' ⁹⁶
Shaphel	] C]			ܫܦܗܠ] C] XLP [, 'alter, convert, translate' ⁹⁷
Taphel	] T]			ܬܦܗܠ] T] QR (>&J [, 'read' ⁹⁸

The coding system allows for a number of stem formations not listed. Theoretically, any of these could occur with the passive stem formation prefix ܕܐ [>T], yielding a doubling of the above possibilities. As mentioned, the presence of the passive stem formation prefix does not automatically yield passive voice, as can be observed in the examples in table 3.15. The list is not exhaustive, but illustrative.

Table 3.15: Syriac verbal stem formations with ܕܐ [>T]

Stem formation	px	vbs	vix	frv	Examples (third masc sg perfect)
Ethpeel	@>T@				ܕܡܦܗܠ @>T@DBQ [, 'adhere to, be joined to' ⁹⁹
Ethpaal	@>T@			|	ܕܫܦܗܠ @>T@KTC | [, 'resist, fight against' ¹⁰⁰
Ethpayal	@>T@		^J^	|	ܕܫܦܗܠ @>T@ (>&H^J^MN | [, 'be to be believed' ¹⁰¹
Ethpaua	@>T@		^W^	|	ܕܫܦܗܠ @> (T@S&TR^W^Q | [, 'be overclouded' ¹⁰²

⁹⁵ Listed in *CSD* under ܡܦܗܠ with comment: 'probable root of following. MAPHEL ܡܦܗܠ'. Sokoloff lists this form as the quadriliteral ܡܦܗܠ.

⁹⁶ Listed in *CSD* as the Saphel of ܫܦܗܠ. Sokoloff lists this form as quadriliteral ܫܦܗܠ with the annotation that it is the Saphel of ܫܦܗܠ; under ܫܦܗܠ there is no mention of a Saphel.

⁹⁷ Listed in *CSD* as the Shaphel of ܫܦܗܠ. Sokoloff lists this as the quadriliteral ܫܦܗܠ with the annotation that it is the Shaphel of ܫܦܗܠ; under ܫܦܗܠ there is no mention of a Shaphel.

⁹⁸ Listed in *CSD* as the Taphel of ܬܦܗܠ. We sought in vain for a listing of this form in Sokoloff.

⁹⁹ Listed in both *CSD* and Sokoloff as Ethpeel under verbal root ܡܦܗܠ.

¹⁰⁰ Listed in both *CSD* and Sokoloff as Ethpaal under verbal root ܫܦܗܠ.

¹⁰¹ Listed in *CSD* as the 'Ethpaal' of ܫܦܗܠ. Sokoloff lists this form as 'QuadRef' under ܫܦܗܠ. The unexplained 'QuadRef' probably indicates 'quadriliteral reflexive'.

¹⁰² Listed in *CSD* as the 'Ethpaua' of ܫܦܗܠ, with annotation: 'denom. Verb from ܫܦܗܠ, meaning 'a particle of mist, a cloudy day'. Although under the noun ܫܦܗܠ, meaning 'wisp of cloud, cloudy day', Sokoloff refers to the entry '√ #2 ܫܦܗܠ', there is no mention under that verb ('lacerate with combs') to the meaning 'be overclouded' as in *CSD*. Note that the Ethpaua and the following listed Ethpaua, which differ in the placement of the infixed ܐ in relation to the middle letter of the root, are not distinguished in the coding system.

Stem formation	pfx	vbs	vix	frv	Examples (third masc sg perfect)
Ethpaua	@>T@		^W^	|	ፈሰረው @> (T@C&T^W^TP | [, 'be made partaker' ¹⁰³
Ethpaupa	@>T@		^W^	|RB	ተሰጠው @>T@R^W^ (B= |RB [, 'be magnified, magnify oneself' ¹⁰⁴
Ethpeaua	@>T@		^W^	|	ገኝኛልሁ @>T@XZ^W^ (> | Z (>&J [, 'obtain honour, distinguish oneself' ¹⁰⁵
Ethpaga	@>T@		^G^	|	ደረሰው @> (T@C&T^G^N (>&J= | [, 'be removed, displaced' ¹⁰⁶
Ethpara	@>T@		^R^	|	ፈጠረው @> (T@S&T^R^<P | [, 'put forth branches, subdivide' ¹⁰⁷
Ethapha	@>T@]>]				ከረዳው @>T@]>] CR (R [, 'make oneself be believed, assert oneself' ¹⁰⁸
Ethmapha	@>T@]M]				ደብዳቤው @>T@]M] SKN [, 'grow poor or weak, be impoverished' ¹⁰⁹
Estapha	@>T@]S]				ጠጠረው @> (T@] S&T] RHB [, 'make haste' ¹¹⁰
Eshtapha	@>T@]C]				ሠሰው @> (T@] C&T] (>&WXR [, 'delay, linger' ¹¹¹
Ettapha	@>T@]T]				ተሰጠው @>T@]T] Z (W&J< [, 'be moved, agitated' ¹¹²

¹⁰³ Listed in *CSD* as the 'Ethpaua' under the verb ፈሰረ (see note 83). Sokoloff lists this under the quadriliteral ፈሰረ as a 'QuadRef'.

¹⁰⁴ Listed in *CSD* as the 'Ethpaua' of ተሰጠ, although the stem formation without the passive stem formation prefix is called, more appropriately, the 'Palpel'. Sokoloff lists this form as a 'QuadRef' under the quadriliteral root ተሰጠ.

¹⁰⁵ Listed in *CSD* as a 'Ethpeaua' of ገኝ. Although Sokoloff mentions the verbal root ገኝ under the verb ገኝ, the former root is not separately listed in the dictionary. Presumably the form we are looking at would be derived from ገኝ in his lexicon.

¹⁰⁶ Listed in *CSD* as a Ethpaha. under ደረሰ: 'Pahli conj. from ደረሰ see verb ገረደ'. Sokoloff lists this as the 'QuadRef' of ደረሰ which is a contamination of two verbs, see note 86.

¹⁰⁷ Listed in *CSD* as 'Ethpara' of ፈጠረ, which is noted to be a 'PAREL conj. of root ፈጠ not used in Syriac'; see note 93. Sokoloff lists the form as a 'QuadRef' of the quadriliteral ፈጠረ.

¹⁰⁸ Listed in *CSD* as 'Ettaph.' of ከረዳ. Sokoloff lists the form as a 'Ettaf.' of ከረዳ.

¹⁰⁹ Listed in *CSD* as 'Ettaph.' under ደብዳቤ; see note 90. Sokoloff lists this form as a 'QuadRef' of the quadriliteral ደብዳቤ.

¹¹⁰ Listed in *CSD* as the 'Estaph.' of ጠጠረ. Sokoloff lists this form as a 'QuadRef' of the quadriliteral ጠጠረ; see note 91.

¹¹¹ Listed in *CSD* as the 'Eshtaph.' of ሠሰ. Sokoloff lists this form as a 'QuadRef' of the quadriliteral ሠሰ, which noted to be the Shaphel of ሠሰ. Under ሠሰ there is no mention of a Shaphel as a derived stem formation, though the verb ሠሰ is mentioned in the list of related forms.

¹¹² Listed in *CSD* as an 'Ethpe.' of ተሰጠ. Sokoloff lists this form as a 'Ettaf.' of ተሰጠ.

In tables 3.14 and 3.15 and their notes a number of differences in the recording of verbal roots and stem formations present themselves:

- notation of the final letter of final weak verbs as an Alaph (*CSD*) versus a Yudh (Sokoloff)
- biliteral (*CSD*) versus geminate (Sokoloff) listing of certain roots
- listing of a broad variety of derived stem formations under the verbal root (*CSD*) versus lexicalization as separate entries for verbal forms of derived stem formations except for Pael, Aphel, Ethpeel, Ethpaal, and Ettaphal (Sokoloff)
- inconsistency in naming the derived stem formation (*CSD*)—sometimes the given pattern is reflected in the name and sometimes the name diverges from this.

Within this project, we follow *CSD* in the notation of the final weak letter as Alaph instead of as Yudh, in spite of the frequency of the Yudh in this paradigm. One of the motivations for this choice is phonological: an Alaph has stronger consonantal qualities than a Yudh and can be replaced by a Yudh in certain phonologically defined contexts which apply also outside of the verbal paradigm. The phonological reasoning for the opposite, however, in which the less consonantal Yudh would be replaced by Alaph is less convincing and would not apply outside of the verbal paradigm.

Contrary to *CSD* and in concurrence with Sokoloff, we list the geminate form of what *CSD* lists as biliteral roots. The reason for this lies in the systematic appearance of the geminate letters throughout the paradigm. These doubled letters would otherwise have to be coded either as arbitrarily added letters or as part of the final reduplicated verbal stem element. The latter element would, then, co-occur with prefixed verbal stem formation morphemes, which have not been recognized as occurring together in unproblematic forms.¹¹³

Following *CSD*, we list a broad variety of stem formations under the root instead of selecting some to present under the root and some to present as separate lexicalized entries, as Sokoloff does.

Where *CSD* does not follow the elements present in a form and lists a stem formation inconsistent with the form being dealt with we adjust the name to conform to the elements present.

¹¹³ See Falla, *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels I*, xxi–xxii; Dyk, 'Data Preparation', 141.

2.2.3. Pronominal Suffixes

Personal pronoun suffixes can occur with both verbal and nominal forms, but are never written in isolation. They have word grammar values of person, number, and gender. The suffixes are introduced by a '+'; the various elements yield the analysis as given in table 3.16. Examples:

2 Kgs 3:25

ܡܘܨܝܒܝܢܐ W-@>T@KRRK | [W+H= 'and they surrounded her'

2 Kgs 5:27

ܡܘܨܝܒܝܢܐ W-B-ZR</ +K 'and with your (masc sg) seed'

Table 3.16: Syriac pronominal suffixes

Person	Gender	Number	
		Singular	Plural
First	Undetermined	J	N
		NJ	
Second	Masculine	K	KWN
	Feminine	KJ	KJN
Third	Masculine	H	HWN
		HJ	
	Feminine	H=	HJN

2.2.4. Reject Rules

Because the grammar of the language allows certain combinations of elements but not others, it is possible to compose 'reject rules' by which the computer program will reject ungrammatical combinations of elements, which usually reflect coding errors. A few examples are given as illustration:

- if there is an 'emphatic marker' and no 'nominal ending': reject
- if there is a 'final (reduplicated) verbal stem element' and no 'verbal ending': reject
- if there is a 'nominal ending' 'W' or 'WT' and no 'verbal ending': reject
- if there is no 'preformative' and there is a 'verbal ending' and no 'nominal ending' and the 'verbal ending' is 'JN' or 'N=': reject¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ The configuration 'if there is no "preformative" and there is a "verbal ending" and no "nominal ending"' is indicative of the perfect; the verbal endings 'JN' and 'N=' belong to the imperfect inflection.

3. ABOVE WORD LEVEL

Although this volume focuses on word level, all the data has been prepared up to and including a synopsis of the two versions of Kings at clause level. The observations of corresponding words are based on words that have been matched within phrase structures functioning as corresponding constituents within corresponding clauses.

The treatment of the data at levels above the word is explained in the following sections: phrase level (section 3.1), clause level (section 3.2), and above clause level (section 3.3).

3.1. *Phrase Level*

Although it is common to refer to all syntactic constructions by their head, for example, noun phrase (NP), preposition phrase (PP), verb phrase (VP), in the method applied here, those structures in which there is a relation of predication between the members will be treated at clause level. This includes both those containing a verb and those lacking a verbal form. Structures without a predicative relationship between the members are treated at phrase level.¹¹⁵

In implementing computers for research language, formal characteristics of the data are recorded and patterns recognized. From the patterns, an analysis emerges. We propose an approach which is consistent and repeatable in dealing with the various structures.

The inherent lexical characteristics of an item determine with which other elements it may or must co-occur in order to create well-formed language utterances. However, no one has ever seen the inherent lexical properties of a form; rather, they are revealed in the combinations within which a form occurs in actual language use.

The idiosyncratic characteristics of a form are projected onto the constructions in which it appears, that is, 'Lexical information is syntactically represented'.¹¹⁶ This direct connection between a form and its role in syntax means that the configurations in which a form appears provide clues as to its inherent lexical characteristics. Given sufficient occurrences of a form, it is possible to accumulate information as to its nature and behaviour, and it thus becomes apparent what can be expected to occur in the environment of

¹¹⁵ An earlier version of the material on phrase structure was presented at the AIBI conference in El Escorial, Spain, June 2008. See Dyk, 'The Computer and Complex Phrase Structure'.

¹¹⁶ For the 'Projection Principle', see Haegeman, *Introduction*, 63.

a particular item. As the patterns become clear, uses of a form which deviate from the customary pattern also come to light. It is essential that the inherent lexical characteristics of a form not be prescribed on the basis of what one assumes to be true of that form, but that these be deduced from how the form manifests itself within its context.

3.1.1. *Basic Units*

In Hebrew and Syriac there are two ways of ordering components within a structure: linear and core-oriented. The linear structures are those in which the head is followed first by an obligatory extension, when present, and thereafter by optional expansions. Although both the obligatory extensions and the optional expansions may in themselves be complex, the internal order of the elements in relation to the head is strictly linear at any given level of the structure. Examples of such structures are noun phrases and prepositional phrases.

Core-orientated structures are those in which satellites arrange themselves around a central element, but the order of the constituents is not necessarily linear. This occurs in structures where predication plays a role. Though there is a preferred, statistically more prevalent order of the elements, factors of text composition, such as emphasis, focus, and foregrounding, can affect this. Structures with predication will be treated at clause level (section 3.2) and above clause level (section 3.3).

The lexicon provides the part of speech of an entry. This information determines how an element behaves within a structure. The possible syntactic connections are given in the formal characteristics of the part of speech itself. Constructions can be broken down into simple units and combinations of simple units. We consider first the simple units per part of speech separately.

3.1.1.1. *Nouns and Adjectives*

In Hebrew and Syriac, nouns and adjectives take nominal endings which determine the type of connections the item has to that which follows. The simple unit has an absolute state ending which marks the boundary of the unit. In Hebrew this unit can be preceded by the definite article, which some would then prefer to call the Determiner Phrase.¹¹⁷ The simple unit for a Hebrew noun phrase is thus:

¹¹⁷ For two identical surface forms with distinct analyses using the Determiner Phrase, see Dyk, 'Who Shepherds Whom?'

NP = [\pm definite article] N absolute state

and for Syriac:

NP = N absolute state / emphatic state

In both Hebrew and Syriac, proper nouns behave syntactically as determined nouns, that is, they act as though they are in absolute state and they normally do not take a preceding definite article. The same holds true for pronouns and pronominal suffixes in both languages.

3.1.1.2. *Other Parts of Speech*

Prepositions, as the name suggests, occur in a position before another element, that is, always with an obligatory extension (see section 3.1.2.2). Conjunctions by nature connect elements, and are therefore always followed by an obligatory extension (see section 3.1.2.3). Due to its lexical characteristics, the verb functions at clause level (see section 3.2).

3.1.2. *Obligatory Extensions*

The basic units can be expanded by other structures. Sometimes the expansion is necessary for grammaticality, and sometimes it is optional (see section 3.1.3). Certain parts of speech are discussed separately in the following sections.

3.1.2.1. *Nouns and Adjectives*

In both Hebrew and Syriac when a noun occurs in construct state it requires a following element to complete the phrase. The unit which follows is syntactically a complete phrase with its own internal structure. Though the following phrase is often a NP, other types of phrases can also be governed by a N in construct state:

N construct state + XP

The nominal ending indicates the syntactic connection: a noun in construct state governs a following phrase (for a noun in absolute state, see section 3.1.3.1). The order is strictly linear within a single level within the construction.

3.1.2.2. *Prepositions*

Prepositions behave like nouns in construct state, that is, they require that a full phrase follows; the preposition syntactically governs the following phrase. The preposition connects the phrase it governs to the larger context in which it occurs.

3.1.2.3. *Conjunctions*

A conjunction is syntactically incomplete without the element which it connects to the preceding context. Though the extension by means of coordination is optional, the conjunction itself is obligatorily extended by the phrase which it introduces. A coordinating conjunction connects elements at an equal level and can occur between words within a phrase, between phrases within a clause, between clauses, and between larger textual units. All elements joined by a coordinating conjunction function at an equal level. Subordinating conjunctions require that the following structure is a full phrase. Much like prepositions, subordinating conjunctions relate the following phrase to the larger context.

3.1.3. *Optional Expansions*

Besides obligatory extensions, structures can have optional expansions. These expansions are themselves whole phrases. The syntactic relationships are again determined by the parts of speech both of the form being expanded and of the expansion itself.

3.1.3.1. *Nouns and Adjectives*

Noun phrases can be expanded by phrases which are attributive or appositional, or which more precisely specify the noun they refer to. These types of relationships are determined generally by the part of speech of the expansion: adjectives are attributive, noun phrases appositional, and prepositional phrases provide extra specification.

3.1.3.2. *Prepositions*

Prepositional phrases as a whole can be expanded by another prepositional phrase as apposition or specification.

3.1.3.3. *Conjunctions*

A phrase can be optionally expanded by another phrase introduced by a conjunction. A connecting element can also be expanded by another phrase of the same type in apposition. Coordinating conjunctions can continue in a long series of coordinated expansions.

3.1.3.4. *Other Parts of Speech*

Without giving them the attention they rightly deserve, let it suffice here to say that adverbs, interjections, interrogatives, negatives, and other particles, assume their place within the non-obligatory expansions of phrases and clauses. When composed of more than one element, the internal structure of the phrase is determined by the part of speech, and can be obligatorily

and optionally extended by other units as already described for other parts of speech.

3.1.4. *Summary*

Syntactic relationships of phrases in which the members do not have a relation of predication can be summarized in the following tables:

<i>Head</i>	<i>Obligatory extensions</i>	<i>Optional expansions</i>
N absolute / emphatic state	—	Apposition (same phrase type)
N construct state	XP	Attribution (AdjP—for NPs)
Preposition	XP	Specification (PP / VP)
Conjunction	XP	Coordination (conjunction + XP)

Within a single level the order of the components in these structures is strictly linear. Nesting can occur, creating multiple levels. A strict linear order is maintained within each level: first obligatory extensions, where present, followed by optional expansions.

The state of a nominal form determines its relation to the following element. Nouns in absolute state mark the boundary of a potentially independent phrase. Proper nouns and suffixes function syntactically as determined nouns in absolute state. Nouns in construct state must be taken to be the head of a new phrase which governs a whole phrase with its own possibilities of obligatory and non-obligatory expansions.

By recursive application of the same simple rules and a limited list of units and expansions the most complex structures can become transparent. The part of speech determines in what type of syntactic connections a form can partake. The number of basic units and the types of extensions of these units are limited, although the patterns of combinations are potentially infinite.

This approach to the syntax of Semitic languages has another advantage: through comparative research we have found that when making comparisons between languages, it is often at the boundaries of the units and their expansions that different syntactic strategies occur. These reflect the system of the language itself. In this way differences between individual styles and genres within a single language can also be detected. Thus a consistent application of a simple set of rules provides insights both into how complex phrases are built up within a language as well as into how languages differ in forming syntactically complex structures.

3.2. *Clause Level*

When a relationship of predication is present between elements in a structure, we are dealing with a clause. Hebrew and Syriac both have clauses containing a verbal form and clauses without it. Again the part of speech determines the syntactic possibilities within a construction. The word order in structures with predication is not strictly linear but is affected by various strategies of text composition, such as topic, focus, and foregrounding.

3.2.1. *Verbal Clauses*

When the part of speech is 'verb', the inherent ability of a verb to connect to items to form a constellation with a particular meaning is present. The head of the construction is the verbal form and around this are gathered the elements required for grammaticality (called: 'complements') and non-obligatory satellites providing extra information (called: 'adjuncts'), to be dealt with below.

In a manner somewhat similar to the possibility of having a definite article attached to a noun, the verb can be accompanied by an explicit subject.

The verb is the core of a constellation created by the verb's powers of government. The satellites required by a verb to make a grammatical sentence are obligatory expansions of the verb. These include noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and other structures functioning as, for example, direct objects or as some other element required by the verb to create a grammatical sentence. The obligatory expansions of a verb can be simple or complex phrases.

Although there is a preferred or more frequently occurring order of elements in verbal clauses within a particular specimen of the language, this order is not mandatory, but can be affected by aspects of text composition and text hierarchy. It is the flexibility in word order within verbal phrases which has allowed the preference for a certain word order in main clauses to shift through time and to manifest variation between dialects and genres.

Verb phrases can be expanded by optional phrases indicating manner, time, justification, or location of the action of the verb.

The parsing labels used in this project are listed in table 3.17 in alphabetical order.

Table 3.17: Parsing labels

<i>Label</i>	<i>Full term</i>	<i>Level</i>
<.>	Unknown	Unparsed texts
<Aj>	Adjunct	Clause
<Cj>	Conjunction	Clause
<Co>	Complement	Clause
<Ep>	Enclitic personal pronoun	Clause
<Fa>	Fronted element resumed as adjunct	Clause
<Fc>	Fronted element resumed as complement	Clause
<Fo>	Fronted element resumed as object	Clause
<Fr>	Fronted element	Clause
<Fs>	Fronted element resumed as subject	Clause
<Ij>	Interjection	Clause
<Is>	Interjection with subject suffix	Clause
<Lo>	Locative	Clause
<Mo>	Modifier	Clause
<Ms>	Modifier with subject suffix	Clause
<Ng>	Negation	Clause
<Ns>	Negation with subject suffix	Clause
<Ob>	Object	Clause
<PC>	Predicate complement	Clause
<PO>	Predicate with object suffix	Clause
<Pr>	Predicate	Clause
<Ps>	Predicate with subject suffix	Clause
<QC>	Interrogative pronoun as complement	Clause
<Qo>	Interrogative pronoun as object	Clause
<Qp>	Interrogative pronoun as predicate	Clause
<Qs>	Interrogative pronoun as subject	Clause
<Qu>	Question	Clause
<Re>	Relative	Clause
<Su>	Subject	Clause
<Ti>	Time reference	Clause
<Vo>	Vocative	Clause
<Xs>	Existence with subject suffix	Clause
<ap>	Apposition	Phrase
<cj>	Link within phrase by coordinate conjunction	Phrase
<eX>	Existence	Clause
<nX>	Existence with negation	Clause
<pa>	Parallel	Phrase
<po>	Participle with object suffix	Clause
<ps>	Participle with non-object suffix	Clause
<sO>	Specification of object suffix to verb	Clause
<sc>	Supplementary constituent	Clause
<sp>	Specification	Phrase

A word of explanation is needed for the fact that there are separate labels for 'object' and 'complement', while an object, being an obligatory element in a clause, is itself a complement. The term 'object' has been reserved for those complements which are either unmarked noun phrases or noun phrases preceded by the object marker **תא** in Hebrew. This allows for registering more distinct patterns which is useful in analysing the complex valence patterns of some Hebrew verbs.¹¹⁸

Similarly, while time phrases and locatives by nature usually fall under the category of adjuncts, they are given separate labels. Both time phrases and locatives function within the composition of texts as indicators of paragraph or episode boundaries.¹¹⁹ Although within the clause they are indeed adjuncts, it is convenient to have them labelled separately because of their role in text hierarchy. An exception to this labelling is formed by a locative occurring with a verb of movement: the locative provides obligatory information required by the verb of movement and is therefore labelled as the complement of the verb.

3.2.2. *Clauses Lacking a Verb*

Independent clauses in Hebrew and Syriac need not contain a verbal form. The assignment of the function of subject and predicate to the constituents in such a clause is done on the basis of part of speech and deictic properties of the elements involved. The parts of speech determine the parsing of the element in the sentence on the basis of a relative scale. In decreasing order of potential to be subject, the following order of elements is applied in our research: pronominal suffix, demonstrative pronoun, personal pronoun, determined noun phrase, proper noun, indefinite noun phrase, interrogative pronoun, adjective, prepositional phrase, locative phrase.¹²⁰

A non-verbal clause can also have but a single member. If this is a predicate, the subject is assumed from the context. If this single member is the subject, then the clause is making a statement about the existence of the subject.¹²¹

Once the subject and the predicate complement have been assigned parsing labels, the other elements in the clause are assigned appropriate labels.

¹¹⁸ See chapter 12, section 3.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Longacre, *The Grammar of Discourse*, 119; Andersen, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew*, 86.

¹²⁰ See Dyk—Talstra, 'Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Features', 152.

¹²¹ See Dyk—Talstra, 'Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Features', 159–161.

3.2.3. *Summary*

Verbal clauses have a verbal form as the head of the construction. The verb can have obligatory extensions (complements, including objects) and optional expansions (adjuncts, including time phrases and locatives).

The construction with a verb as its head and with its satellites can occur within a nominal environment; at a higher syntactic level the constellation as a whole can still be part of a single phrase.

For clauses lacking a verb, the non-verbal phrases relate to one another as subject and predicate, the roles being determined by the part of speech and deictic properties of the elements in the construction.

An independent clause, which involves predication, manifests a degree of diversity in the word order. Through there is a statistically preferred order of elements, this order is affected by aspects of text composition, such as focus, topic, and foregrounding. The preferred word order is different for verbal clauses and non-verbal clauses.

3.3. *Above Clause Level*

Within this project, the data has not been processed at the level of text hierarchy, but only through clause level. The clause-level analysis was used as input for making a synopsis of the Hebrew and Syriac texts.

Even without constructing a text hierarchy for the two texts, it is clear that some differences apparent at word, phrase, and clause level cannot be explained satisfactorily at those levels. A number of these are discussed in chapter 13.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

In order to describe language data properly, an overall view of a particular language is needed, as well as insights into how languages work in general. Within this broader picture the significance of the systematic or idiosyncratic functioning of elements of a certain language becomes clear.¹

Since its founding in 1978, the WIVU has aimed at registering language data in such a way that it would be useful to scholars from different theoretical orientations and with diverse research goals. With the start of CALAP, the inclusion of Syriac data within the database has led the WIVU towards a less Hebrew-oriented approach. The components of the two languages are treated in such a way that both similarities and differences come to light.

The treatment of the data as described in chapter 3 aims to make the formal characteristics of the language available for analysis and comparison, so as to understand better the inner coherence of the Hebrew and Syriac language systems. In this manner idiosyncrasies are disclosed as well, and at least some of the characteristics of the Peshitta as a translated text are revealed.

The phenomena encountered in the data are treated within the context of the text corpus as a whole, which provides the background for working out a selection of topics in detail in chapters 5–13. In these chapters explanations based on a text-historical approach and those based on a linguistic analytical approach both challenge and supplement one another.

In the present chapter, attention will be drawn to the potential for research generated by this approach. It is not possible within the confines of this volume to explore all of the possible research topics, but we invite other scholars to make use of the databank and to exploit its potential.

This chapter follows the structure of the presentation in chapter 3: below word level (section 1), word level (section 2), and above word level (section 3).

¹ Cf. Toury, 'Probabilistic explanations', 16, speaking of those who value differences over similarities: '... I cannot but wonder how ... they are even going to know what is truly unique ... unless they have at least some idea of what their immediate object of study *shares* with other possible objects' (italics original).

1. BELOW WORD LEVEL

As explained in chapter 3, elements in the two versions of Kings are taken to correspond to one another on the basis of a synopsis at clause level. The clause constituents within corresponding clauses have been matched on the basis of corresponding syntactic functions. Words within phrases are matched on the basis of part of speech. The resulting word correspondences are compared as to their spelling.²

Registering the spelling shifts which have a systematic basis in phonetic or graphic features allows for three categories in the comparison:

- forms with identical spelling as to consonants involved
- forms which are the result of a systematic spelling changes
- forms non-identical and unsystematic in their spelling differences

The parts of speech score differently in the proportional distribution among these categories.

In comparing the lexical content of the Hebrew and Syriac versions of Kings, we take several parameters into consideration:

- Texts: all texts or a selection thereof
- Scope: the union, that is, all items occurring in either of the two texts (Hebrew \cup Syriac), or the intersection, that is, only those items occurring in both texts (Hebrew \cap Syriac)
- Items: each occurrence of each item to be counted (tokens) or each unique item counted only once (types)
- Parts of speech: all parts of speech taken together, each part of speech separately, or certain parts of speech grouped together

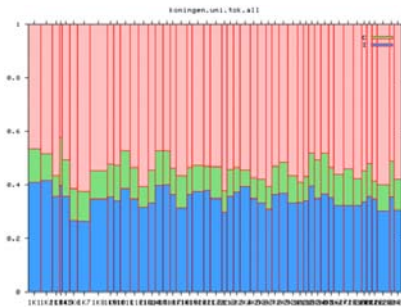
Table 4.1: Possible parameters of comparison

<i>texts</i>	<i>scope</i>	<i>items</i>	<i>parts of speech</i>
all (1 & 2 Kings)	all (H \cup S)	all (tokens)	all
1 Kings	overlap (H \cap S)	types	parts of speech separately
2 Kings			selected parts of speech together
single chapters			
selected chapters			

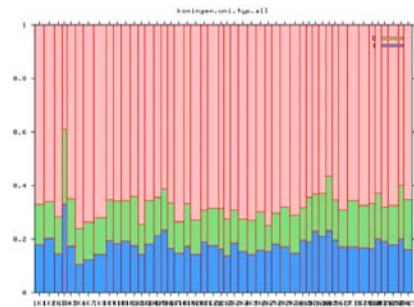
² The data here presented is from the electronic translation concordance based on MT and the running text of the Kings volume of *The Old Testament in Syriac*. See Dyk, 'A Synopsis-Based Translation Concordance'. Statistics by part of speech are presented in chapter 13, section 1.

The comparison to be made is multi-dimensional and can provide insights only when selecting a limited number of parameters at a time. Table 4.1 gives a survey of these possibilities; the columns present the alternative possibilities, while the items in the rows are not related to one another.

We begin by comparing the statistics of all occurrences of an item separately (tokens) with that of counting each unique item only once (types) for the two books of Kings, for the union of all forms occurring in either of the two texts ($H \cup S$), and for all parts of speech together (see figure 4.1). In the following tables, the lower band indicates corresponding lexemes with identical consonant strings, the upper band indicates forms which are non-identical, and the middle band are the forms related according to the spelling rules presented in chapter 3, table 3.3. Each vertical line represents a chapter boundary.



4.1a: Tokens

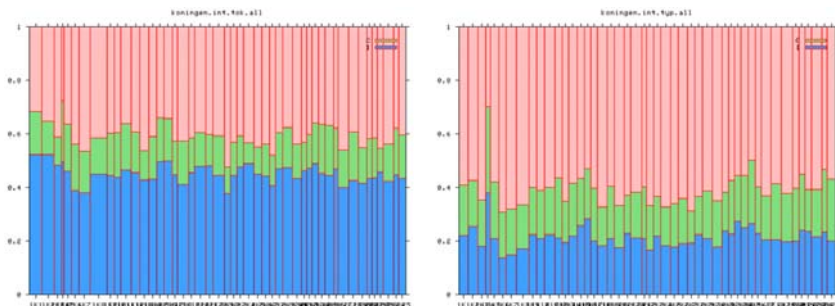


4.1b: Types

Figure 4.1: Union of spelling differences for all parts of speech

The difference between figures 4.1a and 4.1b indicates that a number of vocabulary items with identical spelling occur frequently in the two texts.

When an item has no corresponding element in the other version, the case is registered as ‘non-identical’. By taking the intersection instead of the union, we exclude such cases from the comparison. The shift in the proportions is shown in figure 4.2. Removing the empty correspondences makes more of a difference in the proportions of the tokens (figures 4.1a and 4.2a) than in the proportions of the types (figures 4.1b and 4.2b). This indicates that a significant number of items have no corresponding element in the other version.



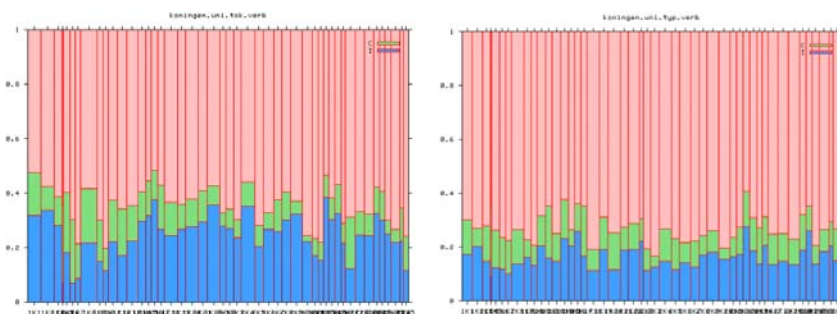
4.2a: Tokens

4.2b: Types

Figure 4.2: Intersection of spelling differences for all parts of speech

To see whether these proportions are equally represented throughout the various parts of speech, we isolate the parts of speech, first in the three main groups: verbs, forms with nominal inflection and noun-like functions in syntax (adjectives, nouns, pronouns, and proper nouns), and others, often called ‘particles’ (adverbs, conjunctions, definite article, interjections, interrogatives, negatives, and prepositions).

Verbs score somewhat lower in identically spelled forms than the average of all forms together (figure 4.1a). This indicates that corresponding verbal forms are less frequently cognate or identical in spelling than is the case with the overall average. The difference between tokens and types is less pronounced for verbs than for all parts of speech taken together.



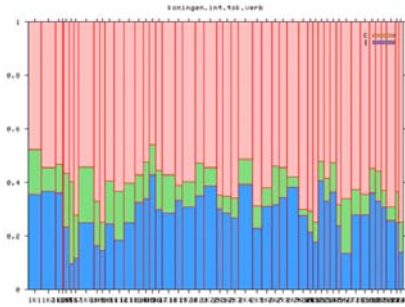
4.3a: Tokens

4.3b: Types

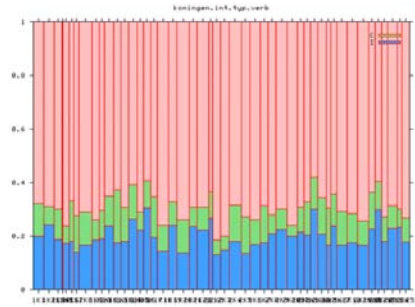
Figure 4.3: Union of spelling differences in verbs

When the forms with no correspondence are taken out of the comparison, the proportions emerge as given in figure 4.4. There is less difference

between the proportions in figure 4.3a and 4.4a (for verbs) than between figures 4.1a and 4.2a (for the overall average). This indicates that, in relation to the overall averages, there are relatively fewer verbs which have no correspondence in the other version. This would indicate that verbs tend to be rendered in the translation.



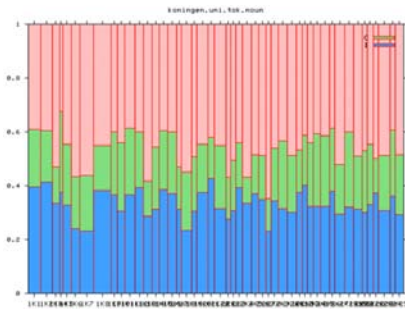
4.4a: Tokens



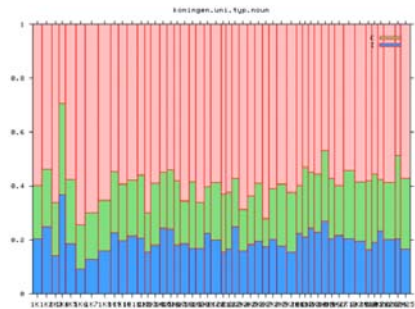
4.4b: Types

Figure 4.4: Intersection of spelling differences in verbs

For forms with nominal inflection and noun-like functions in syntax the proportions are found as given in figure 4.5.



4.5a: Tokens

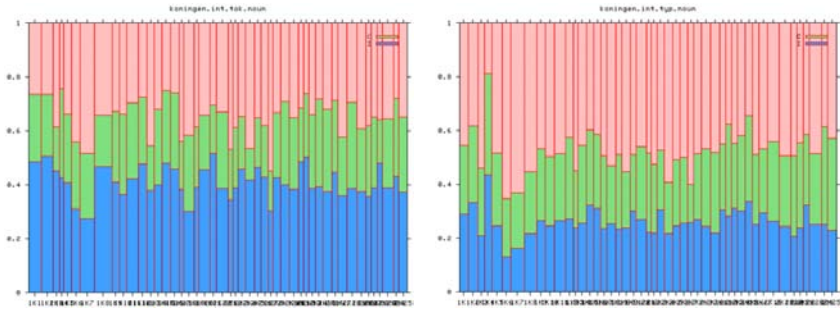


4.5b: Types

Figure 4.5: Union of spelling differences in nominal forms

In comparison to verbs, the nominal forms manifest more identically spelled and cognate forms, coming closer to the overall average. The difference between tokens and types points to a number of frequently occurring items with identical spelling. When the forms with no correspondence are taken out of the comparison, the distribution is as given in figure 4.6. The

difference between figures 4.5a and 4.6a indicates that the nominal forms do have a noticeable number of items without correspondence in the rendering. This contrasts to the behaviour of the verbs (figures 4.3a and 4.4a).

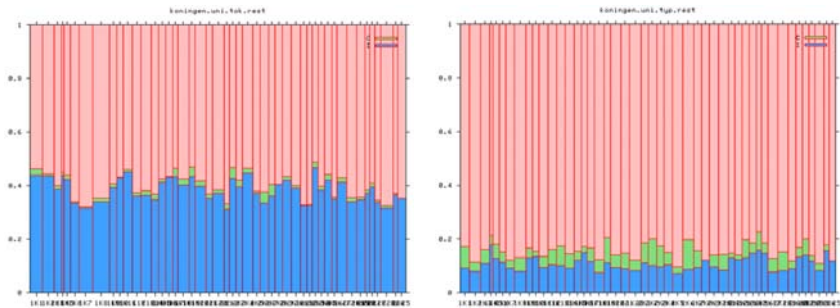


4.6a: Tokens

4.6b: Types

Figure 4.6: Intersection of spelling differences in nominal forms

The other parts of speech, often called ‘particles’, are grouped together in figure 4.7. The particles appear to have fewer cognate forms than do verbs or nominal forms. However, there seem to be a significant number of identically spelled forms which occur frequently in the two texts.



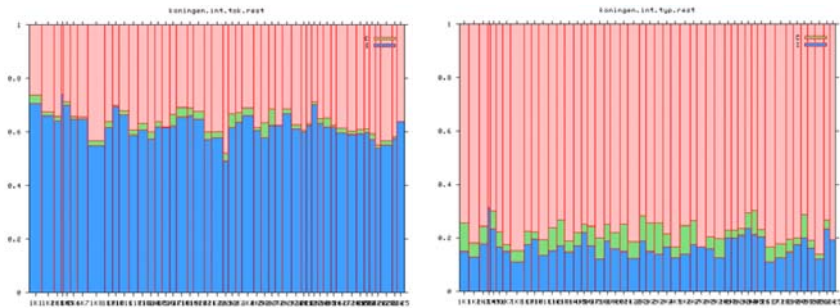
4.7a: Tokens

4.7b: Types

Figure 4.7: Union of spelling differences in particles

When the forms without correspondence are excluded from the comparison, the proportions shift, as shown in figure 4.8. A comparison of

figures 4.7a and 4.8a shows that a considerable number of particles are rendered in only one of the two versions.

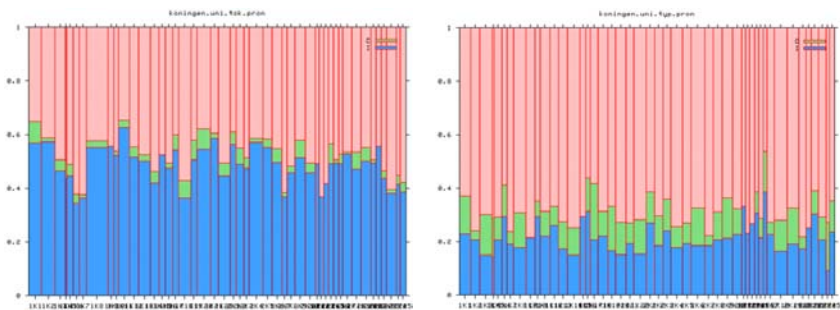


4.8a: Tokens

4.8b: Types

Figure 4.8: Intersection of spelling differences in particles

The parts of speech which have been grouped together can also be examined separately. Among the nominal forms we select only pronouns and proper nouns to illustrate the differences within the nominal forms.



4.9a: Tokens

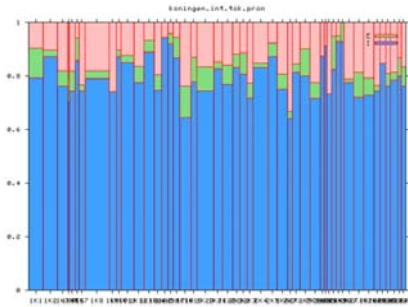
4.9b: Types

Figure 4.9: Union of spelling differences in pronouns

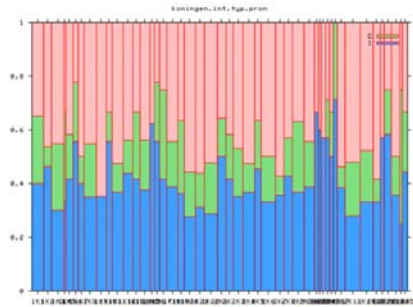
Pronouns rate considerably higher in identical forms than nominal forms as a group.³ Again the difference between tokens and types (figures 4.9a

³ Pronouns include personal pronouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives, as well as the non-independent forms written as suffixes. The latter are matched by person, number, and gender, rather than by the consonants with which they are written. Thus third masc sg corresponds to third masc sg as identical, but to all other forms as non-identical.

and 4.9b) shows that a small number of identically spelled forms occur frequently in the texts. When only the forms rendered in both versions are compared, the distribution of spelling differences as shown in figure 4.10 emerges. It is clear from figures 4.9a and 4.10a that pronouns manifest a fairly high proportion of forms rendered in only one of the versions.



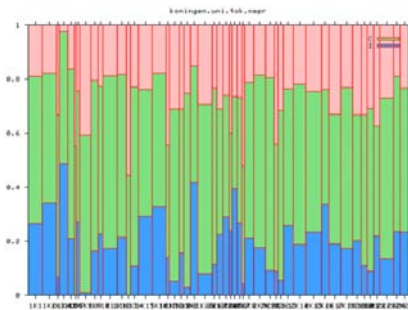
4.10a: Tokens



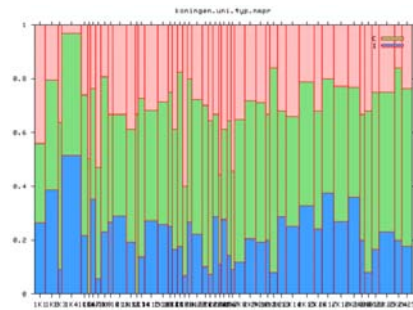
4.10b: Types

Figure 4.10: Intersection of spelling differences in pronouns

The proportions for proper nouns reflect the specific characteristics of this part of speech (see figure 4.11):



4.11a: Tokens

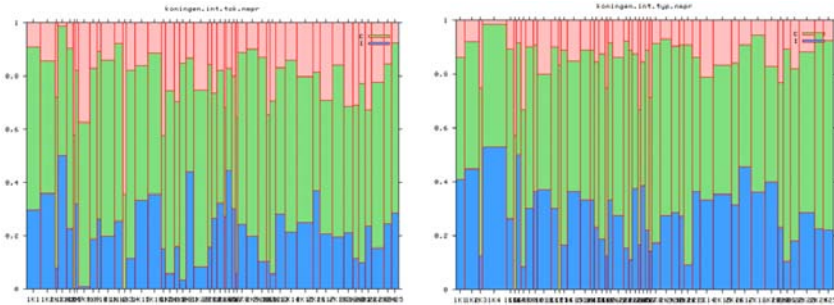


4.11b: Types

Figure 4.11: Union of total spelling differences in proper nouns

Of all of the parts of speech, proper nouns have the most corresponding forms related to one another by means of systematic spelling variation, resulting from the tendency to transliterate names when translating into another language. This raises the question why there are so many non-

identical forms among the proper nouns.⁴ A few of the non-identical proper nouns are those which appear in only one of the two versions. These can be filtered out by comparing the intersection of the data (see figure 4.12).



4.12a: Tokens

4.12b: Types

Figure 4.12: Intersection of spelling differences in proper nouns

As with the verbs, the small difference between figures 4.11 and 4.12 make it clear that most proper nouns are rendered in both versions.⁵

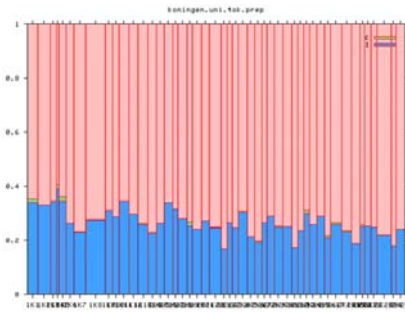
Though all of the particles deserve further research, we present here only the prepositions and conjunctions separately to illustrate the contrast.

Prepositions manifest relatively few cognate forms and apparently a few frequently occurring forms with identical spelling in the two languages.⁶ By charting only forms with a corresponding form in both versions, the proportions as depicted in figure 4.14 emerge. Like pronouns, prepositions have a fairly large number of forms which have no corresponding item in the other version (see figures 4.13a and 4.14.a).

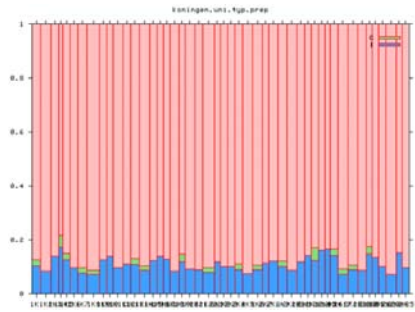
⁴ Of the total number of occurrences of proper nouns in Kings (MT 3,492; P 3,613), approximately one-seventh of the non-identical renderings is accounted for by the *tetragrammaton* יהוה (527×), which is rendered 519× as יהוה, 3× as יהוה, and 5× as some combination of these two. These corresponding forms are not spelling variations, but non-cognate translations.

⁵ Proper nouns are treated in detail in chapter 6.

⁶ This can be traced in part to frequently occurring items as [B], 'in' (935×), [L], 'to' (879×), [MN], 'from' (362×), [<L], 'upon' (347×), and [<M], 'with' (82×), which are spelled identically in Hebrew and Syriac and correspond to one another in the frequencies given.

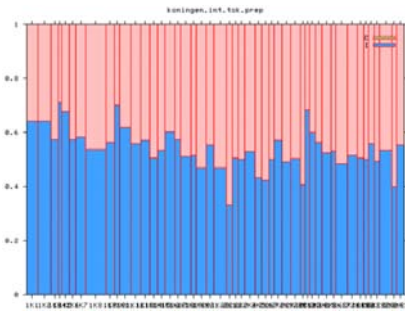


4.13a: Tokens

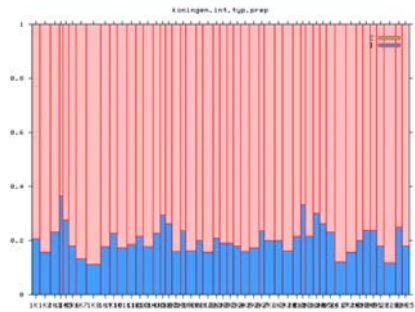


4.13b: Types

Figure 4.13: Union of spelling differences in prepositions



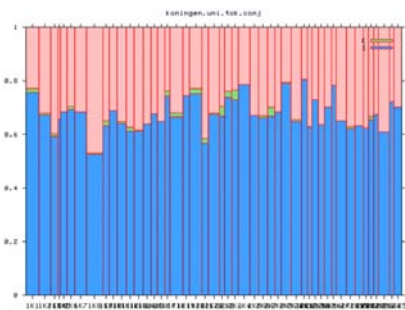
4.14a: Tokens



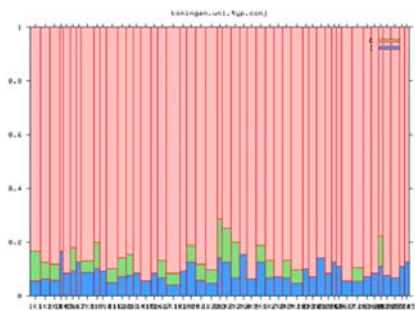
4.14b: Types

Figure 4.14: Intersection of spelling differences in prepositions

In comparison to prepositions, the distribution of spelling differences among the conjunctions presents radically different proportions.



4.15a: Tokens

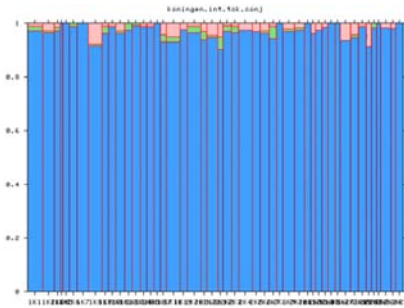


4.15b: Types

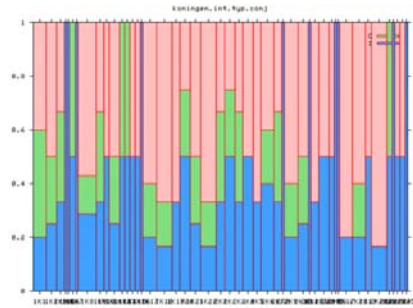
Figure 4.15: Union of spelling differences in conjunctions

The high proportion of identically spelled conjunctions when counted as tokens is most likely largely to be ascribed to the coordinating conjunction [W], 'and', occurring $4420 \times$ in corresponding positions in the texts.

When the forms lacking a correspondence in the other version are omitted, the proportions as given in figure 4.16 are found. Apparently, conjunctions have a significant proportion of cases lacking a correspondence in the other version (compare figures 4.15 and 4.16).



4.16a: Tokens



4.16b: Types

Figure 4.16: Intersection of spelling differences in conjunctions

Summary

From the proportionate distribution of the identical, non-identical, and cognate spelling of corresponding items, certain characteristics of these versions of Kings have come to light:

- In the overall statistics, there are a number of identically spelled vocabulary items which occur frequently in the two texts (figures 4.1a, 4.1b), and a significant number of items which lack a correspondence in the other version (figures 4.1a, 4.2a).
- In comparison to the overall average, verbs have relatively fewer forms which are identical in spelling or which manifest systematic spelling differences and relatively few such forms which tend to occur frequently (figures 4.3a, 4.3b). Furthermore, there are relatively few verbs which have no correspondence, that is, verbs tend to be rendered in the translation (figures 4.3a, 4.4a).
- In comparison to verbs, the nominal forms manifest more identically spelled forms and forms with systematic spelling differences, somewhat closer to the overall average (figures 4.3a, 4.5a). The difference

between tokens and types points to a higher number of frequently occurring, identically spelled items (figures 4.5a, 4.5b). In contrast to verbs, the nominal forms do have a fair number of items without correspondence in the other version (figures 4.5a, 4.6a).

- Particles have fewer cognate forms than do verbs or nominal forms (figure 4.7a); however, a number of identically spelled forms occur frequently in the two texts (figures 4.7a, 4.7b). A significant number of particles are rendered in only one of the versions (figures 4.7a, 4.8a).
- Pronouns rate considerably higher in identically spelled forms than the nominal forms as a group (figures 4.5a, 4.9a). There appear to be a small number of identically spelled forms which occur frequently in the texts (figures 4.9a, 4.9b). Pronouns manifest a fairly high proportion of forms rendered in only one of the versions (figures 4.9a, 4.10a).
- Of all of the parts of speech, proper nouns have the most forms related to one another by means of systematic spelling variation (figure 4.11a); like verbs, proper nouns tend to be rendered in translation (figures 4.11a, 4.12a).
- Prepositions manifest relatively few cognate forms (figure 4.13a), but there are a few identically spelled forms which occur frequently in the two texts (4.13a, 4.13b). Like pronouns, prepositions have a fairly large number of forms which have no corresponding item in the other version (figures 4.13a, 4.14a).
- The high proportion of identically spelled conjunctions is due to a small number frequently occurring items (figures 4.15a, 4.15b); conjunctions have a significant proportion of forms lacking a correspondence in the other version (figures 4.15a, 4.16a).

There appears to be a core of frequently occurring cognate or identically spelled vocabulary items, most pronounced among the conjunctions, prepositions, and pronouns, less so among the verbs and nominal forms. Names tend either to be transliterated or manifest systematic spelling adjustment. Among the parts of speech selected for attention here, verbs and proper nouns tend to be rendered more frequently in the translation than the other parts of speech. The observed proportional distribution is reflected in many of the phenomena discussed in chapters 5–13.

The comparisons could be continued, looking at each part of speech separately or comparing selected chapters with one another, but the preceding observations suffice as an indication of what can be harvested from the data. A complete set of the possible combinations of parameters would include

union versus intersection, token versus type, applied to the various parts of speech, both in the combination and separately and for various selections of texts. The proportions thereby exhibited would provide additional insights into these texts.

2. WORD LEVEL

Though many research questions could be formulated concerning word level, and indeed the bulk of this book deals with phenomena at word level (chapters 5–10), in this section we discuss only some aspects of the use of the verbal system in the two languages (section 2.1), the relative distribution of the parts of speech (section 2.2), and translation correspondences (section 2.3).

2.1. *Use of the Verbal System*

Verbs appear in various stem formations in the two languages and in a variety of ‘tenses’.

2.1.1. *Relative Distribution of Verbal Stem Formations*

The choice for the use of a particular stem formation is related to the lexical characteristics of the verb itself and to the demands of the context, most importantly at clause level. In the wivU Hebrew database, the standard seven stem formations are recognized—Qal, Niphal, Piel, Pual, Hitpael, Hiphil, and Hophal—as well as a few less common ones (see table 4.2). Thus far the rest of the stray forms with more eccentric characteristics have been subsumed under one of the seven standard stem formations.⁷ For Syriac we have followed the stem formations identified in *CSD*, in order to be able to research these further (see table 4.3).⁸

⁷ Verheij provides a list of twenty-four of what he calls ‘small binyanim’ occurring in the MT, including such exotic forms as Pe‘al‘al, Pulpal, and Hutpa‘al. According to Verheij, the following ‘small binyanim’ occur in Kings: Po‘al גרר (1 Kgs 7:9); Pilpel כול (1 Kgs 4:7 [2×], 5:7; 8:27; 17:4, 9; 18:4, 13), Pulpal כול (1 Kgs 20:27); Tif‘al שין (1 Kgs 14:10; 16:11; 21:21; 2 Kgs 9:8); Hutpa‘el פקד (1 Kgs 20:27); Hitpo‘el גדד (1 Kgs 18:28); מרדד (1 Kgs 17:21). See Verheij, *Bits, Bytes, and Binyanim*, Appendix A, 137–139.

⁸ Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, §180–182, speaks of ‘Quadriliterals’ and ‘Quineliterals’, even in cases which can ‘readily be traced back to shorter stems’ (§180). These include those treated in *CSD* as Shaphel and Saphel as well as those with various types of reduplication phenomena. As mentioned in chapter 3, section 2.2.2.3, Sokoloff treats all verbal forms except those occurring in the stem formations Peal, Pael, Aphel, Ethpeel, Ethpaal, and Ettaphel as

Table 4.2: Distribution of the Hebrew stem formations in Kings

	<i>Basic</i>		<i>Doubling</i>		<i>Causative Prefix</i>	
<i>Simple</i>	Qal	4573	Piel	435	Hiphil	772
<i>Passive</i>	Niphal	209	Pual	21	Hophal	36
<i>Reflexive</i>			Hitpael	68	Hishtaphel ⁹	23
			Hotpaal	1		

Table 4.3: Distribution of the Syriac stem formations in Kings

<i>Basic</i>	<i>Doubling</i>	<i>Consonant Prefix</i>		<i>Passive Prefix</i> ܕܐܘܪܐ			
Peal	4643 ¹⁰	Pael	561 ¹¹	Aphel	674 ¹²	Ethpeel	174
		Paiei	13	Taphel	9	Ethpaal	117
		Pali	1	Shaphel	8	Eshtaphel	23
		Palpel	1			Ethpagli	5
						Ettaphel	3
						Ethpaiel	1

The three major groups of stem formations in Syriac are: Peal, the group with some sort of doubling in the stem including Pael, Pael, Payel, and others, and the group which takes a consonantal prefix such as Aphel, Saphel, Shapel, and Taphel. All stem formations potentially can occur with the so-called passive stem formation prefix ܕܐܘܪܐ [>T].

The distribution of the major stem formations in Syriac is parallel to that in Hebrew: where Hebrew most frequently uses the Qal, Hiphil, and Piel, Syriac uses Peal, Aphel, and Pael. This, however, is not to suggest that

quadriliteral and quinqueliteral verbal roots. Cf. Verheij, *Bits, Bytes, and Binyanim*, 1–7, 129, for a discussion of two opposing views on stem formations, namely, that ‘the meaning of the verb is connected with the binyan to which it belongs, in a systematic, or transparent, way’, versus that ‘there is no such thing as a functional system of binyanim, and therefore no systematic connection between a verb’s meaning and its binyan ... and [the meaning] has to be specified in the lexicon’ (129).

⁹ Hishtaphel forms are all from the verb חוה. This analysis agrees with that of Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*, 254–255; Davies, ‘A Note’; Kreuzer, ‘Zur Bedeutung’, and with an earlier analysis of the form within the wivv database. Gesenius—Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 75אא; *BDB*; *KBL* analyse the form as a Hitpael of חוה. Whether it is a Hishtaphel of חוה or a Hitpael of חוה, a separate stem formation pattern is added to the list for this verb alone. In Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible the form is analysed as a Hitpael of חוה, in conformity to the tendency to subsume verbal forms under one of the seven standard stem formations.

¹⁰ This includes 211 Peal passive forms.

¹¹ This includes twenty Pael passive forms.

¹² This includes one Aphel passive form.

there is an automatic correspondence of stem formations between the two languages.¹³

Following the stem formations given in *CSD*, we isolated the morphemes contributing to a particular stem formation. Though within the limits of this project we were not able to exploit these possibilities, the morphemes thus isolated provide an instrument whereby research can be done on the stem formation patterns involved as well as on the types of verbs occurring in a particular stem formation pattern, on the specific function of a particular stem formation in relation to the others, and even on the validity of the multiple stem formations listed in the lexicon.¹⁴ The study of Syriac stem-formation patterns could be expanded to a treatment of stem formations in other Semitic languages as well.

2.1.2. *Relative Distribution of Verbal 'Tenses'*

Both Hebrew and Syriac manifest the following inflectional forms of the verb: perfect, imperfect, imperative, infinitive absolute, infinite construct, active participle, and passive participle. Additionally, Hebrew has the imperfect consecutive, most often used as a narrative tense, which is distinguished by a preceding coordinate conjunction with distinctive vocalization and the doubling of the first letter of the imperfect prefix.

The choice of inflectional form is influenced by factors related to the composition of the text, and is therefore a text-level decision. While in narrative texts generally the imperfect consecutive form carries the storyline, in poetry this verbal form occurs less frequently. The switch between tenses provides relief to the activities described.¹⁵ The use of the verbal tenses shifted through time so that, as compared to biblical texts, post-biblical Hebrew texts exhibit a different relative distribution of the use of the verbal tenses, particularly noticeable in the frequency and function of the participle¹⁶ and in the progressively less frequent use of the imperfect consecutive and its eventual disappearance. A discussion of the relative distribution of the verbal tenses in the Masoretic text and the Peshitta of Kings is presented in chapter 13, section 1.1.

¹³ See chapter 5, section 2, for an analysis of correspondences for expressions for killing, extermination, and destroying.

¹⁴ Questions arise in particular when a stem formation occurs only with a single verb or when the frequency of a named stem formation is limited. More extensive data from Syriac as well as from other Semitic languages would provide a broader basis for analysis.

¹⁵ See Talstra, 'Hebrew Syntax'.

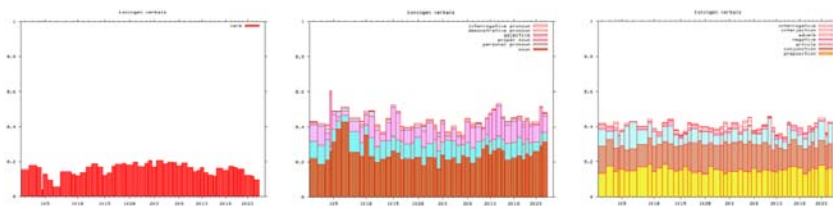
¹⁶ See Gordon, *The Development of the Participle*; Dyk—Talstra, 'Computer-assisted Study of Syntactical Change'.

2.2. Relative Distribution of the Parts of Speech

Because the relative distribution of the parts of speech in a text is a part of its defining characteristics, we present this data on the texts we are studying. Many factors contributing to the distribution of the parts of speech and the differences between the two texts can be explained by factors at phrase, clause, or above clause level (see chapters 11, 12, 13).

In figure 4.17, the ‘Others’ category (adverbs, conjunctions, definite article, interjections, interrogatives, negatives, prepositions) is fairly stable throughout the Masoretic text of Kings, but the proportional distribution of verbs and nominal forms (nouns, pronouns, proper nouns, adjectives) is more irregular. The verbs have a somewhat steady average around the 18% mark, with some chapters scoring higher, some lower (within a range of approximately 16%–20% of the total), with a few noteworthy exceptions:

- 1 Kings 4, 6, 7, 10 show noticeably fewer verbs and proportionally more nominal forms
- 2 Kings 11, 12, 14–16 show a dip in the proportion of verbs and a higher proportion of nominal forms
- 2 Kings 23, 24, 25 show progressively fewer verbs and proportionately progressively more nominal forms



4.17a: Verbs

4.17b: Nominal forms

4.17c: Other

Figure 4.17: Proportionate frequency of parts of speech in the Masoretic text of Kings

To explain the first, we look at the content of the texts themselves. The chapters with fewer verbs all contain extensive listings: 1 Kings 4 lists King Solomon’s princes and their functions, his officers, and the territories for which they were responsible; 1 Kings 6 describes the materials and measurements of the temple; 1 Kings 7 describes the building of Solomon’s palaces with their various attributes, and the workmanship of Hiram, the artisan, for the temple; the second half of 1 Kings 10 relates details of Solomon’s treasures. The deviation in these chapters from the average distribution of verbs and nominal forms within the Masoretic text of Kings can thus be related to the nature of their contents.

The dip in the proportion of verbs in 2 Kings 11, 12, 14–16 and the progressively fewer verbs in 2 Kings 23, 24, 25, however, cannot be clarified by the presence of extensive lists, for these chapters are narrative. The answer must be sought elsewhere.

In tracing the differences between what he sees as an oral substratum a written substratum in biblical texts, Polak compares texts on the basis of a number of criteria.¹⁷ According to Polak, texts with an oral tradition as background are detectable by their short clauses containing relatively few explicit syntactic constituents, where hypotaxis and long noun strings are relatively rare, and where there is frequent reference by means of pronouns and deictic particles. It is his thesis that the oral and written strata within the texts are distinguishable by syntactic criteria.¹⁸

The characteristics used by Polak in his research belong to diverse levels in the syntactic hierarchy, but at word level the difference between the 'oral' and 'written' traditions behind the texts as described by Polak is visible in the relative proportion of the occurrences of the parts of speech. A style using shorter clauses with fewer explicit syntactic constituents will contain relatively more verbs than a style using longer noun strings and more explicit clause constituents. To this 'oral' substratum Polak also couples a more extensive use of pronouns and deictic particles.

It could be that the progressively fewer verbs and proportionately more nominal forms in the final chapters of Kings points to a shift in style to one more influenced by the written substratum. This tentative assumption on the basis of proportionate distribution of parts of speech needs to be substantiated by the syntactic parameters mentioned by Polak, namely, the use of subordinate clauses, the length and complexity of noun phrases, and the number of explicit constituents within a clause. Because not only the final chapters of 2 Kings, but also chapters 11, 12, 14–16 contain proportionately

¹⁷ Polak mentions '(a) the number of subordinate clauses (hypotaxis), (b) the length of the noun string, (c) the number of explicit syntactic constituents in the clause, and (d) the frequency of reference by means of pronouns and deictic particles.' See Polak, 'The Oral and the Written Syntax', esp. 59; idem, 'Style is More than the Person'.

¹⁸ Polak, 'The Oral and the Written Syntax', 59, specifies: 'Differences are rooted in syntactic preferences, which reflect different social and historical conditions. In view of sociolinguistic research, it seems likely that the more complicated style emerged in the scribal chancery. ... the more a text is rooted in the scribal context, the more complicated its language, in terms of hypotaxis, length of the noun string, and the number of explicit sentence constituents. In contrast, the closer a text is to spoken language and oral literature, the simpler it is, in terms of syntactic structure, reference, and clause length. Narratives composed in such a style seem, then, to reflect a substratum of oral literature.'

fewer verbal forms, these chapters also need to be researched further to discover the reason for the difference.

This general characterization of language use in the Masoretic text of Kings can be compared to other books.¹⁹ A first impression is that the distribution of parts of speech in Kings shows more congruence with that in Genesis, Joshua, Judges and the books of Samuel than with that in Esther, Nehemiah, and the books of Chronicles. This confirms Polak's comments on the material, though using only the parameter of the relative distribution of the parts of speech.

In many of the books, an abrupt drop in the relative proportion of verbs can be observed in a particular stretch of text. In all these cases, a list of some sort is present.²⁰ This characteristic of lists is thus independent of the broader nature of the texts in which they occur. Nonetheless, on the whole Nehemiah, Esther, and Chronicles show a relatively lower proportion of verbs and a higher proportion of substantives than do Genesis, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings (see the Appendix at the end of this chapter).

The Peshitta of Kings shows a proportionate distribution of the parts of speech in as given in figure 4.18.

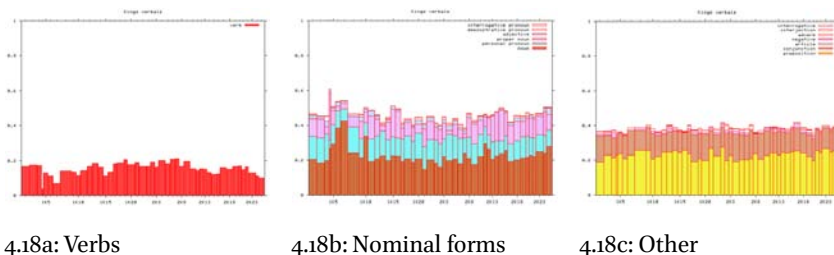


Figure 4.18: Proportionate frequency of parts of speech in the Peshitta of Kings

The similarity in the overall picture of the relative distribution of parts of speech in the Masoretic text and in the Peshitta of Kings is striking. The same profile of dips and jumps is observable in the ratio of the occurrences of verbs in both versions, even in the final chapters of the Masoretic text of

¹⁹ For the graphs of the relative distribution of the parts of speech in Genesis, Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, Esther, Nehemiah, and 1 and 2 Chronicles see Appendix at end of this chapter.

²⁰ Genesis 10 (generations of Noah); 36 (generations of Esau); Joshua 12 (kings conquered by Moses and Joshua); 13 (allocation of the territories); 15 (boundaries of Judah); 19 (portions of the tribes); 21 (cities of the Levites); Nehemiah 7 (genealogy); 10–12 (lists of names); 1 Chronicles 1–9 (genealogies); 23–27 (various lists).

2 Kings, where the Hebrew possibly reveals a tendency to shift towards the distribution found in the later books of the Masoretic text, such as Esther, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. Though the shift in proportions in the final chapters of Masoretic text of Kings could be due to language shift through time, it would seem rather less logical to assume the same for the translated text. A more adequate explanation would be that this reflects the tendency of the Peshitta to follow the Hebrew closely.

Several systematic differences between the two languages can be observed:

- the definite article in Hebrew and its absence in Syriac (third element from bottom in figure 4.17c)
- the greater proportion of prepositions in Syriac as compared to Hebrew (lowest element in figures 4.17c, 4.18c)
- the greater proportion of pronouns in Syriac as compared to Hebrew (second element from bottom in figures 4.17b, 4.18b)²¹

These three differences are syntactically related: while Syriac lacks the definite article and the emphatic state has become the unmarked form of the noun,²² the particle א [D],²³ pronominal suffixes, and enclitic and demonstrative pronouns²⁴ are used extensively where the Hebrew would use construct state binding and the definite article.²⁵

The slightly higher proportion of nominal forms in Syriac is related to the more extensive use of pronouns. That the 'Others' category in Syriac is somewhat less than that in Hebrew has to do with the absence of the definite article which is partially compensated for by the construction involving the particle א [D] and partially by the more extensive use of pronouns which, as already noted, fall under the category of nominal forms.

In research into the nature of translations in general, it has been observed that due to the tendency to make explicit that which is implicit in the source text,²⁶ translated texts tend to have a higher ratio of function words to lexical items:

²¹ In these statistics, the personal pronouns have all been taken together, both in their independent and in their enclitic forms (personal pronominal suffixes).

²² Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 18.

²³ Here this particle is assigned 'preposition' as its basic part of speech. For a defence of this approach, see Dyk, 'Desiderata', 144–148.

²⁴ Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 72.

²⁵ See comments on internal phrase structure in chapter 11, section 3.

²⁶ Blum—Kulka, 'Shifts of cohesion and coherence'; Toury, 'Experimentation in translation studies'.

The lexical density of a text tries to measure the proportion of the content (lexical) words over the total words. Texts with a lower density are more easily understood because function words make grammatical relations explicit ...²⁷

Function words belong to a closed class of words and have little lexical meaning but serve primarily to express grammatical relationships, or nuances of mood or attitude. Their use tends to be described in detail in grammars, while dictionaries often only describe their general use. Content words primarily express lexical meaning and belong to an open class of words, to which new members can be readily added. Dictionaries define the specific meanings of content words, while grammars treat these only in general terms.

The combination of parts of speech into 'verbs', 'nominal forms', and 'others', based on syntactic functions is useful for measuring the lexical density, with one exception. The pronouns have been grouped with the nominal forms due to their 'pro-nominal' function in syntax. These, however, are not content words, but are forms without their own specific lexical content which refer to participants in the text.

By combining the statistics for verbs and nominal forms, minus the pronouns, the proportions emerge as in table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Lexical density of Masoretic text and Peshitta

	<i>Masoretic text</i>	<i>Peshitta</i>
Content words	19,109	19,132
Total words	38,266	38,843
Lexical density	.4994	.4925

In table 4.4, the Peshitta manifests only a slightly lower lexical density, having more function words in comparison to the Masoretic text. It should be kept in mind, however, that the Hebrew definite article, a function word, occurs 2,923 times in the Masoretic text of Kings, and on its own accounts for 13% of the Hebrew function words in the text. Though sometimes the Syriac text contains a function word to render the definite article, the majority of cases are not rendered.²⁸ Were this difference in language system be taken into account, the lexical density of the Syriac text would be proportionately lower than that of the Hebrew text, as shown in table 4.5.

²⁷ Lind, 'Translation Universals', 2.

²⁸ See also comments in section 2.3.2, below.

Furthermore, in making explicit what is implicit in the Hebrew text, the Peshitta often adds not only function words, but also content words.²⁹ Like other translations,³⁰ the Peshitta also manifests a tendency to avoid repetition,³¹ in which both content words and function words are skipped in the translation. These different tendencies have an opposite effect on the statistics and tend to neutralize somewhat the comparison of the lexical density.³²

Table 4.5: Lexical density without the Hebrew definite article

	<i>Masoretic text</i>	<i>Peshitta</i>
Content words	19,109	19,132
Total words	35,343	38,843
Lexical density	.5406	.4925

2.3. *Translation Correspondences*

As already mentioned, in the electronic translation concordance elements in corresponding positions are matched not only when the items derive from related semantic domains, but also when they do not.³³ An unexpected rendering in corresponding position appears at times to have been triggered by formal characteristics of the form occurring in the Hebrew text.³⁴

2.3.1. *Variation in the Renderings*

The lists of correspondences are instructive, providing instances of:

- the most frequently occurring translation equivalents of a form in a particular text, that is, the preferred rendering

²⁹ Some of the instances are discussed in chapter 13, sections 1, 2.

³⁰ See Jääskeläinen, ‘The fate of “The Families of Medellín”’, esp. 205: ‘Avoiding repetition is one of the assumed translation universals, which professional translators (as good writers) tend to engage in almost automatically.’

³¹ See chapter 13, section 3.

³² More details on the frequencies of the various parts of speech in the two versions with discussion of some of the factors affecting these statistics can be found in chapter 13, section 1.

³³ This definition of ‘corresponding’ elements is also implemented in the concordance being prepared by the Peshitta Institute Leiden. Compare Borbone’s definition of ‘corresponding word’ in his ‘Correspondances lexicales’, esp. 2. Cf. also Borbone–Jenner, *The Old Testament in Syriac*, Part V *Concordance*, Vol. 1 *The Pentateuch*, xii.

³⁴ A note of caution: not infrequently an unexpected corresponding word reflects an inner-Syriac development which bears no direct relationship to the Hebrew source text.

- synonyms of a form and their distribution
- glaring exceptions to the two possibilities above

Particularly the third possibility often turns out to be of special interest to text-critical scholars.³⁵

In chapters 5–10 examples of translation correspondences are discussed, including variation in the rendering of synonyms for the semantic fields of law and of extermination and destruction (chapter 5), the rendering of proper nouns (chapter 6), divergent interpretations of homographs (chapter 7), similarities in consonants with a difference in meaning (chapter 8), and more complicated word differences reflecting several stages in their development (chapter 9).

It is impossible to discuss all the cases brought to light by the translation concordance. We hope that other scholars will be able to delve into the richness of the material and carry the analysis and discussion of the data further.³⁶

2.3.2. Cases with No Correspondence

The distribution of elements without a corresponding item in the other version present is first presented according to the groupings given above.

Table 4.6: Items without correspondence

	<i>Masoretic text</i>		<i>Peshitta</i>	
		Total		Total
Verbs	210 (3.4%)	6,115	317 (5.1%)	6,233
Nominal forms	545 (3.3%)	16,681	2,173 (12.0%)	18,072
Others	3,801 (24.6%)	15,463	2,828 (19.2%)	14,716
Totals ³⁷	4,556 (11.9%)	38,259	5,318 (13.6%)	39,021

³⁵ Unfortunately, thus far the data from 9a1 has not been electronically processed.

³⁶ Syriac renderings for Hebrew גָּו, 'go', in P Kings are discussed in Dyk, 'A Synopsis-Based Translation Concordance'. See also in this volume chapter 12, section 3, for the Syriac renderings of Hebrew נָשָׂא and for a discussion of the renderings of the cognate verbs שָׂא and נָשָׂא in Kings.

³⁷ The totals in tables 4.6 and 4.7 diverge from the totals in table 4.4 for lexical density, and from those in chapter 13, table 13.2. This is due to the fact that in the electronic translation concordance, from which the data for tables 4.5 and 4.6 are taken, some lexical entries are combined in order to increase the number of translation equivalents within the translation concordance, as explained below.

While the total number of items in the two texts is fairly close, each text has a substantial number of items without a corresponding item in the other version. The greatest divergence is in the category 'others'.

Presenting the parts of speech separately provides more insight into the role each has in the divergences observed (see table 4.7). Various aspects are involved: elements which have no formal equivalent in the other language, elements which are single units in one language and more than one unit in another, and elements located in portions of text which are lacking in the other text.

Table 4.7: Items without correspondence by part of speech

	<i>Masoretic text</i>			<i>Peshitta</i>	
		Total		Total	
Verbs	210 (3.4%)	6,115	317 (5.1%)	6,233	
Nouns	211 (2.3%)	9,068	382 (4.3%)	8,812	
Proper nouns	40 (1.1%)	3,492	131 (3.6%)	3,613	
Pronouns ³⁸	285 (7.9%)	3,608	1,633 (32.8%)	4,975	
Adjectives	9 (1.8%)	513	27 (4.0%)	672	
Adverbs	20 (5.2%)	387	29 (8.7%)	334	
Conjunctions	366 (6.7%)	5,484	478 (9.3%)	5,131	
Definite article	2,384 (81.6%)	2,923	–	–	
Interjections	70 (38.9%)	180	7 (5.6%)	125	
Interrogatives	45 (34.4%)	131	3 (16.7%)	18	
Negatives	5 (1.4%)	347	23 (5.4%)	428	
Prepositions	911 (15.2%)	6,011	2,288 (26.4%)	8,680	
Totals	4,556 (11.9%)	38,259	5,318 (13.6%)	39,021	

2.3.2.1. Elements with No Formal Equivalent in the Other Language

As mentioned above, an example of an element without a formal equivalent in the other language is the definite article, which in Hebrew is a separate lexical entry but not in Syriac. A number of times the definite article is rendered by some other lexical item in the Peshitta (about 18% of the occurrences). How Syriac deals with the definite article in the Hebrew text has not been examined systematically in this volume, but could be explored by comparing the structure of corresponding phrases.³⁹

³⁸ The pronouns include personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and pronominal suffixes.

³⁹ Comments on the rendering of the definite article occurring in proper nouns can be found in chapter 6, section 1.1.7.1.

Another example is the Hebrew interrogative marker ה [H] which has no formal equivalent in Syriac. How the Peshitta deals with this element when encountered in the Masoretic text of Kings is explored in chapter 12, section 2.

Within the Hebrew verbal system, the imperfect consecutive form often functions as a narrative tense. This form as such has no formal equivalent within the Syriac verbal system. In the discussion of the proportionate distribution of the verbal forms in chapter 13, section 1, some observations are made as to the representation of this form in the Syriac translation.

A discussion of some of the lacks of correspondence to be explained on the basis of systematic linguistic characteristics can be found in chapter 13, section 1; some of those which reveal more compositional preferences and translation style are presented in chapter 13, sections 2 and 3.

2.3.2.2. *Single versus Multiple Units*

Not infrequently where one language has a single word, the other has more than one. In order to increase the number of equivalents within the translation concordance, some strings of elements have been accepted as corresponding to a single item in the other text. A few examples (with word-for-word rendering of the prepositions) include:

דביר, 'backroom of the temple, oracle'	ܒܫܬܘܬܗ, 'holy place'	1 Kgs 6:21, 22, 23, 31
טברמן, 'Tabrimmon'	ܬܒܪܝܡܘܢ, 'Tabar Amon'	1 Kgs 15:18 ⁴⁰
מתחת, 'from beneath'	ܗܟܝܠܘܬܗ, 'from to beneath'	1 Kgs 8:23
	ܗܟܝܠܘܬܗ, 'from beneath'	2 Kgs 8:20, 22; 14:27
מתחת ל, 'from beneath to'	ܗܟܝܠܘܬܗ, 'to beneath from'	1 Kgs 7:24, 30
	ܗܟܝܠܘܬܗ, 'from to beneath'	1 Kgs 7:29
זה, 'where then?'	ܗܝܘܢܐ, 'which? what?'	1 Kgs 13:12; 2 Kgs 3:8

It is to be admitted that in combining lexical elements, the choices have been rather intuitive and dependent on adjacency in the text. No doubt further attention to this issue would bring refinements to the decisions taken.

The discussion concerning which elements should be treated as units could be carried further to include patterns of verbs with their accompanying complements which together carry a particular significance. This

⁴⁰ More instances of proper nouns spelled as one word in one version and as two in the other can be found in chapter 6, section 1.5.

last option has not been followed for two reasons: first, it is necessary to complete valence research on the verbs before being able to execute this properly, and second, since a verb and its complements often do not occur adjacent to one another in the text, gathering the scattered elements would present significant complications in processing them for the electronic translation concordance.

2.3.2.3. *Omissions and Additions*

When an item lacks a corresponding element in the other text, it is not always the case that the element is absent in the structure of the other language, or that several elements together correspond to a single element in the other text. At times there is an addition or an omission in the translation, with the effects going much beyond word level. Some of these cases are discussed in chapter 13, sections 2 and 3.

2.3.3. *The Translation Concordance as a Hermeneutic Key*

The words matched in the electronic translation concordance are those which correspond in the translation, though they need not be a translation of each other. Let us consider a few examples.

In the list of translation correspondences we find that אבשלום [>BCLWM], 'Absalom', corresponds in 1 Kgs 1:6; 2:7 to אבשלום [>BCLWM], but in 1 Kgs 2:28 to שלמה [CLJMW], 'Solomon'. In the latter text, the two names are not equivalent. An explanation of a text-historical nature is needed.⁴¹

In 2 Kgs 23:20, where שם [CM], 'there', occurs, the Syriac has a form of the verb שמ [SWM], 'place', in this case 'place incense', in the dependent clause 'which offered incense upon the altars'. Thus a whole relative clause occurs where Hebrew only has 'which were there'. Yet, keeping in mind the fluidity of the sibilants,⁴² it is worth considering the possibility that שם [CM], 'there', might have been read as a form of שים [FJM], 'place', which was then constructed into a more complete sentence.⁴³

The rendering of the pronominal suffixes also manifests variation. Restricting ourselves to the first person singular suffix, we note that it is usually rendered by the same suffix in Syriac.⁴⁴ However, in 1 Kgs 1:2, twice King

⁴¹ See chapter 2, section 3.2.8, and chapter 6, section 3.4.

⁴² See chapter 3, section 1.1.3.

⁴³ For discussion of this case, see chapter 8, section 1.33.

⁴⁴ In 339 × of the 443 occurrences of this suffix in Kings. Of the remaining instances, there are 29 instances where the Hebrew suffix is not rendered in Syriac.

David is spoken of as ‘my lord, the king’ in Hebrew while Syriac has ‘our lord, the king’.⁴⁵ Similarly, in 2 Kgs 2:19 Elisha is addressed as ‘my lord’ in Hebrew and in Syriac as ‘our lord’, and in 2 Kgs 5:13 Naaman, the Syrian, is addressed as ‘my father’ in Hebrew and as ‘our lord’ in Syriac. This small adjustment can hardly be explained adequately on the basis of grammatical argumentation, but could be indicative of a different sociolinguistic perspective. Could it be that Syriac shows more deference when addressing those of a higher social standing, and thus avoids the more direct first person singular pronominal suffixes in the address? Nonetheless, it remains true that in most instances both texts use the same pronominal reference.⁴⁶

The coordinating conjunction is frequently rendered by its equivalent, spelled identically in both languages. When this is not the case, it is interesting to note what occurs. In 2 Kgs 24:3, the Hebrew כ [K], ‘as, according to’, is rendered in Syriac by the coordinating conjunction ו [W], ‘and’, with an entirely different effect on the connection between the clauses involved. The Hebrew could be rendered as ‘to remove them from before him, for the sins of Manasseh according to all that he did’, while Syriac reads ‘to remove them from before him because of the sins of Manasseh and all that he did’. The Hebrew connects the final clause beginning with ‘according to’ back to the clause stating that God removed Judah, thus giving the rationale for the severity of God’s punishment. In contrast, by using the coordinating conjunction, the Syriac text makes the connection at a shorter range so that the final clause is merely a further extension of the previous phrase.⁴⁷ Thus a difference visible at word level can have consequences reaching far beyond the word.

In summary, the lists of corresponding words based on a synopsis at clause level can be used as an instrument for tracking down cases of peculiar interest which need further explanation at various levels.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ See also chapter 2, section 2.3.1.

⁴⁶ In 1 Kings 1 alone David is frequently addressed as ‘my lord’ (1 Kgs 1:17) or as ‘my lord, the king’ (1 Kgs 1:13, 18, 20, 24) in both texts. Similarly, when addressing God or speaking of God, both languages use the same pronouns in the second and third person. For the first person, twice a first sg pronoun in Hebrew is rendered by the emphatic state in Syriac (1 Kgs 3:7; 17:20) and once a first pl pronoun in Hebrew is rendered by the emphatic state in Syriac (1 Kgs 8:59).

⁴⁷ For this case see also chapter 13, section 4.2. The tendency of Syriac to have a shorter range in syntactic connections is visible a phrase level (see chapter 11, section 3) and clause level (see chapter 12, sections 3 and 4).

⁴⁸ See also Dyk, ‘A Synopsis-Based Translation Concordance’.

3. ABOVE WORD LEVEL

In some cases, the explanation for the rendering of a word must be sought at the level of phrase structure, clause structure, or above clause level. Though concentrating on the word level, a limited number of observations above that level have been noted in chapters 11–13.

Complex phrases in both Hebrew and Syriac are built up of smaller units which can be expanded by various syntactic means, including construct state binding, attribution, apposition, specification, and coordination. Although these structural components are available in both Hebrew and Syriac, the two languages make different use of these possibilities. Particularly at the boundaries between units and expansions, different syntactic strategies can be observed. Individual styles and genres within a single language may also exhibit variety in their use of the syntactic strategies available within the language system. A selected number of cases having to do with phrase-level structures are treated in chapter 11.

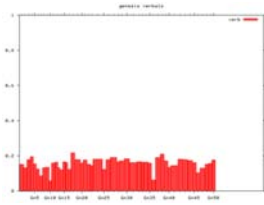
Clauses—where elements are grouped around a predication—are parsed in the database according to the valence of the verb involved, or according to deictic properties and part of speech of the elements within verbless clauses. The parsing provides a basis for comparing the two texts and is a key to discovering both differences and congruencies between the two versions. In chapter 12 a number of issues at clause level are discussed.

Some differences between the texts can only be explained by factors of text composition and other strategies above clause level. A few topics at this level have been touched upon in chapter 13.

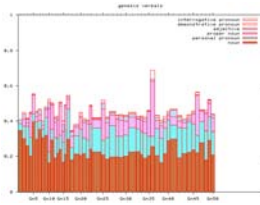
APPENDIX

PARTS OF SPEECH IN OTHER BOOKS OF THE MASORETIC TEXT

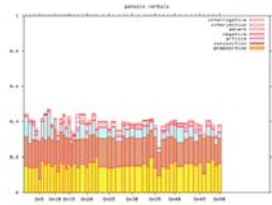
Genesis:



Verbs

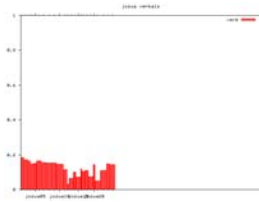


Nominal forms

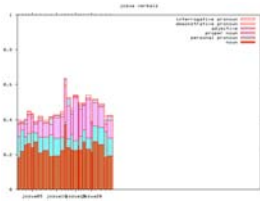


Other parts of speech

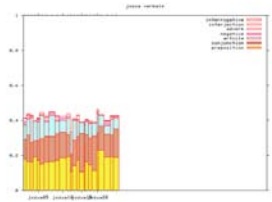
Joshua:



Verbs

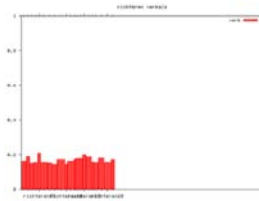


Nominal forms

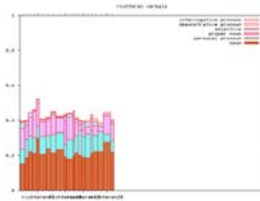


Other parts of speech

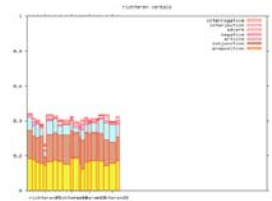
Judges:



Verbs

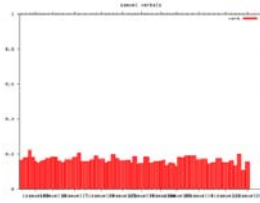


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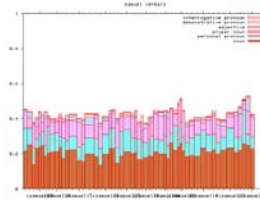


Other parts of speech

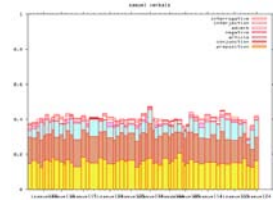
1 & 2 Samuel:



Verbs

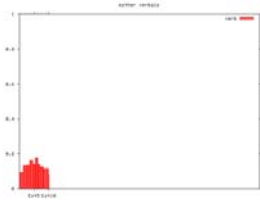


Nominal forms

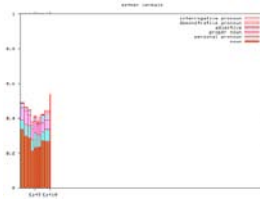


Other parts of speech

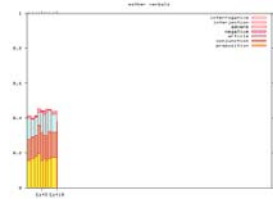
Esther:



Verbs

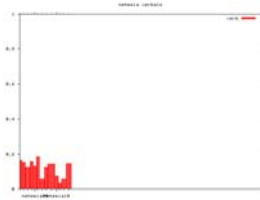


Nominal forms

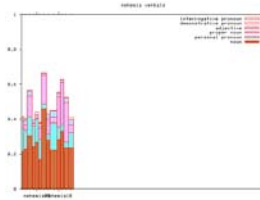


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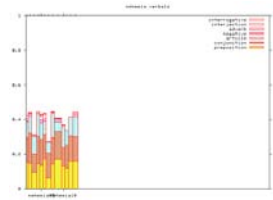
Nehemiah:



Verbs

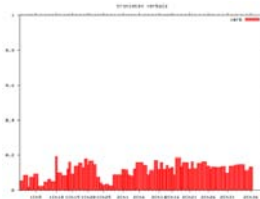


Nominal forms

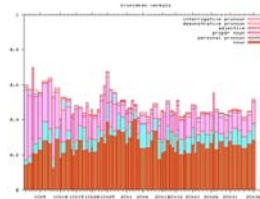


Other parts of speech

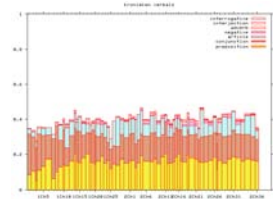
1 & 2 Chronicles:



Verbs



Nominal forms



Other parts of speech

PART TWO

THE TWO APPROACHES:
COMPLEMENTATION AND CONFRONTATION
IN SELECTED CASES

Section One

Cases Requiring an Explanation at Word Level

CHAPTER FIVE

VARIATION IN THE RENDERING OF SYNONYMS

In translation, there is rarely a one-to-one equivalence. Two opposite tendencies can be observed. On the one hand, an item can be rendered in the target language by a term related to the general concept involved. The opposite also occurs: a more specific term with a narrower semantic field is chosen in the target language to render a more generic term in the source language.

In our treatment of the data, the point of departure is the list of correspondences produced on the basis of a synopsis of the text in which clauses are matched, which are then segmented into corresponding phrases, out of which corresponding lexemes are deduced. This so-called 'electronic translation concordance' presents data on the basis of forms encountered in the corpus itself, in each case with the reference to where it occurs. We thus have a survey of:

- Various synonyms used to render a form and the frequencies of their occurrences
- Cases where an item is not rendered
- Unexpected renderings which fall outside of the generally expected semantic range

All of this information is helpful in attempting to capture the meaning of an item and to trace its interpretation during the process of translation. Unexpected renderings are of particular interest to the text-historical scholar who focuses primarily on the exceptional.

The nouns referring to the 'law' (section 1) and the expressions for killing, exterminating, and destroying (section 2) provide interesting material as illustration of the variation in the rendering of synonyms. These form only a limited and arbitrary selection from the list of translation correspondences.

1. TERMS REFERRING TO 'LAW'

Both Hebrew and Syriac have numerous terms to refer to 'law', 'statute', 'ordinance', 'prescription', and 'regulation'. The Hebrew items with more than ten

occurrences within Kings include: ברית, 'covenant', דרך, 'way, custom', חקה, 'prescription, statute', מצוה, 'commandment', משפט, 'decision, judgment', and תורה, 'direction, instruction, law'.

The Syriac items with more than ten occurrences within Kings include: אסוּנא, 'way, custom', גּוּנא, 'judgment, sentence', נבטשא, 'law, ordinance', פּאמנא, 'commandment, decree', and סנשא, 'statute, covenant'. In spite of what the given glosses might suggest, there is no one-to-one equivalence for the renderings of the Hebrew terms in Syriac.

The relative frequency of these terms within Kings and the distribution of the various renderings can be seen in table 5.1, presented alphabetically according to the Hebrew item. To cover all renderings of the main items mentioned above, some less frequently occurring lexemes have been included. Because not all renderings are relevant to the present research, the latter have been omitted from the discussion. This same information can be sorted by the Syriac entries, as in table 5.2.

Table 5.1: Terms referring to law sorted by Hebrew entry

ארץ, 'land, country'	1 × אסוּנא, 'way, custom'
ברית, 'covenant'	1 × פּאמנא, 'commandment, decree' 25 × סנשא, 'statute, covenant'
דרך, 'way, custom'	66 × אסוּנא, 'way, custom' 2 × יבּוּנא, 'journey, march'
חק, 'prescription'	1 × אסוּנא, 'way, custom' 5 × סנשא, 'statute, covenant'
חקה, 'prescription, statute'	2 × נבטשא, 'law, ordinance' 2 × פּאמנא, 'commandment, decree' 9 × סנשא, 'statute, covenant'
מעמד, 'attendance (of servants)'	1 × סנשא, 'statute, covenant'
מצוה, 'commandment'	19 × פּאמנא, 'commandment, decree' 1 × פּמוּ (verb), 'command, decree'
משפט, 'decision, judgment'	21 × גּוּנא, 'judgment, sentence' 1 × וּגּוּנא, 'righteous act, due allowance' 1 × עוּנא, 'appearance, likeness' 5 × נבטשא, 'law, ordinance' 1 × חבּוּנא, 'work'
תועבה, 'abomination'	1 × נבטשא, 'law, ordinance' 2 × חבּוּנא, 'work'
תורה, 'direction, instruction, law'	3 × אסוּנא, 'law' 8 × נבטשא, 'law, ordinance'

Table 5.2: Terms referring to law sorted by Syriac entry

ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, 'way, custom'	1 × ארץ, 'land, country' 66 × דרך, 'way, custom' 1 × חק, 'prescription'
ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, 'law'	3 × תורה, 'instruction, law'
ܘܓܠܐ, 'judgment, sentence'	21 × משפט, 'decision, judgment' 2 × no correspondence
ܘܓܡܐ, 'righteous act'	1 × משפט, 'decision, judgment'
ܘܓܘܣܐ, 'appearance, likeness'	1 × משפט, 'decision, judgment'
ܘܓܘܨܐ, 'law, ordinance'	2 × חקה, 'prescription, statute' 5 × משפט, 'decision, judgment' 1 × תועבה, 'abomination' 8 × תורה, 'instruction, law' 3 × no correspondence
ܦܫܘܬܐ, 'commandment, decree'	1 × ברית, 'covenant' 2 × חקה, 'prescription, statute' 19 × מצוה, 'commandment'
ܦܫܘܬܐ, 'statute, covenant'	25 × ברית, 'covenant' 5 × חק, 'prescription' 9 × חקה, 'prescription, statute' 1 × מעמד, 'attendance (of servants)' 2 × no correspondence

When a term has a preferred rendering, there is some basis for assuming congruence between the meaning of the original and that of the translation. Of particular interest, however, are the exceptions to this as well as those cases which manifest a broader distribution in the choice of renderings. In our discussion, the most frequently occurring correspondences will be treated first. For the sake of the argumentation, the main terms will be presented in the following order: ܦܫܘܬܐ, ܘܓܘܨܐ, ܘܓܘܣܐ, ܘܓܠܐ, ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, and ܘܓܠܐ. The forms ܘܓܘܣܐ, ܘܓܘܣܐ, and ܘܓܘܣܐ, which sometimes render משפט, are not treated separately.¹ The Hebrew correspondences are listed in the tables in alphabetical order, but in the discussion they are usually treated in order of frequency of occurrence.

¹ See section 1.3.2 and note 32 there.

1.1. פסמנא, 'Commandment, Decree'

פסמנא, 'commandment, decree' 1 × ברית, 'covenant'²
 2 × חקה, 'prescription, statute'³
 19 × מצוה, 'commandment'⁴

1.1.1. פסמנא Corresponds to מצוה, 'Commandment'

In 19 out of its 22 occurrences in the Peshitta of Kings, פסמנא corresponds to מצוה in the Masoretic text, and may be regarded as the standard translation equivalent of מצוה. The exceptions require separate treatment.

1.1.2. פסמנא Corresponds to חקה, 'Prescription, Statute'

1 Kgs 3:3

סוּעַר צַלְמָה לְדָוִד מִלְּבַב כְּפִשְׁוֹתָא, וְגַם
 יָאֵהָב שְׁלֵמָה אֶת יְהוָה לִלְכַת בְּחֻקֹּת דָּוִד

'and Solomon loved YHWH, walking in the statutes of David'

Rather than what appears to be the normal equivalent of חקה, namely, פסמנא,⁵ the Peshitta here offers פסמנא. Neither the Syriac manuscripts nor the other versions give reason to suspect that the source text deviated from the Masoretic text here. It may be surmised that the choice of פסמנא was influenced by 1 Kgs 2:1 where David's last instructions to Solomon to remain faithful to YHWH are introduced as follows:

1 Kgs 2:1

פַּסְמֵן לְעֵלְמָה בְּוִם
 וַיְצַו אֶת שְׁלֵמָה בְּנֹו

'and he charged Solomon, his son'

It is conceivable that the translator took חקות דוד in 1 Kgs 3:3 as a reference to David's instructions to Solomon in 1 Kgs 2:2–9, and for that reason chose the noun פסמנא, which shares the stem PQD with the verb פסמ that introduces David's last will in 1 Kgs 2:1.

It seems that in the following text פסמנא also corresponds to חקה:

² 2 Kgs 17:15.

³ 1 Kgs 3:3; 11:11.

⁴ 1 Kgs 2:3, 43; 3:14; 6:12; 8:58, 61; 9:6; 11:34, 38; 13:21; 14:8; 18:8; 2 Kgs 17:13, 16, 19, 34, 37; 18:6; 23:3.

⁵ See section 1.2.

1 Kgs 11:11

וְלֹא נִלְוֵהוּ מִצְוֵי וּמִשְׁפָּטֵי וּמִצְוֹתָי

'and you did not keep my statutes and my judgments and my commandments'

וְלֹא שָׁמַרְתָּ בְרִיתִי וְחֻקֹּתַי

'and you did not keep my covenant and my statutes'

However, the connection between the Syriac and the Hebrew items may be interpreted differently here (see the following section).

1.1.3. *Corresponds to בְרִית, 'Covenant'*

2 Kgs 17:15

9a1 וְלֹא שָׁמַרְתָּ מִצְוֹתַי וְחֻקֹּתַי 'my commandments and my statutes'

BTR וְלֹא שָׁמַרְתָּ מִצְוֹתַי וְחֻקֹּתַי 'my statutes and my commandments'

אֵת חֻקֵּי וְאֵת בְּרִיתוֹ 'his statutes and his covenant'

The Peshitta usually renders בְרִית, 'covenant', as *ܡܘܨܚܐ*,⁶ which is also frequently used to render חק / חקה, 'statute'.⁷ The occurrence of the two Hebrew words in adjacent position in 1 Kgs 11:11; 2 Kgs 17:15 may have prompted the translator to depart from his standard renderings so as not to use the same Syriac word twice in succession.

One possibility is that the translator left בְרִיתִי, 'my covenant', unrendered in both passages and added *ܡܘܨܚܐ* in 1 Kgs 11:11 and *ܡܘܨܚܐ* in 2 Kgs 17:15 (with a change in the suffix pronoun) in accordance with stereotypical deuteronomic phrases in Kings.⁸ This would imply that in 2 Kgs 17:15 the reading of the BTR takes priority over that of 9a1.

⁶ See section 1.2 and note 12 there.

⁷ See section 1.2 and notes 13 and 14 there.

⁸ For 2 Kgs 17:15, cf. 17:13 *ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ* = MT *וּשְׁמַרְוּ מִצְוֹתַי חֻקֹּתַי* = 'and keep my commandments and my statutes'; 1 Kgs 8:61 BTR *ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ*, 'and to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgments and his laws'; 11:34 *ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ* = MT *וְלֹא שָׁמַרְתָּ מִצְוֹתַי וְחֻקֹּתַי* = 'who kept my commandments and my statutes'. 1 Kgs 11:11 *ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ*, 'and you did not keep my statutes and my judgments and my commandments', reflects the rendering of stereotypical deuteronomic phraseology as it appears in 1 Kgs 8:58 *ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ* = MT *וּשְׁמַרְוּ מִצְוֹתַי וְחֻקֹּתַי* (and) to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgments'; 9:4 *ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ* = MT *חֻקֵּי* 'and my statutes and my judgments you shall keep'; 9:6 *ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ* = MT *וְלֹא שָׁמַרְתָּ מִצְוֹתַי וְחֻקֹּתַי* = 'and (if) you do not keep my commandments and my statutes'; 11:33 *ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ* = MT *וְלֹא שָׁמַרְתָּ מִצְוֹתַי וְחֻקֹּתַי* (p + and he has not kept) my statutes and judgments (p + and my commandments)' (the addition *ܡܘܨܚܐ* is an harmonization with 11:11 and 11:34); 2 Kgs 17:37, esp. 9a1 *ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ*, 'and the statutes and judgments and commandments and laws (... keep)'; cf. BTR *ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ ܡܘܨܚܐ*, 'and the statutes and judgments and the laws and the commandment (... keep)';

Alternatively, in both passages the Peshitta may have substituted **מִצְוָה**, 'my statutes', for **בְּרִיתוֹ** / **בְּרִיתִי**, 'my / his covenant', and used **הַצְּוָה** as an alternative rendering of **חֻקֵּי** / **חֻקֵּי**, thus making these passages conform to deuteronomic phraseology. For 2 Kgs 17:15, this interpretation assigns priority to the reading of **גַּא**, which is consistent with the overall picture of **גַּא** as reflecting a more original stage of the Peshitta than the BTR.⁹

It is interesting to note that in 1 Kgs 11:11; 2 Kgs 17:15 Targum Jonathan was faced with the same problem as the Peshitta, because in Kings it uses **קִימָא** to render both **בְּרִית**¹⁰ and **חֻק** / **חֻקָּה**.¹¹ Targum Jonathan solved the problem in a similar fashion as the Peshitta:

- 1 Kgs 11:11
 TJ פְּקוּדֵי וְקִימֵי
 '(and you did not keep) my commandments and my statutes'
- 2 Kgs 17:15
 TJ בִּקְיֻמוֹהִי וּבְגוֹרְתֵיהּ
 '(and they loathed) his statutes and his decrees'

1.2. **מִצְוָה**, 'Statute, Covenant'

Of the 42 occurrences of **מִצְוָה** in Kings, 25 correspond to **בְּרִית**, 'covenant', nine to **חֻקָּה**, 'statute', and five to **חֻק**, 'prescription'. In only five instances the Peshitta employs a word other than **מִצְוָה** to render **חֻקָּה** / **חֻק**.¹² **מִצְוָה** may be considered the standard equivalent of both **בְּרִית** and **חֻק** / **חֻקָּה**.

מִצְוָה, 'statute, covenant' 25 × **בְּרִית**, 'covenant'¹³
 5 × **חֻק**, 'prescription'¹⁴

⁹ The order presented by BTR 2 Kgs 17:15 is found in 1 Kgs 11:38 **מִצְוָה סִפְּרִינִי**, 'and you will keep my statutes and commandments' = **מַד** לשמר חֻקֵּי וּמִצְוֹתַי = **מַד** in deuteronomic phraseology is **מִצְוָה סִפְּרִינִי** (see previous note). For that reason, the BTR of 2 Kgs 17:15 cannot be satisfactorily explained in terms of harmonization.

¹⁰ 1 Kgs 3:15; 5:26; 6:19; 8:1, 6, 21, 23; 15:19 (2 ×); 19:10, 14; 20:34; 2 Kgs 11:4, 17; 13:23; 17:35, 38; 18:12; 23:2, 3 (3 ×), 21.

¹¹ 1 Kgs 2:3; 3:14; 6:12; 8:58, 61; 9:4, 6; 11:33, 34, 38; 2 Kgs 17:13, 37; 23:3.

¹² **מִצְוָה** = חֻקֵּי in 1 Kgs 3:3; 11:11; **מִצְוָה** = חֻקֵּי in 2 Kgs 17:8, 19; **מִצְוָה** = חֻקֵּי in 1 Kgs 8:61 (BTR minus 6h18 7h10). These divergent renderings are explained below.

¹³ 1 Kgs 3:15; 5:26; 6:19; 8:1, 6, 21, 23; 11:11; 15:19 (2 ×); 19:10, 14; 20:34 (2 ×); 2 Kgs 11:4, 17; 13:23; 17:35, 38 (correspondence doubtful on account of the *seyame* in **גַּא**); 18:12; 23:2, 3 (3 ×), 21. **בְּרִית** moreover appears in 1 Kgs 11:11; 2 Kgs 17:15, but the correspondence to **מִצְוָה** is uncertain there (see sections 1.1.2, 1.1.3).

¹⁴ **מִצְוָה** (pl) in 1 Kgs 3:14; 8:58; 9:4; 2 Kgs 17:15, 37. In 1 Kgs 8:61 this correspondence is found only in 6h18 7h10 **גַּא**.

9 × חקה, 'prescription, statute'¹⁵
 1 × מעמד, 'attendance (of servants)'¹⁶
 2 × no correspondence¹⁷

In 1 Kgs 11:11; 2 Kgs 17:15 מִסְכָּה matches either חק / חקה or ברית.¹⁸ Twice מִסְכָּה occurs as a plus vis-à-vis the Masoretic text: the meaning that is apparently intended is 'covenant' in 1 Kgs 8:9 and 'statutes' (מִסְכָּה) in 1 Kgs 8:61 (minus 6h18 7h10 9a1).¹⁹ In 1 Kgs 10:5 מִסְכָּה matches מעמד, 'attendance (of servants)', of the Masoretic text.²⁰

1.3. נְחֻמֵּסֶה, 'Law, Ordinance'

Out of 19 occurrences of נְחֻמֵּסֶה in Kings (BTR), eight correspond to תורה in the Masoretic text, five to משפט, two to חקה, one to תועבה, while the remaining three represent pluses.

נְחֻמֵּסֶה, 'law, ordinance' 2 × חקה, 'prescription, statute'²¹
 5 × משפט, 'decision, judgment'²²
 1 × תועבה, 'abomination'²³
 8 × תורה, 'instruction, law'²⁴
 3 × no correspondence²⁵

¹⁵ חקה (pl) in 1 Kgs 2:3; 6:12; 9:6; 11:33, 34, 38; 2 Kgs 17:13; 23:3. In 2 Kgs 17:34 מִסְכָּה (sg) corresponds to חקה (pl).

¹⁶ 1 Kgs 10:5.

¹⁷ 1 Kgs 8:9, 61.

¹⁸ See discussion in sections 1.1.2, 1.1.3.

¹⁹ In 1 Kgs 8:9 P adds the necessary term מִסְכָּה חַבְטֵי אֲהֻרָהּ: מִסְכָּה, '(the two tablets of stone that Moses placed there at Horeb) when the Lord made a covenant with the Israelites'; MT אשר ברת יהוה עם בני ישראל, 'when YHWH made (a covenant) with the Israelites'. A comparable addition, though awkwardly placed, occurs in LXX (B): δύο πλάκες λίθιναι πλάκας τῆς διαθήκης ... ἃ διέθετο Κύριος μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, 'the two tablets of stone, the tablets of the covenant (that Moses placed there at Horeb), which the Lord made with the Israelites'. For 1 Kgs 8:61, see section 1.5.

²⁰ מְעַמְדֵי מְשָׁרְתָיו, 'the order of his ministers', closely follows ומעמד (Q^ere), 'the attendance of his servants', in MT. Cf. 1 Kgs 1:2, where P renders the expression וְעַמְדָּה לְפָנַי הַמֶּלֶךְ, 'she will attend the king', as וְעַמְדָּה מִבְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ.

²¹ 2 Kgs 17:8, 19.

²² 1 Kgs 18:28; 2 Kgs 11:14; 17:33, 34 (1st), 40.

²³ 2 Kgs 16:3.

²⁴ 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 10:31; 14:6; 17:13, 34, 37; 21:8; 22:8.

²⁵ 1 Kgs 8:61; 2 Kgs 22:8, 10.

1.3.1. *חֻמְרָה* Corresponds to תּוֹרָה, 'Instruction, Law'

In Kings up through 2 Kgs 22:8, תּוֹרָה is rendered as *חֻמְרָה*; after 2 Kgs 22:10,²⁶ the law is exclusively referred to as *סֵפֶר הַחֻמְרָה*.²⁷ This switch in vocabulary between vv. 10 and 11 in 2 Kings 22 could indicate a change of translators at this point. The watershed is observable also for the Syriac pluses over against the Masoretic text.²⁸ In all probability, the switch in vocabulary has an exegetical rather than a text-historical background. The Jewish-Aramaic term *סֵפֶר הַחֻמְרָה* refers to the written book of the law.²⁹ In the conceptual scheme of Kings, the written Torah was lost in Israel until rediscovered by Hilkiah. At the point that the narrative relates that the law was read to King Josiah, the Torah takes on a concrete shape, and the vocabulary changes accordingly (2 Kgs 22:11). Earlier references to the Torah within Kings are mostly in comments made in retrospect or in pronouncements of YHWH, in which the material form of the law is not the issue.

1.3.2. *חֻמְרָה* Corresponds to מִשְׁפֵּט, 'Decision, Judgment'

מִשְׁפֵּט occurs 29 times in the Masoretic text of Kings. In the Peshitta it is matched by *גִּלְמָא* in 21 instances.³⁰ In five instances it corresponds to *חֻמְרָה*.³¹ The nouns *וֹמָרָה*, *חֻבְרָה*, and *סֵפֶר הַחֻמְרָה* each appear only once as a correspondence of מִשְׁפֵּט.³²

The distribution of the terms in the Peshitta suggests that *גִּלְמָא* is the regular translation equivalent of מִשְׁפֵּט to denote 'judgment, right'. Where מִשְׁפֵּט is used in a different sense, the Peshitta uses a term other than *גִּלְמָא* to capture the sense of מִשְׁפֵּט as perceived for that particular context.

In cases where the Peshitta has rendered with *חֻמְרָה*, מִשְׁפֵּט seems to mean 'custom':

²⁶ 2 Kgs 22:10 is the last occurrence of *חֻמְרָה* in P Kings (BTR only); it constitutes a plus in relation to MT there.

²⁷ 2 Kgs 22:11; 23:24, 25.

²⁸ In 1 Kgs 8:58 (pl; BTR except 7a1 7h10 9l3 10l2), 61 (pl); 2 Kgs 22:8, 10 *חֻמְרָה*, in 2 Kgs 23:24 *סֵפֶר הַחֻמְרָה*. In 2 Kgs 23:24 *סֵפֶר הַחֻמְרָה* is part of a more extensive plus vis-à-vis MT: a secondary addition identifies 'the book Hilkiah had found in the temple' as the *סֵפֶר הַחֻמְרָה הַזֶּה* mentioned in 2 Kgs 22:11; 23:25.

²⁹ Thus see Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 167; Weitzman, *Introduction*, 177.

³⁰ For references see section 1.6, note 45.

³¹ For references see note 22.

³² *וֹמָרָה* in 1 Kgs 5:8; *חֻבְרָה* in 1 Kgs 6:38; *סֵפֶר הַחֻמְרָה* in 2 Kgs 1:7.

1Kgs 18:28

וְרִצְחוּ כְּמִלְחָמָה אֲחֵי עַמָּם כְּמִלְחָמָה אֲחֵי עַמָּם
 'and they strove according to their custom with knives and lancets'

וַיִּתְגַּדְדוּ כְּמִשְׁפָּטָם בַּחֲרָבוֹת וּבַרְמָחִים
 'and they cut themselves after their custom with knives and with lancets'

2 Kgs 11:14

וַיַּרְא אֶת-מֶלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ (בַּגַּי+גַּי) עֹמֵד עַל-עַמֻּדָה כְּמִלְחָמָה
 'and she saw the king (gai + while) standing upon the pillar according to the custom of the kings'

וַתִּרְאֵהוּ וְהִנֵּה הַמֶּלֶךְ עֹמֵד עַל-עַמֻּדָה כְּמִשְׁפָּטָם
 'and she looked, and see, the king stood by a pillar, as the custom was'

2 Kgs 17:33

וְאֵלֵיהֶם אֲלֵהֵם כְּמִלְחָמָה אֲחֵי עַמָּם
 'and their gods they were serving according to the custom of the nations'

וְאֵת אֱלֹהֵיהֶם הָיוּ עֹבְדִים כְּמִשְׁפָּטֵי הַגּוֹיִם
 'and they were serving their gods according to the custom of the nations'

2 Kgs 17:34

gai וְהָיוּ עֹבְדֵי אֱלֹהֵיהֶם כְּמִלְחָמָה אֲחֵי עַמָּם
 'and were acting according to their former customs'

BTR וְהָיוּ עֹבְדֵי אֱלֹהֵיהֶם כְּמִלְחָמָה אֲחֵי עַמָּם
 'and were acting according to the custom of the nations'

הֵם עֹשִׂים כְּמִשְׁפָּטֵי הָרִאשׁוֹנִים
 'they were acting according to the former customs'

2 Kgs 17:40

(BTR + gai) וְהָיוּ עֹבְדֵי אֱלֹהֵיהֶם כְּמִלְחָמָה אֲחֵי עַמָּם
 כְּמִשְׁפָּטֵי הָרִאשׁוֹנִים הֵם עֹשִׂים
 'according to the former custom(s) they were acting'

1.3.3. *Corresponds to* חֻקָּה, 'Prescription, Statute'

2 Kgs 17:8

וַיֵּלְכוּ בְּחֻקֵּי הַגּוֹיִם
 'and walked in the custom of the nations'

וַיֵּלְכוּ בְּחֻקֵּי הַגּוֹיִם
 'and walked in the statutes of the nations'

2 Kgs 17:19

וַיֵּלְכוּ בְּחֻקֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל
 'and they walked in the custom of Israel'

וַיֵּלְכוּ בְּחֻקֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל
 'and they walked in the statutes of Israel'

In the Masoretic text the only exact equivalent of *מִשְׁפֵּט נַחֲמָשׁ וְהַחֲזָרָה* is *מִשְׁפֵּט* in 2 Kgs 17:33. As stated above, *נַחֲמָשׁ* is used there to render *מִשְׁפֵּט* in the sense of 'custom'. We may assume that *מִשְׁפֵּט נַחֲמָשׁ וְהַחֲזָרָה* in 2 Kgs 17:8 is likewise meant to be understood in the sense of 'the custom of the nations'. It could be argued that in 2 Kgs 17:8, 19 we have *ad sensum* renderings of *חֻקֵּי הַגּוֹיִם / יִשְׂרָאֵל*, 'the statutes of the nations / Israel', respectively. However, in two other instances of the expression (2 Kgs 16:3; 17:34 [BTR; see above]), there is little semantic overlap between *נַחֲמָשׁ* and the Hebrew term in the corresponding position:

2 Kgs 16:3

וְגַם בְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֲבֹתָיו לְעַמּוּד הָאֵשׁ כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם

'also his son he made to pass through the fire like the custom of the nations'

וְגַם אֶת בְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֲבֹתָיו לְעַמּוּד הָאֵשׁ כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם

'and also his son he made to pass through fire like the abominations of the nations'

2 Kgs 17:34

BTR *וְהָיוּ עוֹשִׂים כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם*

'they were doing like the custom of the nations'

וְהָיוּ עוֹשִׂים כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם

'they were doing like their former customs'

These renderings manifest intentional, exegetical deviations. According to Walter, the rendering in 2 Kgs 16:3 avoids the contempt the Hebrew text expresses for the practices of foreign nations.³³ Yet in 1 Kgs 14:24; 2 Kgs 21:2, where the same expressions occur in the Masoretic text, the Peshitta does not shrink back from translating literally.³⁴

In 2 Kgs 17:34 the BTR deviates considerably from the Masoretic text: the Masoretic text states that the new settlers of Samaria still acted according to their former regulations; the BTR says that the Israelites acted according to the customs of the nations. The statement in the BTR strongly resembles

³³ Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 148. Walter also mentions Deut 18:9 *וְהָיוּ עוֹשִׂים כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם*, 'like the works of those nations'; *וְהָיוּ עוֹשִׂים כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם*, 'like the abominations of those nations'; and 2 Chr 36:14 *וְהָיוּ עוֹשִׂים כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם*, 'like all the works of the nations'; *וְהָיוּ עוֹשִׂים כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם*, 'like all the abominations of the nations'.

³⁴ 1 Kgs 14:24 *וְהָיוּ עוֹשִׂים כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם*, 'according to all the defilement of the nations'; *וְהָיוּ עוֹשִׂים כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם*, 'according to all the abominations of the nations'; 2 Kgs 21:2 *וְהָיוּ עוֹשִׂים כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם*, 'according to the defilements of the nations'; *וְהָיוּ עוֹשִׂים כְּמִשְׁפֵּט הַגּוֹיִם*, 'according to the abominations of the nations'.

the Syriac text of 2 Kgs 17:8 and appears to form part of a drastic exegetical reinterpretation.

Thus, in the occurrences of *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ*, the reasons for the deviation from the Hebrew source text may have varied. Yet it is difficult to imagine that the frequency of the expression throughout 2 Kings 16 and 17 did not serve a particular exegetical purpose. The expression may have been borrowed from 2 Kgs 17:33—the only text where it accords with the Hebrew—in order to describe Israel's unfaithfulness to YHWH (2 Kgs 16:3; 17:8; BTR 17:34; compare 17:19). It may have been intended as a catchword for the sins of the northern kingdom so as to underscore the relationship between the various passages.

In this connection, it is noteworthy that elsewhere in the Peshitta of Kings the expression *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ*, 'the gods of the nations', sometimes appears where the Masoretic text has *אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים*, 'other gods'.³⁵ Since in Kings the context of references to other gods is always negative, *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ* likewise has a negative connotation in the Peshitta. Since *ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ* occurs in the Peshitta more frequently than *גוֹיִם* does in the Masoretic text, the use of the term may to some extent reveal the translator's own theological views. The Peshitta seems to contrast the religion of 'the nations' and the proper worship of YHWH even more emphatically than the Masoretic text does.

1.3.4. *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ* Corresponds to תועבה, 'Abomination'

See the treatment of 2 Kgs 16:3 in section 1.3.3.

1.3.5. *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ* as a Plus

In 2 Kgs 22:10 and in 22:8 (2nd; BTR only), *ܘܫܦܘܬܐ*, 'book', is followed by the phrase *ܘܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ*, 'of the law', which involves a plus vis-à-vis the Masoretic

³⁵ Thus in 1 Kgs 11:10; 2 Kgs 17:38. Cf. 1 Kgs 9:9 *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ*, 'the gods of other nations', which looks like a conflation. In 1 Kgs 9:6; 11:4; 2 Kgs 5:17 (9a1); 17:7, 35, 37; 22:17 P translates literally: *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ*. In the BTR of 2 Kgs 5:17 the expression *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ*, 'a different god', occurs. The phrase *אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים מִסֻּכּוֹת*, 'other gods, molten images', in 1 Kgs 14:9 is rendered as *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ*, 'molten gods'. Whereas P's renderings of *אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים* in Kings vary, Tj consistently renders with the more explicitly negative expression *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ*, 'the idols of the nations' (1 Kgs 9:6, 9; 11:4, 10; 14:9; 2 Kgs 5:17; 17:7, 35, 37, 38; 22:17). Thus in Tj, too, 'the nations' have a negative connotation. However, in the cases where *ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܕܥܘܒܘܗ* in P has no literal counterpart in MT, Tj offers renderings that are in exact agreement with MT. The extended use of the term 'nations' may be assigned to influence from Jewish exegesis. Given their differing use of 'nations' where the term has no counterpart in MT, P and Tj seem to have undergone this influence independently of one another.

text. Both pluses are to be interpreted as harmonizations with ספיוס גנחמסר (1st) in 2 Kgs 22:8, so as to leave no doubt as to the identity of the book.³⁶

1.4. סריוס , 'Law'

See section 1.3.1 and note 27.

1.5. סריוס , 'Way, Custom'

סריוס occurs 68 times in the Peshitta of Kings (BTR). Since it matches דרך , 'way', of the Masoretic text in 66 instances, סריוס can be considered the standard equivalent of דרך , both in its literal and figurative senses. Where דרך / סריוס , 'way', is used as a metaphor, the term often refers to divine commandments and instructions and a person's attitude towards them.³⁷

סריוס , 'way, custom' 1 × ארץ, 'land, country'³⁸
66 × דרך, 'way, custom'³⁹
1 × חק, 'prescription'⁴⁰

In one instance where סריוס is found in a figurative sense in the Peshitta (BTR), the Masoretic text does not have דרך but חק , 'prescription', in the corresponding position:

1 Kgs 8:61

9a1

P

BTR

למחלם

ספיוס גנחמסר

סריוס

$\text{סלחלף ספיוס גנחמסר}$

$\text{ספיוס גנחמסר, ספיוס גנחמסר, ספיוס גנחמסר}$

סריוס גנחמסר

9a1 'to walk in his statutes and to keep his commandments as today'

BTR 'to walk in his ways and to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgments and his laws as today'

³⁶ See also the treatment of ספיוס גנחמסר in 1 Kgs 8:61 in section 1.5.

³⁷ In 1 Kgs 2:3,4; 3:14; 8:25, 32, 36, 39, 58; 11:33, 38; 13:33; 15:26, 34; 16:2, 19, 26; 22:43, 53; 2 Kgs 8:18, 27; 16:3; 17:13; 21:21, 22; 22:2.

³⁸ 1 Kgs 18:6.

³⁹ 1 Kgs 1:49; 2:2, 3, 4; 3:14; 8:25, 32, 36, 39, 44 (2 ×), 48, 58; 11:29, 33, 38; 13:9, 10 (2 ×), 12 (2 ×), 17, 24 (2 ×), 25, 26, 28, 33; 15:26, 34; 16:2, 19, 26; 18:6 (3 ×), 7, 27, 43; 19:7, 15; 20:38; 22:43, 53 (3 ×); 2 Kgs 2:23; 3:8 (2 ×), 20; 6:19; 7:15; 8:18, 27; 9:27; 10:12; 11:16, 19; 16:3; 17:13; 19:28, 33; 21:21, 22; 22:2; 25:4 (2 ×).

⁴⁰ 1 Kgs 8:61 (BTR only).

ללכת בחקיו ולשמר מצותיו כיום הזה
 'to walk in his statutes, and to keep his commandments, as this day'

Manuscripts 6h18, 7h10, and 9a1 have **מִצְוֹתָם**, which may be regarded as the regular translation of חקיו in the Peshitta,⁴¹ whereas the remaining manuscripts offer **לְחַקֵּי־אֲבוֹתָם**. The latter reading appears in conjunction with an extensive plus later in the verse that is absent from 9a1. Manuscripts 6h18 and 7h10 exhibit the plus, but lack **מִצְוֹתָם**.

Most likely, the divergences from the Masoretic text (and from 9a1) in the BTR of 1Kgs 8:61 are harmonizations with the text of 1Kgs 8:58:

1Kgs 8:58

9a1	P	BTR
	לְחַקֵּי־אֲבוֹתָם	
וְלִצְדִיקָתָם	וְלִצְדִיקָתָם	וְלִצְדִיקָתָם
וְלִמִּשְׁפָּטָם	וְלִמִּשְׁפָּטָם	וְלִמִּשְׁפָּטָם
וְלִדְבָרֵי־חֻמֵּרָם	וְלִדְבָרֵי־חֻמֵּרָם	וְלִדְבָרֵי־חֻמֵּרָם
		וְלִמִּשְׁפָּטָם ⁴²
		וְלִדְבָרֵי־חֻמֵּרָם

- 9a1 'to walk in his ways, and to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgments which he commanded our fathers'
 - BTR 'to walk in his ways to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgments and his laws which he commanded our fathers'
- ללכת בכל דרכיו ולשמר מצותיו וחקיו ומשפטיו אשר צוה את אבותינו
 'to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgments which he commanded our fathers'

The harmonization may have occurred in two stages. In the first stage, attested by manuscripts 6h18 and 7h10, the phrase **וְלִמִּשְׁפָּטָם** was added in accordance with the sequence **וְלִמִּשְׁפָּטָם**, **וְלִצְדִיקָתָם**, **וְלִמִּשְׁפָּטָם** of v. 58. As the **מִצְוֹתָם** were already mentioned in the phrase **וְלִצְדִיקָתָם**, the addition did not include a reference to them. In a second stage, attested by the remaining manuscripts of the BTR, 1Kgs 8:61 was made to conform more closely to v. 58: **מִצְוֹתָם** was replaced by **לְחַקֵּי־אֲבוֹתָם** and the phrase(s) **וְלִמִּשְׁפָּטָם** and **וְלִדְבָרֵי־חֻמֵּרָם** were added to the sequence.

In the BTR of both 1Kgs 8:58 (minus 7a1 7h10 9l3 10l2) and 8:61, **וְלִמִּשְׁפָּטָם** appears as a plus vis-à-vis the Masoretic text and 9a1. The source of the plus could be 1Kgs 2:3, where we find deuteronomistic phraseology closely resembling that of 1Kgs 8:58, 61:

⁴¹ See section 1.2.
⁴² Not in 7a1 7h10 9l3 10l2.

1Kgs 2:3

וּמְשָׁלֵם בְּכָל־דְּבָרֵי־הַתּוֹרָה וּבְכָל־מִצְוֹתֵי־מֹשֶׁה
וּבְכָל־שְׁפָטָיו וּבְכָל־עֵדוּתָיו

'and walk in his ways, and keep his statutes and his commandments and his judgments and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses'

ללכת בדרכי לשמר חקתיו מצתיו ומשפטיו ועדותיו
ככתוב בתורת משה

'to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, his commandments and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses'

Possibly, *וּמְשָׁלֵם* in 1Kgs 8:58 is an allusion to *תורת משה* in 1Kgs 2:3, adapted to the plural of the adjacent terms. As to content, 1Kgs 8:58, 61 are related to 1Kgs 2:3: Solomon urges the people to remain faithful to YHWH and his commandments, as David previously had urged his son to do.

Another passage that may have influenced the form of the BTR in 1Kgs 8:58, 61 is the following:

2Kgs 17:37

וְהַמִּצְוֹת וְהַשְּׁפָטִים וְהַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים
וְהַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים וְהַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים

'and the statutes and judgments and laws and commandments which he wrote for you, guard and do always'

וְהַמִּצְוֹת וְהַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים וְהַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים
וְהַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים וְהַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים

'and the statutes and the ordinances and the law and the commandment which he wrote for you, you shall observe to do always'

Here the same items are enumerated as in 1Kgs 8:58, 61, though in a different order.

The other instance in the Peshitta where *וּמְשָׁלֵם* corresponds to a word other than *דָּרַךְ* is 1Kgs 18:6 (1st), where *וּמְשָׁלֵם* matches *אֶרֶץ*, 'land'. The background of this case may be text-historical, since *וּמְשָׁלֵם* in the Peshitta agrees with *עֵינָהּ* in the Septuagint and the Antiochene text. It could be that the reading 'way' represents a readjustment precipitated by what follows:⁴³ 'Then they divided *the way* (MT: *the land*) between them to pass through it; Ahab went by one *way* alone, and Obadiah went by another *way* alone.' Either the Peshitta's reading is due to influence of the Septuagint or the Peshitta and the Septuagint each depended on source texts which at this point differed from the Masoretic text.⁴⁴

⁴³ See also Stade—Schwally, *Books of Kings*, 152.

⁴⁴ There are only two instances where *וּמְשָׁלֵם* corresponds to a word other than *וּמְשָׁלֵם* in P: in 1Kgs 19:4; 2Kgs 3:9 *וּמְשָׁלֵם*, 'journey', is an *ad sensum* rendering of *וּמְשָׁלֵם*.

1.6. ܘܢܘܢ, 'Judgment, Sentence'

ܘܢܘܢ, 'judgment, sentence' 21 × ܡܫܦܬܘܢ, 'decision, judgment'⁴⁵
2 × no correspondence⁴⁶

In the Peshitta of Kings ܘܢܘܢ corresponds to ܡܫܦܬܘܢ in 21 instances. In the two other instances, ܘܢܘܢ appears as a plus vis-à-vis the Masoretic text. These pluses bring the passages in which they are found into closer conformity to deuteronomistic phraseology elsewhere in Kings;⁴⁷ the meaning of these pluses does not differ from the instances where ܘܢܘܢ matches ܡܫܦܬܘܢ in the Masoretic text.

1.7. Summary

From the comparison of the Syriac terms belonging to the realm of law and regulation with their correlates in the Masoretic text it becomes apparent that the Peshitta did not make use of fixed, word-for-word translation equivalents. Renderings were not chosen on the basis of a rigid system, but on what appeared to fit in the context. One Syriac term may render two or more Hebrew terms if these belong to the semantic field of the Syriac word. This applies to the many terms rendered as ܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢ, 'law, ordinance', and those rendered as ܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢ, 'statute, covenant', the latter being the Peshitta's usual rendering of both ܒܪִית, 'covenant', and חק / חקה, 'prescription, statute'. On the other hand, although the Peshitta does not exhibit unnecessary lexical variation, a Hebrew word may be rendered by various Syriac words. Usually there is a preference for one equivalent, which may be called the standard equivalent, from which is deviated only in specific situations:

- When the standard equivalent does not cover all semantic aspects of a Hebrew word, the translator uses additional renderings that fit the particular context. An example is the Peshitta's treatment of ܡܫܦܬܘܢ, 'decision, judgment'.
- When two Hebrew words that are usually rendered by the same Syriac term appear in juxtaposition, the translator either offers an alternative rendering for one of these or leaves one of the two untranslated. This can be seen in 1Kgs 11:11; 2Kgs 17:15, where ܒܪִית, 'covenant', and חק / חקה, 'prescription, statute', appear side by side.

⁴⁵ 1Kgs 2:3; 3:11, 28 (2 ×); 6:12; 7:7; 8:45, 49, 58, 59 (2 ×); 9:4; 10:9; 11:33; 20:40; 2Kgs 17:26 (2 ×), 27, 34 (2nd), 37; 25:6.

⁴⁶ 1Kgs 11:11; BTR 1Kgs 8:61.

⁴⁷ See discussion of 1Kgs 2:3; 8:58, 61; 2Kgs 17:37 in section 1.5.

מות [MWT]	'die'; Hiphil, 'kill'
מחה [MXH]	'wipe, destroy'
נכה [NKH]	Hiphil, 'strike'
קצב [QYB]	'cut off'
קצץ [QYY]	Piel, 'cut to bits'
רצח [RYX]	'kill'
שבת [CBT]	Hiphil, 'cause to cease'
שחט [CXV]	'slaughter'
שחת [CXT]	'ruin, spoil'
שמד [CMD]	'exterminate'
שסה [CSH]	'spoil, plunder'
תפש [TPF]	'seize, capture'

Table 5.4: Nouns for 'killing' and 'destruction' in Kings

בז [BZ]	'(act of) spoiling, booty, spoil'	ܒܙܘܘܩ [BZWZ>]	'spoiler, destroyer'
חלל [XLL]	'pierced, slain one'	ܒܙܬܘܩ [BZT>]	'prey, spoil, robbery, spoiling'
מות [MWT]	'death'	ܡܘܬܘܬܘܩ [MWT>]	'death'
מחשית [MCXJT]	'destroyer, destruction'	ܡܘܬܘܬܘܩܘܬܘܩ [MWTN>]	'plague, mortality, slaughter'
שדפון [CDPWPN]	'scorching'	ܡܚܒܠܢܘܩ [MXBLN>]	'destroying, plundering'
		ܡܩܘܘܩܘܩ [QVWL>]	'slayer, murderer'
		ܘܩܘܩܘܩܘܩ [CWQP>]	'beating, slaughter, blow'

In the following paragraphs first we treat cases where one Syriac term covers more than one Hebrew term (section 2.1). Second, we look at cases where a single Hebrew root has more than one Syriac correspondence (section 2.2). Finally, a list is provided of correspondences which—probably due to their infrequency—manifest no variation (section 2.3). Summary and conclusions are presented at the end (section 2.4).

2.1. One Syriac Term Covers More Than One Hebrew Term

In the process of translation, several more or less synonymous terms in the source language can be rendered by a single term in the target language. Frequently a single Syriac term corresponds to a variety of Hebrew terms, thus providing some indication of the range of meaning covered by the Syriac term.

In other cases, the corresponding clauses in the two versions each contain a verb which syntactically corresponds to the verb occurring in the other version, while the two verbs themselves are not related semantically. Such cases where the overlap in semantic fields is questionable often have an exegetical or text-historical background. These are of particular interest and will be included in the discussion.

In the lists below verbs and nouns corresponding to a particular Syriac item are arranged alphabetically. However, in the discussion of the individual terms we will follow a logical order, as follows:

- consistent parallelism, no semantic shift involved
 - Syriac offers a standard translation equivalent
- no semantic shift involved but Hebrew normally translated differently
 - explanation (literary-exegetical)
- consistent parallelism but semantic shift involved
 - Syriac offers a standard translation equivalent
- semantic shift involved and Hebrew normally translated differently
 - explanation (literary-exegetical)

One Syriac item will be treated at a time.

2.1.1. Hebrew Terms Corresponding to אָפֵל Aphel

אָבַד [>BD] 1 × Qal, 'perish'; ⁴⁸ 2 × Piel, 'destroy'; ⁴⁹ 2 × Hiphil, 'destroy' ⁵⁰	אָפֵל [>BD] Aphel, 'destroy'
1 × גָּלָה [GLH] Hiphil, 'go into exile' ⁵¹	
1 × חָרַם [XRM] Hiphil, 'banish' ⁵²	
5 × יָרַשׁ [JRC] Hiphil, 'drive away' ⁵³	
1 × כָּבַהּ [KBH] Qal, 'be extinguished' ⁵⁴	
5 × כָּרַת [KRT] Hiphil, 'cut off, exterminate' ⁵⁵	
1 × מָחָה [MXH] Qal, 'wipe, blot out' ⁵⁶	
6 × שָׁמַד [CMD] Hiphil, 'exterminate' ⁵⁷	

⁴⁸ 2 Kgs 9:8 (1st).

⁴⁹ 2 Kgs 11:1; 13:7.

⁵⁰ 2 Kgs 10:19; 24:2.

⁵¹ 2 Kgs 17:11.

⁵² 1 Kgs 9:21.

⁵³ 1 Kgs 14:24; 21:26; 2 Kgs 16:3; 17:8; 21:2.

⁵⁴ 2 Kgs 22:17.

⁵⁵ 1 Kgs 9:7; 14:10, 14; 21:21; 2 Kgs 9:8.

⁵⁶ 2 Kgs 21:13. Whether in this verse אָפֵל is to be seen as formally corresponding to מָחָה is a matter of discussion, see section 2.1.3.2.

⁵⁷ 1 Kgs 13:34; 15:29; 16:12; 2 Kgs 10:17, 28; 21:9.

2.1.1.1. אָפּהל *Aphel* Matches All Occurrences of יִרְשׁוּ *Hiphil*⁵⁸ and שְׂמַד *Hiphil*⁵⁹

2.1.1.2. אָפּהל *Aphel* Matches Most Occurrences of אָבַד *Piel* and *Hiphil*,⁶⁰ and of כָּרַת *Hiphil*⁶¹

The Peshitta offers אָפּהל *Aphel* where כָּרַת *Hiphil* refers to exterminating (members of) a dynasty⁶² or a nation.⁶³ In the remaining instances of כָּרַת, when the object is animate, the Peshitta has אָפּהל.⁶⁴

The high frequency of correspondence and the overlap in semantic fields argue for considering אָפּהל to be a standard translation equivalent of the Hebrew verbs mentioned.

There are two exceptional renderings of אָבַד which seem to be stylistic and exegetical in nature:

- In 2 Kgs 19:18 the Peshitta offers אָפּהל *Aphel* for אָבַד *Piel*. The divergence is probably best explained as a levelling with the first occurrence of אָפּהל in the same verse (וְנָתַנּוּ בְּאֵשׁ אֶסְמֵהּ כְּבֹדָא).⁶⁵
- In 2 Kgs 21:3 the phrase אֲבָד חֻזְקֵיהוּ אֲשֶׁר אָבַד חֻזְקֵיהוּ is rendered as חָלַע אֶלְמָא וְחָמַס עִמָּהּ. In the Peshitta חָמַס occurs as a standard equivalent of נָתַן, 'break, pull down', which in the Masoretic text of Kings is used particularly to denote the destruction of cultic objects and edifices.⁶⁶ In 2 Kgs 23:8, 12, 15 חָלַע אֶלְמָא / חָמַס חָלַע אֶלְמָא, 'break down the high place(s)', renders אָבַד בְּמֹוֹת / נָתַן בְּמֹוֹת. The rendering of the expression אָבַד בְּמֹוֹת in 2 Kgs 21:3 fits in with the idiom frequently occurring in 2 Kings 23.⁶⁷

In the remaining instances, the rendering with אָפּהל *Aphel* invites discussion either because the corresponding Hebrew verb is usually translated differently or because the rendering entails a remarkable semantic shift in relation to the Hebrew.

⁵⁸ Objects: 'the nations' in 1 Kgs 14:24; 2 Kgs 16:3; 17:8; 21:2; 'the Amorites' in 1 Kgs 21:26.

⁵⁹ Objects: 'house of Jeroboam' in 1 Kgs 13:34; 15:29; 'house of Baasha' in 1 Kgs 16:12; 'all who were left of Ahab' in 2 Kgs 10:17; 'Baal' in 2 Kgs 10:28; 'the nations' in 2 Kgs 21:9.

⁶⁰ Objects: 'Baal's servants' in 2 Kgs 10:19; 'the seed royal' in 2 Kgs 11:1; the suffix refers to troops in 2 Kgs 13:7; 'Judah' in 2 Kgs 24:2.

⁶¹ For the objects involved, see the following two notes.

⁶² Objects: 'every male belonging to Jeroboam' in 1 Kgs 14:10; 'the house of Jeroboam' in 1 Kgs 14:14; 'every male belonging to Ahab' in 1 Kgs 21:21; 2 Kgs 9:8.

⁶³ Object: 'Israel' 1 Kgs 9:7.

⁶⁴ 1 Kgs 11:16; 18:4.

⁶⁵ See section 2.2.

⁶⁶ In 2 Kgs 10:27 (2×); 11:18; 23:7, 8, 12, 15.

⁶⁷ Note that in 2 Kgs 23:10, 13 P uses חָמַס where MT has טָמֵא *Piel* in corresponding position. Here, too, P preferred the more specific verb חָמַס to a more literal rendering of the Hebrew.

2.1.1.3. *Aphel Corresponds to אבד Qal*

2 Kgs 9:8

אֶסְמַח בְּכָל בַּיִת אַחָאָב וְהִכְרַתִּי לְאַחָאָב וְגַם אֶסְמַח לְעַד הַיָּם כַּאֲשֶׁר יִפְסַח

'and I will destroy all the house of Ahab, and I will destroy for Ahab those who piss against the wall'

וְאֶבַד כָּל בֵּית אַחָאָב וְהִכְרַתִּי לְאַחָאָב מִשְׁתִּין בְּקִיר

'and the whole house of Ahab shall perish: and I will cut off for Ahab him that pisses against the wall'

The first Aphel in this text matches אבד Qal. In vv. 7–10, YHWH announces that he is about to destroy Ahab's dynasty. Apparently, the Peshitta construed אבד as a Hiphil first person singular אֶבַד. This interpretation is quite understandable in view of the use of first person in the immediate context, and therefore it is not surprising that it is also reflected in Targum Jonathan and Vulgate. There is no reason to assume interdependence between the versions here.⁶⁸ The parallelism between the first and second אֶסְמַח in 2 Kgs 9:8 is a matter of coincidence, because elsewhere in the Peshitta Aphel is employed as an equivalent of both אבד Hiphil and כרת Hiphil.

2.1.1.4. *Aphel Corresponds to גלה Hiphil*

2 Kgs 17:11

BTR מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הִסְרָם מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה וְאֶסְמַח

'as the peoples whom the Lord destroyed from before them'

9a1 אֲשֶׁר הִסְרָם מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה וְגַלְתָּם מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה

'as the peoples whom the Lord exiled from before them'

כְּגוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הִגְלָה יְהוָה מִפְּנֵיהֶם

'as the nations whom YHWH carried away before them'

In 9a1 of our verse, and also elsewhere in Kings, the Peshitta renders גלה Hiphil as גַל Pael.⁶⁹ The divergent rendering in the BTR can be explained as a harmonization with v. 8 of the same chapter where אֶסְמַח renders הוריש, in accordance with the normal practice in the Peshitta of Kings.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ LXX (B) is irrelevant here because καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς, 'at the hand of (the whole house of Ahab)', indicates that ומיד was read instead of אבד of MT.

⁶⁹ 2 Kgs 15:29; 16:9; 17:6, 26, 27, 28, 33; 18:11; 24:14, 15; 25:11.

⁷⁰ See section 2.1.1.5.

2.1.1.5. *Aphel Corresponds to Qal*

In the following text, the form *ܐܫܝܒܘܢܝܐ*, ‘and I will destroy you’, parallels *ܘܠܐܐ תכבה*, ‘and it (my wrath) will not be extinguished’:

2 Kgs 22:17

P	BTR
ܘܠܐܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ	ܐܫܝܒܘܢܝܐ
ܐܫܝܒܘܢܝܐ	

‘my wrath will burn against this place (BTR + says the Lord) and I will destroy you’

ܘܢܨܬܗ ܚܡܬܝ ܒܡܩܘܡ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ ܗܝܚܘܒܐ
 ‘and my wrath shall be kindled against this place, and shall not be quenched’

These phrases comprise the conclusion of YHWH’s pronouncement of doom upon Jerusalem and its inhabitants in vv. 16–17. Syriac *ܐܫܝܒܘܢܝܐ* is a free rendering of the phrase *ܘܠܐܐ תכבה* that aptly captures its purport: that YHWH’s wrath against Jerusalem and its inhabitants will not be extinguished means that he will destroy the city. The second masc pl suffix *ܝܢܐ* is surprising, for in the pronouncement of doom in vv. 16–17 YHWH refers to Jerusalem and its inhabitants in the third person.⁷¹ As the verb *ܕܒܗ* does not appear elsewhere in Kings, we do not know whether the Peshitta would have provided different, more literal renderings in other instances. In fact, Syriac has an appropriate equivalent at its disposal, namely, the verb *ܦܥܠ* *ܦܥܠܐ*, which covers the same semantic field as *ܕܒܗ*, ‘be extinguished’. In other biblical books *ܦܥܠܐ* is frequently employed to render *ܕܒܗ*.⁷² Though improbable, it cannot be ruled out that the translator of Kings was not familiar with *ܕܒܗ* and resorted to inferring the meaning of *ܘܠܐܐ תכבה* from the context.

Unlike 2 Kgs 22:17, the parallel passage in 2 Chr 34:25 offers a literal translation, *ܐܠܐ ܘܦܥܠܐ*. In literature originally written in Syriac, instances of *ܦܥܠܐ* accompanied by subjects such as *ܕܝܘܠܐ*, ‘spirit, wind’, and *ܘܦܥܠܐ*, ‘hope’,

⁷¹ Though not present in the Hebrew text at this point, person, number, and gender shifts occur frequently in MT in cases where the referent remains unchanged. See Glanz, *Who is Speaking? Who is Addressed?* In chapter 5, section 1.2.2.3.1.2, Glanz discusses the following shifts in person: third masc pl to second masc pl (Jer 11:8; 12:13; 17:1; 44:27–29), third masc sg to second masc sg (Jer 22:24), third fem sg to second fem sg (Jer 50:23–24). A shift from sg to pl when referring to a collective, such as a people, nation, or country occurs frequently (for example, Jer 2:20; 6:23; 7:28; 24:5–6; 49:23, 31; 51:64). Because Glanz’s work is on Jeremiah, all examples provided are from that book, but such shifts are not limited to Jeremiah.

⁷² For instance, in Lev 6:5, 6; 1 Sam 3:3; Isa 34:10; 2 Chr 34:25 (|| 2 Kgs 22:17).

- 15 × נכה [NKH] Hiphil, 'strike'⁸¹
 1 × שחת [CXT] Piel, 'ruin, destroy'⁸²
 2 × Hiphil, 'ruin, destroy'⁸³
 1 × תפש [TFP] Qal, 'seize, capture'⁸⁴

Except for the initial and final Hebrew verbs listed above, the verb **חָרַב** (Peal, Ethpeel, Aphel) has some semantic overlap with the Hebrew verb in a corresponding position in the Masoretic text. We first discuss the correspondences with semantic overlap.

2.1.2.1. **חָרַב** Corresponds to **חָרַב I** and **חָרַב II**

In 2 Kgs 19:17 the Peshitta renders **חָרַב** I Hiphil, 'dry up, make desolate, lay waste', by its Syriac cognate **ܫܪܒܐ** Aphel. From a semantic point of view these verbs roughly match: both refer to the destruction of nations and their lands by the kings of Assyria. In 2 Kgs 19:24, the only other occurrence of **חָרַב** I Hiphil in Kings, the Peshitta renders **ܫܪܒܐ** Aphel, 'dry up, shrivel'. The nature of the object, that is, rivers, may have led the Peshitta to choose a more specific rendering here.

The interpretation of the phrase **נַחֲרְבוּ הַמְּלָכִים** in 2 Kgs 3:23 is a moot point. In the Masoretic text **הַחֲרַב** is vocalized as **הַחֲרַב**, a Hophal infinitive absolute of **חָרַב** I. When **נַחֲרְבוּ** is understood as a Niphal perfect of the same verb,⁸⁵ this verb form, the Hophal infinitive absolute **הַחֲרַב**, and the subject **הַמְּלָכִים** together do not make sense: 'and the kings were made utterly desolate'. Therefore, it has been proposed⁸⁶ to point **הַחֲרַב** as a Niphal infinitive absolute (**הַחֲרַב**) and to derive both this form and **נַחֲרְבוּ** from **חָרַב** II, 'slaughter', which is a denominative of **חֶרֶב**, 'sword'. In that case, the phrase may be translated as 'the kings were utterly slaughtered'. In rendering this phrase the Peshitta employed **ܫܪܒܐ** Ethpeel, 'be slain, cut down': **ܫܪܒܐ ܫܪܒܐ ܫܪܒܐ**, 'the kings have indeed been cut down'. The adequate translation may result from the translator's acquaintance with the fact that the Hebrew root **חָרַב** can also denote 'slaughter' (= **חָרַב** II). The alternative is that the translator derived the forms **נַחֲרְבוּ** and **הַחֲרַב** from **חָרַב** I, 'lay waste', and rendered these *ad sensum*.

⁸¹ 1 Kgs 15:20; 20:21; 2 Kgs 3:19, 24 (2 ×), 25; 8:21; 10:11, 17, 25 (2 ×); 14:7, 10 (2 ×); 15:16.

⁸² 2 Kgs 19:12.

⁸³ Both in 2 Kgs 18:25.

⁸⁴ 2 Kgs 14:7.

⁸⁵ For the difference in conjugation between the inf abs and the main verb see Gesenius—Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 113w; Joüon—Muraoka, *Grammar*, § 123p.

⁸⁶ Thus *KBL* 329b; *HALAT* 335b; Burney, *Notes*, 271; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 433, n. b.

2.1.2.2. *נָסַח* Corresponds to חָרַם Hiphil

Of the two occurrences of חָרַם Hiphil in Kings, the one in 2Kgs 19:11 is rendered by *נָסַח* Aphel. The semantic fields of these verbs partially overlap. The other occurrence of חָרַם Hiphil, in 1Kgs 9:21,⁸⁷ is rendered as *נָסַח* Aphel. This does not permit us to tell whether the Syriac rendering *ܢܫܚܐ* (BTR; 9a1 *ܢܫܚܐ*) in 2Kgs 19:11 represents a text-historical or exegetical departure from *לְהַחְרִימָם* of the Masoretic text. In 2Kgs 19:17 and in other biblical books *נָסַח* Peal corresponds to חָרַב I Hiphil.⁸⁸ This might suggest that in 2Kgs 19:11 the translator read *לְהַחְרִיבָם* instead of *לְהַחְרִימָם*. On the other hand, outside of Kings there are instances where *נָסַח* Peal corresponds to חָרַם Hiphil in the Masoretic text.⁸⁹ Even though a few of these might reflect a variant reading in the Hebrew Vorlage of the Peshitta vis-à-vis the Masoretic text (interchange of Beth and Mem), it is unlikely that they all do. It is more probable, therefore, that in 2Kgs 19:11 *נָסַח* Aphel, ‘destroy, lay waste’, was chosen in view of the object being destroyed, that is, lands.

2.1.2.3. *נָסַח* Aphel Corresponds to שָׁחַת Hiphil

In 2Kgs 18:25 (2×) *נָסַח* Aphel matches שָׁחַת Hiphil, ‘ruin, spoil’, and in 2Kgs 19:12 *נָסַח* Peal matches שָׁחַת Piel, ‘ruin, spoil’. The two remaining occurrences of שָׁחַת, both of them Hiphil and occurring in nearly identical phrases, are rendered in the Peshitta by *ܢܫܚܐ* Pael, ‘destroy’.⁹⁰ In 2Kgs 23:13 the same root is recognizable in the rendering *ܗܪܡܫܚܝܗ* for *הַר הַמְּשַׁחֵת*, ‘Mount of the Destroyer’. The fact that in 2Kings 18–19 *נָסַח* Aphel is favoured as an equivalent of שָׁחַת Hiphil is significant in view of the recurrent use of the verb in these chapters. Thus *נָסַח* can be seen to correspond to various Hebrew verbs in the Masoretic text:

- שָׁחַת Hiphil in 2Kgs 18:25 [2×]; Piel in 2Kgs 19:12
- חָרַם Hiphil in 2Kgs 19:11
- חָרַב I Hiphil in 2Kgs 19:17

In these instances, the objects governed by *נָסַח* (Peal, Aphel) refer to lands and / or nations (the manuscripts exhibit variation in 2Kgs 19:12, 17). Possibly, then, the Peshitta chose *נָסַח* as an equivalent to have a greater uniformity of expression or to create a thematic connection. However, the Peshitta

⁸⁷ See section 2.1.1.6.

⁸⁸ Isa 51:10; Jer 51:36; Ezek 19:7; Zeph 3:6.

⁸⁹ Thus 5× in Deuteronomy (3:6 [2×]; 13:16; 20:17 [2×]); also in Josh 2:10; Isa 11:15.

⁹⁰ 2Kgs 8:19; 13:23.

does not show a tendency towards uniformity in the verbal stem formations used in these instances of **גִּזַּב**.⁹¹

2.1.2.4. **גִּזַּב** Corresponds to **נָכַח** Hiphil

In the Peshitta of Kings **נָכַח** Hiphil is matched primarily by three different verbs: **גִּזַּב**, **הִכָּה**, and **מָחָה**.⁹² Where the Peshitta offers **גִּזַּב** for **נָכַח** Hiphil, the Hebrew verb is used in the following, mainly figurative, senses: ‘strike dead’;⁹³ ‘attack, defeat, inflict loss’;⁹⁴ and ‘destroy’.⁹⁵

2.1.2.5. **גִּזַּב** Lacks Semantic Overlap with the Corresponding Word

In two instances there is no semantic overlap between **גִּזַּב** Peal and the Hebrew verb appearing in the Masoretic text in corresponding position.

In the following text, **גִּזַּב** Peal corresponds to **הָיָה**, ‘be’:

1Kgs 11:15

סִבַּר גִּזַּב גִּזַּב וְלֹא הָיָה ‘and when David had laid waste to Edom’
וַיְהִי בְהִיּוֹת דָּוִד אֶת אֲדוֹם ‘and when David was in Edom’

LXX B καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐξολοθρευῆσαι Δαυιδ τὸν Ἐδῶμ

Ant. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐξολοθρευεῖν Δαυιδ τὸν Ἐδῶμ

‘and it happened when David destroyed Edom’

TJ VG = MT

As already mentioned, elsewhere in the Peshitta of Kings instances of **גִּזַּב** Peal and **נָכַח** Hiphil correspond frequently.⁹⁶ As the difference between **בְּהִיּוֹת** and **בַּהֲכוֹת** is one letter only, it is likely that the latter verb form was read by the translator in his Hebrew exemplar. There are good reasons to assume that **בְּהִיּוֹת** of the Masoretic text does not represent the original Hebrew here. The Hebrew expression **אֵת הָיָה**, ‘be with, stand by’, which occurs several times in the Masoretic text,⁹⁷ does not fit well in the context. If the clause means to say that David was in Edom, one would expect to find the preposition **בְּ**, which often occurs with **הָיָה** to indicate location.⁹⁸ Moreover, important witnesses as the Septuagint and the Peshitta may

⁹¹ Peal 2 Kgs 19:12 (except 6h18 8a1), 17; Aphel 2 Kgs 18:25 (2 ×); 19:11, 12 (only 6h18 8a1). The semantic difference between these patterns is unclear.

⁹² For an extensive treatment of verbs corresponding to **נָכַח**, see section 2.2.2.

⁹³ 2 Kgs 10:11, 17; 25 (2 ×).

⁹⁴ 2 Kgs 3:24 (2 ×); 8:21; 14:7 (‘he smote Edom in the Valley of Salt, ten thousand’).

⁹⁵ 1 Kgs 15:20; 20:21; 2 Kgs 3:19, 25; 15:16 (2nd).

⁹⁶ See section 2.2.2.

⁹⁷ For instance, in Gen 21:20; 39:2, 21; Josh 6:27; Judg 1:19.

⁹⁸ Mulder, *1Kings*, 567.

reflect another Hebrew text. The Vorlage of the Septuagint probably read בהכרית. Taken as a *nota obiecti*, את fits in smoothly with the forms בהכות and בהכרית alike.

The Hebrew presupposed by the Peshitta agrees with the wording of 2 Sam 8:13, where in all likelihood reference is made to the same events: מהכותו את אדם in that verse is probably to be emended to אדם.⁹⁹

In light of the above, either the Septuagint or the Peshitta may reflect the original Hebrew in 1 Kgs 11:15. The Hebrew presupposed by the Syriac of 1 Kgs 11:15 looks suspiciously like a harmonization with 2 Sam 8:13. Therefore, the Septuagint reading is more likely to reflect the original Hebrew. בהכרית also gains in probability as the original reading in light of a close parallel in 1 Kgs 18:4:

1 Kgs 11:15 (reconstruction)

ויהי בהכרית דוד את אדם

'and it happened, when David smote Edom'

1 Kgs 18:4

ויהי בהכרית איזבל נביאי יהוה

'and it happened, when Jezebel smote the prophets of YHWH'

Note that the Peshitta did not hesitate to render נכה in two different ways within a single verse: a few words later in 1 Kgs 11:15, it offers *ܠܗܘܝܢ ܠܗܘܝܢ*, 'he killed every male in Edom', for *ܘܝܕ ܟܠ ܙܚܪ ܒܳܐܕܳܘܡ*, 'and he smote every male in Edom'.

The second text where the corresponding verbs lack semantic overlap is the following:

2 Kgs 14:7

ܫܘܚܚܬ ܠܫܠܐ

'and he (that is, Amaziah) destroyed Sela'

והפש את הסלע

'and he captured Sela'

All other occurrences of תפש Qal in Kings are rendered by the verb *ܐܘܨܢ* Peal,¹⁰⁰ including instances where the object refers to a town,¹⁰¹ as is the

⁹⁹ The reading 'Edom' is supported by LXX in 2 Kgdms 8:13: *ἐπάταξεν τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν*. P, too, offers 'Edom': *ܘܫܘܚܬ ܫܘܫܐ ܠܳܐܳܕܳܘܡ*, but since in P 'Aram' is usually replaced by 'Edom', the Syriac is of little text-critical value here.

¹⁰⁰ 1 Kgs 11:30; 13:4; 18:40 (2 ×); 20:18 (2 ×); 2 Kgs 7:12; 10:14 (2 ×); 14:13; 16:9; 18:13; 25:6.

¹⁰¹ 2 Kgs 16:9 'Damascus'; 18:13 'all of Judah's fortified cities'.

case in the verse under consideration. As **נכח** Peal and **תפש** Qal belong to different semantic fields, the rendering in 2 Kgs 14:7 is to be interpreted as an intentional deviation from the Hebrew. Earlier in the verse, the same verb **נכח** Peal is used to render **נכה** Hiphil:

2 Kgs 14:7

והשחית עֲדוֹם בְּגַמְלָה עֶשְׂרֵים אֲלָפִים וְתִפֵּשׂ אֶת הַסֶּלַע בְּמַלְחָמָה

'and he destroyed Edom in Gamlah, twenty thousand, and destroyed Sela in battle'

הוּא הִכָּה אֶת אֲדוֹם בְּנֵי אֲדוֹם עֶשְׂרֵים אֲלָפִים וְתִפֵּשׂ אֶת הַסֶּלַע בְּמַלְחָמָה

'he slew Edom in the valley of salt, ten thousand, and took Sela in battle'

The Peshitta apparently adjusted the rendering of **ותפש** to that of **הכה**. In Kings **נכח** Peal occurs frequently as a translation equivalent of **נכה** Hiphil.¹⁰² In the Peshitta, the equivalent chosen and the duplication of the number of Edomites killed amplify the extent of Edom's defeat.¹⁰³

2.1.3. Hebrew Terms Corresponding to **נכח**

1 × **מחה** [MXH] Qal, 'wipe, blot out (name, memory)¹⁰⁴ **נכח** [MX>] Peal, 'strike, beat, wound'

1 × **נגע** [NG<] Piel, 'touch, injure, hurt'¹⁰⁵

40 × **נכה** [NKH] Hiphil, 'strike'¹⁰⁶

1 × no correspondence¹⁰⁷

2.1.3.1. **נכח** Corresponds to **נכה** Hiphil

Of the 43 occurrences of the verb **נכח** in Kings, 40 are matched by **נכה** Hiphil.¹⁰⁸ The two instances where **נכח** corresponds to verbs other than **נכה** are treated below.

¹⁰² See further section 2.2.2.

¹⁰³ See also Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 139.

¹⁰⁴ 2 Kgs 21:13.

¹⁰⁵ 2 Kgs 15:5.

¹⁰⁶ 1 Kgs 14:15; 15:29; 16:10, 11; 20:21, 35 (2 ×), 37 (2 ×); 22:24, 34; 2 Kgs 2:8, 14; 6:18 (2 ×), 21 (2 ×), 22 (2 ×); 8:28, 29; 9:7, 15, 24; 10:32; 12:22; 13:17, 18 (2 ×), 19 (3 ×), 25; 15:10, 14, 16, 30; 18:8; 25:21, 25.

¹⁰⁷ 2 Kgs 23:29 BTR only: the verb occurs in a longer stretch of additional material in P. See chapter 13, section 2.

¹⁰⁸ See further section 2.2.2.

2.1.3.2. *ܡܚܗ* Corresponds to *Qal* *מחה*

2 Kgs 21:13

9a1 P

BTR

ܡܚܗܘܐ

ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ

ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ

ܡܚܗܘܐ

ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ

ܘܚܒܘ ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ

9a1 'and I will strike Jerusalem and destroy her because of all the evil that Manasseh did in Judah'

BTR 'and I will strike her—Jerusalem—and destroy her because of all the abomination that Manasseh did in Judah'

ܘܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ

'and I will wipe out Jerusalem as one wipes out a dish; one wipes it out and turns it upside down.'

The Hebrew text uses the image of wiping a dish clean and turning it upside down to express the measure of destruction YHWH will bring upon Jerusalem. In the Peshitta, the image of the dish is not employed, but its tenor is conveyed: 'I will strike Jerusalem and destroy her.' The root *ܡܚܗ* underlying the form *ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ* (BTR *ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ*) graphically resembles the Hebrew verb *מחה*, 'wipe', appearing in corresponding position. Where the Masoretic text continues with a second occurrence of the verb *מחה*, 'wipe', the Peshitta uses a different verb for destruction, *ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ*: *ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ*, 'and I will destroy her'. Since the images used in the two versions diverge from one another with the choice of rendering of the first verb, one cannot say with any certainty that the second verb in Syriac *ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ*, 'destroy', was intended to render the second occurrence of *מחה*, 'wipe'. Due to the graphic resemblance, however, the first pair corresponds formally. In 2 Kgs 14:27, the only other text in Kings where the root *מחה* occurs, the verb is translated using a root with semantic overlap with *מחה*, namely, *ܡܚܗܘܐܘܢܐ*, 'blot out, efface'. Presumably, in 2 Kgs 21:13 the translator consciously omitted the simile from his translation, either because he himself did not perceive it¹⁰⁹ or for fear that his audience might not understand it. A similar tendency to forestall potential unclarities is also noticeable elsewhere in the Peshitta of Kings. 2 Kgs 21:13 is also an example of the tendency to preserve the word image of the Hebrew while deviating from the literal sense.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Thus Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 203.

¹¹⁰ See chapter 8, section 1.32.

readings different from those in the Masoretic text. The translator's motives for rendering various Hebrew verbs by a single Syriac equivalent may have been purely lexical.¹²⁴ Even where cognates were available in Syriac, their semantic ranges may have made them unsuitable equivalents. Thus, Syriac ܘܢܘܢ has the specific meaning 'circumcise', rendering it unfit as a translation of the Hebrew cognate גּוּר.¹²⁵

2.1.4.2. ܦܫܬܝܬܐ Corresponds to ܗܪܝܥ Qal

In 1Kgs 20:40 the meaning 'decide, decree', another aspect of the semantic field of ܦܫܬܝܬܐ, is manifest in the rendering of the expression ܗܪܝܥ ܡܦܫܬܐ, 'pass judgment', as ܦܫܬܝܬܐ ܘܢܘܢ. Two other occurrences where ܗܪܝܥ has the meaning 'decide' are likewise translated by ܦܫܬܝܬܐ.¹²⁶

2.1.4.3. ܦܫܬܝܬܐ Corresponds to ܠܩܚ Qal

In 2Kgs 6:2 וּנְקַח הַעֵץ, 'let us take (each a beam from there)', is rendered in Syriac by ܡܢܦܫܬܝܬܐ, 'let us cut down (each a beam from there)', thus making the action more specific and harmonizing it with v. 4: ܘܢܘܢܘܢ, 'and they cut down (trees)', for ܘܢܘܢܘܢ, 'and they cut down (trees)'.¹²⁷

2.1.4.4. ܦܫܬܝܬܐ Corresponds to ܩܘܥ Piel

Because the Peshitta employs ܦܫܬܝܬܐ to render a variety of Hebrew verbs for cutting, the instances where Syriac uses another verb are the more conspicuous. In 2Kgs 18:16 the Syriac verb corresponding to ܩܘܥ is ܡܠܦ rather than ܦܫܬܝܬܐ, which is used to render the two other instances of ܩܘܥ in Kings. The passage mentions the stripping of the doors and posts of the temple hall by Hezekiah, who had plated (ܩܘܥ Piel) them himself. The opposition to ܩܘܥ Piel makes it clear that ܩܘܥ is to be understood in the sense of stripping. The Peshitta, like Targum Jonathan (ܩܘܥ Pael), employed a verb expressing the more specific meaning 'scrape off, strip'.¹²⁷ In the other occurrences of ܩܘܥ in Kings, the context does not require that the verb be understood in the same sense. Here the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan employed ܦܫܬܝܬܐ and ܩܘܥ Pael, respectively.

¹²⁴ In the Pentateuch the situation is comparable: ܦܫܬܝܬܐ, occurring 18 times, matches six different Hebrew verbs, including ܗܫܝܒ, ܕܝܢ, and ܩܘܥ.

¹²⁵ ܘܢܘܢ occurs 24 times in the Pentateuch. There, it matches Hebrew מוּל, 'circumcise', in 22 instances.

¹²⁶ Isa 10:22; Job 14:5.

¹²⁷ Thus also Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 169.

2.1.5. *Hebrew Terms Corresponding to* ܡܠܝܢ

16 × הרג [HRG] Qal, 'kill' ¹²⁸	ܡܠܝܢ [QVL] Peal, 'kill, slay'
1 × חלל [XLL] (noun), 'pierced, slain one' ¹²⁹	
2 × כרת [KRT] Hiphil, 'exterminate' ¹³⁰	
35 × מות [MWT] 1 × Qal, 'die'; ¹³¹ 34 × Hiphil, 'kill' ¹³²	
18 × נכה [NKH] Hiphil, 'strike' ¹³³	
1 × קבר [QBR] Qal, 'bury' ¹³⁴	
1 × רצח [RYX] Qal, 'kill' ¹³⁵	
2 × שבת [CBT] Hiphil, 'cause to cease' ¹³⁶	
2 × no correspondence ¹³⁷	

In Kings ܡܠܝܢ occurs frequently (78 ×). Whereas the Masoretic text of Kings offers various verbs to denote manslaughter, the Peshitta offers only ܡܠܝܢ. Syriac may have had fewer verbs than Hebrew to cover this semantic field. At the same time, the Peshitta also uses ܡܠܝܢ to render Hebrew verbs of a broader semantic range than 'kill' alone. In various instances where the translator encountered a verb denoting destruction construed with an animate object, he apparently concluded that 'killing' was implied, and rendered accordingly (instances of כרת Hiphil,¹³⁸ נכה Hiphil,¹³⁹ שבת Hiphil¹⁴⁰). Thus, ܡܠܝܢ Peal can be considered to be the standard lexical choice for various Hebrew verbs denoting killing. Though Syriac may have had fewer verbs for 'manslaughter', it could also be that in the process of translation the diverse shades of meaning contained in the source text were reduced to the core significance.

Where ܡܠܝܢ Peal corresponds to מות Qal, 'die', and קבר Qal, 'bury', the Peshitta is not in line with the Masoretic text. These cases will be treated separately below.

¹²⁸ 1 Kgs 2:5, 32; 9:16; 11:24; 12:27; 18:12, 13, 14; 19:1, 10, 14; 2 Kgs 8:12; 9:31; 10:9; 11:8; 17:25.

¹²⁹ 1 Kgs 11:15.

¹³⁰ 1 Kgs 11:16; 18:4.

¹³¹ 1 Kgs 2:25.

¹³² 1 Kgs 1:51; 2:8, 24, 26, 34; 3:26 (2 ×), 27 (2 ×); 11:40; 13:24, 26; 15:28; 16:10; 17:18, 20; 18:9; 19:17 (2 ×); 2 Kgs 11:2, 15 (2 ×), 20; 14:6, 19; 15:10, 14, 25, 30; 16:9; 17:26; 21:23; 23:29; 25:21.

¹³³ 1 Kgs 11:15; 15:27; 16:7, 16; 20:20, 29, 36 (2 ×); 2 Kgs 3:23; 9:27; 10:9; 12:21; 14:5 (2 ×); 15:25; 19:35; 37; 21:24.

¹³⁴ 1 Kgs 2:31.

¹³⁵ 1 Kgs 21:9. Note that also the participle Piel מרצח of the same verb corresponds once to the noun ܡܠܝܢ, 'slayer, murderer' (2 Kgs 6:32).

¹³⁶ 2 Kgs 23:5, 11.

¹³⁷ 1 Kgs 2:28; 2 Kgs 9:27. See chapter 13, section 2.

¹³⁸ See also section 2.2.1.

¹³⁹ See also sections 2.1.5.4, 2.2.2.3.

¹⁴⁰ See also section 2.1.5.5.

2.1.5.1. מֵלַךְ *Peal* Corresponds to All Occurrences of הרג *Qal* and רצח *Qal*

2.1.5.2. מֵלַךְ *Peal* Corresponds to Most Occurrences of מוֹת *Hiphil*

Most often, מָוַת *Peal*, ‘die’, corresponds to מוֹת *Qal* in the Masoretic text. However, where the Hebrew uses the causative stem, Syriac usually has מֵלַךְ *Peal* rather than the causative stem of the cognate form of מוֹת. A survey of the proportionate distribution of the correspondences, both verbal, ‘die, cause to die’, and nominal, ‘death’, can be found in table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Occurrences of מוֹת (verb and noun), מָוַת (verb and noun), and מֵלַךְ (verb) in Kings

		Hebrew				מוֹת (noun)
		מוֹת (verb)			Total	
Syriac		Qal	Hiphil	Hophal		
מָוַת (verb)	Peal	72 ¹⁴¹		6 ¹⁴²	78	2 ¹⁴³
	Aphel		2 ¹⁴⁴		2	
מָוַת (noun)		1 ¹⁴⁵			1	2 ¹⁴⁶
מֵלַךְ (verb)	Peal	1 ¹⁴⁷	27 ¹⁴⁸		28	
	Ethpeel		2 ¹⁴⁹	1 ¹⁵⁰	3	
	Pael		3 ¹⁵¹		3	
	Ethpaal			1 ¹⁵²	1	
No correspondence		2 ¹⁵³			2	
Total		76	34	8	118	4

¹⁴¹ 1 Kgs 1:52; 2:1, 30, 37 (2 ×), 42 (2 ×), 46; 3:19, 20, 21, 22 (2 ×); 11:21, 40; 12:18; 13:31; 14:11 (2 ×), 12, 17; 16:4 (2 ×), 18, 22; 17:12; 21:10, 13, 14, 15 (2 ×), 16, 24 (2 ×); 22:35, 37; 2 Kgs 1:1, 4 (2 ×), 6 (2 ×), 16 (2 ×), 17; 3:5; 4:1, 20, 32; 7:3, 4 (3 ×), 17, 20; 8:5, 10 (2 ×), 15; 9:27; 11:11; 12:22; 13:14, 20, 24; 14:17; 18:32; 19:35; 20:1 (2 ×); 23:30, 34; 25:25.

¹⁴² 2 Kgs 11:2, 8, 16; 14:6 (3 ×).

¹⁴³ 2 Kgs 2:21; 15:5.

¹⁴⁴ 2 Kgs 5:7; 7:4.

¹⁴⁵ 1 Kgs 19:4.

¹⁴⁶ 1 Kgs 2:26; 2 Kgs 4:40.

¹⁴⁷ 1 Kgs 2:25.

¹⁴⁸ 1 Kgs 1:51; 2:8, 26, 34; 3:26 (2 ×), 27 (2 ×); 11:40; 13:24, 26; 15:28; 16:10; 17:18, 20; 18:9; 19:17 (2 ×); 2 Kgs 11:20; 14:19; 15:10, 14, 25, 30; 16:9; 21:23; 23:29.

¹⁴⁹ 1 Kgs 2:24; 2 Kgs 11:15.

¹⁵⁰ 2 Kgs 11:15.

¹⁵¹ 2 Kgs 14:6; 17:26; 25:21. However, only in 2 Kgs 17:26 the Pael is unambiguously indicated by the consonants.

¹⁵² 2 Kgs 11:2.

¹⁵³ 1 Kgs 3:23 (2 ×). This verse is skipped in P, see in chapter 13, section 3.4.

In two exceptional cases (2 Kgs 5:7; 7:4), מוֹת Hiphil corresponds to אָפֵל Aphel, which is irregular considering the observations above concerning the use of מָפֵל Peal in such cases. Literary-exegetical motives led the translator to deviate from his usual lexical choice.

2 Kgs 5:7

אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם
 'Am I God, to kill and to make alive?'
 האלהים אני להמית ולהחיות 'Am I God, to kill and to make alive?'

TJ הצרוך אית בי מן קדם יוי למקטל ולאחאה
 'Is there need for me from before the Lord to kill and to make alive?'

In the Masoretic text of 2 Kgs 5:7, the king of Israel, in response to the king of Aram's presumptuous demand to cure Naaman of his leprosy, exclaims, 'Am I God to cause to die and to cause to live, that this fellow sends to me to cure a man of leprosy?' The Peshitta maintains the contrast between the causative of מוֹת and the causative of חִיָּה by rendering the former verb by the causative (Aphel) of אָפֵל.

This contrast between 'let die' and 'let live' and the special meaning acquired by מוֹת Hiphil in the context of this verse would have been lost if the Peshitta had rendered מוֹת Hiphil with the more customary מָפֵל Peal. Though Targum Jonathan generally agrees with the Peshitta in rendering the causative of מוֹת as מָפֵל,¹⁵⁴ it here maintains its usual rendering.

2 Kgs 7:4

אִם יִחְיֶנוּ נַחֲיָה וְאִם יָמִיתֵנוּ וְנָמִיתָ
 'if they keep us alive, we shall live; and if they cause us to die, we shall die'

אם יחיו נחיה ואם ימיתנו ומתנו
 'if they let us live, we shall live; and if they cause us to die, we shall die'

TJ אם יחיוננא ניחי ואם יקטלננא ונתקטיל
 'if they let us live, we shall live; and if they kill us, we will be killed'

In 2 Kgs 7:4, a comparable contrast occurs between the causative of חִיָּה and the causative of מוֹת. The causative forms are followed by forms of the same verbs in the Qal. By rendering the Hiphil of מוֹת by the Aphel of אָפֵל, the Peshitta is able to mirror this structure: 'If they keep us alive, we will live, and if they put us to death, we will die.' Unlike the Peshitta, Targum Jonathan

¹⁵⁴ TJ: 1 Kgs 1:51; 2:8, 34; 3:26 (2×), 27 (2×); 11:40; 13:24, 26; 15:28; 16:10; 17:18; 18:9; 19:17 (2×); 2 Kgs 11:20; 14:19; 15:10, 14, 25, 30; 16:9; 21:23; 23:29.

again maintains its usual translation of המית using קטל. However, it appears that Targum Jonathan, too, wished to imitate the repetitive structure of the Hebrew text in Aramaic, for ומתנו is rendered as the passive of קטל: 'And if they kill us, we will be killed.'¹⁵⁵

2.1.5.3. מַלַּא Peal Corresponds to חלל (Noun)

Once, in 1Kgs 11:15, a semantic shift is caused by simplification: מַלַּא, (Peal passive participle), 'those who were killed', parallels החללים, 'the slain' (literally 'the pierced ones'). In the Peshitta מַלַּא is the usual translation for instances where חלל means 'slain, fatally wounded'.¹⁵⁶ The translator apparently knew that חלל is used to refer to those killed in battle and accordingly rendered *ad sensum* by מַלַּא.

2.1.5.4. מַלַּא Peal Corresponds to נכה Hiphil

The choice for a specific rendering is apparent where מַלַּא corresponds to נכה Hiphil, 'strike', which can be taken to mean 'kill, murder'.¹⁵⁷

2.1.5.5. מַלַּא Peal Corresponds to שבת Hiphil

In addition to נכה, שבת Hiphil and כרה Hiphil when construed with a personal or animate object were interpreted to mean killing someone. These, too, are rendered by מַלַּא in the cases discussed below.

According to the Masoretic text of 2Kgs 23:5, 11, Josiah put an end to (שבת Hiphil, 'cause to cease, put away') pagan priests and horses, respectively.

2 Kgs 23:5

מַלַּא חַמְצֵיָא אֵילָּי וְאִמְסַחֵהוּ וְיִמְסַחֵהוּ

'and he killed the priests whom the kings of Judah had established'

וְהִשְׁבִּית אֶת הַכַּמְרִים אֲשֶׁר נָתַן מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה

'and he caused to cease (did away with) the idolatrous priests whom the kings of Judah had ordained'

¹⁵⁵ Tj appears here less inclined than P to depart from its standard rendering of המית as קטל. However, in 1Kgs 17:20 Tj mitigates Elijah's challenging question 'γῆθη, my God, will you bring harm even to the widow with whom I am sojourning by killing (להמית) her son?' as 'O Lord, my God, surely, upon the widow with whom I am dwelling do not bring evil and let her son not die (ולא ימות ברך)'. Here P renders with מַלַּא.

¹⁵⁶ In the Pentateuch occurrences of חלל meaning 'slain, fatally wounded' are rendered by מַלַּא in Gen 34:27; Num 19:16, 18; 23:24; 31:8, 19; Deut 21:1, 2, 3, 6; 32:42.

¹⁵⁷ See further section 2.2.2.3.

2 Kgs 23:11

וּמַלְלֵה יָחַצְאָה וַיַּמְחֵבֵהּ תַּלְמֵדָהּ וַיַּמְחֵסֵהָ לְעֵצָהּ

'and they killed the horses which the kings of Judah had given to the sun'

וַיִּשְׁבֹּת אֶת הַסּוּסִים אֲשֶׁר נָתַנוּ מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה לְשֶׁמֶשׁ

'and he caused to cease (did away with) the horses which the kings of Judah had given to the sun'

The translator interpreted Josiah's action against the priests and horses in terms of their physical annihilation. However, שָׁבַת Hiphil does not necessarily imply physical destruction. Either the translator took the Hebrew to entail eradication or the statement was deliberately made more specific.

It is clear that the translator took the horses dedicated to the sun to be living animals and not handmade cultic objects. There is no need to consider the alternative possibility of an inner-Syriac corruption (א) מַלְלֵה → (א) מַלְלֵה, which has been suggested by Walter,¹⁵⁸ since both occurrences are in line with the Peshitta's tendency to use מַלְלֵה where the context allows for an interpretation in the sense of killing.

2.1.5.6. מַלְלֵה Peal Corresponds to כָּרַת Hiphil

Where כָּרַת Hiphil denotes 'exterminate', the Peshitta uses either אָפַח Aphel or מַלְלֵה Peal. אָפַח Aphel is used where כָּרַת Hiphil refers to exterminating (members of) a dynasty or a nation.¹⁵⁹ In remaining instances, when the object is animate, the Peshitta uses מַלְלֵה.¹⁶⁰ In one of these, 1 Kgs 11:16, the rendering may involve a case of harmonization with the previous verse:

1 Kgs 11:16

וְעַד הַכְרִיתַת כָּל זָכָר בְּאֵדוֹם 'until he had killed every male in Edom'

עַד הַכְרִיתַת כָּל זָכָר בְּאֵדוֹם 'until he had cut off every male in Edom'

Compare 1 Kgs 11:15:

וַיַּמְחֵבֵהּ כָּל זָכָר בְּאֵדוֹם 'and he had killed every male in Edom'

וַיִּדְּ כָּל זָכָר בְּאֵדוֹם 'and he struck down every male in Edom'

2.1.5.7. מַלְלֵה Peal Corresponds to מוּתַת Qal

A semantic shift of a literary-exegetical character not entailing specification occurs in the following instance where מַלְלֵה, 'and he killed him', parallels מוּתַת, 'and he died':

¹⁵⁸ Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 210–211, 215.

¹⁵⁹ See section 2.1.1.2.

¹⁶⁰ 1 Kgs 11:16; 18:4.

1 Kgs 2:25

ספגד כח סמללם 'and he attacked him and killed him'
 ויפגע בו וימת 'and he attacked him and he died'

TJ ושליט ביה וקטליה 'and he overpowered him and killed him'

1 Kgs 2:34

ספגד כח סמללם 'and he attacked him and killed him'
 ויפגע בו וימתהו 'and he attacked him and caused him to die'

TJ ושליט ביה וקטליה 'and he overpowered him and killed him'

1 Kgs 2:46

פגד כח סמגל 'he attacked him, and he died'
 ויפגע בו וימת 'and he attacked him and he died'

TJ ושליט ביה וקטליה 'and he overpowered him and killed him'

There is reason to believe that in v. 25 the Peshitta deliberately deviated from the Vorlage. The verse may have been brought in line with the phrasing of Solomon's announcement $\text{לְהַמֵּית אֶת-אֲדֹנִיָּה הַיּוֹם}$, 'today Adonijah will be killed', in the preceding verse.

Another possibility is that in v. 25 the Peshitta chose to render סמללם to make the report of Adonijah's execution conform to the report of Joab's execution in v. 34. However, in v. 46 the description of Shimei's execution lacks a similar adjustment in the Peshitta: פגד כח סמגל presents a straightforward rendering of ויפגע בו וימת . Either the Peshitta is inconsistent in leaving v. 46 unharmonized or v. 25 is not an anticipatory harmonization with v. 34.

Perhaps the Syriac text in v. 25 is to be explained text-historically rather than literary-exegetically. Indeed, Targum Jonathan's reading שליט ביה וקטליה agrees with סמללם of the Peshitta. Possibly both the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan read וימתהו in their Vorlagen of v. 25. The text of Targum Jonathan in v. 46 is instructive: שליט ביה וקטליה deviates from the Masoretic text, whereas the Peshitta's reading סמגל agrees with it. Targum Jonathan's reading of v. 46 brings about exact agreement with the similar phrases in vv. 25, 34. It is less probable that in v. 46 Targum Jonathan stands alone as an indirect witness to a Hebrew text different from the Masoretic text. In view of the identical phrasing of vv. 25, 34, 46, שליט ביה וקטליה in v. 25 and שליט ביה וקטליה in v. 46 are best explained as harmonizations. Thus, Targum Jonathan would not support a text-historical interpretation of v. 25. If Targum Jonathan's reading in v. 25 represents a harmonization with v. 34, it may be argued that the Peshitta's corresponding

reading in v. 25 is to be understood similarly, in spite of the fact that the Peshitta omitted a comparable harmonization in v. 46.

There is perhaps another factor involved. V. 25 in the Masoretic text has a switch in subject between the two verbs while the Peshitta maintains the same subject for both verbs, thus producing smoother syntax. This choice of the Peshitta could be seen as being confirmed by the fact that the Masoretic text does not have subject switch in v. 34. However, v. 46 in the Peshitta would then be deviant in that it follows the subject switch of the Masoretic text. It is not uncommon for a translator to be influenced unconsciously by the source text and to accommodate his product to it. Thus, while in v. 25 the subject switch was avoided, in v. 46 the Hebrew subject switch was followed instead of simplifying the syntax by adapting the verb.¹⁶¹

It is also possible that the unvocalized Hebrew form was read as a Hiphil defectively written.¹⁶² In that case, the Peshitta read the Hebrew as having no change of subject and rendered the causative of מוֹת in the usual way, namely, as the Peal of מָלַא. The lack of an object with the Hiphil can be accounted for by the fact that in Hebrew narrative texts, objects once mentioned are often presumed to be present and are not always reiterated.

2.1.5.8. מָלַא Peal Corresponds to קָבַר Qal

Semantic overlap is lacking between the Hebrew text and the Syriac rendering in the following case where מָלַא corresponds to קָבַר, 'bury'.¹⁶³

1 Kgs 2:31

וּפָגַע בּוֹ וּקְבַרְתּוֹ 'and attack him and kill him'
 וּפָגַע בּוֹ וּקְבַרְתּוֹ 'and attack him and bury him'

Compare:

1 Kgs 2:34

וַיִּפְגַע בּוֹ וַיִּמְתְּהוּ וַיִּקְבְּרֵהוּ 'and he attacked him and killed him, and he was buried'
 וַיִּפְגַע בּוֹ וַיִּמְתְּהוּ וַיִּקְבְּרֵהוּ 'and he attacked him and killed him and he was buried'

¹⁶¹ However, in the remaining part of vs. 34 the Masoretic pointing indicates a subject switch and this is followed in P, though not in LXX and Ant. (see section 2.1.5.8). The Masoretic pointing as a Niphal with switch of subject in MT is necessary to compensate for the lack of a verbal object.

¹⁶² To be found in Gen 38:10; 1 Sam 22:18; 2 Sam 14:6; Jer 41:2; Ps 105:29.

¹⁶³ P renders the remaining 36 instances of קָבַר, using its Syriac cognate מָבַא, 'bury'.

3 Kgdms 2:31 (LXX B, Ant)

καὶ ἀνελε αὐτὸν καὶ θάψεις (Ant. θάψον) αὐτόν
'and kill him, and you shall bury (Ant. bury) him'

3 Kgdms 2:34 (LXX Rahlfs)

καὶ ἀπήντησεν Βαναιουὺς υἱὸς Ἰωδαε τῷ Ἰωάβ καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔθαψεν αὐτόν
'and Benaiah son of Jehoiada attacked Joab and killed him and buried him'

In the Masoretic text of v. 31, 'and attack him and bury him', Solomon's order to kill Joab is implicit. In the report of Joab's execution in v. 34, however, it is explicitly stated that Benaiah killed Joab: 'and he attacked him and killed him and he was buried ...'.

In the Peshitta of 1 Kgs 2:31, Solomon's order to kill Joab is made explicit by ܡܠܟܘܡܐ. Thus, the Peshitta brings the wording of Solomon's order to kill Joab in v. 31 in conformity with the report of Joab's execution in v. 34. There is no reason to assume that the Peshitta added ܡܠܟܘܡܐ because ܡܦܓܐ alone would have been ambiguous. In vv. 25, 34, 46, forms of ܡܦܓܐ are followed by verb forms indicating dying in both the Peshitta and the Masoretic text, but in vv. 29, 32 the Peshitta has only ܡܦܓܐ.¹⁶⁴

In v. 31 the Peshitta lacks a rendering for וקברתו of the Masoretic text, and as a consequence ܡܠܟܘܡܐ stands in place of וקברתו. This means that in 1 Kgs 2:31 the Peshitta and the Masoretic text each have two different elements in common with v. 34 of the Masoretic text:

1 Kgs 2:31	P	attack	kill	
	MT	attack		bury
1 Kgs 2:34	MT	attack	kill	bury

Despite this quantitative balance, v. 31 in the Peshitta is in closer harmony with v. 34 of the Masoretic text than with v. 31. Verse 34 of the Hebrew text reports that Benaiah attacked and killed Joab, but it does not state explicitly that it was Benaiah who buried him—the Niphal ויקבר merely says 'and he (that is, Joab) was buried'. Though ויקבר may also be pointed as a Qal, 'and he buried', the absence of a verbal object could imply the Niphal here, and it appears that the translator interpreted it so. The shift of an active voice to a

¹⁶⁴ The ambiguity of פגע caused LXX to use different translation equivalents throughout 3 Kingdoms 2: ἀναρῆν (vv. 25, 29, 31, 46) and ἀπαντᾶν (v. 32; cf. v. 34). Where the context implies that פגע is to be taken as 'strike down', LXX renders with a form of ἀναρῆν; where פגע can be taken in the neutral sense 'meet', LXX uses a form of ἀπαντᾶν (in v. 34 to render the Hebrew phrase ויפגע בו ... ויעל).

passive one in v. 34 may have led the translator or a scribe to conclude that it was not Benaiah himself who buried Joab. In an effort to attain conformity between Solomon's order in v. 31 and the report of its fulfilment in v. 34, not only was מִקְבְּרָתוֹ added, but וּקְבַרְתּוֹ was left unrendered as well. It is of interest to note that in the Septuagint the incongruity between וּקְבַרְתּוֹ in v. 31 and the Niphal וַיִּקְבַּר in v. 34 has also been removed, though in another manner than in the Peshitta: the translator rendered וַיִּקְבַּר actively as $\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\theta\alpha\psi\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\lambda\upsilon\tau\delta\nu$, 'and he buried him', thereby harmonizing Solomon's order to bury Joab in v. 31 and the execution of that order by Benaiah in v. 34.

Alternative explanations for the Peshitta of v. 31 are not convincing. Thus, the assumption that מִקְבְּרָתוֹ was added to make explicit what is implied by מִקְבְּרָתוֹ or simply to coordinate v. 31 with the Syriac of vv. 25, 34 (מִקְבְּרָתוֹ), still leaves unanswered the question of why וּקְבַרְתּוֹ has not been rendered. Since minuses of this kind are unusual in the Peshitta, they require a text-historical or exegetical explanation.

2.2. One Hebrew Root, More Than One Syriac Correspondence

Contrasting to the tendency mentioned above, some Hebrew terms (roots) in this semantic field are matched by more than one term in the Peshitta, as shown in table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Hebrew roots with more than one Syriac correspondence

אָבַד [>BD] Qal, 'perish'; Hiphil, 'destroy'	$3 \times \text{ܐܒܕ}$ [>BD] Aphel, 'destroy' ¹⁶⁵
Piel, 'destroy'	$2 \times \text{ܐܒܕ}$ [>BD] Aphel, 'destroy' ¹⁶⁶
	$1 \times \text{ܝܒܘ}$ [JQD] Aphel, 'kindle, consume' ¹⁶⁷
	$1 \times \text{ܚܡܘ}$ [<QR] Peal, 'uproot, break down' ¹⁶⁸
חָרַב [XRB] I Hiphil, 'dry up, make desolate, lay waste'	$1 \times \text{ܟܪܒ}$ [XRB] Aphel, 'lay waste' ¹⁶⁹
	$1 \times \text{ܟܪܒ}$ [JBC] Aphel, 'dry up, shrivel' ¹⁷⁰
חָרַם [XRM] Hiphil, 'banish'	$1 \times \text{ܟܪܡ}$ [>BD] Aphel, 'destroy' ¹⁷¹
	$1 \times \text{ܟܪܡ}$ [XRB] Aphel, 'destroy' ¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ 2 Kgs 9:8 (1st); 10:19; 24:2. See section 2.1.1.2.

¹⁶⁶ 2 Kgs 11:1; 13:7. See section 2.1.1.2.

¹⁶⁷ 2 Kgs 19:18. See section 2.1.1.2.

¹⁶⁸ 2 Kgs 21:3. See section 2.1.1.2.

¹⁶⁹ 2 Kgs 19:17.

¹⁷⁰ 2 Kgs 19:24.

¹⁷¹ 1 Kgs 9:21. See section 2.1.1.6.

¹⁷² 2 Kgs 19:11. See section 2.1.1.1.

כרת [KRT]	6 × ܟܪܬ [PSQ] Peal, 'cut, cut off, pass sentence'
Qal, 'cut, exterminate' ¹⁷³	1 × ܟܪܬ [PQD] Peal, 'give charge'
	9 × ܟܪܬ [QWM] Aphel, 'erect'
Niphal, 'be cut off'	3 × ܟܪܬ [<ND] Peal, 'depart, be taken away, fail'
Hiphil, 'cut off, exterminate'	5 × ܟܪܬ [>BD] Aphel, 'destroy'
	2 × ܟܪܬ [QVL] Peal, 'kill, slay'
	1 × ܟܪܬ [GRD] Pali, 'be lacking'
נכה [NKH] Hiphil, 'strike' ¹⁷⁴	15 × ܢܚܐ [XRB] Peal, 'lay waste, destroy'
	40 × ܢܚܐ [MX >] Peal, 'strike, wound'
	1 × ܢܚܐ [NQC] Peal, 'knock, strike, clap'
	1 × ܢܚܐ [QVWL] (n.), 'slayer; murderer'
	18 × ܢܚܐ [QVL] Peal, 'kill, slay'
שחח [CXT] Hiphil, 'ruin, destroy'	2 × ܫܚܚ [XBL] Pael, 'spoil, destroy, ravage' ¹⁷⁵
	2 × ܫܚܚ [XRB] Aphel, 'destroy' ¹⁷⁶
Piel, 'ruin, destroy'	1 × ܫܚܚ [XRB] Peal, 'lay waste, destroy' ¹⁷⁷

A Hebrew term is matched by various Syriac terms in the Peshitta when:

- various terms in Syriac are equally suitable to cover the semantic domain of a Hebrew term and Syriac does not favour a particular term as translation equivalent. This may be the case with the renderings of ܫܚܚ.¹⁷⁸
- the broad range of meanings of a Hebrew term is not captured by a single Syriac term. The Peshitta employs various equivalents, each of which covers a particular aspect of the semantic domain of the Hebrew term. In most cases the Syriac appears to be an *ad sensum* rendering of the Hebrew text, as illustrated by the lexical choices for rendering ܢܚܐ¹⁷⁹ and ܟܪܬ.¹⁸⁰ The root ܟܪܬ, 'cut', is used in a variety of situations including: cutting in its literal sense, sealing an arrangement or covenant, exterminating ('cutting off'), and perishing ('be cut off'). In order to convey these aspects, the Peshitta uses various Syriac verbs depending on the

¹⁷³ For discussion and references see section 2.2.1.

¹⁷⁴ For discussion and references see section 2.2.2.

¹⁷⁵ 2 Kgs 8:19; 13:23.

¹⁷⁶ Both in 2 Kgs 18:25.

¹⁷⁷ 2 Kgs 19:20.

¹⁷⁸ The distribution of Syriac equivalents of ܫܚܚ in the Pentateuch points in the same direction: ܫܚܚ is matched 6 × by ܫܚܚ, 5 × by ܫܚܚ, and 2 × by ܫܚܚ. See further sections 2.1.1.6, 2.1.2.1.

¹⁷⁹ See sections 2.1.2.4, 2.1.3.1, 2.1.5.4, and 2.2.2.

¹⁸⁰ See sections 2.1.1.2, 2.1.4.1, 2.1.5, and 2.2.1.

context. The Peshitta does not vary its choice of contextually appropriate renderings at will, but fixed equivalents are used to deal with particular semantic situations, for instance, the idiomatic expression כרת ברית is always rendered *ܐܫܡܢܥ ܡܢܚܐ*.¹⁸¹

- though Syriac has an equivalent suited to capture the broad range of meanings of the Hebrew term, the Peshitta prefers to use renderings that specify particular semantic situations. In our materials, examples of this are found among the renderings of נכה.
- in some instances the Peshitta departs from a usual rendering for reasons of translation strategy or exegesis. This is the case where the Peshitta offers *ܡܢܘ* Aphel for *אבד*,¹⁸² *ܚܡܘ* Peal for *אבד* Piel,¹⁸³ *ܦܡܘ* Peal for *כרת*,¹⁸⁴ and *ܘܘܐ* Aphel for *נחח*.¹⁸⁵

Many correspondences have already been discussed in section 2.1; however, Syriac terms corresponding to כרת and נכה require separate treatment due to the interrelatedness of the distribution of their renderings.

2.2.1. Syriac Terms Corresponding to כרת

כרת [KRT]	6 × <i>ܦܫܩ</i> [PSQ] Peal, ‘cut, cut off, pass sentence’ ¹⁸⁶
Qal, ‘cut, exterminate’	1 × <i>ܦܩܕ</i> [PQD] Peal, ‘give charge’ ¹⁸⁷
	9 × <i>ܩܡܩ</i> [QWM] Aphel, ‘erect’ ¹⁸⁸
Niphil, ‘be cut off’	3 × <i>ܚܢܐ</i> [<ND] Peal, ‘depart, be taken away, fail’ ¹⁸⁹
Hiphil, ‘cut off, exterminate’	5 × <i>ܐܚܒܐ</i> [>BD] Aphel, ‘destroy’ ¹⁹⁰
	2 × <i>ܩܘܠܐ</i> [QVL] Peal, ‘kill, slay’ ¹⁹¹
	1 × <i>ܘܘܐ</i> [GRD] Pali, ‘be lacking’ ¹⁹²

2.2.1.1. כרת Corresponds to *ܦܫܩ*

See treatment in section 2.1.4.

¹⁸¹ See section 2.2.1.3.

¹⁸² See section 2.1.1.2.

¹⁸³ See section 2.1.1.2.

¹⁸⁴ See section 2.1.1.2.

¹⁸⁵ See section 2.1.2.3.

¹⁸⁶ 1 Kgs 5:20 (2 ×); 15:13; 2 Kgs 18:4; 19:23; 23:14.

¹⁸⁷ 2 Kgs 17:15.

¹⁸⁸ 1 Kgs 5:26; 8:9 (כרת ברית implicit in MT), 21; 20:34; 2 Kgs 11:4, 17; 17:35, 38; 23:3. In 2 Kgs 17:15 P deviates from MT which has כרת ברית (see section 2.2.1.2).

¹⁸⁹ 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:25; 9:5.

¹⁹⁰ 1 Kgs 9:7; 14:10, 14; 21:21; 2 Kgs 9:8.

¹⁹¹ 1 Kgs 11:16; 18:4.

¹⁹² 1 Kgs 18:5.

2.2.1.2. כרת *Corresponds to* חמד

There is only one instance where the Syriac verb matching כרת Qal is not to be considered a rendering of the Hebrew verb.

2 Kgs 17:15

gāi

P

BTR

ܦܫܝܬܬܐ ܕܡܫܘܪܝܐ

ܡܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܡܫܘܪܝܐ

ܘܕܡܘܨܬܐ ܕܡܘܨܬܐ

gāi 'my commandments and my statutes which I charged their fathers'

BTR 'my statutes and my commandments which I charged their fathers'

את חקיו ואת בריתו אשר כרת את אבותם

'his statutes and his covenant that he made with their fathers'

Since the Peshitta refers to 'commandments and statutes' instead of to 'statutes and covenant', the verb used in rendering the idiomatic expression 'make a covenant' in Syriac, that is, *ܐܫܡܥ*, does not appear here. Instead, we find *ܚܡܕ*, which entails an adjustment to the new lexical context, consisting of the objects *ܦܫܝܬܬܐ ܕܡܫܘܪܝܐ*, 'my commandments and my statutes'.¹⁹³

2.2.1.3. כרת *Corresponds to* ܡܫܚܐ *Aphel*

Where כרת Qal is construed with the object ברית to form the expression כרת ברית, 'make (literally: "cut") a covenant', the Peshitta consistently employs the equivalent idiomatic expression *ܐܫܡܥ ܡܫܚܐ*, 'set up a covenant', except for in 2 Kgs 17:15, discussed above.

2.2.1.4. כרת *Niphal Corresponds to* ܚܘܩ

In the Masoretic text of Kings כרת Niphal is found exclusively in the context of the formulaic expression as found in the following text:

1 Kgs 2:4

ܘܠܐ ܚܘܩ ܠܝ ܚܘܩܐ ܘܡܠܟ ܥܠ ܫܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܝܠ

'Not will there fail you a man sitting on the throne of Israel'

לא יכרת לך איש מעל כסא ישראל

'Not will be cut off one of you from the throne of Israel'

Minor variations occur in 1 Kgs 8:25; 9:5. The Peshitta chose a specific *ad sensum* rendering, using an equivalent that is not employed anywhere else in Kings.

¹⁹³ See also discussion in section 1.1.3. The change to first sg possessive pronouns in P has to do with maintaining the first person sg discourse from v. 13, and belongs to aspects of syntax above clause level (see further chapter 13).

2.2.1.5. כרת *Hiphil* Corresponds to אָפּהל *Aphel*

See section 2.1.1.

2.2.1.6. כרת *Hiphil* Corresponds to מָלַל

See section 2.1.5.

2.2.1.7. כרת *Niphal* Corresponds to פָּלַי *Pali*

See chapter 8, section 1.11.

2.2.2. *Syriac Terms Corresponding to נכה Hiphil*

- נכה [NKH] Hiphil, 'strike' 15 × נִבַּח [XRB] Peal, 'lay waste, destroy'¹⁹⁴
 40 × מַחַסָּה [MX>] Peal, 'strike, wound'¹⁹⁵
 1 × נָמַץ [NQC] Peal, 'knock, strike, clap'¹⁹⁶
 1 × חָלַל [<L] Peal, 'enter'¹⁹⁷
 1 × מַלְאָךְ [QVWL] (n.), 'slayer; murderer'¹⁹⁸
 18 × מָלַל [QVL] Peal, 'kill, slay'¹⁹⁹
 1 × מָעָה [QR>] Peal, 'call'²⁰⁰
 1 × not translated²⁰¹

The verb נכה in the Masoretic text is matched primarily by מַחַסָּה, נִבַּח, and מָלַל. The variation in renderings in the Peshitta does not reflect the use of a Vorlage different from the Masoretic text, but is due to the tendency to choose an equivalent fitting to the presumed meaning of each individual occurrence of נכה. In this we observe that often the direct object influences the choice of verb in the translation. However, the question arises whether the translator employed מַחַסָּה as a standard equivalent and נִבַּח and מָלַל as more specific renderings. In order to answer this question, the situations in which these verbs appear are examined first, starting with the three most frequent verbs, in alphabetical order. The less frequent renderings are treated thereafter.

¹⁹⁴ 1Kgs 15:20; 20:21; 2Kgs 3:19, 24 (2 ×), 25; 8:21; 10:11, 17, 25 (2 ×); 14:7, 10 (2 ×); 15:16.

¹⁹⁵ 1Kgs 14:15; 15:29; 16:10, 11; 20:21, 35 (2 ×), 37 (2 ×); 22:24, 34; 2Kgs 2:8, 14; 6:18 (2 ×), 21 (2 ×), 22 (2 ×); 8:28, 29; 9:7, 15, 24; 10:32; 12:22; 13:17, 18 (2 ×), 19 (3 ×), 25; 15:10, 14, 16, 30; 18:8; 25:21, 25.

¹⁹⁶ 2Kgs 11:12.

¹⁹⁷ 2Kgs 3:24.

¹⁹⁸ 2Kgs 14:6.

¹⁹⁹ 1Kgs 11:15; 15:27; 16:7, 16; 20:20, 29, 36 (2 ×); 2Kgs 3:23; 9:27; 10:9; 12:21; 14:5 (2 ×); 15:25; 19:35, 37; 21:24.

²⁰⁰ 2Kgs 2:14.

²⁰¹ 1Kgs 20:37.

2.2.2.1. נכה Hiphil Corresponds to נִכַּח

נִכַּח is found as a rendering of נכה Hiphil when the Hebrew verb is used in the figurative senses of 'strike dead',²⁰² 'attack, defeat, inflict loss',²⁰³ and 'destroy'.²⁰⁴ In these instances, the objects of נִכַּח can be both animate and inanimate and include nations,²⁰⁵ cities and built-up areas,²⁰⁶ and persons.²⁰⁷ Once 'horses and chariots' appear as the object.²⁰⁸

2.2.2.2. נכה Hiphil Corresponds to נִכַּח

Where נכה Hiphil designates the physical act of striking or hitting someone or something, the Peshitta renders it as נִכַּח,²⁰⁹ also when an arrow is said to hit a person.²¹⁰

Where נכה Hiphil is used in a figurative sense, the Peshitta may also use נִכַּח, thus when נכה Hiphil takes on the sense of 'afflict',²¹¹ 'defeat, inflict loss',²¹² and 'destroy'.²¹³ The destruction of a royal dynasty is also expressed by נִכַּח.²¹⁴

The expression הכה מכה, 'inflict a blow', followed by an object denoting a people or a nation, is rendered literally as נִכַּח מִכָּה.²¹⁵

2.2.2.3. נכה Hiphil Corresponds to נִכַּח

The Peshitta shows a strong tendency to translate with נִכַּח when נכה Hiphil allows the interpretation 'kill'.²¹⁶ Where the translator encountered the

²⁰² 2 Kgs 10:11, 17; 10:25 (2 ×).

²⁰³ 2 Kgs 3:24 (2 ×); 8:21; 14:7 'he smote Edom in the Valley of Salt, ten thousand', 10 (2 ×).

²⁰⁴ 1 Kgs 15:20; 20:21; 2 Kgs 3:19, 25 'Moab', referred to as if it were a town; 15:16 (2nd).

²⁰⁵ 2 Kgs 3:24 'Moab'; 14:7, 10 (2 ×) 'Edom'.

²⁰⁶ 1 Kgs 15:20 towns; 2 Kgs 3:19 'all the fortified cities and all the choice cities', 25 the territory of Moab; 15:16 (2nd) the city of Tiphshah.

²⁰⁷ 2 Kgs 3:24 'the Moabites'; 8:21 'the Edomites'; 10:11, 17 (9a1) 'all who were found of the house of Ahab', 25 (2 ×) worshippers of Baal.

²⁰⁸ 1 Kgs 20:21.

²⁰⁹ Someone: 1 Kgs 16:10; 20:35 (2 ×), 37 (2 ×); 22:24; 2 Kgs 6:21 (2 ×), 22 (2 ×); 8:28; 12:22; 15:10, 14, 30; 25:21, 25; something: 2 Kgs 2:8, 14 'waters'; 13:18 (2 ×), 19 'ground'.

²¹⁰ 1 Kgs 22:34; 2 Kgs 9:24.

²¹¹ 2 Kgs 6:18 (2 ×) 'phantoms'.

²¹² 1 Kgs 14:15; 2 Kgs 10:32 'Israel'; 13:17, 19 'the Edomites', 19 'Edom', 25 Barhadad; 18:8 'the Philistines'.

²¹³ 2 Kgs 15:16 (1st) 'Tiphshah and all who were in it and its territories'.

²¹⁴ 1 Kgs 15:29 'all the house of Jeroboam'; 16:11 'all the house of Baasha'; 2 Kgs 9:7 'those of the house of Ahab'.

²¹⁵ 1 Kgs 20:21 'Edom'; 2 Kgs 8:29 'the Edomite'; 9:15 'the Edomites' (9a1: 'the Edomite').

²¹⁶ A similar tendency can be observed in TJ. Comparison between TJ and P shows that this tendency is even stronger in P. Both versions agree in rendering נכה Hiphil as קטל / נִכַּח in 1 Kgs 11:15; 15:27; 16:7, 16; 20:20, 36 (2 ×); 2 Kgs 3:23; 10:9; 14:5 (2 ×); 19:35, 37; 21:24. However, in 1 Kgs 20:29; 2 Kgs 9:27; 12:21; 15:25, P renders נכה Hiphil as נִכַּח whereas TJ renders as מָחָה.

sequence 'he / they struck him and killed him / and he died' in the Vorlage, he was forced to translate נכה Hiphil as **חָסַם**, since rendering **מָלַא** here would result either in mere repetition of information given or in a tautology with the second verb.²¹⁷ However, נכה Hiphil is not always rendered as **מָלַא** where it would be appropriate contextually. In 2 Kgs 6:21 (2×), 22 (2×) the Peshitta sticks to **חָסַם**, even though killing is obviously implied. The same holds true of 2 Kgs 3:24 (1st); 10:11, 17, 25 (2×) where the Peshitta renders **שָׂזַת**.

2.2.2.4. Distribution of **שָׂזַת**, **חָסַם**, and **מָלַא** as Renderings of נכה Hiphil

The distribution of **חָסַם** and **שָׂזַת** as renderings of נכה Hiphil shows that these verbs have different, though partially overlapping, semantic domains. Unlike **חָסַם**, **שָׂזַת** is not employed to denote the physical act of hitting something. Furthermore, there are four instances of **שָׂזַת** where the object refers to a town over against only one such instance of **חָסַם**. The Peshitta may have preferred **שָׂזַת** because of the specific meaning 'lay waste'. A possible motive for choosing **חָסַם** in 2 Kgs 15:16 is the alliteration **חָסַם חָסַם**:

2 Kgs 15:16

וַיִּכּוּ מַחֲנֵם לַמַּחֲסֵם	'then Mahnem struck Tiphzah'
אִז יָכָה מִנְחֵם אֶת תִּפְזָח	'then Menahem smote Tiphzah'

This explanation is the more plausible since in the sequel of the verse the Peshitta returns to **שָׂזַת** to refer to the destruction of Tiphzah (**וַיִּשְׂזַתְהוּ**, 'and he laid it waste', for **וַיִּכּוּ**, 'and he smote').

Thus it seems that the Peshitta, rather than striving for strict consistency, departed from using **חָסַם** as an equivalent of נכה Hiphil where the context allowed an equivalent with a more specific meaning ('kill, lay waste'). The fact that out of 43 occurrences of **חָסַם** in Kings, 40 correspond to נכה Hiphil, argues for viewing **חָסַם** as the standard equivalent for נכה Hiphil.

On the other hand, where the object refers to a nation or a people, and defeat and partial destruction are implied, the Peshitta shows no clear preference for **חָסַם** over **שָׂזַת**.²¹⁸ Similarly, when the object refers to (members of) a royal dynasty, either **חָסַם** or **שָׂזַת** occurs.²¹⁹ If **חָסַם** were the standard

²¹⁷ 'He struck him / them and killed him / them': 1 Kgs 16:10; 2 Kgs 15:10, 14, 30; 25:21. 'They struck him and he died': 2 Kgs 12:22; 25:25.

²¹⁸ **חָסַם**: 1 Kgs 14:15 'Israel'; 2 Kgs 10:32 'Israel'; 13:17 'the Edomites', 19 (2×) 'the Edomites', 'Edom', 25 Barhadad; 18:8 'the Philistines'. **שָׂזַת**: 2 Kgs 3:24 (2×) 'the Moabites', 'Moab'; 8:21 'the Edomites'; 14:7, 10 (2×) 'Edom'.

²¹⁹ **חָסַם**: 1 Kgs 15:29 'all the house of Jeroboam'; 16:11 'all the house of Baasha'; 2 Kgs 9:7 'those of the house of Ahab'. **שָׂזַת**: 2 Kgs 10:11, 17 (9a1) 'all who were found of the house of Ahab'.

equivalent, the preference for נִכַּח above חָסַח in these instances is not clarified.

The use of נִכַּח in 2Kgs 10:25 (2×) may offer a clue. In this text worshippers of Baal are the object. Either מָלַח or חָסַח (compare מָחַח in Targum Jonathan) would have been fitting here. The context of 2Kgs 10:25 makes it clear that total eradication of Baal's cult and his worshippers is implied. It is conceivable that the Peshitta chose נִכַּח because this verb expresses utter destruction more poignantly than חָסַח . In the other instances mentioned above, the Peshitta may also have chosen נִכַּח as an equivalent of נָכַח Hiphil in order to amplify its meaning in the sense of 'destroy utterly, exterminate'.

Our conclusions regarding the distribution of נִכַּח , חָסַח , and מָלַח as primary forms corresponding to נָכַח Hiphil can be summarized as follows:

- חָסַח is the standard equivalent; moreover, the use of חָסַח is sometimes connected to specific lexical situations.
- The Peshitta uses מָלַח and נִכַּח where it intends to specify נָכַח Hiphil as 'kill' (in case of persons) or 'lay waste' (in case of towns), respectively; however, the Peshitta is not consistent in this respect.
- The Peshitta moreover uses נִכַּח where it intends to amplify נָכַח Hiphil, 'strike', as 'destroy utterly, eradicate'.

2.2.2.5. נָכַח Hiphil Corresponds to נָפַח

In 2Kgs 11:12 the expression $\text{הִכָּה כַּף הַיָּד}$, 'clap palm of hand', is rendered idiomatically as נָפַח חֶפְצָה , 'strike palm of hand'. In Kings the occurrence of נָפַח is confined to this expression. The rendering has at least some degree of semantic overlap with the Hebrew verb.

2.2.2.6. נָכַח Hiphil (Q^{re}) Corresponds to חָלַל (with ב)

2Kgs 3:24

וַיַּחֲסִיחֵם 'and they attacked them (namely, the Moabites)'

וַיִּבְּבוּ בָהּ 'and they entered it (namely, the land of Moab)'

וַיִּכּוּ בָהּ 'and they smote it'

The translator probably read וַיִּבְּבוּ בָהּ or וַיִּבְּבוּ בָם ²²⁰ in the Vorlage and rendered both the verb and preposition literally. The literal rendering works out well in the Syriac context, because חָלַל can assume the meaning 'invade, attack'.²²¹

²²⁰ P agrees with TJ in providing the preposition with a third person masc pl suffix (P וַיִּבְּבוּ ; [ומחין] בהן TJ). The agreement suggests that בָם was in the Hebrew sources of both versions.

²²¹ See CSD, 412b.

2.2.2.7. *Hiphil Corresponds to מִלְּאֵל*

The noun used is closely related to one of the main verbal renderings of the Hebrew form.

2 Kgs 14:6

מִלְּאֵל מְלַחְתֵּי קִלְלָאֵל 'and the sons of the killers'
 וְאֵת בְּנֵי הַמַּכִּים 'and the sons of the assassins'

The translator took the plural participle of נָכַח Hiphil to mean 'assassin' and translated it by a noun related to the verb מִלְּאֵל. In Kings מִלְּאֵל frequently renders נָכַח Hiphil where the Hebrew verb refers to killing someone.²²²

2.2.2.8. *Hiphil Corresponds to מִיָּאֵ (BTR Only)*

This correspondence is merely the result of inner-Syriac editing.²²³

2 Kgs 2:14

BTR מִיָּאֵ לַחֲוֵלָא 'and he cried to the Lord'
 9a1 מִסַּנְזָא לַחֲוֵלָא (...) 'and he struck the waters'
 מִיָּכַח אֶת הַמַּיִם (...) 'and he struck the waters'

The older text, represented by 9a1, runs entirely parallel to the Masoretic text ('and he took the mantle of Elijah which had fallen from him and he struck the waters'). Later on, this text was replaced by 'and he cried to the Lord', attested by the BTR.²²⁴ It may be clear that מִיָּאֵ, 'and he cried', in the BTR is not a rendering of מִיָּכַח, since it does not derive from the translator himself, but from a scribe. As such, this case is irrelevant for the study of translation strategy.

2.3. *Correspondences within a Single Semantic Field*

Most probably because of their infrequency, some items manifest no variation in their correspondences. These are listed in table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Terms with correspondences in a single semantic field

בז [BZ] (n.), '(act of) spoiling, booty, spoil'	1 × מִיָּאֵ [BZT >] (n.), 'prey, spoil, robbery, spoiling' ²²⁵
בזז [BZZ], 'spoil, plunder'	1 × ב [BZ], 'spoil, take spoil, plunder' ²²⁶

²²² See section 2.1.5.4.

²²³ See also chapter 13, section 3.3.

²²⁴ See also Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 45–46.

²²⁵ 2 Kgs 21:14.

²²⁶ 2 Kgs 7:16.

דבר [DBR] (n.), 'plague'	1× ܡܘܬܢܐ [MWTN>] (n.), 'plague, mortality, slaughter' ²²⁷
הרס [HRS], 'throw down, tear down'	4× ܥܫܦ [SXP], 'overturn, demolish, defeat' ²²⁸
משחית [MCXJT] (n.), 'destroyer, destruction'	1× ܡܫܠܢܐ [MXBLN>] (n.), 'destroying, plundering' ²²⁹
שדפון [CDPWN] (n.), 'scorching'	1× ܥܡܩܐ [CWQP>] (n.), 'beating, slaughter, blow' ²³⁰
שחט [CXV], 'slaughter'	4× ܢܫܐ [NKS], 'slay, kill' ²³¹
סה [CSH], 'spoil, plunder'	1× ܒܘܘܘܐ [BZWZ>] (n.), 'spoiler, destroyer' ²³²

2.4. Summary and Conclusions

In the previous section all lexemes denoting killing, exterminating, and destroying found in the Peshitta and the Masoretic text of Kings were listed. Our aim was to discover which factors influenced the distribution of Syriac terms in relation to the distribution of Hebrew terms. A cursory glance at the tables included in this chapter suffices to see that there is no simple, exclusive correspondence between one Syriac and one Hebrew term. On the contrary, a single Syriac term often matches various Hebrew ones, and, to a lesser degree, the opposite situation is also encountered. Our examination shows that the current distribution of Syriac terms has been influenced by the following factors:

- the Hebrew term the translator identified in his Vorlage
- the meaning of this Hebrew term in its grammatical and literary context as the translator perceived it
- the Syriac lexical equivalents known to the translator
- stylistic, literary, or theological considerations of the translator

Various factors can simultaneously influence the choice of a single Syriac term. In most instances, the first three factors played a crucial part. First

²²⁷ 1 Kgs 8:27.

²²⁸ 1 Kgs 18:30; 19:10, 14; 2 Kgs 8:25.

²²⁹ 2 Kgs 23:13.

²³⁰ 1 Kgs 8:37.

²³¹ 1 Kgs 18:40; 2 Kgs 10:7, 14; 25:7.

²³² 2 Kgs 17:20.

and foremost, the translator endeavoured to convey the sense of the Hebrew term in his exemplar. Thus different stem formations of the same Hebrew verb are rendered in Syriac by different roots (see, for instance, כרת), showing that the translator was less concerned with maintaining formal agreement by using fixed equivalents than with conveying the sense of the Hebrew into good Syriac.

In several cases, however, the lexical choice reveals that one factor took precedence over others. To a certain degree, this would explain the complexity of the pattern of correspondences encountered. These special factors are discussed below.

2.4.1. *The Hebrew Word in the Vorlage*

2.4.1.1. *Vorlage Different from the (Proto-)Masoretic Text*

In one or two instances there is good reason to suppose that the translator rendered a different Hebrew word from what occurs in the Masoretic text. In 1 Kgs 11:15 אֵבֶד probably reflects בהכות instead of בהיות of the Masoretic text. In 2 Kgs 19:11 אֵבֶד Hiphil might go back to a Hebrew text slightly different from the Masoretic text. In 2 Kgs 3:24 the translator based himself on a text reflected in the K^etib of the Masoretic text.

2.4.1.2. *Cognates*

The presence of cognates is a strong indication of the influence of the Vorlage on the lexical choices made by the translator. However, the verbs denoting killing and destruction offer no unambiguous examples that the translator favoured one cognate above an alternative form. Though it is noteworthy that nearly all occurrences of the verb אָבַד are rendered by the cognate אָבַד, one may doubt whether other Syriac verbs (for instance, אָפַל Aphel) within the same semantic domain presented truly equivalent lexical alternatives.

2.4.1.3. *Standard Translational Equivalence*

The Vorlage could also exert influence regarding the lexical choice of non-cognate lexemes. If the majority of instances of a Hebrew lexeme are matched by a Syriac lexeme within that particular semantic field, the Syriac term may be called a standard translation equivalent. In the materials discussed above, various standard equivalents were observed. Here it is the lack of variation in equivalents that may be ascribed to the influence of the Vorlage. Thus, we saw that יָרַשׁ Hiphil and שָׁמַד Hiphil are each consistently rendered as אָפַל Aphel. On the other hand, this kind of standard equivalents could be due to a lack of lexical alternatives in Syriac (see section

2.4.2).²³³ Examination of lexical correspondences in other biblical books may provide more material for comparison.

A negative form of standard translation equivalence occurs where a Syriac term chosen in a particular semantic context is avoided in a similar context because it was reserved for rendering a particular Hebrew term. Our materials present examples of this, such as נכה Hiphil which is frequently rendered as ܢܚܐ Aphel but never as ܠܚܒ Aphel, although the Syriac verbs are related semantically and have similar types of objects.²³⁴

2.4.2. *The Availability of Lexical Equivalents in Syriac*

Within a semantic domain, languages do not have identical sets of terms at their disposal. This may be the reason why verbs for 'killing', like הרג Qal, מות Hiphil, and רצח Qal are all rendered in Syriac as ܠܡܦ. Where the Hebrew verbs express different shades of meaning, these are levelled in Syriac. Another example is ܦܨܦ, which renders Hebrew verbs expressing different aspects of cutting: גור Qal, כרת Qal, כתח Piel, קצב Qal, קציץ Piel.

This also works the other way around: within a particular semantic domain Syriac may have had more verbs at its disposal than Hebrew did. Thus the Peshitta uses ܢܡܦ to describe a specific action that in Hebrew is expressed by the generic נכה Hiphil. However, the fact that various Syriac verbs correspond to one Hebrew verb does not necessarily imply that Hebrew had fewer verbs within that semantic domain. Syriac may have specified certain aspects of meaning which in Hebrew could also be expressed by different verbs. This is probably the case with some of the Syriac equivalents of כרת Hiphil and נכה Hiphil.

2.4.3. *Modification for Stylistic, Literary, and Theological Reasons*

If the meaning of a Syriac verb shifts away from that of the corresponding Hebrew term, or if an unusual, though semantically adequate, rendering comes in place of the usual Syriac rendering, stylistic, literary, or theological

²³³ According to Weitzman, in semantic fields where there is a relative lack of synonyms the translator could stretch out two Syriac synonyms 'by treating one as the "A-word" and one as the "B-word". If any of the Hebrew synonyms occurs alone, P tends to use the "A-word" for the first and the "B-word" for the second' (Weitzman, *Introduction*, 30–31). We have not been able to confirm Weitzman's observations within the Kings data.

²³⁴ Similar objects involve a nation (ܠܚܒ Aphel in 2 Kgs 24:2 with 'Judah'; ܢܚܐ Aphel in 2 Kgs 14:7, 10 [2 ×] with 'Edom'; in 3:24, 25 with 'Moab') and 'Baal's servants' (ܠܚܒ Aphel 2 Kgs 10:19; ܢܚܐ Aphel 2 Kgs 10:25 [2 ×; implicit]).

motivations may have been at work. Considerations of style probably led the translator in 2 Kgs 5:7; 7:4 to employ אָפֵּל Aphel instead of מִפֵּל Peal to render מוֹרַח Hiphil, and in 2 Kgs 15:15 to use אָפֵּל instead of מִפֵּל to render נִכַּח Hiphil. Harmonization of narratively interrelated texts and levelling of kindred passages is probably present in the choice of מִפֵּל in 1 Kgs 2:25, חָפַף in 2 Kgs 6:2, and אָפֵּל Aphel in 2 Kgs 17:11. In some instances, an unusual rendering seems to reflect the influence of a thematically related passage elsewhere in Kings (חָפַף in 2 Kgs 21:3; אָפֵּל Aphel in 2 Kgs 22:17). The exegetical effect points to the probable motive for the unusual rendering. In 2 Kings 18–19, the apparent preference for מִפֵּל as a rendering of various Hebrew verbs has the effect of improving the literary cohesion of the Hezekiah narrative. Here, too, the effect may have been deliberate. Exegetical motives may have motivated the choice of מִפֵּל to render נִכַּח Hiphil in 2 Kgs 10:25. Simplification is present in the use of אָפֵּל Aphel in 1 Kgs 9:21 and מִפֵּל in 1 Kgs 11:15. The opposite—specification—is manifest in the tendency to render נִכַּח Hiphil as מִפֵּל when the object is animate.

CHAPTER SIX

THE RENDERING OF PROPER NOUNS

In comparing the Masoretic text of Kings with the Peshitta, we find that 746 occurrences of proper nouns are spelled identically in both versions. This involves 158 different names—approximately half of the total number of unique items. The rest of the proper nouns in the two versions manifest a variety of differences which may involve a single letter or several letters, such as when metathesis is present or when parts of composite names are translated.

Some differences can be explained on the basis of phonology, the influence of the grammars of the respective languages, or of the translation of components of a word; other differences are to be attributed to confusion of letters written or pronounced in a similar way.¹ In a few instances, names seem to have been modernized, translated rather than transliterated, or substituted for reasons of narrative logic. A few names betray influence of other versions, such as the Septuagint and the Antiochene text.² The majority of differences can be assigned to the translator, but a sizeable portion undoubtedly arose during the transmission of the Syriac text. Prominent among these are corruptions reflecting aural and visual errors by scribes.

The occurrences of proper nouns are counted and listed on the basis of the main text of the Leiden edition (= BTR), but variant readings of manuscript 9a1, if extant, are taken into account. However, no separate count of instances in 9a1 is given because the manuscript does not cover the full text of Kings (2 Kgs 13:13b–16:19a is lacking).

The various types of systematic spelling differences will be presented first (section 1). While grouping similar cases together under the appropriate phenomenon, within each section examples are presented in alphabetical order. The spelling differences relate to single letters (section 1.1), metathesis (section 1.2), composite proper nouns (section 1.3), gentilics and proper nouns (section 1.4), conflation of two words and expansion into two words

¹ See chapter 3, section 1.1.

² In this chapter the ancient versions are taken into account only when they are considered relevant for the interpretation of differences.

(section 1.5). Within section 1, only names revealing a single difference are discussed; names with more than one difference are listed, but their discussion is postponed to section 2, where they are presented alphabetically.

In section 3 names are treated which in the Masoretic text have different spellings and sometimes different referents, but in the Peshitta are rendered without differentiation. In section 4 the opposite tendency is discussed: the Peshitta differentiates where the Masoretic text does not. Section 5 treats a number of cases where a proper noun in the one version does not correspond to a proper noun in the other and cases which appear either to be anomalous or to reflect a complex formative process.

1. SYSTEMATIC DIFFERENCES IN THE SPELLING OF PROPER NOUNS

1.1. *Single Letters*

The letters rendered differently in the two versions can be grouped into three main categories as to the motivation: phonological, graphical, and grammatical. Those which can be explained on a phonological basis include semi-vowels, or *matres lectionis* (section 1.1.1), nasals (section 1.1.2), sibilants (section 1.1.3), velars and gutturals (section 1.1.4), and the voicing of plosives (section 1.1.5). Those which can be explained on a graphical basis include the letters which are similar in script (section 1.1.6). Those which can be explained on the basis of grammar reflect differences between the language systems involved (section 1.1.7).

1.1.1. *Matres Lectionis*

In many languages the so-called 'semi-vowels' present a challenge as to whether they should be analysed as consonants or vowels. Often it is their position in the syllable which determines their status. The letters used to indicate the presence of vowels in Hebrew and Syriac are traditionally called *matres lectionis*; these account for much of the variation in the spelling of forms even within a single language. The letters will be presented separately, in alphabetical order, with the proper nouns affected. Under each Syriac letter, first the addition of a particular *mater lectionis* will be treated, and then the replacement of one *mater lectionis* by another. Finally, the omission of Hebrew *matres lectionis* will be presented.

לבח [LBN>] for לבנה [LBNH]¹⁵
 מנח [MNC>] for מנשה [MNCH]¹⁶
 מכח [M<K>] for מעכה [M<KH]¹⁷
 ננח [NJNW>] for נינוה [NJNWH]¹⁸
 חח [<W>] for עוה [<WH]¹⁹
 רח [<RB>] for ערבה [<RBH]²⁰
 יחח [Y<JR>] for צעירה [Y<JRH]²¹
 שחח [CBN>] for שבנה [CBNH]²²

This occurs also in לבח for הגלילה, מנח for משה, עוה for חוה, רח for עזובה, and יחח for צביה, which also contain other spelling differences.

A special category within this group is formed by those in which the spelling of theophoric element systematically uses different letters—ח for יה. These will be treated separately.²³

Final Aleph as a *mater lectionis* for *a* remains Alaph in the Peshitta of Kings, as in the unaltered spelling of נחשתח [NXCT>] for נחשתח [NXCT>]²⁴ and in the final Aleph / Alaph of גזח [GNT GZ>] for גזח [GN<Z>].²⁵

Alaph instead of Yod initially. Alaph appears where the Hebrew names have Yod initially in אשעל for ירושלם, ארמיהו for ירמיהו, and אשעיהו for ישעיהו, all of which have more than one spelling difference. The difference may be the result of a two-step process: first the addition of prothetic Alaph, and then the reduction of the two word-initial *matres lectionis*.

This also appears to occur in composite names containing the theophoric element אל / א in non-initial position; however, these instances are better explained by the elision of Alaph in this position.²⁶

¹⁵ 4 ×: 2 Kgs 8:22; 19:8; 23:31; 24:18.

¹⁶ 12 ×: 1 Kgs 4:13; 2 Kgs 20:21; 21:1, 9, 11, 16, 17, 18, 20; 23:12, 26; 24:3. Twice מנח occurs as a plus: 2 Kgs 21:13; 23:32 (only BTR).

¹⁷ 5 ×: 1 Kgs 2:39 (masculine proper noun); 1 Kgs 15:2, 10, 13 (feminine proper noun); 2 Kgs 15:29 (part of composite toponym).

¹⁸ 2 Kgs 19:36.

¹⁹ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 18:34; 19:13. In 2 Kgs 17:24 חח corresponds to עוה.

²⁰ 2 Kgs 14:25. In 2 Kgs 25:4, 5 ערבה is translated twice as ארבה, 'plain, valley'.

²¹ 2 Kgs 8:21.

²² 2 ×: 2 Kgs 18:18, 26. The spelling שבח occurs in 2 Kgs 18:37; 19:2, see section 3.3.

²³ See section 1.3.1.2.

²⁴ 2 Kgs 24:8.

²⁵ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 21:18, 26. See also section 5.2.

²⁶ See section 1.3.1.1.

1.1.1.2. *He*

He added initially. The addition of He in initial position in אֶהוּס [HDRWN] for רוּז [RZWN] occurs in combination with other changes.

He added medially. He is added in medial position in:

אֶהוּס [YHJWN] for ציון [YJWN]²⁷

He instead of Aleph. The following case probably involves an instance of harmonization:

הוּס [HDD] for אַדד [>DD]²⁸

1.1.1.3. *Waw*

Waw added medially. Waw is added in medial position as a vowel letter to indicate *o* or *u*:

אֶהוּס [>DWMJ >] for אַדמי [>DMJ]²⁹
 אֶהוּס [>"DWMJT >] for אַדמית [>DMJT]³⁰
 אֶהוּס [>DWNJRM] for אַדנירם [>DNJRM]³¹
 אֶהוּס [>WRJ] for אַרי [>RJ]³²
 אֶהוּס [>MWN] for אַמן [>MN]³³
 אֶהוּס [>MWR "J >] for אַמרי [>MRJ]³⁴
 אֶהוּס [>RGWB] for אַרגב [>RGB]³⁵
 אֶהוּס [BJT XWRN] for בית חרן [BJT XRN]³⁶
 אֶהוּס [B <LWT] for בעלת [B <LT]³⁷
 אֶהוּס [DWTN] for דתן [DTN]³⁸
 אֶהוּס [XYWR] for חצור [XYR]³⁹

²⁷ 3 ×: 1 Kgs 8:1; 2 Kgs 19:21, 31. According to Weitzman, *Introduction*, 50, אֶהוּס reflects partial etymologization ("cf. אֶהוּס "thirst" as from ציה "dryness").

²⁸ 1 Kgs 11:17 (1st). Provided אַדד occurred in the Vorlage the translator rendered the exceptional form with the regular equivalent for הַדד (5 ×: 1 Kgs 11:14, 17 [2nd], 19, 21 [2 ×]).

²⁹ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 11:14, 17.

³⁰ 1 Kgs 11:1.

³¹ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 4:6; 5:28. אֶהוּס also corresponds to אַדורם, 'Adoram', in 1 Kgs 12:18. See section 3.4.

³² 1 Kgs 4:19.

³³ 1 Kgs 22:26.

³⁴ 4 ×: 1 Kgs 4:19; 9:20; 21:26; 2 Kgs 21:10.

³⁵ 1 Kgs 4:13. אַרגב is also rendered אֶהוּס, see sections 2 and 4.2.

³⁶ 1 Kgs 9:17.

³⁷ 1 Kgs 9:18. The other occurrence of אֶהוּס in P Kings is 1 Kgs 4:16, where it is in conformity with בעלת [B <LWT]. Apparently, the translator identified אֶהוּס in 1 Kgs 9:18 with בעלת in 4:16.

³⁸ 2 Kgs 6:13.

³⁹ 1 Kgs 9:15. In 2 Kgs 15:29 אֶהוּס corresponds to חצור, see section 3.3.

This occurs also in גגג for עדא and גגג for בלאדן , which also contain other spelling differences.

Waw instead of He. Hebrew He as a *mater lectionis* for *o*⁵³ is replaced with Waw, because in Syriac only Waw can be *mater lectionis* for *o* (and *u*), as in גגג for יריחה , גגג for פרעה , גגג for שלה , and גגג for שלמה , which all contain more than one spelling difference.

1.1.1.4. *Yudh*

Yudh added initially. Yudh is added word-initially in the composite proper noun גגג for בית שאן , which also contains other spelling differences.

Yudh added medially. Yudh added as a vowel letter to indicate *i* or *ee* occurs medially in names formed with the theophoric element גגג [$>JL$] for אל [$>L$] in second position (see section 1.3.1.1), but is not limited to these formations:

גגג [$>BNJR$] for אבנר [$>BNR$]⁵⁴
 גגג [$>JTB<L$] for אתבעל [$>TB<L$]⁵⁵
 גגג [DWJD] for דוד [DWD]⁵⁶
 גגג [JBJC] for יבש [JBC]⁵⁷
 גגג [NJR] for נר [NR]⁵⁸
 גגג [SNXRJB] for סנחרב [SNXRB]⁵⁹
 גגג [YJDNJ] for צדני [YDNJ]⁶⁰
 גגג [CKJM] for שכם [CKM]⁶¹
 גגג [CMJR] for שִׁמֶר [CMR], ‘Shemer’⁶²
 גגג [CMJR] for שִׁמֶר [CMR], ‘Shomer’⁶³
 גגג [CM<JT] for שמעת [CM<T]⁶⁴

This can also be observed in גגג for הבשן , גגג for חרב , גגג for מנחם , גגג for ענמלך , גגג for חלם , גגג for ערער , גגג for סנחרב , גגג for יקתאל

⁵³ See Joüion—Muraoka, *Grammar*, § 7b.

⁵⁴ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 2:5, 32.

⁵⁵ 1 Kgs 16:31.

⁵⁶ 96 × (in BTR). Twice גגג occurs as a plus: 1 Kgs 11:10, 15.

⁵⁷ 3 ×: 2 Kgs 15:10, 13, 14.

⁵⁸ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 2:5, 32.

⁵⁹ 2 Kgs 19:20. גגג also corresponds to סנחרב three times, see section 3.3.

⁶⁰ Various inflected forms of the Hebrew gentile (Aramaic in 1 Kgs 11:33) are written defectively (1 Kgs 5:20; 11:1, 5, 33) and fully (1 Kgs 16:31; 2 Kgs 23:13). Syriac maintains the plene spelling.

⁶¹ 3 ×: 1 Kgs 12:1 (2 ×), 25.

⁶² 1 Kgs 16:24 (2 ×).

⁶³ 2 Kgs 12:22.

⁶⁴ 2 Kgs 12:22.

for שלמה, ܫܠܡܗ for שלמה, and ܠܬܚܦܢܫ for תחפנס, all of which contain more than one spelling difference.

Yudh added finally. Final Yudh is added in:

ܚܒܘܠ [KBWLJ] for כבול [KBWL]⁶⁵

Yudh instead of Aleph. As Syriac tends to use Yudh as a *mater lectionis* for *i* or *ee*, it appears that Yudh replaced Aleph in

ܫܘܘܠ [CJWL] for שאול [C>WL]⁶⁶

In ܫܘܠܗܢ for זרעאל, ܫܘܠܗ for ישראל, and ܫܘܠܗܢ for ישמעאל, which all contain more than one spelling difference, the theophoric element אל [>L] is rendered as ܠ [JL]. It is most likely that the Alaph of ܠܗ [>JL] has been elided in this position.

Yudh instead of He. Yudh can replace He in final position, as in ܫܘܠܗ for חלדה, which contains more than one spelling difference.

Yudh instead of Waw. Waw is replaced by Yudh in:

ܫܘܠܗܢ [CMRJN] for שמרון [CMRWN]⁶⁷

This also occurs in ܫܘܠܗ for יגור, which has more than one spelling difference.

Yudh instead of Nun. For Yudh instead of Nun see section 1.1.7.4.

1.1.1.5. Omissions of Hebrew matres lectionis

Aleph Omitted. Initial Aleph omitted:

ܡܬܝ [MTJ] for אמתי [>MTJ]⁶⁸

ܐܪܦܕ [RPD] for ארפד [>RPD]⁶⁹

This also occurs in ܐܫܘܪܝܢ for אסר חדן, which contains other spelling differences as well. The aphaeresis of Aleph, which is not unusual in Syriac,⁷⁰ may have occurred during the translation process.

⁶⁵ 1 Kgs 9:13.

⁶⁶ 2 x: 1 Kgs 2:6, 9.

⁶⁷ 68 x. ܫܘܠܗܢ occurs as a plus in 2 Kgs 17:41. In 2 Kgs 17:29 ܫܘܠܗܢ corresponds to השמרנים.

⁶⁸ 2 Kgs 14:25.

⁶⁹ 2 x: 2 Kgs 18:34; 19:13.

⁷⁰ Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 6J.

Medial Aleph omitted. There are several instances where Aleph as *mater lectionis* in proper nouns is not rendered in Syriac. These all involve the so-called etymological Aleph in Hebrew:⁷¹

ܐܘܒܝܢ [>XB] for אֹחָאב [>X>B]⁷²
 ܒܠܕܢ [BLDN] for בְּלֹאֲדָן [BL>DN]⁷³
 ܢܒܘܘܪܐܕܢ [NBWZRDN] for נְבוּרֹאֲדָן [NBWZR>DN]⁷⁴
 ܢܒܘܕܢܐܘܪ [NBWKDNYR] for נְבוּדֹנָאֵר [NBKDN>YR]⁷⁵
 ܦܪܢ [PRN] for פֹּאֲרָן [P>RN]⁷⁶

This also occurs in ܐܘܘܠܝܐ for יִזְרַעְאֵלִי, ܒܝܬ ܫܐܢ for בית שאן, ܒܐܪ ܒܘܥܒܕ for באר בועבד, ܫܒܥ ܘܠܡܘ for תְּלֹאֲשֶׁר, ܘܠܡܘ for תְּלֹאֲשֶׁר, ܘܠܡܘ for יֶאֱזִיחֶיהּ, and ܐܘ ܕܘܠܘܠܥܘ for תְּגַלַּת פְּלֹאֲסֶר, all of which have more than one spelling difference.

Where Aleph in combination with a vowel is quiescent in Hebrew, it is not rendered in Syriac:

ܝܘܘܐ [JHW] for יהוֹא [JHW>]⁷⁷
 ܡܠܘܐ [MLW] for מְלוֹא [MLW>]⁷⁸

This also occurs in ܘܘܫܒܢܐ, ‘Reuben’, for הרֶאֱבֹנִי, ‘the Reubenite’, which also contains other spelling differences.

He Omitted. Hebrew He is omitted medially in:

ܘܚܘܐܠ [XZ>JL] for חִזְהָאֵל [XZH>L]⁷⁹

Hebrew final He is omitted in:

ܚܘܬܐ [KWT] for כּוֹתֵהּ [KWTH]⁸⁰
 ܘܘܠܘܩܗ [TRHQ] for תְּרַהֲקֶהּ [TRHQH]⁸¹

⁷¹ See Joüon—Muraoka, *Grammar*, § 7*b*.

⁷² 75 ×. ܐܘܒܝܢ occurs 6 × as a plus: 1 Kgs 18:16 (2nd); 20:22, 28; 22:2; 2 Kgs 8:29 (only BTR); 9:16 (only BTR). ܐܘܒܝܢ corresponds to חִיאֵל in 1 Kgs 16:34 (see section 3.4). In 1 Kgs 18:17, אֹחָאב (2nd) is not rendered by P.

⁷³ 2 × in 2 Kgs 20:12.

⁷⁴ 3 ×: 2 Kgs 25:8, 11, 20. ܢܒܘܘܪܐܕܢ occurs as a plus in 2 Kgs 25:12 (only BTR).

⁷⁵ 3 ×: 2 Kgs 24:1, 10; 25:8. Twice ܢܒܘܕܢܐܘܪ corresponds to נְבוּדֹנָאֵר: 2 Kgs 24:11; 25:22, see section 3.3.

⁷⁶ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 11:18.

⁷⁷ 47 ×. ܝܘܘܐ occurs 4 × as a plus: 2 Kgs 9:22 (3rd; only BTR), 25; 10:23 (2nd; only BTR); 13:10 (only BTR).

⁷⁸ 3 ×: 1 Kgs 9:15, 24; 11:27. In 2 Kgs 12:21 ܚܠܐ corresponds to the same name spelled defectively as מְלוֹא.

⁷⁹ 5 ×: 2 Kgs 8:8, 13, 15, 28, 29. The Hebrew name is also spelled חֻזָּאֵל, see section 3.3.

⁸⁰ 2 Kgs 17:24. The Syriac form recurs in 2 Kgs 17:30, where it matches כּוֹת in MT. Apparently the translator was aware that כּוֹתֵהּ in v. 24 refers to the city כּוֹת mentioned in v. 30. The names are also equated in TJ and Ant., but not in LXX.

⁸¹ 2 Kgs 19:9.

Waw Omitted. Waw in the Masoretic text is omitted in:

יֵצֵא [YJDN] for צִידוֹן [YJDNW]⁸²
 נְכוּחַ [XBR] for חִבּוּר [XBWR]⁸³

This can be observed as well in נִזְכָּרִים for דּוֹמֵשֶׁק, and לַחֲבֵן for הַלְבָנוֹן, which have more than one spelling difference.

Yod Omitted. Hebrew Yod in initial position is omitted in נֶעַד [NJX] for יְנוּחַ [JNWX], which also contains other spelling differences.⁸⁴

Yod in medial position is omitted in:

אֶתֶּן [>TN] for אֵיתוֹן [>JTN]⁸⁵
 סִמְחָה [HMN] for הֵימָן [HJMN]⁸⁶
 רֵצִין [RYN] for רֵצִיָּן [RYJN]⁸⁷

This phenomenon can also be observed in אֶמֶל מִזִּמְרֵי for אוֹיֵל מִרְדָּךְ and סֵפֶר for צְבִיָּה, which also contain other spelling differences.

Yod in final position is omitted in:

חֲנִי [XNN] for חֲנִיָּ [XNNJ]⁸⁸
 שְׁלַחֵי [CLX] for שְׁלַחֵיָּ [CLXJ]⁸⁹

This can also be observed in הַמַּעֲכָתִי for מַחֲבֵה, where the differences are related to a Hebrew gentilic with definite article being rendered as a proper noun (see section 1.4).

1.1.2. *Nasals*

We present the Nun first due to the predominate amount of material involving this letter and because some cases with Mim can be more easily explained on the basis of the material on the Nun.

⁸² 1 Kgs 17:9.

⁸³ 2 x: 2 Kgs 17:6; 18:11.

⁸⁴ A possible explanation is that word-initial ם became נ (cf. section 1.1.7.4), and that subsequently reduplicated [N] was assimilated.

⁸⁵ 1 Kgs 5:11.

⁸⁶ 1 Kgs 5:11.

⁸⁷ 4 x: 2 Kgs 15:37; 16:5, 6, 9.

⁸⁸ 2 x: 1 Kgs 16:1, 7.

⁸⁹ 1 Kgs 22:42.

1.1.2.1. *Nun*

Nun added medially. Nun is added in medial position in a composite name such as אֲחִישֵׁר for אֲחִישַׁר, which also contains other spelling differences.

Nun added finally. Nun is added in final position in אֲחִישֵׁר for אֲחִישַׁר, הִירְדָן for הִירְדַן, מַלְכֵּי for מַלְכֵי, פְּרַעָה for פְּרַעֵה, and שְׁלֹמֶה for שְׁלֹמֵה, all of which involve more spelling differences. Appending Nun to names is also attested in Aramaic and Greek.⁹⁰

Nun instead of initial Yod. Nun appears in a number of names in the Peshitta in a position where the Masoretic text has a Yod. This phenomenon can be explained either by the graphic similarity of the two letters in non-final position,⁹¹ or by the influence of the differing imperfect prefix in the two languages.⁹²

Nun instead of final He. Nun appears word-finally where the Hebrew has final He following Nun, resulting in the duplication of final Nun in Syriac, as in:

אֲמֵנָה [>MNN] for אֲמֵנָה [>MNH] (Q^ere)⁹³
 יוֹנָה [JWN] for יוֹנָה [JWNH]⁹⁴

Duplicated final Nun (not separated by a vowel letter) is also found in אֲחִישֵׁר for אֲחִישַׁר and הִירְדָן for הִירְדַן, all of which contain more than one spelling difference, and in חֲנַנִּי for חֲנָנִי.⁹⁵ In these cases reduplicated final Nun appears where in Hebrew Nun occurs in a final or penultimate position.

Nun instead of final Mem. The sole instance is מְצַרִּים for מְצַרִּים. Influence of Syriac grammar cannot be ignored.⁹⁶

Nun omitted. The Nun appears to have been assimilated in the Syriac rendering in אֲבָנָה for אֲבָנָה, עֲנַמְלִיךְ for עֲנַמְלִיךְ, and אֲחִישֵׁר for אֲחִישַׁר, all of which involve multiple spelling differences.

⁹⁰ Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 34; Weitzman, *Introduction*, 50.

⁹¹ See section 1.1.6.3.

⁹² See section 1.1.7.4.

⁹³ 2 Kgs 5:12. Since the Syriac form is closer to Q^ere אֲמֵנָה than to K^etib אֲבָנָה, the translator probably read Q^ere. Walter (*Peshitta of II Kings*, 33) leaves room for the possibility that the translator still read אֲבָנָה but rendered it by what may have been the customary Syriac name of the river Abanah, אֲבָנָה.

⁹⁴ 2 Kgs 14:25.

⁹⁵ See section 1.1.1.5.

⁹⁶ See section 1.1.7.3, as well as chapter 3, section 1.5.

1.1.2.2. *Mim*

Mim instead of Beth initially. The two letters involved differ only in manner of pronunciation—both are voiced and labial, but the one is a nasal continuant and the other a non-nasal plosive. This phenomenon can be observed in מִי־סוֹאֵל for בְּלֹאֲדָן and מִי־בִשְׁן for הַבִּשְׁן , which contain other spelling differences.

Mim instead of Nun finally. Mim is substituted for final Nun in מִי־נֹגֵם for אֶסֶר־הַדָּן , which manifests more than one spelling difference.

1.1.3. *Hebrew Sibilants*

Except for the fact that Syriac does not have a separate letter for the Hebrew Sin, the two languages have corresponding letters to indicate the sibilants. Yet the phonetic quality represented by a cognate letter need not have been identical. The great variety in the rendering of the sibilants seems to point in this direction.⁹⁷

1.1.3.1. *Hebrew Tsade*

Zayin instead of Tsade. This occurs in:

זַיִן [BZQT] for בַּצֶּקֶת [BYQT]⁹⁸

Semkath instead of Tsade. The example, סַמְכַת for יִצְחָק , involves more than one spelling difference.

1.1.3.2. *Hebrew Sin*

Lamadh instead of Sin. The fricative-lateral Sin became Lamadh in Syriac and Aramaic. The example, לַמְדַח for בְּשָׂדִים , manifests more than one spelling difference.

Semkath instead of Sin. This substitution can be found in סַמְכַת for יִשְׂרָאֵל , סַמְכַת for תְּלַאֲשֶׁר , סַמְכַת for דְּמַשֶּׁק and דּוּמַשֶּׁק , and סַמְכַת for שׁוֹכֵה , all of which manifest more than one spelling difference.

Shin instead of Sin. In some cases, the translator apparently took Sin of the Masoretic text for Shin and rendered accordingly, as in

שִׁין [CR>YR] for שְׂרָאצֶר [FR>YR]⁹⁹

⁹⁷ For more examples, see chapter 3, section 1.1.3.

⁹⁸ 2 Kgs 22:1.

⁹⁹ 2 Kgs 19:37.

This can also be found in עֲשִׂיה for עֲשִׂיה and עֲשִׂיה for עֲשִׂיה , which involve more than one spelling difference.

1.1.3.3. Hebrew Shin

Semkath instead of Shin. The example, עֲשִׂיה for עֲשִׂיה , involves more than one spelling difference.

Taw instead of Shin. Taw occurs for Shin in:

עֲשִׂיה [$>$ TWR] for עֲשִׂיה [$>$ CWR]¹⁰⁰

This occurs also in the rendering עֲשִׂיה for עֲשִׂיה , which contains more than one spelling difference.

1.1.4. Velars and Gutturals

As was proposed for the sibilants, it is possible that the phonetic quality represented by the cognate letters differed in Hebrew and Syriac. This could explain some of the switches in the spelling of proper nouns.

1.1.4.1. Gamal Instead of Ayin

The Gamal appears where the Hebrew has an Ayin in:

עֲשִׂיה [GZ], '(the garden of) the treasury', for עֲשִׂיה [$<$ Z $>$], '(the garden of) Uzza'¹⁰¹

This can also be observed in עֲשִׂיה for עֲשִׂיה , which contains more than one spelling difference.

Besides the phonological proximity, another explanation is possible: as Syriac ع and ג are more easily confused than Hebrew ע and ג , the difference could result from corruption. Support for this assumption may be found in 6h18 which offers עֲשִׂיה instead of עֲשִׂיה ¹⁰² in the other ancient manuscripts (= גבר).

The switch from Ayin to Gamal does not occur in עֲשִׂיה [$<$ Z $>$] for עֲשִׂיה [$<$ Z $>$], 'Gaza'.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ 47x: 2 Kgs 15:19, 20 (2x), 29 (2x); 16:7, 8, 9 (2x), 10, 18; 17:3, 4 (3x; 3rd only BTR), 5, 6 (2x), 23, 24, 26, 27; 18:7, 9, 11 (2x), 13, 14 (2x), 16, 17, 19, 28, 30, 31, 33; 19:4 (only 9a1; the BTR offers עֲשִׂיה [$>$ TWRJ $>$]), 6, 8, 10, 11, 17, 20, 32, 35 (only 9a1; the BTR offers עֲשִׂיה [$>$ TWRJ $>$]), 36; 20:6.

¹⁰¹ 2x: 2 Kgs 21:18, 26. See section 5.2.1.

¹⁰² 2x: 1 Kgs 4:13, 19.

¹⁰³ 2x: 1 Kgs 5:4; 18:8. See also section 1.1.1.1.

1.1.4.2. *Qoph Instead of Kaph*

This occurs in **ܚܚܠܡ** [$\langle MLJQ \rangle$] for **ܥܢܡܠܚ** [$\langle NMLK \rangle$], which involves more than one spelling difference.

1.1.4.3. *E Instead of Aleph*

This difference could be due to confusion of sound when the Syriac text was dictated to a copyist:

ܫܠܕ [$SL\langle$] for **ܫܠܐ** [$SL>$]¹⁰⁴
ܫܠܡܢܫܪ [$CLMN\langle SR$] for **ܫܠܡܢܐܫܪ** [$CLMN>SR$]¹⁰⁵

Though the switch of letters occurs as well in **ܚܒܘܫܠܘܡ** for **ܐܒܝܫܠܘܡ**, this is better explained as a substitution of a different substantive in a composite proper noun.¹⁰⁶

1.1.5. *Voicing in Plosives*

The spelling difference in some cases involves only the added feature of voicing, while other articulatory aspects remain unchanged. This may have resulted from a confusion of sounds when the Syriac was read to a copyist.

1.1.5.1. *Labials—Beth for Pe*

This difference is encountered in **ܒܚܝܒܬܐ** for **ܒܚܝܒܐ** which involves more than one spelling difference.

1.1.5.2. *Alveolars—Dalath for Taw*

The voicing of the alveolar plosive occurs in **ܕܠܫܘܦܐ** for **ܕܠܫܘܦܐ** and **ܕܠܫܘܦܐ** for **ܕܠܫܘܦܐ**, both of which involve more than one spelling difference.

1.1.6. *Letters Similarly Written*

In some cases, the difference in spelling could be attributed to the confusion of letters written in a similar way. Such visual errors arose during the transmission of the Syriac text.

1.1.6.1. *Beth Instead of E*

The original 'E appears to have been confused with Beth in **ܕܠܫܘܦܐ** for **ܕܠܫܘܦܐ**, which also contains other spelling differences.

¹⁰⁴ 2 Kgs 12:21. In P Kings there is another place named **ܫܠܕ** in 2 Kgs 14:7. See further section 3.4.

¹⁰⁵ 2 x: 2 Kgs 17:3; 18:9.

¹⁰⁶ See section 1.3.2.

1.1.6.2. *Daleth / Dalath and Resh*

In most instances, the change may be ascribed to a confusion of letters, although it is not excluded that the two were pronounced similarly.¹⁰⁷

Dalath instead of Resh. Dalath appears where the Hebrew has Resh in:

אָרוּג [>RDV] for אַרְרַט [>RRV]¹⁰⁸
 גַּוּד [GWD] for גּוּר [GWR]¹⁰⁹
 רַעִי [D < J] for רְעִי [R < J]¹¹⁰
 חַרוּץ [XDWY] for חֲרוּץ [XRWY]¹¹¹
 עַדְסָא [XDXS] for עֲדָסָא [XRXS]¹¹²
 צַדְדָא [YDD >] for צַדְדָא [YRD >]¹¹³

This phenomenon can also be observed in רַבְלָה for רַבְלָה, עַרְעַר for עַרְעַר, and פּוּרִים for פּוּרִים, all of which contain more than one spelling difference.

Resh instead of Daleth. Resh appears where Hebrew has a Daleth in:

בֵּית עֶקֶד [BJT < QR] for בֵּית עֶקֶד [BJT < QD]¹¹⁴
 הַדְדְעוֹר [HDR < ZR] for הַדְדְעוֹר [HDD < ZR]¹¹⁵
 זְבוּד [ZBWR] for זְבוּד [ZBWD]¹¹⁶

This occurs also in יְהוּבָד for יְהוּבָד, יְזוּבָד for יְזוּבָד, and פְּדִיָה for פְּדִיָה, which all contain more than one spelling difference.

Reduplication versus dissimilation. In אָרוּג for אַרְרַט, mentioned above under ‘Dalath instead of Resh’, and in הַדְדְעוֹר for הַדְדְעוֹר, mentioned under ‘Resh instead of Daleth’, Hebrew has a doubled letter, while in Syriac the second of the pair is changed, resulting in dissimilation. In צַדְדָא for צַדְדָא, mentioned above under ‘Dalath instead of Resh’, the opposite occurs: dissimilar letters רַד in Hebrew are rendered as reduplicated גַּג in Syriac.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁷ See chapter 3, section 1.2.

¹⁰⁸ 2 Kgs 19:37.

¹⁰⁹ 2 Kgs 9:27.

¹¹⁰ 1 Kgs 1:8. See also chapter 2, section 3.1.1.

¹¹¹ 2 Kgs 21:19.

¹¹² 2 Kgs 22:14.

¹¹³ 1 Kgs 11:26. Cf. Σαπειρά in LXX B.

¹¹⁴ 2 Kgs 10:14 (only gai).

¹¹⁵ 1 Kgs 11:23.

¹¹⁶ 1 Kgs 4:5.

¹¹⁷ Note, however, the identical spelling of [QDRWN] in both languages: 1 Kgs 2:37; 15:13; 2 Kgs 23:4, 6 (2 ×), 23.

In a few cases where Hebrew has a single [D] or [R], Syriac appears to reduplicate and dissimilate these letters, as in ܒܕܩܪ for ܒܕܩܪ¹¹⁸ and in ܕܘܡܫܩ for ܕܘܡܫܩ and ܕܘܡܫܩ, which contain more than one spelling difference.

1.1.6.3. *Yod / Yudh and Nun*

Among the ancient versions the Peshitta is alone in exhibiting the Yod–Nun interchange. For discussion, see section 1.1.7.4.

1.1.6.4. *Kaph Instead of Beth*

Due to the similarity in form of these two letters in each of the two alphabets, the two could be easily confused:

ܟܘܢ [>KJ] for ܐܒܝ [>BJ]¹¹⁹

This occurs also in ܟܘܒܕ for ܝܘܒܕ, which contains other spelling differences as well.

The switch appears to go only in one direction: no cases have been found of Syriac Beth being written instead of Hebrew Kaph.

1.1.6.5. *Lamadh*

The similarity in the form of the Syriac letters involved makes the interchange of letters during the process of transmission plausible, thus involving inner-Syriac corruption.

*Lamadh instead of Nun.*¹²⁰ Lamadh replaces Nun in ܪܘܒܝܢ, ‘Reuben’, for ܪܘܒܝܢ, ‘Reubenite’, and in ܟܘܒܕ for ܝܘܒܕ, which contain other spelling differences.

Lamadh instead of Ayin. Lamadh replaces Ayin in ܡܠܟܐ [MLK >], ‘king’, for ܡܠܟܐ [M < K >], ‘Maachah’ (part of a toponym).¹²¹

1.1.6.6. *Nun Instead of Lamed Medially*

In medial position Syriac Nun and Lamadh resemble each other closely. It is possible that the spelling difference in ܟܘܒܕ for ܝܘܒܕ is thus caused by an inner-Syriac corruption. The example contains more than one spelling difference.

¹¹⁸ See section 1.5.2.

¹¹⁹ 2 Kgs 18:2. As the name ܐܒܝ is attested, either directly or indirectly, by all ancient witnesses except by P, ܟܘܢ may have resulted either from the translator’s misreading ܐܒܝ as ܐܒܝ, or, more likely, from inner-Syriac corruption.

¹²⁰ For examples outside P Kings, see Walter, *Studies*, section (919).

¹²¹ 1 Kgs 15:20 (only 9a1); 2 Kgs 15:29 (only 12a1).

ܓܠܝܠܐ [GLJL>] for הגליל [HGLJL]¹²⁷ and הגלילה [HGLJLH],¹²⁸ ‘Galilee’
 ܥܘܪܗܐ [KRML>] for הכרמל [HKRML], ‘Carmel’¹²⁹

This is also present in ܐܘܘܪܐ for הרמה and, perhaps, in ܥܘܪܐ for המצפה, which contain more than one spelling difference.

1.1.7.2. *Feminine Singular Endings*

In Syriac, a Taw sometimes occurs instead of a final He in Hebrew. Although the two letters involved are somewhat similar in form, the fact that this switch only occurs at the end of word makes it conceivable that there is some influence of the feminine endings in this spelling difference:

ܡܠܚܬܐ [JVBT] for יטבה [JVBH]¹³⁰
 ܐܘܘܪܐ [RMT>] for רמה [RMH]¹³¹ and רומה [RWMH]¹³²

This can also be observed in ܘܓܠܐ for רבלה and ܘܥܘܪܐ for שוכה, which contain more than one spelling difference.

1.1.7.3. *Plural Endings*

The two letters involved here do not resemble one another, but since the nominal masc pl inflection in Hebrew uses the Mem and in Syriac the Nun, the possibility of the influence of the grammar cannot be ignored:

ܡܘܨܪܝܢ [MYRJN] for מצרים [MYRJM]¹³³

This can also be observed in ܘܕܘܒܪܝܗܝܡܝܢ [DBRJMJN] for דברי הימים [DBRJ HJMJN], which has more than one spelling difference.

1.1.7.4. *Prefix to the Imperfect?*

Among the ancient versions the Peshitta alone exhibits the Yod–Nun interchange. According to Weitzman,¹³⁴ Syriac translators adapted names containing the imperfect prefix Yod to the Syriac conjugation by replacing Yod with Nun. However, the alteration is not confined to names derived from imperfect verb forms. Moreover, the change goes both ways. Since the Yudh–

¹²⁷ 1 Kgs 9:11, see section 3.3.

¹²⁸ 2 Kgs 15:29.

¹²⁹ 5 ×: 1 Kgs 18:19, 20, 42; 2 Kgs 2:25; 4:25. ܥܘܪܗܐ occurs as a plus in 2 Kgs 4:27 (minus 6ܘܐ 7ܘܐ 9ܘܐ 9ܘܐ). In 2 Kgs 19:23 ܥܘܪܗܐ corresponds to ברמלו, ‘his orchard’. See section 5.4.1.

¹³⁰ 2 Kgs 21:19.

¹³¹ 4 ×: 1 Kgs 15:17, 21, 22; 2 Kgs 8:29.

¹³² 2 Kgs 23:36, see section 3.4.

¹³³ 36 ×. In 2 Kgs 23:33 ܥܘܪܐ occurs as a plus. In 1 Kgs 5:10; 2 Kgs 7:6; 18:21, 24 ܥܘܪܐ ‘Egyptians’, corresponds to מצרים. The dual ending in Hebrew is rendered as the absolute state plural ending in Syriac. See also chapter 3, section 1.5.

¹³⁴ Weitzman, *Introduction*, 50.

An interesting case of metathesis occurs with w [WR] in Syriac for r [RW] in Hebrew in רִישׁוֹעַבַּר for יְרוּשָׁלַם and רִישׁוֹעַ for צְרוּיָה , both of which have more than one spelling difference. That this switch is not obligatory can be seen in the proper nouns whose spelling is identical in both languages, such as [HBRWN], [JRWC>], [<QRWN], [PRWX], and [QDRWN].

Instances of metathesis also occur as inner-Syriac variants in the ancient manuscripts, such as ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ instead of ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ (= אדרמלך),¹⁴⁶ ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ instead of ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ (= תגלת פלאסר)¹⁴⁷ and ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ instead of ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ (= תדמר).¹⁴⁸ These variants show that metathesis, a more widespread phenomenon in Semitic languages, could also occur as an exclusively inner-Syriac development.

The factors which might have been conducive to metathesis have not been investigated here.

1.3. *Treatment of Composite Proper Nouns*

Proper nouns can be formed by the combination of a theophoric element or a substantive with a verb, noun, or proper noun. The rendering of the theophoric elements will be treated in section 1.3.1 and the rendering of combinations with a substantive in section 1.3.2.

1.3.1. *Spelling of Theophoric Elements*

1.3.1.1. *The Rendering of אֱל*

The theophoric element אֱל [>L] in proper nouns can be rendered unchanged, as in:

ܐܠܝܫܥ [>LJJC<] for ܐܠܝܫܥ [>LJJC<]¹⁴⁹

This occurs also in ܐܠܝܗܐ for ܐܠܝܗܐ and in ܐܠܝܗܐ ¹⁵⁰ and in ܐܠܝܗܐ for ܐܠܝܗܐ , which contain more than one spelling difference.¹⁵¹

More commonly אֱל is translated as אֱל, as in:¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ 2 Kgs 17:31 ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ (= אדרמלך); ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ all MSS minus 9a1 9c1 12a1.

¹⁴⁷ 3×: 2 Kgs 15:29; 16:7, 10 ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ (= תגלת פלאסר); ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ 6h18.

¹⁴⁸ 1 Kgs 9:18: ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ (= תדמר); ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ 8h4.

¹⁴⁹ 58× as the rendering of ܐܠܝܫܥ ; 1× as the rendering of the third masc sg pronominal suffix (2 Kgs 2:6); 4× the name is a plus in the Syriac text (2 Kgs 4:43; 5:16, 26; 8:12).

¹⁵⁰ See section 1.3.1.2 for the renderings of the theophoric elements ܝܗ and ܝܗܘ .

¹⁵¹ 2 Kgs 24:8. See section 3.1.

¹⁵² See also section 1.1.1.4.

אַל [BJT >JL] for בית אל [BJT >L]¹⁵³
 אַל [XZ >JL]¹⁵⁴ for חזאל [XZ >L]¹⁵⁵ and חזאל [XZH >L]¹⁵⁶
 אַל [PNW >JL] for פּנואל [PNW >L]¹⁵⁷

When the theophoric element occurs at the end of the word, it is often reduced by the elision of Alaph, as ירעאל for ישראל, ירעאל for ישראל, and ישמעאל for ישמעאל, all of which involve more than one spelling difference. In ירעאל for ישראל both the Alaph and the Yudh have disappeared in the spelling of אַל. This item involves more than one spelling difference.

The theophoric element אַל has moved from initial to final position in אַל־ישמע for אֱלִישַׁמַע, which also contains more than one spelling difference.

1.3.1.2. *The Rendering of יהו and יהו*

In initial position. In a few cases יהו [JHW] in initial position retains the spelling אַח [JHW]:

אַח [JHW > XZ] for יהואחז [JHW > XZ]¹⁵⁸
 אַח [JHW > C] for יהואש [JHW > C]¹⁵⁹
 אַח [JHW < DN] for יהועדן [JHW < DN]¹⁶⁰

יהו in initial position is often rendered as אַח [JW]:

אַח [JW > C] for יהואש [JHW > C]¹⁶¹
 אַח [JWJD <] for יהוידע [JHWJD <]¹⁶²
 אַח [JWJKJN] for יהויכין [JHWJKJN]¹⁶³

¹⁵³ 19 x: 1 Kgs 12:29, 32 (2 x), 33; 13:1, 4, 10, 11 (2 x), 32; 2 Kgs 2:2 (2 x), 3, 23; 10:29; 17:28; 23:4, 15, 17, 19. However, in 2 Kgs 23:19 בית אל is rendered as a single word: אַח־בַּת־אֵל, see section 1.5.1.

¹⁵⁴ Twice אַל occurs as a plus: 2 Kgs 8:14, 15 (only BTR). In 1 Kgs 19:17 אַל is only represented in the BTR.

¹⁵⁵ 15 x: 1 Kgs 19:15, 17; 2 Kgs 8:9, 12; 9:14, 15; 10:32; 12:18 (2 x), 19; 13:3 (2 x), 22, 24, 25.

¹⁵⁶ 5 x: 2 Kgs 8:8, 13, 15, 28, 29. See also sections 2 and 3.3.

¹⁵⁷ 1 Kgs 12:25.

¹⁵⁸ 15 x: 2 Kgs 10:35; 13:1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 22, 25 (2 x); 14:8, 17; 23:30, 31, 34. אַח־אֵל occurs twice as a plus: 2 Kgs 14:23, 27. It is surprising to find that the translator chose אַח־אֵל rather than אַח־אֵל as a standard equivalent. The standard equivalent is even used to render the sole instance with a deviating spelling (יִואחִז in 2 Kgs 14:1), probably for the sake of uniformity.

¹⁵⁹ 9 x: 2 Kgs 13:10 (2nd), 25 (1st); 14:8, 9, 11, 13 (2nd), 15, 16, 17 (2nd). The translator distinguished consistently between King Joash of Judah and King Joash of Israel. The short spelling אַח־אֵל is reserved for Joash of Judah and the long spelling אַח־אֵל for Joash of Israel. See section 4.1.

¹⁶⁰ 2 Kgs 14:2 (Q^ere).

¹⁶¹ 7 x: 2 Kgs 12:1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 19. See note 159.

¹⁶² 20 x: 1 Kgs 1:8, 26, 32, 36, 38, 44; 2:25, 29, 34, 35, 46; 4:4; 2 Kgs 11:4, 9 (2 x), 15, 17; 12:3, 8, 10. Twice אַח־אֵל occurs as a plus: 1 Kgs 1:10, 19.

¹⁶³ 6 x: 2 Kgs 24:6, 8, 12, 15; 25:27 (2 x).

אַמַּנַּן [JWJQJM] for יהויקים [JHWJQJM]¹⁶⁴
 אַמַּנַּב [JWNDB] for יהונדב [JHWNDB]¹⁶⁵
 אַמַּרַּם [JWRM] for יהורם [JHWRM]¹⁶⁶
 אַמַּבַּב [JWCB<] for יהושבע [JHWCB<]¹⁶⁷
 אַמַּבַּב [JWCPV] for יהושפט [JHWCPV]¹⁶⁸

This occurs also in אַמַּבַּב for יהובד,¹⁶⁹ which contains more than one spelling difference. In אַמַּבַּב for יהושע, which also contains other spelling differences, the rendering of the theophoric element in Syriac is reduced to אַ.

In cases where the Hebrew has יי [JW] in initial position, this remains אַ [JW]:

אַמַּאח [JW>X] for יואח [JW>X]¹⁷⁰
 אַמַּאש [JW>C] for יואש [JW>C]¹⁷¹
 אַמַּאח [JWXNN] for יוחנן [JWXNN]¹⁷²
 אַמַּאח [JWRM] for יורם [JWRM]¹⁷³
 אַמַּאח [JWTM] for יותם [JWTM]¹⁷⁴

This occurs also in אַמַּבַּב for יהובד,¹⁷⁵ which contains more than one spelling difference.

In final position. The theophoric element יהו in final position is often rendered as אַ [J>]:

אַמַּאח [BNJ>] for בניהו [BNJHW]¹⁷⁶
 אַמַּאח [GDLJ>] for גדליהו [GDLJHW]¹⁷⁷
 אַמַּאח [ZRJ>] for עזריהו [ZRJHW]¹⁷⁸

¹⁶⁴ 7×: 2 Kgs 23:34, 35, 36; 24:1, 5, 6, 19.

¹⁶⁵ 3×: 2 Kgs 10:15 (2×), 23.

¹⁶⁶ 16×: 1 Kgs 22:51; 2 Kgs 1:17 (2×); 3:1, 6; 8:16 (2nd), 25 (2nd), 29 (2nd; only 9a1); 9:15, 17, 21 (2×), 22, 23, 24; 12:19. אַמַּרַּם corresponds to יורם 15×: see section 1.7.1.

¹⁶⁷ 2 Kgs 11:2.

¹⁶⁸ 34×: 1 Kgs 4:3, 17; 15:24; 22:2, 4 (2×), 5, 7, 8 (2×), 10, 18, 29, 30, 32 (2×), 41, 42, 45, 46, 49, 50 (2×), 51, 52; 2 Kgs 1:17; 3:1, 7 (1st), 11, 12 (2×; 2nd only 9a1), 14; 8:16 (2nd); 12:19. אַמַּבַּב occurs as אַ plus in 2 Kgs 3:7 (2nd; only BTR). In 2 Kgs 8:16 (1st); 9:2, 14 יהושפט is not rendered in P Kings.

¹⁶⁹ See also section 4.4.

¹⁷⁰ 3×: 2 Kgs 18:18, 26, 37.

¹⁷¹ 10×: 1 Kgs 22:26; 2 Kgs 11:2; 12:20, 21; 13:1, 10 (1st); 14:1 (2nd), 3, 17 (1st), 23 (1st). See note 159.

¹⁷² 2 Kgs 25:23.

¹⁷³ 15×: 2 Kgs 8:16 (1st), 21, 23, 24, 25 (1st), 28 (2×), 29 (1st, 3rd); 9:14 (2×), 16 (2×), 29; 11:2.

¹⁷⁴ 7×: 2 Kgs 15:5, 7, 30, 32, 36, 38; 16:1.

¹⁷⁵ See also section 4.4.

¹⁷⁶ 15×: 1 Kgs 1:8, 10, 26, 32, 36, 38, 44; 2:25, 29, 30 (2×), 34, 35, 46; 4:4. אַמַּאח occurs as אַ plus in 1 Kgs 1:19.

¹⁷⁷ 5×: 2 Kgs 25:22, 23 (2×), 24, 25.

¹⁷⁸ 2×: 1 Kgs 4:2, 5. אַמַּאח corresponds to עדיה in 2 Kgs 22:1, see section 2. For עזריהו rendered as אַמַּאח, see section 2.

יֶפְנֵה [YPNJ>] for צפניהו [YPNJHW]¹⁷⁹
 רמיהו [RWMLJ>] for רמיהו [RMLJHW]¹⁸⁰

This also occurs in ירמיהו for ירמיהו, ישעיהו for ישעיהו, יאשיהו for יאשיהו, יאזניהו for יאזניהו, יכליהו for יכליהו, and עבדיהו for עבדיהו, which contain other spelling differences as well.

The theophoric element יה [JH] in final position is likewise rendered as ה [J>], as in:

אביה [>BJ>] for אביה [>BJH]¹⁸¹
 אוריה [>WRJ>] for אוריה [>WRJH]¹⁸²
 מתניה [MTNJ>] for מתניה [MTNJH]¹⁸³
 נתניה [NTNJ>] for נתניה [NTNJH]¹⁸⁴
 פקחיה [PQXJ>] for פקחיה [PQXJH]¹⁸⁵
 שמעיה [CM<J>] for שמעיה [CM<JH]¹⁸⁶

A number of additional names containing this rendering in final position involve Hebrew names with variation in the spelling of the theophoric element.¹⁸⁷

1.3.2. Substantives as Part of a Proper Noun

Certain names are formed by combining a proper noun with an expression indicating a relationship. The components often express family relationships, such as, אב [>B], ‘father’, אבי [>BJ], ‘my father’, and אחי [>XJ], ‘my brother’, which in Syriac and Hebrew are spelled identically:

אבינדב [>BJNDB] for אבינדב [>BJNDB], ‘Abinadab’¹⁸⁸
 אחילוד [>XJLWD] for אחילוד [>XJLWD], ‘Ahilud’¹⁸⁹
 אחינדב [>XJNDB] for אחינדב [>XJNDB], ‘Ahinadab’¹⁹⁰
 אחימעז [>XJM<Y] for אחימעז [>XJM<Y], ‘Ahimaaz’¹⁹¹

¹⁷⁹ 2 Kgs 25:18.

¹⁸⁰ 7 ×: 2 Kgs 15:25, 27, 30, 32, 37; 16:1, 5.

¹⁸¹ 1 Kgs 14:1. אב occurs as a plus in 1 Kgs 15:6 and is the rendering for אבים in 1 Kgs 14:31; 15:1, 7, 8, see section 3.4.

¹⁸² 6 ×: 1 Kgs 15:5; 2 Kgs 16:10, 11 (2 ×), 15, 16.

¹⁸³ 2 Kgs 24:17.

¹⁸⁴ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 25:23, 25.

¹⁸⁵ 3 ×: 2 Kgs 15:22, 23, 26.

¹⁸⁶ 1 Kgs 12:22.

¹⁸⁷ See section 3.1.

¹⁸⁸ 1 Kgs 4:11.

¹⁸⁹ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 4:3, 12.

¹⁹⁰ 1 Kgs 4:14.

¹⁹¹ 1 Kgs 4:15.

This occurs also in combination with a theophoric element in אבא for אביה and in אבא for אחיה and אחיהו.¹⁹²

The component בן [BN], 'son of', is always translated as ב [BR]. The component בת [BT], 'daughter of', is transliterated in the BTR in בטב [BTCB<] for בת שבע [BT CB<], 'Bathsheba', but translated in 9a1.¹⁹³ Place names are frequently constructed with [BJT], 'house of', in both languages.¹⁹⁴ Certain names of officials contain the element [RB], 'chief', in both languages: זב for רב סרים¹⁹⁵ and זב for רב שקה.¹⁹⁶

Some names contain curious changes. It appears that the substantive denoting the relationship has been substituted for another in אבא for אחישר, which has more than one spelling difference, and, possibly, in

אבא [<BDCLWM] for אבישלום [>BJCLWM]¹⁹⁷

However, the latter Syriac name could also be the outcome of a gradual inner-Syriac development.¹⁹⁸

1.4. *Gentilics and Proper Nouns*

The Peshitta sometimes renders the name of a nation as a gentilic when the reference is taken to be to a people rather than to a territory.¹⁹⁹ In addition, the Peshitta sometimes harmonizes a proper noun with a gentilic in the immediate context. In the occurrences below the exact motive behind the change cannot always be determined:

אבא, 'Edomites', for אדום, 'Edom'²⁰⁰
 אבא, 'Edomites', for ארם, 'Aram'²⁰¹

¹⁹² See section 3.1.

¹⁹³ 8×: 1 Kgs 1:11, 15, 16 (1st), 28, 31; 2:13, 18, 19. בטב occurs as a plus in 1 Kgs 1:16 (2nd). In 9a1 and 12a1 the Hebrew name is translated as זב טב. Translation and transliteration represent two alternative strategies. The translated form may be secondary. It could have replaced the transliterated form in order to bring it into conformity with the usual Syriac translation of בן as ב. In that case, the scribe responsible for the change will have been aware that בת means 'daughter'.

¹⁹⁴ Examples and references can be found under section 1.5.1.

¹⁹⁵ See sections 1.5.1 and 5.4.3.

¹⁹⁶ See sections 1.5.1 and 5.2.3.

¹⁹⁷ 2×: 1 Kgs 15:2, 10.

¹⁹⁸ See section 5.5.

¹⁹⁹ This motivation may also underly the addition of the proclitic particle -א to the name of a nation or group ('those of ...'). These instances in P have not been listed.

²⁰⁰ 2 Kgs 8:21.

²⁰¹ 9×: 1 Kgs 20:27, 28; 22:11; 2 Kgs 5:2; 6:9; 7:12, 15; 13:17, 19. For the change from 'Aram' to 'Edom' see section 3.4.

אַשּׁוּר, '(the camp of) the Assyrian', for אַשּׁוּר, '(the camp of) Assyria'²⁰²
 בְּנֵי אִשְׂרָאֵל, 'sons of Israel', for יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'Israel'²⁰³
 בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה, 'sons of Judah', for יְהוּדָה, 'Judah'²⁰⁴
 אֲנָשֵׁי הַבַּיִת, 'those of the house of Israel', for יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'Israel'²⁰⁵
 מוֹאָבִים, 'Moabites', for מוֹאָב, 'Moab'²⁰⁶
 מִצְרַיִם, 'Egyptians', for מִצְרַיִם, 'Egypt'²⁰⁷

A personal name is rendered as a gentilic:

בְּנֵי חֶנְאָנָה, '(son of) a Canaanite woman', for בְּנֵי חֶנְאָנָה, '(son of) Chenaanah'²⁰⁸

The Peshitta translates a proper noun as an adjective:

מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר, 'the Assyrian king', for מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר, 'the king of Assyria'²⁰⁹

The Peshitta renders a gentilic with the definite article as a proper noun:

טוֹבְיָהוּ, 'Tobia', for הַנְּטֹפְתִי, 'the Netophathite'²¹⁰
 מַחַח, 'Maachat', for הַמַּעְכַּתִּי, 'the Maachathite'²¹¹

Three successive occurrences in 2 Kgs 10:33 are interrelated:

גַּד, 'Gad', for הַגַּדִּי, 'the Gadite'
 רֶעֻבֵן, 'Reuben', for הַרְאוּבֵנִי, 'the Reubenite'
 מַנַּשֶׁה, 'Manasseh', for הַמְנַשִּׁי, 'the Manassite'

²⁰² 2 Kgs 19:35 (only BTR) // P Isa 37:36.

²⁰³ 6 ×: 1 Kgs 8:16 (only BTR; 9a1 אִשְׂרָאֵל); 11:25 (only BTR; 9a1 אִשְׂרָאֵל); 12:16; 2 Kgs 3:24; 17:6 (only BTR; 9a1 אִשְׂרָאֵל), 23 (only BTR; 9a1 אִשְׂרָאֵל).

²⁰⁴ 2 Kgs 17:19 (only BTR; 9a1 מַסְסוּדָה).

²⁰⁵ 3 ×: 1 Kgs 12:18, 19; 2 Kgs 17:21 (only BTR; 9a1 אִשְׂרָאֵל). P may have chosen this rendering under the influence of the frequently occurring expressions construed as BJT X throughout 1 Kgs 12:19–23; בֵּית דָּוִד (P בְּבֵית דָּוִד) in vv. 19, 20; בֵּית יְהוּדָה (P בְּבֵית מַסְסוּדָה) in vv. 21, 23; בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל (P בְּבֵית אִשְׂרָאֵל) in v. 21. See also 1 Kgs 12:21: בְּבֵית בְּנֵי בְנֵימִן, '(the tribe of) the house of Benjamin', for בְּנֵימִן, '(the tribe of) Benjamin'. The occurrence in 2 Kgs 17:21, which has a parallel in the Aramaic of TJ, can likewise be explained from 1 Kgs 12:19–23, since the verse refers back to that passage.

²⁰⁶ 5 ×: 1 Kgs 11:33; 2 Kgs 3:18, 21, 22, 24.

²⁰⁷ 4 ×: 1 Kgs 5:10; 2 Kgs 7:6; 18:21, 24.

²⁰⁸ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 22:11, 24. The difference may be explained as follows: P took בְּנֵי חֶנְאָנָה to be a feminine personal name because of its ending חָה. For exegetical reasons the translator then rendered בְּנֵי חֶנְאָנָה as the feminine gentilic name חֶנְאָנָה. The false prophet Zedekiah is thus described as the son of a Canaanite woman, possibly with derogatory connotations.

²⁰⁹ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 18:23; 19:4 (only BTR). These renderings run parallel to P Isa 36:8; 37:4, respectively. With the exception of the occurrences mentioned, מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר is consistently rendered as מֶלֶךְ אֲשּׁוּרִי in both P Kings and P Isaiah. The only other occurrence of מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּרִי is in 2 Kgs 19:35 (only BTR), where it again corresponds to P Isaiah (Isa 37:36). Since all three occurrences of מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּרִי in Kings correspond to the usage in the parallel passage in Isaiah, Walter concludes that 'the case for dependence looks very strong' (Walter, 'Use of Sources', 191; also *Peshitta of II Kings*, 175).

²¹⁰ 2 Kgs 25:23. See section 5.5.

²¹¹ 2 Kgs 25:23.

In its translation of *המנשי והראובני והגדי והגלעד* את כל ארץ הגלעד, 'all the land of Gilead—the Gadite and the Reubenite and the Manassite', the Peshitta aligns the gentilics of the Hebrew text with the proper noun 'Gilead': *ܣܚܠܐ ܘܥܡܘܢ ܘܥܡܘܢ ܘܥܡܘܢ ܘܥܡܘܢ ܘܥܡܘܢ*, 'and all the land of Gilead, and of Gad, and of Reuben, and of Manasseh'. The Peshitta thus extends the government of 'land' in construct state beyond 'Gilead' so as to include 'Gad', 'Reuben', and 'Manasseh'. The appositional phrase beginning in Hebrew with 'the Gadite' is interpreted as an asyndetic connection within a series of forms governed by *ארץ* in construct state.²¹²

In the following case, a gentilic as apposition is replaced by a geographic designation:

ܡܘܨܬܐ, 'the easterner', for *האזרחי*, 'the Ezrahite'²¹³

A gentilic is rendered by an expression containing the corresponding proper noun in:

ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ, '(Elijah) who is from Tishbi', for *התשבי*, '(Elijah) the Tishbite'²¹⁴

The unusual designation *בני גלעדים*, 'sons of the Gileadites', is standardized as *ܒܢܝ ܗܘܝܐ*, 'sons of Gilead'.²¹⁵

1.5. Conflation and Expansion of Words

1.5.1. Two Hebrew Words Written as One in the Peshitta

Two elements of a name in the Masoretic text are often written as a single word in the Peshitta. This occurs particularly when a personal name is construed from the components 'son / daughter of x'. In the Masoretic text the two parts are most often connected by a *maqeph*:

²¹² See chapter 11, section 3, for more examples of variety in the renderings of phrase structures in the two versions.

²¹³ 1 Kgs 5:11. Here the MT states that Solomon 'was wiser than any man, more than Ethan the Ezrahite ...'. The Syriac rendering is linked to the Hebrew through the stem *ררח*, which corresponds to *ܪܪܫ* in Syriac. The semantic shift in v. 11 is to be seen in light of the previous verse, 1 Kgs 5:10, where it is said that Solomon's wisdom 'was greater than the wisdom of any of the people of the east (*ܡܘܨܬܐ*) and than all the wisdom of the Egyptians' (P). The apposition in *האזרחי* in v. 11 offered the translator the opportunity to exemplify the point that Solomon's wisdom exceeded that of the wise men from the east, by merely reading *האזרחי* as *המזרחי* and translating it accordingly as *ܡܘܨܬܐ*, 'the easterner'. The change presents an example of *litqre*.

²¹⁴ 6×: 1 Kgs 17:1; 21:17, 28; 2 Kgs 1:3, 8; 9:36. Note that in 1 Kgs 19:16 Elisha is designated in a manner analogous to *ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ*, 'who is from Abel Meholah' (*מאבל מחולה* MT, 'from Abel Meholah').

²¹⁵ 2 Kgs 15:25.

כּוּמַו [BRDQR] for בן דקר [BN DQR]²¹⁶
 כּוּמַו [BRHDD] for בן הדד [BN HDD]²¹⁷
 כּוּמַו [BRXWR] for בן חור [BN XWR]²¹⁸
 כּוּמַו [BRXSD] for בן חסד [BN XSD]²¹⁹
 כּוּמַו [BTCB<] for בת שבע [BT CB<]²²⁰

This also occurs in כּוּמַו for בן הנם, which contains more than one spelling difference.

The following names are also written as a single word in Syriac:

כּוּמַו [B<LZBWB] for בעל זבוב [B<L ZBWB]²²¹

as well as כּוּמַו for אסר חדן and כּוּמַו for תגלת פלאסר, which contain more than one spelling difference.

In place names as well the component parts are sometimes written as a single word, such as in כּוּמַו for באר שבע, כּוּמַו for גת החפר, כּוּמַו for גיא מלח, and כּוּמַו for עציין גבר; these examples contain more than one spelling difference.

In contrast to the tendency noted above, where ‘BN x’ is in apposition to a personal name, thus describing a relationship instead of using the relationship as an appellative, the Peshitta of Kings as a rule writes two words, in cases such as:

כּוּמַו [BR >XJLWD] for בן אחילוד [BN >XJLWD]²²²
 כּוּמַו [BR NWN] for בן נון [BN NWN]²²³
 כּוּמַו [BR RKB] for בן רכב [BN RKB]²²⁴

In the light of the preceding, one could argue that where the Peshitta of Kings agrees with the Masoretic text, the translator interpreted ‘BN x’ as a description of the relationship:

כּוּמַו [BR >BJNDB] for בן אבינדב [BN >BJNDB]²²⁵
 כּוּמַו [BR GBR] for בן גבר [BN GBR]²²⁶

²¹⁶ 1 Kgs 4:9.

²¹⁷ 21x: 1 Kgs 15:18, 20; 20:1, 3, 5, 9, 10, 16, 17, 20, 26, 30, 32, 33 (2x); 2 Kgs 6:24; 8:7, 9; 13:3, 24, 25. כּוּמַו occurs as a plus in 1 Kgs 20:33 (1st; only BTR).

²¹⁸ 1 Kgs 4:8.

²¹⁹ 1 Kgs 4:10.

²²⁰ Only the occurrences in the BTR. See note 193.

²²¹ 4x: 2 Kgs 1:2, 3, 6, 16.

²²² 2x: 1 Kgs 4:3, 12.

²²³ 1 Kgs 16:34.

²²⁴ 2x: 2 Kgs 10:15, 23.

²²⁵ 1 Kgs 4:11.

²²⁶ 2x: 1 Kgs 4:13, 19.

Other personal names rendered as two words include:

סכּוּת בּנוּת [SKWT BNWT] for סכּוּת בּנוּת [SKWT BNWT]²²⁷

as well to the personal name בּראּדך בּלאּדן מוּזוּגַל בּלַג for בּראּדך בּלאּדן, which contains more than one spelling difference.

Composite names with the element [RB] are also written as two words: רב שׁקָה for רב שׁקָה [RB] and רב סריס for רב סריס [RB].²²⁸

Place names construed as BJT x, 'house of x', most commonly are rendered as two words:

בית אל [BJT >L] for בית אל [BJT >L]²³⁰

בית חנן [BJT XNN] for בית חנן [BJT XNN]²³¹

בית שמש [BJT CMC] for בית שמש [BJT CMC]²³²

בית חרן [BJT XWRN] for בית חרן [BJT XRN]²³³

בית עקד [BJT <QR] for בית עקד [BJT <QD]²³⁴

One place name is alternately rendered as a single word and as two words:

רמת גלעד [RMT GL<D] for רמת גלעד [RMT GL<D]²³⁵ and רמת גלעד [RMT GL<D]²³⁶

1.5.2. One Hebrew Word Written as Two in the Peshitta

A single proper noun in Hebrew is rendered as two words in:

בדקר [BR DQR] for בדקר [BDQR], 'Bidkar'²³⁷

as well as in סוּמַר for סוּמַר and טברמן for טברמן, both of which contain more than one spelling difference.

²²⁷ 2 Kgs 17:30.

²²⁸ See sections 1.3.2 and 5.4.3.

²²⁹ See sections 1.3.2 and 5.2.3.

²³⁰ 19 x: 1 Kgs 12:29, 32 (2 x), 33; 13:1, 4, 10, 11 (2 x), 32; 2 Kgs 2:2 (2 x), 3, 23; 10:29; 17:28; 23:4, 15, 17, 19. However, in 2 Kgs 23:19 בית אל is rendered as a single word: סכּוּת.

²³¹ 1 Kgs 4:9.

²³² 3 x: 1 Kgs 4:9; 2 Kgs 14:11, 13.

²³³ 1 Kgs 9:17.

²³⁴ 2 Kgs 10:14 (only 9a1).

²³⁵ 8 x: 1 Kgs 4:13; 22:6, 12, 15, 20; 2 Kgs 8:28; 9:1, 4.

²³⁶ 4 x: 1 Kgs 22:3, 4, 29; 2 Kgs 9:14.

²³⁷ 2 Kgs 9:25. The background of the deviation from the Hebrew is unclear. The following possibilities present themselves: 1. the translator considered the name בדקר to be an error for בן דקר, a name occurring in 1 Kgs 4:9, and so used a Syriac rendering of the latter name (בּוּמַר in 1 Kgs 4:9); 2. בּוּמַר results from combining different readings in earlier Syriac manuscripts, בּוּמַר and בּוּמַר; 3. the transliteration Βαδδακ (cf. vg *Baddacer*), appearing in LXX B (as a later correction), in Ant. (MS 0), and in several other minusculi, led the translator to render בדקר as בּוּמַר.

2. NAMES WITH MORE THAN A SINGLE SYSTEMATIC DIFFERENCE

The differences presented in section 1 also occur in combination within a single name. There seem to be no systematic limitations on which differences can occur together. Since the types of differences have already been described in the preceding sections, we present the names here in alphabetical order with a listing of the phenomena to be observed in each case.

אֲחִישֵׁר [>BJNCR] for אֲחִישֵׁר [>XJCR] ²³⁸	א instead of אחי in composite name; א added medially
אֲחִישֵׁר [>DWNJ] ²³⁹ for אֲחִישֵׁר [>DNJH] ²⁴⁰ and אֲחִישֵׁר [>DNJHW] ²⁴¹	א added medially; spelling of theophoric element—א for יה and יהו
אֲחִישֵׁר [>WL MRWDK] for אֲחִישֵׁר מִרְדֵּךְ [>WJL MRDK] ²⁴²	י omitted medially; א added medially
אֲחִישֵׁר [>WRCLM] for אֲחִישֵׁר [>JRWCLM] ²⁴³	א added initially; metathesis—וּ to ו; reduction of adjacent <i>matres lectionis</i> (י deleted)
אֲחִישֵׁר [>JZR < JL] for אֲחִישֵׁר [>JZR < L] ²⁴⁴	א added initially; אַל written as אַל; elision of medial א

²³⁸ 1 Kgs 4:6. The Syriac name means ‘my father will be strong’ (אֲחִישֵׁר: Peal third masc sg imperfect of אֲחִישֵׁר, ‘be strong, get well’, *CSD*, 595a). The Hebrew name is taken to mean ‘my brother is just’ (אֲחִישֵׁר, ‘just, fair’, *KBL*, 414ab). Possibly, the translator interpreted the Yod in Syriac as prefix to an imperfect which he rendered as the third masc sg prefix of the imperfect in Hebrew, thereby arriving at אֲחִישֵׁר (cf. section 1.1.7.4). The elements ‘brother’ and ‘father’ in names are sometimes switched in Hebrew (cf. 2 Sam 8:17 ‘Ahimelech’ // 1 Chr 18:16 ‘Abimelech’). The shift from ‘my brother’ (אֲחִישֵׁר) to ‘my father’ (אֲחִישֵׁר) is difficult to explain in terms of conscious substitution, however. A few verses later in the same chapter, the element ‘my brother’ is duly rendered in other names: v. 12 אֲחִישֵׁר [>XJLWD] for אֲחִישֵׁר [>XJLWD], ‘Ahilud’; v. 14 אֲחִישֵׁר [>XJNDB] for אֲחִישֵׁר [>XJNDB], ‘Ahinadab’; v. 15 אֲחִישֵׁר [>XJM < Y] for אֲחִישֵׁר [>XJM < Y], ‘Ahimaaz’. Therefore the deviations from אֲחִישֵׁר may all result from inner-Syriac corruption of the original form אֲחִישֵׁר. What may have happened is that a copyist took the right bended stroke of the Heth as a Beth and the left stroke as a Yudh. Subsequently, the following Yudh was read as a Nun (cf. section 1.1.7.4).

²³⁹ Twice אֲחִישֵׁר occurs as a plus: 1 Kgs 1:25 (1st); 2:28 (1st).

²⁴⁰ 4 ×: 1 Kgs 1:5, 7, 18; 2:28 (2nd).

²⁴¹ 18 ×: 1 Kgs 1:8, 9, 11, 13, 24, 25 (2nd), 41, 42, 43, 49, 50, 51; 2:13, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24.

²⁴² 2 Kgs 25:27.

²⁴³ 91 ×. אֲחִישֵׁר moreover occurs as a plus four times: 1 Kgs 2:42; 2 Kgs 18:17 (2 ×); 24:1 (only BTR). This form is almost consistently used throughout 7a1 and 9a1, and it is most frequently found in the ancient MSS. The form אֲחִישֵׁר is used throughout 9l2 9l3 9l6 וּ 12a1, whereas 6h18 7h10 8a1* occasionally offer אֲחִישֵׁר.

²⁴⁴ 18 ×: 1 Kgs 4:12; 18:45, 46; 21:1, 23; 2 Kgs 8:29 (2 ×); 9:10, 15 (2 ×), 17, 30, 36, 37; 10:1 (only 9a1),

אֶזְרָא [>JZR<LJ >] for זִרְעָאֵל [JZR<>LJ] ²⁴⁵	אֶ added initially; אֶל written as אֶ; elision of medial אֶ and medial אֶ
אֶחָזֶק [>JSXQ] for יַחֲזֶק [JYXQ] ²⁴⁶	אֶ added initially; ח instead of צ
אֶשְׁכַּר [>JSKR] for יֶשְׁכַּר [JCFKR] K ^e tib ²⁴⁷	אֶ added initially; ש instead of ש [F]
אֶשְׂרָאֵל [>JSRJL] for יִשְׂרָאֵל [JFR>L] ²⁴⁸	אֶ added initially; ש instead of ש [F]; אֶל written as אֶ; assimilation of medial אֶ
אֶרְיָחָה [>JRJXW] for רִיחָה [JRJXH] ²⁴⁹	אֶ added initially; final ח instead of ה
אֶשְׂמַעֵל [>JCM<JL] for אֶלִישַׁמַּע [>LJCM<] ²⁵⁰ and אֶשְׂמַעֵל [JCM<>L] ²⁵¹	אֶ added initially; אֶל written as אֶ; אֶ moved from initial to final position in first case; assimilation of medial אֶ
אֶלְיָהוּ [>LYJ >] for אֶזְלִיָּהוּ [>YLJHW] ²⁵²	metathesis—אֶלְ for אֶל; spelling of theophoric element—אֶ for יָהוּ
אֶמְוַיָּהוּ [>MWYJ >] ²⁵³ for אֶמְוַיָּהוּ [>MYJH] ²⁵⁴ and אֶמְוַיָּהוּ [>MYJHW] ²⁵⁵	אֶ added medially; spelling of theophoric element—אֶ for יָהוּ and יָהוּ

6, 7, 11. אֶזְרָא is found as a plus in 2 Kgs 9:16 (only BTR). Earlier in the same verse, זִרְעָאֵל, MT is rendered differently in P.

²⁴⁵ 8 ×: 1 Kgs 21:1, 4, 6, 7, 15, 16; 2 Kgs 9:21, 25. Twice אֶזְרָא occurs as a plus: 1 Kgs 21:18; 2 Kgs 9:26 (only BTR).

²⁴⁶ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 18:36; 2 Kgs 13:23.

²⁴⁷ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 4:17; 15:27. The K^etib is believed to be יֶשְׁכַּר [JCFKR] (thus *KBL*, 408a). In all likelihood the form read in the Vorlage was יֶשְׁכַּר [JFKR], a Q^ere perpetuum in MT.

²⁴⁸ 355 ×: אֶשְׂרָאֵל renders עַם in 1 Kgs 12:12; it is also found as a plus eight times: 1 Kgs 8:4; 11:25 (only 9a1); 12:18, 28 (only BTR); 14:20 (only BTR); 20:31; 2 Kgs 15:37; 16:1; 17:33 (only BTR); 2 Kgs 22:16 (9a1 and 6ph2). Four times יִשְׂרָאֵל in MT is not rendered in 9a1: 1 Kgs 8:14, 25 (2nd); 20:7; 22:45. In the ancient MSS four different spellings are found: אֶשְׂרָאֵל, אֶשְׂרָאֵל, אֶשְׂרָאֵל, אֶשְׂרָאֵל (see the Kings volume of *The Old Testament in Syriac*, Index Nominum, xcii–xciv). Several MSS, like 7a1 and 9a1, attest two or three forms, though they can be seen to favour a particular form. אֶשְׂרָאֵל is the rendering most frequently found in MSS (in 8a1 exclusively), and is the standard spelling in the Kings volume of *The Old Testament in Syriac*.

²⁴⁹ 7 ×: 1 Kgs 16:34; 2 Kgs 2:4 (2 ×), 5, 15, 18; 25:5. אֶרְיָחָה occurs as a plus in 1 Kgs 7:46.

²⁵⁰ 2 Kgs 25:25 (2nd). אֶשְׂמַעֵל corresponds to יִשְׂמַעֵל, 'Ishmael', twice: 2 Kgs 25:23, 25 (1st). The Hebrew names אֶלִישַׁמַּע and יִשְׂמַעֵל each contain the element 'God' and the verb 'hear', but in reversed order; this may have prompted the translator to render them as the same name. It could also be that in 2 Kgs 25:25 P wished to give the grandfather the same name as the grandson (thus Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 36). See also section 3.4.

²⁵¹ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 25:23, 25 (1st).

²⁵² 2 Kgs 22:3.

²⁵³ 16 ×: אֶמְוַיָּהוּ occurs as a plus in 2 Kgs 14:11.

²⁵⁴ 4 ×: 2 Kgs 12:22; 13:12; 14:8; 15:1.

²⁵⁵ 11 ×: 2 Kgs 14:1, 9, 11 (2 ×), 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23; 15:3.

כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם [>RMJ >] for ירמיהו [JRMJHW] ²⁵⁶	initial כֹּ instead of י; spelling of theophoric element—כֹּ for יהו
כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם [>C <J >] for ישעיהו [JC <JHW] ²⁵⁷	initial כֹּ instead of י; spelling of theophoric element—כֹּ for יהו
כֹּהֲנֵי [BJCN] for הַבֶּשֶׁן [HBCN] ²⁵⁸	ה (definite article) omitted; , added medially
כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם בַּחֲרִים [BJT XWRJM] for בַּחֲרִים [BXRJM] ²⁵⁹	כֹּ instead of ב initially; א added medially; one Hebrew word rendered as two
כֹּהֲנֵי [BJT JCN] for בֵּית שֵׁן [BJT C >N] ²⁶⁰	, added initially (in second part of composite name); א omitted medially
כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם [BRHNWM] for בֶּן הַנֶּחֱמָה [BN HNM], כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם [BNJ HNM] ²⁶¹	בֶּן translated as כֹּ; א added medially; two Hebrew words rendered as one
כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם [BRCB <] for בֵּית שֵׁן [B >R CB <] ²⁶²	א omitted medially; two Hebrew words rendered as one
כֹּהֲנֵי [GBWT] for גִּבְעָת [GNBT] ²⁶³	ג assimilated; א added medially
כֹּהֲנֵי [GDW] for עֲדָא [<D >] ²⁶⁴	כֹּ instead of ע; final א instead of final א
כֹּהֲנֵי [GDXPR] for גַּת הַחֲפָר [GT HXPR] ²⁶⁵	ג instead of ת; ה (definite article) omitted; two Hebrew words rendered as one

²⁵⁶ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 23:31; 24:18.

²⁵⁷ 13 ×: 2 Kgs 19:2, 5, 6, 20; 20:1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 16, 19.

²⁵⁸ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 4:13, 19. In 1 Kgs 4:13 the article is indicated by the Masoretic vocalization (בְּבֶשֶׁן). For בֶּשֶׁן rendered as כֹּהֲנֵי see section 4.2.

²⁵⁹ 1 Kgs 2:8. Wherever the toponym בַּחֲרִים occurs in the Hebrew Bible, P (BTR as well as 9a1) renders כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם (2 Sam 3:16; 16:5; 17:18; 19:17; 1 Kgs 2:8). The word כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם cannot be derived from a recognizable lexeme. According to *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 478, whenever Syrians wrote in Arabic, Syriac כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם turned into Arabic *b*. This would explain why בַּחֲרִים was reconstructed as כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם. Alternatively, inner-Syriac tendencies towards the merging of כֹּ and the following word, as still occur in contemporary Syriac dialects, could also have prompted this kind of hypercorrection (thus Dyk, 'Lexical Correspondences', 318). In view of these diachronic interpretations, the originality of the reading כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם in P may be called into question. Quite possibly, the Syriac text originally read כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם.

²⁶⁰ 1 Kgs 4:12 (2 ×). Apparently כֹּהֲנֵיכֶם is standard, for it also appears in Josh 17:11, 16; 1 Sam 31:10, 12; 2 Sam 21:12 (corresponding to בֵּית שֵׁן in the Samuel passages).

²⁶¹ 2 Kgs 23:10.

²⁶² 4 ×: 1 Kgs 5:5; 19:3; 2 Kgs 12:2; 23:8.

²⁶³ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 11:20 (2nd only BTR).

²⁶⁴ 1 Kgs 4:14.

²⁶⁵ 2 Kgs 14:25. Cf. LXX B Γεθχαβερ. The similarity to the Greek rendering, which also agrees with P in leaving the Hebrew article unrepresented, may suggest influence from LXX.

גלגל [GLJL>] for הגליל [HGLJL] ²⁶⁶ and הגלילה [HGLJLH] ²⁶⁷	ה (definite article) rendered as emphatic state; in the second case this emphatic state ending א also renders the final ה
גמלח [GMLX] for גיא מלח [GJ> MLX], K ^e tib המלח [GJ> HMLX] ²⁶⁸	א and י both omitted medially; transcription instead of translation; two Hebrew words rendered as one
רבלה [DBLT] for רבלה [RBLH] ²⁶⁹	א instead of ר; א instead of ה finally
דברי [DBRJMJN] for דברי הימים [DBRJ HJMJM] ²⁷⁰	ה (definite article) omitted; reduction of resulting adjacent Yods; transcription instead of translation; א instead of ב finally
תלאשר [DLSR] for תלאשר [TL>FR] ²⁷¹	א instead of ת; א omitted medially; א instead of ש [F]
דמשק [DRMSWQ] for דמשק [DMFQ] ²⁷² and דומשק [DWMFQ] ²⁷³	א added medially; א instead of ש [F]; א added medially; medial ו omitted in one case
רזון [HDRWN] for רזון [RZWN] ²⁷⁴	א added initially; metathesis—א instead of ר; א instead of ז
חפצי בה [XPYJ BH] for חפצי בה [XPYJ BH] ²⁷⁵	א instead of פ; two words written as one
חלדה [XWLDJ] for חלדה [XLDH] ²⁷⁶	א added medially; final , instead of ה

²⁶⁶ 1 Kgs 9:11, see section 3.3.

²⁶⁷ 2 Kgs 15:29.

²⁶⁸ 2 Kgs 14:7. P probably follows Q^{re} גיא מלח. See section 3.2.

²⁶⁹ 4×: 2 Kgs 23:33; 25:6, 20, 21. The Syriac form is similar to Δεβλαβή in LXX and Ant. and may have been chosen under the influence of the Greek versions. The alternative possibility—that the consonant changes in the name arose independently in the Greek and Syriac versions—cannot be ruled out, since the two changes involved are each attested in other names (cf. אבבא for אבבא).

²⁷⁰ 33×. LXX Ant. Tj VG translate הימים דברי.

²⁷¹ 2 Kgs 19:12 // Isa 37:12.

²⁷² 14×: 1 Kgs 11:24 (2×); 15:18; 19:15; 20:34; 2 Kgs 5:12; 8:7, 9; 14:28; 16:9, 10 (2nd), 11 (2×), 12. In 2 Kgs 16:10 (1st) דומשק corresponds to דמשק.

²⁷³ 2 Kgs 16:10 (1st).

²⁷⁴ 1 Kgs 11:23, see section 5.5.

²⁷⁵ 2 Kgs 21:1. In contrast to what is usually done, final He is not rendered as Alaph, perhaps because the translator was aware that in this case He is not a *mater lectionis* but a third person fem sg suffix that is pronounced audibly.

²⁷⁶ 2 Kgs 22:14.

ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲏ [XWRJB] for חרב [XRB] ²⁷⁷	both ⲁ and , added medially
ⲛⲁⲓⲗⲏ [XZ>JL] ²⁷⁸ for חוזהאל [XZH>L] ²⁷⁹	medial ה omitted; אל written as ⲁⲗ
ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏ [XZQJ>] for יחזקיהו [JXZQJHW] ²⁸⁰	י omitted initially; spelling of theophoric element—ⲏ for יהו
ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏ [VBR >MWN] for טברמן [VBRMN] ²⁸¹	ⲏ added initially to second word in Syriac; ⲁ for vowel <i>o</i> or <i>u</i> medially; one Hebrew word rendered as two
ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏ [JBZX] for נבחז [NBXZ] ²⁸²	, instead of נ initially; metathesis—ⲟⲩ instead of חז
ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏ [JWZBR] for יהוּבד [JHWZBD] ²⁸³	spelling of theophoric element—ⲏ for יהו; י instead of ד finally
ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏ [JWZKR] for יוּבד [JWZBD] ²⁸⁴	ⲏ instead of ב; י instead of ד finally
ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏ [JWRDNN] for הירדן [HJRDN] ²⁸⁵	ה (definite article) omitted; ⲁ added medially; final [N] reduplicated
ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏ [JWCJ>] for יאשיהו [J>CJHW] ²⁸⁶	ⲁ for ⲁ medially; spelling of theophoric element—ⲏ for יהו
ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏ [JZNJ>] for יאזניהו [J>ZNJHW] ²⁸⁷	ⲁ omitted medially; spelling of theophoric element—ⲏ for יהו
ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏ [JKNJ>] for יכליהו [JKLJHW] ²⁸⁸	medial ⲏ instead of ל; spelling of theophoric element—ⲏ for יהו

²⁷⁷ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 8:9; 19:8.

²⁷⁸ See sections 1.3.1.1 and 3.3.

²⁷⁹ 5 ×: 2 Kgs 8:8, 13, 15, 28, 29. The Hebrew name is also spelled חוּזאל, see section 3.3.

²⁸⁰ 2 Kgs 20:10. ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏ is also the rendering for חזקיהו and חזקיה, see section 3.1.

²⁸¹ 1 Kgs 15:18. The Syriac name has no particular meaning, as ⲏⲟⲩ is not a Syriac noun. ⲏⲟⲩ, 'Amon', occurs as a separate name in 1 Kgs 22:26; 2 Kgs 21:19, 23, 24, 25. Among the ancient versions, P is unique in splitting up the name, and the division does not concord with the etymology of the name, which is טב רמן, 'Ramman is good'. The Syriac form is best explained as being influenced by the transliteration Ταβερεμμάν in LXX (Ant.; LXX B Ταβερεμμάν), because the division in Syriac concurs with the structure of the Greek name (ⲏⲟⲩ—Ταβερ, ⲏⲟⲩ—εμμάν). The Waw in ⲏⲟⲩ represents a *mater lectionis* in the Hebrew source (cf. ⲏⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲏ), reflects a reading tradition (cf. 1 Kgs 22:26 ⲏⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲏ for ⲏⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩ), or goes back to (editorial) association with the name ⲏⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲏ elsewhere in P Kings.

²⁸² 2 Kgs 17:31.

²⁸³ 2 Kgs 12:22, see also section 4.4.

²⁸⁴ 2 Kgs 12:22, see also section 4.4.

²⁸⁵ 13 ×: 1 Kgs 2:8; 7:46; 17:3, 5; 2 Kgs 2:6, 7, 13; 5:10, 14; 6:2, 4; 7:15; 10:33. Twice ⲏⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲏ occurs as a plus: 2 Kgs 2:8 (all MSS except gl2), 14 (only BTR).

²⁸⁶ 14 ×: 1 Kgs 13:2; 2 Kgs 21:24, 26; 22:1, 3; 23:16, 19, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 34 (2 ×). Twice ⲏⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲏ occurs as a plus: 2 Kgs 23:13 (only BTR), 29 (2nd).

²⁸⁷ 2 Kgs 25:23.

²⁸⁸ 2 Kgs 15:2.

כַּעֲד [JCW<] for יהושע [JHWC<] ²⁸⁹	spelling of theophoric element—כַּ for יהו reduced to ך; א for vowel o or u medially
כַּלְדַּי [KLDJ>] for כשדים [KFDJM] ²⁹⁰	Δ instead of fricative-lateral ש [F]; plural ending differs per language
לְבַנְנָן [LBNN] for הלבנון [HLBNWN] ²⁹¹	ה (definite article) omitted; ו omitted medially
כַּמְשָׁה [MWC>] for משה [MCH] ²⁹²	א added medially; final כ instead of ה
כַּמְנַחַם [MXNJM] for מנחם [MNXM] ²⁹³	metathesis—כַּ for נח; ך added medially
כַּמְיַפְּהָ [MYPJ>] for המצפה [HMYPH] ²⁹⁴	ה (definite article) omitted; ך added medially; כ instead of ה finally (definite article rendered as emphatic state?)
כַּרְאֲדִיךְ [MRWDK BLDN] for בראדך בְּלֶאֱדָן [BR>DK BL>DN] ²⁹⁵	initial כ instead of ב; א instead of א medially; א omitted medially
כַּרְבֵּן [MTNJV] for בשן [HBCN] ²⁹⁶	initial כ instead of ב; medial ה for ש; ך added medially; ך added finally
כַּרְבֵּנַיִךְ [NBWKDNYR] for נבכדנאצ נְבֻכַדְנֶאצַּר [NBKDN>YR] ²⁹⁷ and נְבֻכַדְנֶאצַּר [NBWKDN>YR] ²⁹⁸	א added medially (in one case); medial א omitted; Hebrew spelling variation reduced
כַּרְבֵּן [NJX] for ינוח [JNWX] ²⁹⁹	initial י omitted; ך instead of ו medially
כַּרְבֵּן [NPTDWR] for נפת דאר [NPTD>R] ³⁰⁰	א instead of א medially; two words written as one

²⁸⁹ 2 x: 1 Kgs 16:34; 2 Kgs 23:8 (only ga1).

²⁹⁰ 8 x: 2 Kgs 24:2; 25:4, 5, 10, 13, 24, 25, 26.

²⁹¹ 13 x: 1 Kgs 5:13, 20, 23, 28 (2 x); 7:2; 9:19; 10:17, 21; 2 Kgs 14:9 (3 x); 19:23.

²⁹² 10 x: 1 Kgs 2:3; 8:9, 53, 56; 2 Kgs 14:6; 18:4, 6, 12; 21:8; 23:25.

²⁹³ 8 x: 2 Kgs 15:14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. There is a possibility that the occurrence of an identical place name כַּמְנַחַם (מְחַנֵּיִם, 'Mahanaim') in 1 Kgs 2:8; 4:14 provoked the interchange of Heth and Nun.

²⁹⁴ 3 x: 1 Kgs 15:22; 2 Kgs 25:23, 25. The Syriac is in conformity with the Aramaic rendering כַּרְבֵּן in TJ (thus Sperber). The Syriac rendering is also found in 1 Samuel (see Morrison, *First Book of Samuel*, 50).

²⁹⁵ 2 Kgs 20:12. The Syriac name may have been borrowed from P Isa 39:1, where it corresponds to מְרַדְּךְ בְּלֶאֱדָן. P has inserted Waw as a *mater lectionis* to indicate o.

²⁹⁶ 2 Kgs 10:33, see section 4.2.

²⁹⁷ 3 x: 2 Kgs 24:1, 10; 25:8.

²⁹⁸ 2 x: 2 Kgs 24:11; 25:22.

²⁹⁹ 2 Kgs 15:29.

³⁰⁰ 1 Kgs 4:11.

לִמְלֹךְ [NQT>JL] for יִקְתָּל [JQT>L] ³⁰¹	initial ל instead of initial י; spelling of theophoric element—לִ for אֱל
סְכָוָה [SKWT] for שׁוֹכֵה [FWKH] ³⁰²	ס instead of שׁ [F]; metathesis—כּ instead of כ; ה instead of ה finally
סְכָוָה [SRXDWM] for אֶסְרֵהוּ [SRXDN] ³⁰³	initial א omitted; ס added medially; כּ instead of ך finally; two words written as one
כּוֹזֵה [< > Z >] for עֹזֵה [< ZH >] ³⁰⁴	כּ added medially; final כּ instead of ה
כּוֹזֵה [< DW < JR >] for עֹרֵר [< R < R >] ³⁰⁵	כּ instead of first ר; both כּ and כּ, added medially
כּוֹזֵה [< WBDJ >] for עֹבְדֵיהוּ [< BDJHW >] ³⁰⁶	כּ added medially; spelling of theophoric element—כּ for יהו
כּוֹזֵה [< WZJ >] ³⁰⁷ for עֹזֵה [< ZJH >] ³⁰⁸ and עֹזֵיהוּ [< ZJHW >] ³⁰⁹	כּ added medially; spelling of theophoric element—כּ for יהו and יה
כּוֹזֵה [< MLJQ >] for עֹמְלֵךְ [< NMLK >] ³¹⁰	כּ assimilated medially; כּ, added medially; כּ instead of ך finally
כּוֹזֵה [< RWB >] for עֹזְבֵה [< ZWBH >] ³¹¹	כּ for ז; כּ instead of ה finally

³⁰¹ 2 Kgs 14:7.

³⁰² 1 Kgs 4:10. See further section 3.4.

³⁰³ 2 Kgs 19:37.

³⁰⁴ 2 x: 1 Kgs 5:4; 18:8.

³⁰⁵ 2 Kgs 10:33. Nearly all occurrences of the place name עֹרֵר in MT (Num 32:34; Deut 2:36; 3:12; 4:48; 1 Sam 30:28; 2 Kgs 10:33; 1 Chr 5:8; plene spelling עֹרֵר in Josh 12:2; 13:9, 16; 2 Sam 24:5; Jer 48:19) are rendered as כּוֹזֵה, 'Adoer', in P. Apparently, the Kings passage uses a standard form of the name reflecting the plene spelling עֹרֵר but with substitution of Dalath for the first Resh.

³⁰⁶ 7 x: 1 Kgs 18:3 (2 x), 4, 5, 6, 7, 16. כּוֹזֵה occurs as a plus in 1 Kgs 18:9 (BTR).

³⁰⁷ כּוֹזֵה also renders עֹזֵיהוּ and עֹזֵיהוּ, see section 3.4.

³⁰⁸ 2 x: 2 Kgs 15:13, 30.

³⁰⁹ 2 x: 2 Kgs 15:32, 24.

³¹⁰ 2 Kgs 17:31. In P כּוֹזֵה is commonly used as the equivalent of עֹמְלֵךְ, 'Amalek'. Maybe original עֹמְלֵךְ was mistaken for כּוֹזֵה in the course of transmission. Exegetical intention on the translator's part seems to be unlikely, as the reference in 2 Kgs 17:31 is clearly to a deity, whereas 'Amalek' never refers to a deity in the Old Testament. There is a possibility that the form כּוֹזֵה arose as a result of phonological shifts. It is also conceivable that both factors play a role: phonological changes may have produced a form (possibly כּוֹזֵה [< MLJK >]) which in the course of transmission was interpreted as a reference to Amalek and adapted to the standard form כּוֹזֵה.

³¹¹ 1 Kgs 22:42.

חַסְלוֹיֹהִי [<STRWT] for עֲשֵׂתָרָת [<CTRT] ³¹²	∞ for ש [C]; ∞ added medially
חַי מִלֶּגְבוּ [<YJNWGBR] for עֲצִיּוֹן גְּבוּר [<YJWN GBR] ³¹³	metathesis—∞ for ן; two Hebrew words rendered as one
חַצֵּל [<CJ >] for עֲשִׂיה [<FJH] ³¹⁴	ⲫ instead of ש [F]; spelling of theophoric element—Ⲛ for יה
חַסְוִי [PRWD >] for פְּרוּרִים [PRWRJM] ³¹⁵	ⲓ instead of second ר; Ⲛ instead of ים finally
חַסְוִי [PRJ >] for פְּדִיה [PDJH] ³¹⁶	ⲓ instead of ד; spelling of theophoric element—Ⲛ for יה
חַסְוִי [PR <WN] for פְּרַעָה [PR <H] ³¹⁷	∞ for ה medially; Ⲛ added finally
חַסְוִי [YDD >] for הַצְרָדָה [HYRDH] ³¹⁸	ה (definite article) omitted; ⲓ instead of first ר; Ⲛ instead of ה finally
חַסְוִי [YWB >] for צְבִיָּה [YBJH] ³¹⁹	∞ inserted medially; י omitted medially; Ⲛ instead of ה finally
חַסְוִי [YWRJ >] for צְרוּיָה [YRWJH] ³²⁰	metathesis—רו to יו; spelling of theophoric element—Ⲛ for יה
חַסְוִי [YRWB >] for צְרוּעָה [YRW <H] ³²¹	ⲟ instead of ע; Ⲛ instead of ה finally

³¹² 3×: 1 Kgs 11:5, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13. P uses the name which in Gen 14:5; Deut 1:4; Josh 9:10; 12:4; 13:12, 31 corresponds to the Masoretic spelling עֲשֵׂתָרוֹת / עֲשֵׂתָרָת. This spelling is also found in Judg 2:13; 10:6; 1 Sam 7:3; 12:10; 31:10, where P renders differently. עֲשֵׂתָרוֹת is considered the plural of עֲשֵׂתָרָת, a spelling confined to Kings. It seems that the translator of the Kings passages based his rendering on the common form עֲשֵׂתָרוֹת. In Walter's view, 'the standardized equivalent חַסְלוֹיֹהִי may result from a transliteration of ασαραωθ rather than a treatment of a ψ as a ש' (Walter, *Studies*, section (914)).

³¹³ 2×: 1 Kgs 9:26; 22:49.

³¹⁴ 2×: 2 Kgs 22:12, 14.

³¹⁵ 2 Kgs 23:11, see section 5.4.2.

³¹⁶ 2 Kgs 23:36.

³¹⁷ 21×: 1 Kgs 3:1 (2×); 7:8; 9:16, 24; 11:1, 18, 19, 20 (3×; 2nd only BTR), 21, 22; 2 Kgs 17:7, 18:21; 23:29, 33, 34, 35 (3×). חַסְוִי occurs as a plus twice in 2 Kgs 23:29.

³¹⁸ 1 Kgs 11:26. Cf. Σαραειρα in LXX B.

³¹⁹ 2 Kgs 12:2. The Syriac form may result from inner-Syriac corruption. In 1 Kgs 11:23 חַסְוִי corresponds to צוּבָה.

³²⁰ 3×: 1 Kgs 1:7; 2:5, 22. Also in Samuel, see 1 Sam 26:6; 2 Sam 2:18; 8:16.

³²¹ 1 Kgs 11:26.

אֶרֶבּ [RG>WB] for אָרֶבּ [>RGB] ³²²	metathesis—אֶרֶבּ for אָרֶבּ; א added medially
אֶרֶבּ [RWBJL] for הָרְאוּבֵי [HR>WBNJ] ³²³	medial א omitted; , added medially; א instead of ה; proper noun instead of gentilic with definite article
אֶרֶבּ [RWMLJ>] for רְמִלְיָהוּ [RMLJHW] ³²⁴	א added medially; spelling of theophoric element—אֶרֶבּ for יְהוָה
אֶרֶבּ [RMT>] for הַרְמָה [HRMT] ³²⁵ and רומה [RWMH] ³²⁶	אֶרֶבּ instead of הָ and ת finally (feminine ending); in the first case הָ (definite article) omitted; in second case ו omitted medially; variation in Hebrew spelling reduced
אֶרֶבּ [CJLW] for שְׁלָה [CLH] ³²⁷	, added medially; א instead of הָ finally
אֶרֶבּ [CJLWNJ>] for הַשִּׁילֹנִי [HCJLNLJ] ³²⁸	א added medially; הָ (definite article) rendered as emphatic state
אֶרֶבּ [CLJMW] for שְׁלֹמָה [CLMH] ³²⁹	, added medially; א instead of הָ medially; אֶ added finally
אֶרֶבּ [CRJ>] for שְׁרִיָה [FRJH] ³³⁰	אֶ instead of שׁ [F]; spelling of theophoric element—אֶרֶבּ for יְהוָה
אֶרֶבּ [TGLTPLSR] for תְּגִלָּה פְּלֹאֶסֶר [TGLT PL>SR] ³³¹	omission of etymological א; two Hebrew words written as one

³²² 2 Kgs 15:25. אֶרֶבּ is also rendered אֶרֶבּ אֶרֶבּ, see sections 1.1.1.3 and 4.2.

³²³ 2 Kgs 10:33. The form אֶרֶבּ is the standard rendering of רְאוּבֵן, 'Reuben', in P. According to Weitzman, the first occurrence of this form in Gen 29:32 'seems due to attraction to the name "Rachel" mentioned in the previous verse' (Weitzman, *Introduction*, 51). In an early revision, a conscious attempt at uniformity would have replaced all other forms by this apparently corrupt form. Morrison, however, proposes that there was a writing tradition for certain names on which later translators relied (Morrison, *First Book of Samuel*, 52).

³²⁴ 7×: 2 Kgs 15:25, 27, 30, 32, 37; 16:1, 5.

³²⁵ 4×: 1 Kgs 15:17, 21, 22; 2 Kgs 8:29. אֶרֶבּ, 'height' (CSD, 544a), is a translation.

³²⁶ 2 Kgs 23:36.

³²⁷ 3×: 1 Kgs 2:27; 14:2, 4. In 2 Kgs 4:8 אֶרֶבּ corresponds to שׁוֹנֵם of MT. See section 3.4.

³²⁸ 3×: 1 Kgs 11:29; 12:15; 15:29. In these instances, the substantivized adjective 'the Shilonite' of MT is rendered as 'the Shilonite prophet' in P.

³²⁹ 159×. The name may be compared to Σαλωμών of LXX and Σολομών of Ant. אֶרֶבּ occurs as a plus 14×: 1 Kgs 1:44; 2:35; 3:11 (only BTR), 16; 5:15; 6:16; 8:62; 9:14, 24; 10:10 (1st; only BTR), 12, 27; 11:26; 12:17 (only BTR). Three times שְׁלֹמָה is not rendered in P: 1 Kgs 1:51 (2nd); 10:13 (2nd); 12:6. אֶרֶבּ matches אֶרֶבּ שְׁלֹמֹה in 1 Kgs 2:28. See section 3.4.

³³⁰ 2×: 2 Kgs 25:18, 23.

³³¹ 3×: 2 Kgs 15:29; 16:7, 10.

אֶלְעָפָס [TXPJJS]³³² for
 תּוֹחַפְנִס [TXPNJS],³³³ תּוֹחַפְנִס [TXPNJS],³³⁴
 and תּוֹפְסָח [TPSX]³³⁵

ן assimilated medially in first
 two; ן, added medially in first two;
 metathesis—פּסח for פּסח in third one;
 Hebrew spelling variation reduced;
 different Hebrew names rendered by
 one Syriac name

3. VARIATION IN THE MASORETIC TEXT REDUCED IN THE PESHITTA

In many cases variation present in the Masoretic text is reduced in the Peshitta. In section 3.1 we look at how the Peshitta deals with the variation in spelling of theophoric elements in the Masoretic text. In section 3.2 cases are treated where the Hebrew text has provided K^etib–Q^ere annotations. Section 3.3 presents other instances of variation in Hebrew spelling. Section 3.4 discusses cases where different names in the Masoretic text are rendered as a single name in the Peshitta.

3.1. Variation in the Hebrew Spelling of Theophoric Elements

Since initial יהו and יו are rendered ܘܘ, and final יהו and יה are rendered ܘܘܘ, the Peshitta of Kings does not reflect the variation in spelling that is frequent in Hebrew names with a theophoric element.³³⁶ Only in regard to אֶלְעָפָס and אֶלְעָפָס does the Peshitta of Kings use initial ܘܘܘ to render forms both with יהו and with יו.³³⁷ Those names with more than one spelling difference have already appeared in the list in section 2.

אֶלְעָפָס [>XZJ >]³³⁸ for אֶחָזִיָּה [>XZJH]³³⁹ and אֶחָזִיָּה [>XZJHW]³⁴⁰
 אֶלְעָפָס [>XJ >]³⁴¹ for אֶחָזִיָּה [>XJH]³⁴² and אֶחָזִיָּה [>XJHW]³⁴³

³³² 9a1 אֶלְעָפָס.

³³³ 1 Kgs 11:20 (2nd).

³³⁴ 2 x: 1 Kgs 11:19, 20 (1st).

³³⁵ 1 Kgs 5:4, see section 3.4.

³³⁶ Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 23–24.

³³⁷ See section 4.1.

³³⁸ 24 x: in 2 Kgs 1:5 אֶלְעָפָס appears once as a plus (2nd only BTR) and once it corresponds to the third masc sg pronoun suffix in MT.

³³⁹ 6 x: 2 Kgs 1:2; 9:16, 23 (2nd), 27, 29; 11:2 (2nd).

³⁴⁰ 16 x: 1 Kgs 22:40, 50, 52; 2 Kgs 1:8; 8:24, 25, 26, 29; 9:21, 23 (1st); 10:13 (2 x); 11:1, 2 (1st); 12:19; 13:1. In 2 Kgs 14:13 אֶחָזִיָּה is not rendered in P.

³⁴¹ 16 x. In the BTR of 1 Kgs 11:29 the second occurrence of אֶלְעָפָס corresponds to the third masc sg personal pronoun in MT, which is rendered as such in 9a1.

³⁴² 11 x: 1 Kgs 4:3; 11:29, 30; 12:15; 14:2, 4; 15:27, 29, 33; 21:22; 2 Kgs 9:9.

³⁴³ 4 x: 1 Kgs 14:4, 5, 6, 18.

אלה [>LJ >]³⁴⁴ for אליה [>LJH]³⁴⁵ and אליהו [>LJHW]³⁴⁶
 וזכר [ZKRJ >]³⁴⁷ for זכריה [ZKRJH]³⁴⁸ and זכריהו [ZKRJHW]³⁴⁹
 שמש [XZQJ >]³⁵⁰ for חזקיה [XZQJH],³⁵¹ חזקיהו [XZQJHW],³⁵² and חזקיה
 [JXZQJHW]³⁵³
 חלק [XLQJ >]³⁵⁴ for חלקיה [XLQJH]³⁵⁵ and חלקיהו [XLQJHW]³⁵⁶
 יואחז [JHW > XZ]³⁵⁷ for יואחז [JW > XZ]³⁵⁸ and יהואחז [JHW > XZ]³⁵⁹
 יואש [JHW > C]³⁶⁰ for יהואש [JHW > C]³⁶¹ and יואש [JW > C]³⁶²
 יואש [JW > C]³⁶³ for יהואש [JHW > C]³⁶⁴ and יואש [JW > C]³⁶⁵
 יהורם [JWRM]³⁶⁶ for יהורם [JHWRM]³⁶⁷ and יורם [JWRM]³⁶⁸
 מיכיה [MJK >]³⁶⁹ for מיכיה [MJKJH]³⁷⁰ and מיכיהו [MJKJHW]³⁷¹

³⁴⁴ 69 ×: אלה occurs as a plus 5 ×: 1 Kgs 17:19; 18:17 (only ga1), 18, 29; 19:3.

³⁴⁵ 4 ×: 2 Kgs 1:3, 4, 8, 12.

³⁴⁶ 60 ×: in 1 Kgs 17:24 אליהו is not rendered in P.

³⁴⁷ 4 ×.

³⁴⁸ 3 ×: 2 Kgs 14:29; 15:11, 18:2.

³⁴⁹ 2 Kgs 15:8.

³⁵⁰ 47 ×: שמש occurs as a plus 3 × (2 Kgs 18:32; 20:2; 21:11).

³⁵¹ 8 ×: 2 Kgs 18:1, 10, 13, 14 (2 ×), 15, 16 (2 ×).

³⁵² 35 ×.

³⁵³ 2 Kgs 20:10, see section 2.

³⁵⁴ 11 ×.

³⁵⁵ 4 ×: 2 Kgs 18:37; 22:8 (2nd), 10, 12.

³⁵⁶ 7 ×: 2 Kgs 18:18, 26; 22:4, 8 (1st), 14; 23:4, 24.

³⁵⁷ 18 ×: יואחז occurs as a plus twice: 2 Kgs 14:23, 27. According to the Index Nominum in the Kings volume of *The Old Testament in Syriac*, ga1 offers יואחז in 2 Kgs 13:1, 4, 8, and יואש in all other instances (including 2 Kgs 14:1).

³⁵⁸ 2 Kgs 14:1.

³⁵⁹ 15 ×: 2 Kgs 10:35; 13:1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 22, 25 (2 ×); 14:8, 17; 23:30, 31, 34. Note that the translator chose יואחז rather than יואש as a standard equivalent, even using it to render the sole instance with a deviant spelling in MT—יואחז in 2 Kgs 14:1—probably to standardize the spelling of this name in P Kings. See section 4.1.

³⁶⁰ 18 ×.

³⁶¹ 9 ×: 2 Kgs 13:10 (2nd), 25 (1st); 14:8, 9, 11, 13 (2nd), 15, 16, 17 (2nd). In 2 Kgs 14:13 the first occurrence of the Hebrew name is not rendered in P.

³⁶² 9 ×: 2 Kgs 13:9, 12, 13 (2 ×), 14, 25; 14:1, 23, 27. P distinguishes between Joash of Judah and Joash of Israel by means of consistency in spelling. See section 4.1.

³⁶³ 19 ×. This name occurs as a plus twice: 2 Kgs 12:21 (1st); 14:5.

³⁶⁴ 7 ×: 2 Kgs 12:1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 19.

³⁶⁵ 10 ×: 1 Kgs 22:26; 2 Kgs 11:2; 12:20, 21 (2nd); 13:1, 10 (1st); 14:1 (2nd), 3, 17 (1st), 23 (1st).

³⁶⁶ 31 ×. The two Hebrew names involved refer to two different persons, but for both persons the two spellings are used interchangeably in MT.

³⁶⁷ 16 ×: 1 Kgs 22:5; 2 Kgs 1:17 (2 ×); 3:1, 6; 8:16 (2nd), 25 (2nd), 29 (2nd; only ga1); 9:15, 17, 21 (2 ×), 22, 23, 24; 12:19.

³⁶⁸ 15 ×: 2 Kgs 8:16 (1st), 21, 23, 24, 25 (1st), 28 (2 ×), 29 (1st, 3rd); 9:14 (2 ×), 16 (2 ×), 29; 11:2.

³⁶⁹ 12 ×: יואש occurs as a plus twice: 1 Kgs 22:17 (only BTR), 19.

³⁷⁰ 2 Kgs 22:12.

³⁷¹ 9 ×: 1 Kgs 22:8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 24, 25, 26, 28.

חגללס [<TLJ>]³⁷² for עתליה [<TLJH>]³⁷³ and עתליהו [<TLJHW>]³⁷⁴
 גנסס [YDQJ>]³⁷⁵ for צדקיה [YDQJH]³⁷⁶ and צדקיהו [YDQJHW]³⁷⁷

This variation in spelling is also present in אדניהו for אדניה and אדניהו, אמציהו for אמציה and אמציהו, עזיהו for עזיה and עזיהו, which contain more than one spelling difference.³⁷⁸

3.2. K^etib–Q^ere in Proper Nouns

The following Syriac renderings of Hebrew proper nouns are noted as instances of K^etib–Q^ere in the Masoretic text.

אסכר [>JSKR]	ישכר [JCFKR] K ^e tib ישכר [JCKR] Q ^e re, 'Issachar' ³⁷⁹
אבנה [>MNN]	אבנה [>BNH] K ^e tib, 'Abanah' אמנה [>MNH] Q ^e re, 'Amanah' ³⁸⁰
ארמס [>RMJ>]	ארמים [>RMJM] K ^e tib, 'Arameans' אדמים [>DMJM] Q ^e re, 'Edomites' ³⁸¹
גמלס [GMLX]	גיא המלח [GJ> HMLX] K ^e tib גיא מלח [GJ> MLX] Q ^e re, 'Valley of Salt' ³⁸²
אבס [ZBJD>]	זבודה [ZBWD>] K ^e tib זבדה [ZBJD>] Q ^e re, 'Zebidah' ³⁸³

³⁷² 7×.

³⁷³ 4×: 2 Kgs 11:1, 3, 13, 14.

³⁷⁴ 3×: 2 Kgs 8:26; 11:2, 20.

³⁷⁵ 9×: אנסס occurs as a plus in 2 Kgs 25:3 (only BTR).

³⁷⁶ 1 Kgs 22:11.

³⁷⁷ 7×: 1 Kgs 22:24; 2 Kgs 24:17, 18, 20; 25:2, 7 (2×).

³⁷⁸ These cases are treated in section 2.

³⁷⁹ 1 Kgs 4:17; 15:27. Not in LXX. Ant. Ἰσσαχάρ (only in 3 Kgdms 15:27) and VG *Isachar* agree with Q^ere, תי ישכר agrees with K^etib.

³⁸⁰ 2 Kgs 5:12. LXX B Ἀβανά, Ant. Ἀβανά, VG *Abana* reflect K^etib. תי אמנה corresponds to Q^ere.

³⁸¹ 2 Kgs 16:6. LXX Ant. Ἰδομαῖοι, VG *Idumei* reflect Q^ere. Regarding תי, the readings אנס אדום of MS p (= Sperber's running text) and אדומאי of MSS a c d f o both agree with Q^ere, but ארמאי of MSS b y is in line with K^etib.

³⁸² 2 Kgs 14:7. Both forms are attested in the consonantal text elsewhere in MT: גיא המלח occurs in the parallel text in 2 Chr 25:11 and 1 Chr 18:12. גיא מלח appears in 2 Sam 8:13. In 2 Kgs 14:7, LXX B Πεμέλε, Ant. Γαιμέλεξ, VG *valle Salinarum*, תי מלח גי all reflect Q^ere. Like LXX and Ant., P offers a transliteration rather than a translation. In 2 Kgs 23:10, on the other hand, P offers a translation of הנם גי בן הנם, as LXX and Ant. do. The similar choices made in these instances, in addition to the similarity of גמלס to Γαιμέλεξ, suggest that P was influenced by Ant.

³⁸³ 2 Kgs 23:36. LXX and Ant. read a different name. VG *Zebida* reflects Q^ere. תי זבודה agrees with K^etib.

חמטל [XMVWL]	חמיטל [XMJVL] K ^e tib חמוטל [XMVWL] Q ^e re, 'Hamutal' ³⁸⁴
יהועדין [JHW<DN]	יהועדין [JHW<DJN] K ^e tib יהועדן [JHW<DN] Q ^e re, 'Jehoaddan' ³⁸⁵
יהוה [MRJ>]	יהוה [JHWH] K ^e tib יהוה [>DNJ] Q ^e re <i>perpetuum</i> , 'Lord' ³⁸⁶
גן בני הנם [NXL> DBRHNM]	גי בני הנם [GJ BNJ HNM] K ^e tib גי בן הנם [GJ BN HNM] Q ^e re, 'Valley of Ben Hinnom' ³⁸⁷
ספרוים [SPRWJM]	ספרים [SPRJM] K ^e tib ספרוים [SPRWJM] Q ^e re, 'Sepharvaim' ³⁸⁸
שישק [CJCQ]	שושק [CWCQ] K ^e tib שישק [CJCQ] Q ^e re, 'Shishak' ³⁸⁹
שגוב [CKWB]	שגוב [FGJB] K ^e tib שגוב [FGWB] Q ^e re, 'Segub' ³⁹⁰
תמר [TDMWR]	תמר [TMR] K ^e tib תדמר [TDMR] Q ^e re, 'Tamar' ³⁹¹

In all instances except one, the Syriac renderings are closer to the Q^ere than to the K^etib. Indeed, among the ancient versions, none agrees more consistently with Q^ere than the Peshitta. Possibly, the Hebrew Vorlage had Q^ere

³⁸⁴ 2 Kgs 24:18. Ant. Ἀμιθάλ, VG *Amithal* reflect K^etib. תי חמטל agrees with Q^ere. חמיטל is also found in Jer 52:1.

³⁸⁵ 2 Kgs 14:2. LXX B Ant. Ἰωαδέμ, VG *Ioaden* reflect K^etib. תי יהועדין corresponds to Q^ere. The parallel passage in 2 Chr 25:1 also attests יהועדין.

³⁸⁶ 519×. In six occurrences יהוה actually matches אדני as a reference to the deity: 1 Kgs 3:10, 15; 8:53; 22:6; 2 Kgs 7:6; 19:23. יהוה corresponds three times to ה'אלהים (ה): 1 Kgs 3:11; 11:23; 12:22. In 1 Kgs 2:26 it corresponds to יהוה אדני יהוה. Here the translator apparently left one name unrendered to avoid duplication of יהוה. יהוה occurs as a plus 19×: 1 Kgs 1:47 (only BTR); 7:48 (only BTR); 8:3 (only BTR), 26; 12:15 (2nd); 13:2 (2nd, only BTR); 16:2 (only BTR); 2 Kgs 1:6 (only BTR); 6:17 (1st); 13:23 (2nd); 16:18; 17:19 (2nd), 23 (2nd, only BTR), 34 (1st); 21:7 (1st); 22:5 (2nd), 6, 17 (only BTR); 23:19. P's rendering of the *Tetragrammaton* as יהוה bears resemblance to the use of Κύριος in LXX, and stands in contrast to the transliteration יי that is used in תי. According to Weitzman, this may show some knowledge of a reading tradition on the translator's part (Weitzman, *Introduction*, 50, 53).

³⁸⁷ 2 Kgs 23:10. LXX B Ant. υἱοῦ Ἐννομ, VG *filii Ennom*, תי בר הנום all reflect Q^ere.

³⁸⁸ 2 Kgs 17:31. VG *Sepharvaim*, תי ספרוים all reflect Q^ere. Ant. Σεπφαρειμ and LXX B Σεπφαροῦν could reflect K^etib. ספרוים is also found in 2 Kgs 17:24 (LXX B Σεπφαροῦσάιν); 18:34 (// Isa 36:19); 19:13 (// Isa 37:13).

³⁸⁹ 1 Kgs 14:25. LXX B Ant. Σουσάκιμ seem to reflect K^etib. VG *Sesac* (but *Susac* in 1 Kgs 11:40), תי שישק and the parallel in MT 2 Chr 12:2 attest Q^ere. שישק also appears in MT 1 Kgs 11:40.

³⁹⁰ 1 Kgs 16:34. LXX B Σεγούβ, VG *Segub*, תי שגוב all reflect Q^ere. The verse is lacking in Ant.

³⁹¹ 1 Kgs 9:18. 3 Kgdms 10:22a (= MT 1 Kgs 9:18) LXX B Ἰεθεραμάθ, Ant. Θεομόρ, VG *Palmyram*, תי תדמור all reflect Q^ere.

readings in the running text. Only for אֲמוֹן in 2 Kgs 16:6, the situation is reversed: whereas the Peshitta agrees with K^etib, the other ancient witnesses presuppose Q^ere.³⁹²

3.3. Other Variation in Hebrew Spelling

There are a few cases not involving a theophoric element and not singled out for a K^etib–Q^ere annotation where the spelling of a proper noun in the Masoretic text manifests variation. Here again the Peshitta maintains a single spelling. In a few cases, like ‘Galilee’, ‘Damascus’, ‘Hadad’, and ‘Hazael’, the spelling variations of the Masoretic text seem to be consciously ignored by the translator; in other instances, like ‘Amon’, ‘Sennacherib’, and ‘Shebna’, uniformity in Syriac spelling is merely an effect of applying phonological rules. Some of these examples appear as well in other lists where the nature of the spelling difference is highlighted, while here the variation in Hebrew spelling is in focus.

אֲמוֹן [>MWN]	אֲמוֹן [>MN] ³⁹³ and אֲמוֹן [>MWN], ³⁹⁴ ‘Amon’
גַּלִּילָה [GLJL >]	הַגְּלִילָה [HGLJL] ³⁹⁵ and הַגְּלִילָה [HGLJLH], ³⁹⁶ ‘Galilee’
דְּמוֹשְׁקִים [DRMSWQ]	דְּמוֹשֶׁק [DWMFQ] ³⁹⁷ and דְּמוֹשֶׁק [DMFQ], ³⁹⁸ ‘Damascus’
הַדָּד [HDD]	הַדָּד [>DD] ³⁹⁹ and הַדָּד [HDD], ⁴⁰⁰ ‘Hadad’
חֲזַאֵל [XZ > JL]	חֲזַאֵל [XZ > L] ⁴⁰¹ and חֲזַאֵל [XZH > L], ⁴⁰² ‘Hazael’
חֲצוֹר [XYWR]	חֲצוֹר [XYR] ⁴⁰³ and חֲצוֹר [XYWR], ⁴⁰⁴ ‘Hazor’

³⁹² P Kings may have followed K^etib ‘Aramean’ here in conformity with the statement earlier in 2 Kgs 16:6 that King Rezin of Aram restored Elath to Aram. However, since Elath lies in or near Edomite territory (1 Kgs 9:26; 2 Kgs 14:22), one would expect to find a reference to Edomites rather than to Arameans in 2 Kgs 16:6. This may explain the Q^ere and the agreement with it among the other ancient versions.

³⁹³ 1 Kgs 22:26.

³⁹⁴ 5 ×: 2 Kgs 21:18, 19, 23, 24, 25.

³⁹⁵ 1 Kgs 9:10.

³⁹⁶ 2 Kgs 15:29.

³⁹⁷ 2 Kgs 16:10 (1st).

³⁹⁸ 14 ×: 1 Kgs 11:24 (2 ×), 15:18; 19:15; 20:34; 2 Kgs 5:12; 8:7, 9; 14:28; 16:9, 10 (2nd), 11 (2 ×), 12.

³⁹⁹ 1 Kgs 11:17 (1st).

⁴⁰⁰ 6 ×: 1 Kgs 11:14, 17 (2nd), 19, 21 (2 ×), 25.

⁴⁰¹ 15 ×: 1 Kgs 19:15, 17; 2 Kgs 8:9, 12; 9:14, 15; 10:32; 12:18 (2 ×), 19; 13:3 (2 ×), 22, 24, 25.

⁴⁰² 5 ×: 2 Kgs 8:8, 13, 15, 28, 29.

⁴⁰³ 1 Kgs 9:15.

⁴⁰⁴ 2 Kgs 15:29.

מלוּ [MLW]	מלוּא [MLW>] ⁴⁰⁵ and מלא [ML>], ⁴⁰⁶ ‘Millo’
ܐܝܢܘܢܝܢܝܢ [NBWKDNYR]	נבכדנאצר [NBKDN>YR] ⁴⁰⁷ and נבוכדנאצר [NBWKDN>YR], ⁴⁰⁸ ‘Nebuchadnezzar’
ܣܢܚܪܝܒ [SNXRJB]	סנחרב [SNXR] ⁴⁰⁹ and סנחר׳ב [SNXRJB], ⁴¹⁰ ‘Sennacherib’
ܥܝܕܢܝܢ [YJDNJ]	צדני [YDNJ] ⁴¹¹ and צידני [YJDNJ], ⁴¹² ‘Sidonians’
ܥܒܢܐ [CBN>]	שבנא [CBN>] ⁴¹³ and שבנא [CBNH], ⁴¹⁴ ‘Shebna’
ܥܠܡܘܡ [CLWM]	שלם [CLM] ⁴¹⁵ and שלום [CLWM], ⁴¹⁶ ‘Shallum’
ܬܚܦܢܝܫ [TXPJS] ⁴¹⁷	תחפנס [TXPNJS], ⁴¹⁸ תחפנס [TXPNS], ⁴¹⁹ ‘Tahpenes’

3.4. Different Hebrew Names, a Single Syriac Name

There are numerous instances where one name in the Peshitta of Kings matches two different ones in the Masoretic text. In most instances the Peshitta removes the difference in identity suggested in the Masoretic text by the use of different names (an exception are the names עזייהו, עזייה, and עזריה, which all refer to the same person). In the case of אב׳יה, אב׳ימ, and אב׳ימ the Peshitta uses one name for clearly different entities. Not only phonological, grammatical, and lexical aspects, but also text-historical and exegetical factors play a role. Comments are provided in the notes. For some phenomena more than one explanation is possible.

אב׳יה [>BJH]	אב׳יה [>BJH], ‘Abijah’ ⁴²⁰
אב׳ימ [>BJM]	אב׳ימ [>BJM], ‘Abijam’ ⁴²¹

⁴⁰⁵ 3 ×: 1 Kgs 9:15, 24; 11:27.

⁴⁰⁶ 2 Kgs 12:21.

⁴⁰⁷ 3 ×: 2 Kgs 24:1, 10; 25:8.

⁴⁰⁸ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 24:11; 25:22.

⁴⁰⁹ 2 Kgs 19:20.

⁴¹⁰ 3 ×: 2 Kgs 18:13; 19:16, 36.

⁴¹¹ Various inflected forms of the Hebrew gentile are written defectively in 1 Kgs 5:20; 11, 5, 33. Syriac maintains the plene spelling.

⁴¹² Various inflected forms of the Hebrew gentile are written fully in 1 Kgs 16:31; 2 Kgs 23:13.

Syriac maintains the plene spelling.

⁴¹³ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 18:37; 19:2.

⁴¹⁴ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 18:18, 26.

⁴¹⁵ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 15:10; 22:14.

⁴¹⁶ 3 ×: 2 Kgs 15:13, 14, 15.

⁴¹⁷ אב׳ימ in 9a1.

⁴¹⁸ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 11:19, 20 (only BTR).

⁴¹⁹ 1 Kgs 11:19. In 1 Kgs 5:4 אב׳ימ corresponds to תפסח, ‘Tiphseh’.

⁴²⁰ 1 Kgs 14:1.

⁴²¹ 5 ×: 1 Kgs 14:31; 15:1, 7 (2 ×; 2nd only 6h18 7h10 9a1), 8. It is possible that אב׳יה, ‘Abijah’, goes

אָדוֹם [>DWM]	אָדוֹם [>DWM], 'Edom' ⁴²² אָרַם [>RM], 'Aram' ⁴²³
אָדוֹרַם [>DWNJRM]	אָדוֹרַם [>DWRM], 'Adoram' ⁴²⁴ אָדוֹנִירַם [>DNJRM], 'Adoniram' ⁴²⁵
אָהָב [>XB]	אָהָב [>XB], 'Ahab' ⁴²⁶ חִיָּאל [XJ >L], 'Hiel' ⁴²⁷
אִשְׁמַעֲלַל [>JCM <JL]	יִשְׁמַעֲלַל [JCM < >L], 'Ishmael' ⁴²⁸ אֵלִישָׁמַע [>LJCM <], 'Elishama' ⁴²⁹
אֱלֹהִים [>L >] ⁴³⁰	אֱלֹהִים [>L >], 'Elah' ⁴³¹ אֱלֹהִים [>LH], 'Elah' ⁴³²

back to אָבִיחָה in the Vorlage, because that form of the name is also suggested by LXX B (Ἀβιού), and especially by Ant. (Ἀβιά). An alternative explanation is that P (secondarily) adopted the name Ἀβιά from Ant. (occurring in 3 Kgdms 14:31; 15:1, 7 [2 ×], 8). In LXX and Ant. this Abijah, king of Judah, cannot be confused with Abijah, son of Jeroboam, because in these Greek texts 1 Kgs 14:1 is lacking, whereas in the material parallel to 1 Kgs 14:1 at 3 Kgdms 12:24g Jeroboam's son is nameless. Thus P is the only ancient witness using the name to refer to two different persons.

⁴²² 14 ×.

⁴²³ 46 ×. Scholars agree that the change from 'Aram' to 'Edom' was deliberate. For an extensive discussion of the difference see Van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 293–294; Walter, *Studies*, section (915a); esp. Weitzman, *Introduction*, 62–67. אָרַם is rendered as אָדוֹם only in 2 Kgs 15:37; 16:5, 6.

⁴²⁴ 1 Kgs 12:18. The instability of Nun is involved. Cf. section 1.1.2.1.

⁴²⁵ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 4:6; 5:28. Both Adoram and Adoniram are stated to be in charge of the levy (עָל) (הַמָּס) in 1 Kgs 4:6; 5:28; 12:18. The translator may have concluded that both names referred to the same person and accordingly replaced 'Adoram' with 'Adoniram'.

⁴²⁶ 75 ×.

⁴²⁷ 1 Kgs 16:34. The difference is peculiar to P. Ant. omits v. 34 altogether. Possibly, the Syriac translator took חִיָּאל (or אֱחִיָּאל? suggested by LXX B Ἀχαιήλ) to be a corruption of אָהָב. More probably, he altered the name for exegetical reasons. In the Hebrew text, the report on Hiel's sacrifice when laying the foundation of Jericho interrupts the Ahab narrative. Through the substitution of 'Ahab' for 'Hiel' the continuity and cohesion with the surrounding verses is improved. The deviation must also be viewed in conjunction with another difference from MT. In v. 34a, the Syriac reads אֲנִי וְיָמֵי אָהָב בָּנִי בֵּית לַחֲרָבָה לְיָמֵי אָהָב, 'and in his days Ahab built the House of the Curse, Jericho' (בֵּית לַחֲרָבָה, 'of Jericho'). בֵּית לַחֲרָבָה reflects בֵּית אָהָב instead of בֵּית חִיָּאל, 'Biel' the Bethelite, of MT. The same reading underlies בֵּית נֹוֹמִי of T. The reference to 'the House of the Curse' involves an allusion to Josh 6:26: 'Cursed before YHWH is the man who arises to build this city, Jericho'. Thus, Ahab is portrayed as a cursed man in P. See also Van Keulen, 'Points of Agreement', 214–215.

⁴²⁸ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 25:23, 25.

⁴²⁹ 2 Kgs 25:25. Grammatical or syntactic aspects may be involved. See section 2.

⁴³⁰ According to the Index Nominum in the Kings volume of *The Old Testament in Syriac*, 9a1 offers אֱלֹהִים in 1 Kgs 16:6, 8, and אֱלֹהִים in 1 Kgs 16:13, 14. In the remaining instances 9a1 has אֱלֹהִים.

⁴³¹ 1 Kgs 4:18.

⁴³² 8 ×. Variation in the spelling of *matres lectionis* is involved. See section 1.1.1.1.

בלה [B<LWT] ⁴³³	בעלזוה [B<LWT], 'Baaloth' ⁴³⁴ בעלה [B<LT], 'Baalath' ⁴³⁵
גה [GT]	גת [GT], 'Gath' ⁴³⁶ גבתון [GBTWN], 'Gibbethon' ⁴³⁷
דן [DN]	דן [DN], 'Dan' ⁴³⁸ גבע [GB<], 'Geba' ⁴³⁹
מחנם [MXNJM]	מחנים [MXNJM], 'Mahanaim' (toponym) ⁴⁴⁰ מנחם [MNXM], 'Menahem' (male person) ⁴⁴¹
מכיהו [MJK>] ⁴⁴²	מיכיהו [MJKJHW], 'Micaiah' ⁴⁴³ מיכיה [MJKJH], 'Michaiah' ⁴⁴⁴
מלכמ [MLKWM]	מלכם [MLKM], 'Milcom' ⁴⁴⁵ מלך [MLK], 'Molech' ⁴⁴⁶
מכח [M<K>]	מעכה [M<KH], 'Maachah' (male person); ⁴⁴⁷ (female person); ⁴⁴⁸ (part of toponym) ⁴⁴⁹

⁴³³ 6ph2 has בלה in 1 Kgs 4:16.

⁴³⁴ 1 Kgs 4:16.

⁴³⁵ 1 Kgs 9:18. Variation in the spelling of *matres lectionis* is involved. See section 1.1.1.3.

⁴³⁶ 6×: 1 Kgs 2:39 (2×), 40 (2×), 41; 2 Kgs 12:18.

⁴³⁷ 4×: 1 Kgs 15:27 (2×); 16:15, 17. P is the only ancient version that renders Gibbethon of MT as Gath. The background of the identification is obscure. In Josh 19:44; 21:23, P renders 'Gibbethon' in conformity with MT.

⁴³⁸ 5×: 1 Kgs 5:5; 12:29, 30; 15:20; 2 Kgs 10:29.

⁴³⁹ 2 Kgs 23:8. See Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 213: 'P and LXX N + pl. MSS substitute the common phrase "from Dan to Beer Sheba" (so Judg 20:1; 1 Sam 3:20; 2 Sam 3:10; 17:11; 24:2, 15; 1 Kgs 5:5; compare 1 Chr 21:2; 2 Chr 30:5) for "from Geba to Beer Sheba" which is only used here.'

⁴⁴⁰ 2×: 1 Kgs 2:8; 4:14.

⁴⁴¹ 8× in 2 Kings 15. Metathesis of the letters is involved. See section 1.2.

⁴⁴² In *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2087, מכח is presented as the rendering of a single name in Hebrew with three different spellings: מיכה, מיכיה, מיכיהו, the latter having two different vocalization patterns. In 2 Kgs 22:12. 6ph2 and 8a1* read מלכמ for מכח.

⁴⁴³ 9× in 1 Kings 22.

⁴⁴⁴ 2 Kgs 22:12.

⁴⁴⁵ 3×: 1 Kgs 11:5, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13.

⁴⁴⁶ 1 Kgs 11:7. Text-historical aspects are involved. P's reading agrees with Μελχόμ of Ant. (3 Kgdms 11:5). P, Ant., and LXX may go back to the form מלכם in 1 Kgs 11:7, which in LXX (= 3 Kgdms 11:5) was interpreted as מלך + third person suffix masc pl = τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν. Alternatively, P harmonizes towards מלכמ / מלכם in 1 Kgs 11:5.

⁴⁴⁷ 1 Kgs 2:39.

⁴⁴⁸ 3×: 1 Kgs 15:2, 10, 13.

⁴⁴⁹ 2 Kgs 15:29.

נָתַן [NTN]	נתן [NTN], 'Nathan' ⁴⁵⁰ יונתן [JWNTN], 'Jonathan' ⁴⁵¹ נתנמלך [NTNMLK], 'Nathanmelech' ⁴⁵²
סוּכוֹחַ [SKWT]	סכות [SKWT], 'Succoth' ⁴⁵³ שוּכוֹהַ [FWKH], 'Sochoh' ⁴⁵⁴
סִלְעַ [SL<] ⁴⁵⁵	סלא [SL>], 'Silla' ⁴⁵⁶ סלע [SL<], 'Selah' ⁴⁵⁷
אָוָּא [<W>]	עווא [<W>], 'Ava' ⁴⁵⁸ עוּוָּה [<WH>], 'Ivah' ⁴⁵⁹
עֲזִיָּהּ [<WZJ>]	עזיה [<ZJH> ⁴⁶⁰ and עזייהו [<ZJHW>], ⁴⁶¹ 'Uzziah' עזריה [<ZRJH> ⁴⁶² and עזרייהו [<ZRJHW>], ⁴⁶³ 'Azariah' ⁴⁶⁴
עֲזִיָּהּ [<ZRJ>]	עזריהו [<ZRJHW>], 'Azariah' ⁴⁶⁵ עדיה [<DJH>], 'Adaiah' ⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁵⁰ 13 ×.

⁴⁵¹ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 1:42, 43, see chapter 2, section 2.2.1.5.

⁴⁵² 2 Kgs 23:11, see section 5.2.2.

⁴⁵³ 1 Kgs 7:46.

⁴⁵⁴ 1 Kgs 4:10. Here P seems to identify 'Sochoh' with 'Succoth'. This assumption is supported by the fact that elsewhere in P שוּכוֹהַ is rendered differently (see Morrison, *First Book of Samuel*, 54). Yet a combination of phonological shifts, involving the fluidity of the sibilants, cannot be excluded. This identification is not found in other ancient versions.

⁴⁵⁵ The single Syriac name does not imply that the different Hebrew names were taken to refer to the same place. Rather the translator, when the Hebrew was read to him, may have mistaken סִלְעַ for the better known סלע, 'rock', which is mentioned as a place name several times in MT (see *DCH* VI, 165b). Perhaps סלע in 2 Kgs 14:7; 2 Chr 25:12 is to be identified with the later Idumean city of Petra.

⁴⁵⁶ 2 Kgs 12:21. Fuzziness in the velar-glottal area of articulation is involved.

⁴⁵⁷ 2 Kgs 14:7.

⁴⁵⁸ 2 Kgs 17:24.

⁴⁵⁹ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 18:34; 19:13. Variation in the spelling of *matres lectionis* is involved.

⁴⁶⁰ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 15:13, 30.

⁴⁶¹ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 15:32, 34.

⁴⁶² 6 ×: 2 Kgs 14:21; 15:1, 7, 17, 23, 27.

⁴⁶³ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 15:6, 8.

⁴⁶⁴ P identifies Azariah as Uzziah, which is in accordance with modern understanding.

⁴⁶⁵ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 4:2, 5.

⁴⁶⁶ 2 Kgs 22:1. This rendering in P may have arisen as a correction of what was considered to be an error. Possibly, a scribe regarded עֲזִיָּהּ (instead of עֲזִיָּהּ) as a corruption of עֲזִיָּהּ, 'Azariah', and supplemented the Zayin. Alternatively, the possible influence of the regular rendering of Hebrew [D] as Syriac [Z] may be involved. A third possibility is that the familiar Syriac noun עֲזִיָּהּ, 'distance' (*CSD*, 400b), corresponding to the spelling of the Hebrew name, prompted the translator to look for an alternative rendering.

זבא [YWB>]	זובא [YWB>], 'Zobah' (toponym) ⁴⁶⁷ צביה [YBJH], 'Zibiah' (female person) ⁴⁶⁸
רמא [RMT>]	הרמה [HRMH], 'Ramah' ⁴⁶⁹ רומה [RWMH], 'Rumah' ⁴⁷⁰
עלה [CJLW]	שלה [CLH], 'Shiloh' ⁴⁷¹ שונם [CWNM], 'Shunem' ⁴⁷²
שלמה [CLJMWN]	שלמה [CLMH], 'Solomon' ⁴⁷³ אבשלום [>BCLWM], 'Absalom' ⁴⁷⁴
שמר [CMJR]	שמר [CMR], 'Shemer' ⁴⁷⁵ שמר [CMR], 'Shomer' ⁴⁷⁶
תחפנס [TXPJS] ⁴⁷⁷	תחפנס [TXPNS] ⁴⁷⁸ and תחפניס [TXPNJS] ⁴⁷⁹ , 'Tahpenes' (female person) תפסח [TPSX], 'Tiphseh' (toponym) ⁴⁸⁰

4. DIFFERENTIATION IN THE PESHITTA RENDERING

4.1. Evidence of Differentiation

In spite of the clear tendency noted in the previous section, it is not the case that the Peshitta merely sweeps differences under the carpet and uses

⁴⁶⁷ 1 Kgs 11:23.

⁴⁶⁸ 2 Kgs 12:2.

⁴⁶⁹ 4 ×: 1 Kgs 15:17, 21, 22; 2 Kgs 8:29.

⁴⁷⁰ 2 Kgs 23:36. P makes the spelling uniform, without necessarily implying identity.

⁴⁷¹ 3 ×: 1 Kgs 2:27; 14:2, 4.

⁴⁷² 2 Kgs 4:8, see chapter 8, section 1.19.

⁴⁷³ 159 ×.

⁴⁷⁴ 1 Kgs 2:28. Text-historical aspects are involved. See chapter 2, section 3.2.8.

⁴⁷⁵ 1 Kgs 16:24 (2 ×).

⁴⁷⁶ 2 Kgs 12:22.

⁴⁷⁷ ܬܚܦܢܫ in 9a1.

⁴⁷⁸ 1 Kgs 11:20 (2nd). The instability of the Nun is involved. See section 1.1.2.1.

⁴⁷⁹ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 11:19, 20 (1st). The instability of the Nun is involved. See section 1.1.2.1.

⁴⁸⁰ 1 Kgs 5:4. In this verse the MT reads 'for he ruled over all (the land) beyond the river, from Tiphseh to Gaza ...'. In 1 Kgs 5:1, MT and P state: 'And Solomon ruled over all the kingdoms from the river of the land of the Philistines to the border of Egypt ...'. In light of v. 1, the translator may have interpreted v. 4 as a reference to Solomon's territories between the land of the Philistines and the border of Egypt, and accordingly changed the name of Tiphseh, a town located on the bank of the Euphrates, into a reference to Tahpenes / Tahpanhes which is situated on the border of Egypt. ܬܚܦܢܫ occurs as the Syriac name for this town in Jer 2:16; 43:7; 44:1; Ezek 30:18. Since in 2 Kgs 15:16 ܬܦܫܫܗ, 'Tiphseh', of MT is matched in P by the same sequence of consonants in Syriac, ܬܦܫܫܗ, there is reason to suppose that the metathesis in the Syriac version of 1 Kgs 5:4 is indeed intentional.

a name which approximates the Hebrew name and which seems to fit. There are cases where differentiation between similarly written names is carefully maintained, such as אורי [WRJ] for ארי [RJ], 'Uri',⁴⁸¹ alongside אוריה [WRJH] for אורייה [WRJH], 'Uriah',⁴⁸² and שמעי [CM<J] for שמעי' [CM<J], 'Shimei',⁴⁸³ alongside שמעיה [CM<JH] for שמעיה',⁴⁸⁴ even though these names contain only minor spelling variations.

The Peshitta offers an interesting case of differentiation where the Masoretic text uses two spellings interchangeably to denote different persons carrying the same name. The names יואש [JW>C], 'Joash', and יהואש [JHW>C], 'Jehoash', contain variation in spelling of the theophoric element. Both the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah had a king called 'Joash' or 'Jehoash', whose reigns overlapped. Interestingly the Peshitta differentiates between the two kings, consistently calling Judah's king יואש, 'Joash', and Israel's king יהואש, 'Jehoash',⁴⁸⁵ while the Masoretic text spells the king of Judah seven times as יהואש and ten times as יואש and the king of Israel nine times as יהואש and nine times as יואש.⁴⁸⁶

There is one more occurrence of 'Joash', namely, in 1 Kgs 22:26, where reference is made to 'Joash, the son of the king'. From the context, this would seem to refer to the son of the king of Israel. Here both the Masoretic text and the Peshitta use the shorter spelling, which is otherwise reserved in the Peshitta for the king of Judah. According to the later chapters, the Peshitta should have spelled this name using the longer form. However, in Kings no identity between Prince Joash and King Joash, son of Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 13:10), is implied, since the former is presented as Ahab's son (compare 1 Kgs 22:20). For this reason, the Peshitta may have left the occurrence in 1 Kgs 22:26 outside the differentiation scheme applied to Joash of Israel and Joash of Judah.

⁴⁸¹ 1 Kgs 4:19.

⁴⁸² 6 ×: 1 Kgs 15:5; 2 Kgs 16:10, 11 (2 ×), 15, 16.

⁴⁸³ 13 ×: 1 Kgs 1:8; 2:8, 36, 38 (2 ×), 39 (2 ×), 40 (2 ×), 41, 42, 44; 4:18.

⁴⁸⁴ 1 Kgs 12:22.

⁴⁸⁵ The same degree of differentiation is not represented by all MSS: the king of Judah is spelled יהואש [JHW>C] in 9a1 2 Kgs 13:10; the king of Israel is spelled יואש [JW>C] in 11 cl* 2 Kgs 14:11. These variants may be due to confusion on the part of copyists. Variants in later MSS are not considered here.

⁴⁸⁶ The king of Judah: 2 Kgs 11:2; 12:1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 19, 20, 21; 13:10; 14:1, 3, 17, 23; the king of Israel: 2 Kgs 13:9, 10, 12, 13 (2 ×), 14, 25 (2 ×); 14:1, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 23, 27. The two kings are mentioned together in the same verse in 2 Kgs 13:10; 14:1, 17, 23. יואש occurs twice as a plus (2 Kgs 12:21; 14:5); יהואש is not rendered in 2 Kgs 14:13.

4.2. A Single Hebrew Name Has Two Different Syriac Forms

Metathesis is involved in the following cases:

אדרמלך [>DRMLK]⁴⁸⁷ and אדרמלך [>RDMLK]⁴⁸⁸ for אדרמלך [>DRMLK],
 'Adrammelech'⁴⁸⁹
 ארגב [>RGWB]⁴⁹⁰ and ארגב [RG >WB]⁴⁹¹ for ארגב [>RGB], 'Argob'

In the following case, the variation may result from inconsistent contemporization of the name:

בשן [BJC N]⁴⁹² and בשן [MTN JN]⁴⁹³ for הבשן [HBC N], 'Bashan'

4.3. A Single Hebrew Name, Two Successive Syriac Names

The deviation from the Masoretic text in the following case is probably of text-historical origin:

2 Kgs 15:29

והאבל מהולה וכל בית מאחאח
 'and Abel Mehola, and all Beth Maachah'

והאבל בית מעכה
 'and Abel Beth Maachah'

The Syriac of 2 Kgs 15:29 reads 'he took Ijon, and Abel Meholah and all Beth Maachah ...'. Abel Meholah is not one of cities conquered by Tiglath-pileser in the north of Israel, as it is located far more to the south. Furthermore, the name Beth Maachah is unexpected, as the town is commonly known as Abel Beth Maachah. In the Peshitta of 1 Kgs 15:20 (BTR) as well, the town is called אבל בית מאחאח.⁴⁹⁴ In 2 Kgs 15:29, the Syriac text shows affinity with the Greek of the Antiochene text and codex Vaticanus of the Septuagint: καὶ τὴν Ἀβὲλ καὶ τὴν Βαίθυμααχά (B: Θαμμααχά). The Antiochene text is likely to represent

⁴⁸⁷ 2 Kgs 19:37.

⁴⁸⁸ 2 Kgs 17:31. MSS minus 9a1 9c1 12a1.

⁴⁸⁹ The corruption is likely to have occurred during the process of transmission of P, since the forms of the name found in the other ancient versions agree with MT.

⁴⁹⁰ 1 Kgs 4:13.

⁴⁹¹ 2 Kgs 15:25. The metathesis could be the result of textual corruption, as it is not found in 1 Kgs 4:13.

⁴⁹² 2 ×: 1 Kgs 4:13, 19. In 1 Kgs 4:13 the article is indicated by the Masoretic vocalization (בבשן).

⁴⁹³ 2 Kgs 10:33. מנחין, 'Mathnin', is akin to מתנן, 'Mathnan', the Aramaic rendering of הבשן in TJ 1 Kgs 4:13, 19; 2 Kgs 10:33 (see Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 34).

⁴⁹⁴ In 1 Kgs 15:20 9a1 reads אבל בית מאחאח. This reading combines with the preceding word אבל to produce the meaning 'the king's house'.

the Old Greek. It is conceivable that in some earlier stage of its transmission the Syriac text agreed with the Greek of the Antiochene text and codex Vaticanus. It may have read ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܚܠܗ . This Syriac text was either directly translated from a Hebrew exemplar similar to that of the Old Greek, or it arose under the influence of the Antiochene text. Subsequently ܠ was added before ܡܚܠܗ and ܐܠܗܘܬܐ was completed with ܐܒܠ since it was taken to refer to Abel Meholah, Elisha's home town (1 Kgs 4:12; 19:16).

Another possibility is that the Syriac text represents a double reading. The one reading, corresponding to בית מעכה ואת אבל of the Masoretic text, might have been ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܚܠܗ , and the other ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܚܠܗ . The latter reading was not recognized as a corrupt doublet of the former, and both readings were combined into ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܚܠܗ ܡܚܠܗ . ܐܠܗܘܬܐ was then taken to refer to Abel Meholah. A flaw in this reconstruction is that it does not take into account the significant agreement with the Greek of the Antiochene text.

4.4. *Phonetically Similar Hebrew Names, Different Phonetically Similar Syriac Names*

In 2 Kgs 12:22 the following names occur in the two versions:

ܐܘܒܐ [JWZKR], 'Jozakar' ܝܘܒܕ [JWZBD] 'Jozabad'
 ܐܘܒܐ [JWZBR], 'Jozabar' ܝܗܘܒܕ [JHWZBD] 'Jehozabad'

In addition to offering Resh for Daleth in both cases, the Peshitta differs from the Masoretic text by offering Kaph instead of Beth in the first name, and by rendering the theophoric element יהו [JHW] as ܐܘ [JW] in the second name.

The first name, ܐܘܒܐ , entails a deviation from the Masoretic text (Leningradensis, Aleppo) which may well go back to the Hebrew source, because the consonantal sequence [JWZKR] is attested by many Hebrew manuscripts and (indirectly) by all ancient versions.⁴⁹⁵

As to the second name, the form ܝܗܘܒܕ for ܝܘܒܕ is not attested in Hebrew manuscripts, nor is it reflected in the transliterations of other ancient versions.⁴⁹⁶ In this particular instance, however, the short form of the theophoric element and the final letter Resh combine to establish a phonetic

⁴⁹⁵ LXX B Ἰεζαχάρ , Ant. Ἰωζαχάρ , תּוּבֵד , vg *Iosachar*. The reading ܝܘܒܕ of MT may still be early, because it is reflected by זבד in 2 Chr 24:26.

⁴⁹⁶ ܝܗܘܒܕ of תּוּבֵד agrees with MT; LXX Ant. and VG are of no relevance because their renderings of the theophoric element do not reflect the difference between יהו and י . The same rendering of ܝܗܘܒܕ as ܐܘܒܐ appears in P Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles (for references, see Walter, *Studies*, section (915)). The translators of these books might have borrowed the name from P Kings.

parallel with דַּלֶּת earlier in the verse, so that it is quite possible that the translator consciously shortened דַּלֶּת to ד ⁴⁹⁷ and rendered Daleth as Resh. This final letter Resh is a feature unique to the Syriac version.

4.5. *Identical Sequences of Consonants in Hebrew
Rendered Once as a Name and Once as a Substantive in Syriac*

While once transliterating the name, twice the translator apparently established how the Hebrew word was meant to be understood on the basis of contextual exegesis, and translated accordingly:

סֻכּוֹת [SKWT], ‘Succoth’,⁴⁹⁸ and בְּחַלָּלִים , ‘in tents’,⁴⁹⁹ for סֻכּוֹת [SKWT], ‘Succoth’⁵⁰⁰

5. OTHER DIFFERENCES

5.1. *A Composite Hebrew Name Transliterated in Syriac*

In the following cases, the Hebrew name is composed of two substantives or a substantive and a name. The Peshitta does not translate the substantives into Syriac, but instead transliterates them:

בַּת שֶׁבַע [BTCB<] for בַּת שֶׁבַע [BT CB<], ‘Bathsheba’ (lit. ‘daughter of Sheba’)⁵⁰¹
 גֵּיאַ מֶלַח [GMLX] for גֵּיאַ מֶלַח [GJ> MLX] Q^ere, ‘Valley of Salt’⁵⁰²
 $\text{דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים}$ [DBRJMJN] for $\text{דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים}$ [DBRJ HJMJM], ‘(Book of) the Annals’⁵⁰³
 טֶרָסוֹת קִדְרוֹן [CDMW>JT QDRWN], ‘Shadmo’ith Kedron’, for טֶרָסוֹת קִדְרוֹן [CDMWT QDRWN], ‘Terraces of Kidron’⁵⁰⁴

Concerning the last item, it should be noted that טֶרָסוֹת is not preceded by the relative particle אֲשֶׁר as it is in טֶרָסוֹת אֲשֶׁר .⁵⁰⁵ The final Taw seems to indicate

⁴⁹⁷ See section 1.3.1.2.

⁴⁹⁸ 1 Kgs 7:46.

⁴⁹⁹ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 20:12, 16.

⁵⁰⁰ In 1 Kgs 7:46 סֻכּוֹת is unambiguously a toponym. In 1 Kgs 20:12, 16, it could likewise be taken as a reference to Succoth; however, since the narrative context is the siege of Samaria by the Aramean king, בְּסֻכּוֹת is more likely to refer to tents than to the city of Succoth as the place where King Benhadad was drinking wine with his vassals. The vocalization בְּסֻכּוֹת shows that the Masoretes interpreted the word similarly.

⁵⁰¹ See section 1.5.1.

⁵⁰² See section 1.5.1 and section 2.

⁵⁰³ 33 ×. LXX Ant. TJ VG translate $\text{דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים}$.

⁵⁰⁴ 2 Kgs 23:4.

⁵⁰⁵ 1 Kgs 2:37; 15:13; 2 Kgs 23:6 (2 ×).

a construct state form, but as a feminine noun ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ is not attested in Syriac, ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ ܡܘܘܨܐ must be a transliteration. It is conceivable that the translator transliterated שְׂדֵמֹת because of unfamiliarity with the meaning of the Hebrew word שְׂדֵמָה , 'terrace'. The other occurrences of שְׂדֵמָה ⁵⁰⁶ are each translated differently in the Peshitta. The origins of the Alaph and the Yudh, which are not matched by שְׂדֵמֹת , are unknown. Possibly they result from inner-Syriac corruption.

5.2. A Hebrew Name and a Syriac Nominal or Verbal Form

5.2.1. A Hebrew Name or Gentilic Corresponds to a Noun

The following instances illustrate a Hebrew name or gentilic corresponding to one or more nouns in Syriac. In 1 Kgs 16:9 the following words correspond:

ܐܘܪܝܐ [$>R<>$] '(the house of) the land'
 ܐܪܘܨܐ [$>RY>$] '(the house of) Arza'

This case is treated elsewhere.⁵⁰⁷

In 2 Kgs 21:18, 26 the following rendering occurs:

ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ [GZ<] '(the garden of) the treasury'
 ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ [$<Z>$] '(the garden of) Uzza'⁵⁰⁸

Since elsewhere in Kings ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ is a noun, 'treasure', rendering אוצרות (pl),⁵⁰⁹ ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ in 2 Kings 21 may be interpreted as the same noun.⁵¹⁰ Originally, however, due to the phonetic and graphic similarity, ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ may have been merely the transcription of the name עוּזָא .⁵¹¹

In 1 Kgs 1:9 a name in the Hebrew text is not rendered as such in the Peshitta:

ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ [K>P> RBT<] 'a big rock'
 ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ [$>BN$ HZXL<] 'the stone Zoheleth'
 ('the rock of the Crawler')

⁵⁰⁶ Deut 32:32; Isa 16:6; 37:27; Hab 3:17.

⁵⁰⁷ See chapter 8, section 1.10.

⁵⁰⁸ 2 x: 2 Kgs 21:18, 26.

⁵⁰⁹ 8 x: 1 Kgs 7:51; 14:26 (2 x); 15:18; 2 Kgs 20:13 (only gar: ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ), 15; 24:13 (2 x). Moreover, אוצרות corresponds to ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ in 2 Kgs 12:19; 14:14; 16:8; 18:15; 20:13 (only BTR: ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ). In 1 Kgs 9:19 ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ is the rendering of המטכנות , 'storehouses'; ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ also occurs as a plus in 2 Kgs 20:17.

⁵¹⁰ In fact, ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ , 'in the garden of Uzza', of 2 Kgs 21:18, 26 has become ܐܘܨܪܘܬܐ , 'treasure house', in 6h18.

⁵¹¹ See section 1.1.4.1.

The Hebrew name consists of a substantive in construct state and a participle; this is rendered as a substantive with an adjective in the Peshitta.⁵¹² In the Hebrew text, the rock is located near 'the spring of Rogel'. The name 'Rogel' is rendered as the noun **מַי רֹגֵל**.⁵¹³

חַם מַי רֹגֵל [<JN QYR>] 'the fuller's spring'
עֵין רֹגֵל [<JN RGL>] 'the spring of Rogel'

In 1Kgs 1:38, 44 the Peshitta offers a functional interpretation of the obscure gentilics 'the Cherethites and Pelethites':⁵¹⁴

מַעֲלֵי סֵבִיבִים וְחַבְלֵי [QCT" > WD CDJN BQ" L<>]
 'the archers and shooters with slings'
הַכְּרֵתִי וְהַפְּלֵתִי [HKRTJ WHPLTJ]
 'the Cherethites and Pelethites'

Of a text-historically complex nature are the following instances. One occurs in 2Kgs 11:6:

מַזְמַח [QRS>], '(gate of) the Chariot'
סוּר [SWR], 'Sur (gate)'

The other is found in the BTR of 2Kgs 23:8:

חַיְוִסָּה [PWRQN>], 'salvation'
יְהוֹשֻׁעַ [JHWC<], 'Joshua'

Both cases are treated elsewhere.⁵¹⁵

5.2.2. A Single Name in the Masoretic Text Corresponds to a Name and a Substantive (BTR) or a Verb and a Substantive (gai)

In 2Kgs 23:11 the Masoretic text reads:

אֶל לְשַׁכַּת נְתַן מֶלֶךְ הַסְּרִיס אֲשֶׁר בְּפִרְוִיָּם
 'towards the chamber of Nathan Melech, the chamberlain, which was in the suburbs (?)'

The ancient manuscripts of the Peshitta attest two alternative renderings of this phrase in Syriac. The reading in gai reflects the translator's failure to understand the Hebrew text, while the deviation from the Masoretic text attested in the BTR is of a text-historical nature. Manuscript gai reads:

⁵¹² For background of this choice, see chapter 2, section 2.2.1.1.

⁵¹³ For background of this choice, see chapter 2, section 2.2.2.1.

⁵¹⁴ For background, see chapter 2, section 2.2.2.4.

⁵¹⁵ In chapter 9, section 6 and 7, respectively.

כַּמְּסַחֲרֵי הַבַּיִת וְהַמֶּלֶךְ הָיָה בְּחַמְּרֵי הַבַּיִת

'... in the chamber which was in the *peruda*, and the king appointed eunuchs'

Apparently the translator did not recognize נתן מלך as a proper noun, otherwise he would not have rearranged the word order. He connected בפרורים to לשכת, and understood נתן as a verb form (third masc sg perfect) in the sense of 'he appointed' (also in 1 Kgs 2:35; 2 Kgs 23:5, where נתן is likewise rendered as אָסַפ), with מלך, 'king', as subject and סרים, 'eunuch', as object. In the translation the conjunction ו before אָסַפ was added *ad sensum* as the beginning of a new clause. Undoubtedly the interpretation of נתן מלך was influenced by 2 Kgs 23:5, where את הכמרים אשר נתנו מלכי יהודה '(he put an end to) the priests whom the kings of Judah had appointed', is translated appropriately as חֲמֻרֵי אֶלְמֵי הָאֲסַפִּים וְהַמֶּלֶךְ הָיָה בְּחַמְּרֵי הַבַּיִת.

A very different Syriac rendering of the Hebrew phrase in 2 Kgs 23:11 is found in the BTR:

בַּיִת הַמֶּלֶךְ הָיָה בְּחַמְּרֵי הַבַּיִת

'the treasure house of Nathan the king's eunuch which was in the *peruda*'

The BTR closely corresponds to the Greek of the Antiochene text, πρὸς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον Ναθάν εὐνούχου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ ἐν φαρουρείμ. In all likelihood the BTR results from the adaptation of an earlier Syriac text (possibly the text represented by 9a1) towards the Antiochene text.⁵¹⁶

5.2.3. (Part of) a Composite Hebrew Name Corresponds to a Participle

In a number of cases, part of a composite proper noun in Hebrew is translated as a participle:

2 Kgs 3:25

כַּאֲשֶׁר הָיוּ בַּחֲמֻרֵי הַבַּיִת

'in the wall when they were destroyed'

בְּקִיר חֲרֶשֶׁת

'in Qir Hareseth' (lit. 'Wall of Potsherds')

The Masoretic text עד השאיר אבניה בקיר חרשת, 'until one left its stones in Qir Hareseth', is grammatically difficult:

⁵¹⁶ Ant. in turn may have preserved the text of the Old Greek version here. It appears that LXX, too, failed to recognize נתן מלך as a proper noun. The *kaige*-recension (witnessed by LXX B) seems to have brought the Old Greek in line with the word order of the (proto-)MT: εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον Ναθάν βασιλέως τοῦ εὐνούχου ἐν φαρουρείμ.

- The identity of the subject of the third person masc sg perfect הִשְׂאִיר is unclear, and הִשְׂאִיר may be interpreted (and repointed) as an infinitive.⁵¹⁷
- It is unclear what the third person fem sg suffix in אֲבִינָה refers to. It might refer back to the Moabite cities (הָעָרִים) which the Israelites are reported to have demolished at the beginning of v. 25. This is, however, rather implausible in view of the fact that several clauses dealing with different topics separate the suffix from its alleged antecedent. On the other hand, if אֲבִינָה is meant to refer to Qir Hareseth the question arises of why the complex construction בְּקִיר אֲבִינָה is used instead of the construct state אֲבִינָה קִיר חֲרֶשֶׁת. Moreover, the purport of the text as it stands is unclear. The passage may allude to the destruction of Qir Hareseth. In that case the text means to say either that only the stones were left of it or that the stones of the cities previously demolished were left in Qir Hareseth to make the land inhabitable. The alternative possibility is that the passage refers to Qir Hareseth being temporarily saved from destruction: the stones were left in Qir Hareseth because the city defended itself.⁵¹⁸

The grammatical and semantic difficulties have led several scholars to consider the text corrupt and to propose various emendations.⁵¹⁹ Like modern scholars, the ancient translators wrestled with the sense of the passage. Their renderings can all be explained in terms of literary exegesis of a Hebrew consonantal text basically similar to that of the Masoretic text. Common to the ancient versions is that their renderings are more or less *ad sensum* translations of קִיר חֲרֶשֶׁת rather than transliterations. Moreover, the Septuagint, Targum Jonathan, and Peshitta all agree in reading חֲרֶשֶׁת as being derived from the root חָרַס, ‘tear down’, which occurs at the beginning of v. 25 in the clause וְהָעָרִים יִהְרָסוּ, ‘they tore down the cities’. Thus, these versions offer renderings in which חֲרֶשֶׁת is represented by the same verb יִהְרָסוּ:

Septuagint (LXX B)

καὶ τὰς πόλεις καθείλον ... ἕως τοῦ καταλιπεῖν τοὺς λίθους τοῦ τοίχου καθηρημένου
 ‘and they cast down the cities ... until they left the stones of the wall cast down’

⁵¹⁷ Thus Burney, *Notes*, 272.

⁵¹⁸ Thus Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* I, 383–384.

⁵¹⁹ Thus Burney, *Notes*, 272–273; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 433, note b; Montgomery—Gehman, *Kings*, 366.

Peshitta

ܫܡܝܢܐ ܕܥܫܪܐ ... ܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܫܪܐ ܕܥܫܪܐ ܕܥܫܪܐ ܕܥܫܪܐ ܕܥܫܪܐ

'and the cities they overthrew ... until the stones in the wall were left when they had been overthrown'

Both Septuagint and Peshitta seem to have read חרשת as חֲרֻשָּׁת (Qal fem pl passive participle)⁵²⁰ which they linked to אבנים, 'stones', which is also feminine.

Targum Jonathan

וקרוינא פגרו ... עד דלא אשתאר אבנא בכותלא דלא פגרוהא

'and they destroyed the cities ... until there was not left a stone in the wall which they did not destroy'

The similarities between the ancient versions suggest that the translators drew upon a similar exegetical tradition concerning this passage. Since the version of the Peshitta is particularly close to that of the Septuagint, the former may also have been influenced by the latter.

The Antiochene text and the Vulgate offer renderings of חרשת that agree more closely with the Masoretic text than with the renderings in the other versions:

Antiochene text

καὶ τὰς πόλεις Μωὰβ καθείλον ... ἕως τοῦ μὴ καταλιπεῖν λίθον ἐν τοῖς τετρακτῶν τεκτονικῆς
'and they cast down the cities of Moab ... until they did not leave a stone in the wall of craftsmanship'

This rendering probably reflects the reading בקיר חֲרֻשָּׁת (חֲרֻשָּׁת, 'carved stone'⁵²²).

Vulgate

ita ut muri tantum fictiles remanerent

'until only the sherds of the wall were left'

In 2 Kings 23, a participle is used in the Peshitta to render the name of Pharaoh Necho.⁵²³ It appears that נכה, 'Necho', has been taken in the sense of רגלים, 'lame',⁵²⁴ and then rendered as ܢܚܘܚ, 'the lame'.⁵²⁵ Targum

⁵²⁰ Thus Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien* III, 110–111.

⁵²¹ Cf. LXX Ex 31:5; see Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien* III, 111, 244.

⁵²² *KBL*, 338b.

⁵²³ 4×: 2 Kgs 23:29, 33, 34, 35.

⁵²⁴ 2 Sam 4:4; 9:3.

⁵²⁵ Burney, *Notes*, 363; Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 178; Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*,

Jonathan renders similarly as חגירא. This rendering is also found elsewhere in the Peshitta and in Targum Jonathan.⁵²⁶ The parallel use in Targum Jonathan and the Peshitta is best explained by assuming that each version drew upon the same Jewish exegetical tradition.⁵²⁷

A third instance involves רב שקה [RB CQH], ‘Rab Shaqeh’, rendered as ܪܒ ܫܩܗ [RB C"Q>], ‘chief of cupbearers.’⁵²⁸ ܫܩܗ is the plural of ܫܩܗ, ‘cup-bearer, butler’, which is qua form a Peal participle of the verb ܫܩܗ.⁵²⁹ The Hebrew רב שקה is a transcription of the Assyrian title *rab šāqê*, ‘chief cup-bearer.’⁵³⁰ Since רב שקה has no obvious meaning in Hebrew (and is not preceded by the article), it functions as a name. The Syriac transliteration of the Hebrew restores the original meaning of the title.

5.2.4. A Hebrew Name Corresponds to a Perfect Form

The case in 2 Kgs 10:12 where בית עקד, ‘Beth Eqed’, is rendered as ܚܚܩܐ, ‘break down’, is treated elsewhere.⁵³¹

5.3. A Hebrew Name Corresponds to a Different Syriac Name

In contrast to the tendency to render different Hebrew names as a single name in Syriac, as observed in section 3.4, the Peshitta at times provides a different name than the one in the Masoretic text. In the cases where there is also a regular rendering for the Hebrew name, this is listed as well after the irregular form.

5.3.1. ‘Arwad’ for ‘Edom’

In 1 Kgs 9:26, אדום, ‘Edom’, corresponds to ארואד, ‘Arwad’. The other ancient versions are in conformity with the Masoretic text. In the Peshitta of Ezek 27:8, 11, ארואד renders ארוד, ‘Arwad’, the name of a Phoenician town. In the Kings passage, ארואד is certainly meant to refer to the same town. Though ארואד is graphically somewhat similar to ארומם, it is unlikely that the name is a corruption of ארומם. In 1 Kgs 9:26, בארץ אדום, ‘in the land of Edom’, specifies the location of Ezion Geber where Solomon is reported to have built a

⁵²⁶ Jer 46:2; 2 Chr 35:20, 22; 36:4. Note that in 2 Sam 4:4; 9:3 neither P nor Tj use ܫܩܗ / חגירא to render the expression ַנְּבִיחַ רַגְלִים, ‘crippled’.

⁵²⁷ See Van Keulen, ‘Points of Agreement’, 205–235, esp. 233–235.

⁵²⁸ 8 x; 2 Kgs 18:17, 19, 26, 27, 28, 37; 19:4, 8. See also section 1.5.1.

⁵²⁹ CSD, 593a.

⁵³⁰ AHw, 1182a.

⁵³¹ See chapter 8, section 1.26.

fleet. Though the Syriac rendering ‘in the land of Arwad’, is geographically incorrect, it may be deliberate, because in v. 27 Hiram of Tyre is stated to have sent his servants in the fleet. To the translator the information in v. 27 could imply a location close to Tyre, which led him to change ‘Edom’ to ‘Arwad’, a procedure related to *al tigre*. An additional argument against interpreting ארד as a mere corruption of ארם is the fact that the rendering ארד occurs only here where it can be explained by the context.⁵³²

5.3.2. ‘Mabbog’ for ‘The King of Assyria’

In 2 Kgs 23:29, the Peshitta offers the place name מַבּוּג, ‘Mabbog’, in a position corresponding to that of מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר, ‘the king of Assyria’, in the Masoretic text. Much of 2 Chr 35:20, the text parallel to 2 Kgs 23:29, is adopted in the Syriac rendering of the latter verse. The substitution under consideration, too, is based on 2 Chr 35:20, where the king of Assyria is not mentioned, and Necho’s objective on the river Euphrates is specified as בְּרַכְמִישׁ, ‘Carchemish’. In the Peshitta of Chronicles and Kings alike, the ancient city Carchemish is modernized as Mabbog.⁵³³

5.3.3. ‘The City of the Heroes’ for ‘Baal Shalisha’

In 2 Kgs 4:42 בעל שְׁלִשָּׁה, ‘Baal Shalisha’, is rendered as מְדִינַת הַבְּיָרָה, ‘City of the Hero’. Walter convincingly links מְדִינַת הַבְּיָרָה to מְדִינַת הַבְּיָרָה, ‘Town of the Heroes’, the name the Peshitta uses for קְרִיַת [ה] אַרְבַּע, ‘Kiriath Arba’.⁵³⁴ The Syriac name alludes to the fact that קְרִיַת [ה] אַרְבַּע, the former name of Hebron, is the place where the three legendary Enakim, in the Peshitta usually designated as הַבְּיָרָה, ‘heroes’, lived.⁵³⁵ In 2 Kgs 4:42 the translator read שלשה as שְׁלִשָּׁה, ‘three’, which he took as a reference to the Enakim. The alternative interpretation, also put forward by Walter, is that the translator connected שלשה with the noun שלישי, ‘officer’, which he rendered as הַבְּיָרָה.⁵³⁶ This view is less attractive, since it leaves the rendering of בעל as

⁵³² ארד is rendered as ארם 14 × (1 Kgs 11:14, 15 [2 ×], 16; 22:48; 2 Kgs 3:8, 9, 12, 20, 26; 8:20, 22; 14:7, 10), and once as ארם (2 Kgs 8:21, see section 1.4).

⁵³³ מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר is rendered 43 × as מַלְכָּא גַאֲרַסְטוֹ, ‘the king of Assyria’, and twice as מַלְכָּא אַרְמֵנִי (2 Kgs 18:23; 19:4).

⁵³⁴ Gen 23:2; 35:27. See Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 64; *Studies*, section (923b).

⁵³⁵ Josh 14:15; 15:13, 14; 21:11; Judg 1:10, 20.

⁵³⁶ 8 ×: 1 Kgs 9:22; 2 Kgs 7:2, 17, 19; 9:25; 10:25 (2 ×); 15:25.

ܘܢܘܢ unexplained. It is striking that among the ancient versions (Peshitta, Septuagint, the Antiochene text, Targum Jonathan) none translates בעל.⁵³⁷

5.3.4. 'Shiloah' for 'Gihon'

In 1 Kgs 1:33, 38, 45 ܘܫܠܘܗ, 'Shiloah', corresponds to גיחון, 'Gihon', in the Masoretic text. This case is treated elsewhere.⁵³⁸

5.3.5. Names of Months

In three cases involving the name of a month the Peshitta does not transliterate but supplies the Syriac name or a characterization of the month considered to be appropriate:

ܘܝܪ, '(the month of) Ijar', for זיב, '(the month of) Ziv'⁵³⁹

The month Ijar is April–May.⁵⁴⁰ The Peshitta substitutes the Syriac name for the Hebrew one, possibly on the basis of the specification 'Ziv, that is the second month' in the Masoretic text.

ܘܚܠܝܠܝܢ, '(the month of) harvests', for אֶתְנַיִם, '(the month of) Ethanim'⁵⁴¹

In this case, the Peshitta does not substitute the Syriac name of the month for the Hebrew one but offers a characterization instead. From the specification 'Ethanims—at the Festival—that is, the seventh month', the translator may have inferred that the festival involved a harvest festival, which led him to designate the month as 'month of harvests'.⁵⁴²

ܘܒܘܠ ܘܬܫܪܝܢ, 'Later Teshrin', for בּוּל, '(the month of) Bul'⁵⁴³

Later Teshrin is November.⁵⁴⁴ The Peshitta substitutes the Syriac name for the Hebrew one, possibly on the basis of the specification 'Bul, that is the eighth month' in the Masoretic text.

⁵³⁷ ܘܢܘܢ דרוּמא, 'land of the South', LXX B Βαῖθσαρεῖσα, Ant. Βηθλεεμμάς, 'Bethlehem' (sic), VG *Balsalisa*.

⁵³⁸ See chapter 2, section 2.7.2.

⁵³⁹ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 6:1, 37.

⁵⁴⁰ *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 167.

⁵⁴¹ 1 Kgs 8:2.

⁵⁴² See also Weitzman, *Introduction*, 52.

⁵⁴³ 1 Kgs 6:38.

⁵⁴⁴ *CSD*, 623.

5.3.6. 'Abijah, Son of Rehoboam' for 'Rehoboam'

In 1Kgs 15:6 אבִיָּה בֶן רְחֹבָם, 'Abijah, son of Rehoboam', corresponds to רְחֹבָם, 'Rehoboam'. In the immediate context of the verse, רְחֹבָם renders אבִיָּהם, 'Abijam'. Within the account of Abijam's reign (1Kgs 15:1–8) in the Masoretic text, the statement in v. 6—that there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam—is out of place. The report in 1Kgs 15:6 has a nearly exact parallel in 1Kgs 14:30, where it fits well within the framework of the account of Rehoboam's reign. The text of v. 6 may originally have read 'Abijam' (or 'Abijah') for 'Rehoboam', in conformity with the statement in v. 7b that there was war between Abijam and Jeroboam. It is conceivable that the similarity between 1Kgs 14:30 and 1Kgs 15:6 (and 7b) contributed to the scribal error.⁵⁴⁵ 1Kgs 15:6 is not represented in the Septuagint and the Antiochene text, perhaps because the Greek translator recognized that it did not fit in the context. The Syriac text of v. 6 as it stands does not cause problems, since it states that there was war between Abijah, son of Rehoboam, and Jeroboam. It is rather implausible that among the ancient versions the Peshitta would be the only one to reflect the original Hebrew text in v. 6. Rather, the translator recognized the problem in the Hebrew source and solved it by expanding 'Rehoboam' to 'Abijah, son of Rehoboam'. The duplication of v. 6 and v. 7b due to this textual intervention led some later scribe to remove v. 7b from the Syriac text. V. 7b is only preserved in 6h18, 7h10, and 9a1.

5.4. A Hebrew Noun and a Syriac Name or a Gentilic

In contrast to the cases described in section 5.2, in the following cases the Peshitta has a proper noun or gentilic where the Masoretic text has a noun.

5.4.1. 'Carmel' for 'His Orchard'

The case in 2Kgs 19:23 where the Peshitta has כַּרְמֵל, 'Carmel', vis-à-vis כַּרְמֵלֹו, 'his orchard', in the Masoretic text is treated elsewhere.⁵⁴⁶

5.4.2. 'Peruda' for 'Suburbs(?)'

In 2Kgs 23:11 אֲשֶׁר בַּפְּרוּרִים, 'who is in the *peruda*', corresponds to אֲשֶׁר בַּפְּרוּרִים, 'who is in the suburbs(?)'. The meaning of פְּרוּרִים is a moot point.⁵⁴⁷ The

⁵⁴⁵ See for instance Cogan, *1 Kings*, 393.

⁵⁴⁶ See chapter 7, section 5.

⁵⁴⁷ See Runnals, 'The parwār'.

original Syriac rendering may have been ܦܘܣܝܘܬܐ, in which the (plural) emphatic state ending represents the definite article indicated in the Masoretic vocalization of בַּפְּרוּרִים.⁵⁴⁸ ܦܘܣܝܘܬܐ, then, would be an inner-Syriac corruption.⁵⁴⁹ Whether the alleged original form ܦܘܣܝܘܬܐ represents a transliteration or a translation of the Hebrew is difficult to tell. In Syriac, neither ܦܘܣܝܘܬܐ nor ܦܘܣܝܘܬܐ are attested outside of 2 Kgs 23:11. In Babylonian Aramaic, however, ܦܪܘܘܪܐ, ܦܪܘܘܪܐ occur as loanwords from Middle Persian meaning ‘environs (of a city)’.⁵⁵⁰ The Middle Persian word itself seems to mean ‘court’. It is not to be excluded that in Syriac, as in Babylonian Aramaic, a cognate word existed. The Septuaginta transliterates with φαρουρεῖμ.

5.4.3. ‘Rab Sisak’ for ‘Chief Court Official’

In 2 Kgs 18:17 the Peshitta offers ܕܘܬ ܫܝܫܐܩ, ‘Rab Sisak’, for רב סריס, ‘chief court official’, in the Masoretic text. The term is preceded by ܕܘܬ ܫܝܫܐܩ, but unlike ܫܝܫܐܩ, ܕܘܬ ܫܝܫܐܩ is not a recognizable verbal or nominal form in Syriac, and by consequence ܕܘܬ ܫܝܫܐܩ is to be construed as a proper noun rather than as a construct state phrase. The two Semkaths in ܕܘܬ ܫܝܫܐܩ suggest a connection with סריס. The transformations required to get from [SRJS] to [SJSQ] indicate intentional change: ܫܝܫܐܩ resembles ܫܝܫܐܩ, ‘Shishak’, and Semkath can be substituted for Shin;⁵⁵¹ yet in Kings the name of Pharaoh Shishak is spelled ܫܝܫܐܩ.⁵⁵² Possibly ܕܘܬ ܫܝܫܐܩ involves a transformation, partially inadvertent and partially intentional, of the original Syriac transliteration of רב סריס.

5.4.4. ‘Shamash’ for ‘The Sun’

2 Kgs 23:11

ואת מרכבות השמש שרף באש

‘and the chariots of the sun he burned with fire’

The presence of the definite article in השמש, ‘the sun’, indicates that the form is a noun. In the Peshitta the corresponding word is in absolute state, indicating a proper noun, ‘Shamosh’ (?):

ܫܡܘܫܐ ܕܡܪܟܒܐܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܫܪܦܐ ܒܐܫ

‘and the chariots of Shamosh he burned with fire’

⁵⁴⁸ Thus MT בַּפְּרוּרִים. Note that תַּךְ פְּרוּרִיא also renders the article.

⁵⁴⁹ ‘Peruda’ is indicated by the vocalization in the Mosul edition.

⁵⁵⁰ *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 929b.

⁵⁵¹ See section 1.1.3.2, and chapter 3, section 1.1.3.

⁵⁵² 1 Kgs 11:40; 14:25 (Q^ere).

ܫܡܫ occurs ten times in the Peshitta of Kings, six times with the emphatic ending⁵⁵³ and four times without.⁵⁵⁴ The six occurrences with the emphatic endings are nouns referring to 'the sun'. Besides the case at hand, the occurrences without the emphatic ending involve the toponym 'Beth Shemesh'.⁵⁵⁵ Only in 2 Kgs 23:11 (2nd) does the term occur without the emphatic ending and without being in combination with 'Beth-'.

The other ancient versions all agree with the Masoretic text and as a consequence do not support the assumption that the Syriac translator used a Vorlage with a different consonantal text. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the reading ܫܡܫܐ goes back to an early stage in the transmission of the Peshitta, since it is attested by all ancient manuscripts (7a1, 9a1 etc.).⁵⁵⁶

'Shamash / Shamosh' is the name of a Mesopotamian solar deity, and 'the chariots of Shamosh' may designate some cultic object devoted to the sun god. Archeological and epigraphic data bear witness to the inclusion of Shamosh in the Pantheon of the Syrian towns of Emesa, Carrhae / Haran, Edessa, and Palmyra during the first centuries CE. The translators and early copyists of the Peshitta, who worked somewhere in Syria, may have been familiar with aspects of their pagan religious environment. The possibility cannot be ruled out that ܫܡܫܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ represents an adaptation to the environment in which the Peshitta was used.⁵⁵⁷

Curiously enough, the first occurrence of ܫܡܫ in 2 Kgs 23:11 is rendered with the emphatic state ending: ܫܡܫܐ ܕܡܫܫܐ ܕܡܫܫܐ ܕܡܫܫܐ, 'and they killed the horses which the kings of Judah had given to the sun'. The Syriac manuscripts are unanimous in reading the emphatic state form ܫܡܫܐ. Thus, although ܫܡܫ in the phrase ܫܡܫܐ allows interpretation as a personal name, the translator chose to interpret it as the Masoretes did (ܫܡܫ), that is, as the noun 'sun'. This circumstance casts doubt on the originality of the reading ܫܡܫܐ later in the same verse. Since ܫܡܫܐ is followed by a word beginning with Alaph, ܫܡܫܐ may have resulted from haplography. However, such a corruption could have been provoked by a scribe's familiarity with the solar deity Shamosh.

⁵⁵³ 1 Kgs 22:36; 2 Kgs 3:22; 10:33; 20:11; 23:5; 23:11 (1st).

⁵⁵⁴ 1 Kgs 4:9; 2 Kgs 14:11, 13; 23:11 (2nd).

⁵⁵⁵ Outside of Kings, a comparable parallel occurs in Josh 15:7, where ܡܝ ܐܝܢ ܫܡܫܐ, 'the waters of En Shemesh', is rendered as ܡܝ ܐܝܢ ܫܡܫܐ.

⁵⁵⁶ Lee's edition and the Mosul edition, however, offer ܫܡܫܐ. That reading possibly entails a correction on the basis of MT.

⁵⁵⁷ A comparable adaptation occurs in 1 Samuel, where ܗܥܫܬܪܐܝܝܬ, 'the Ashtorets', is rendered as ܗܥܫܬܪܐܝܝܬ, a name of deities known from Palmyra (see Morrison, *First Book of Samuel*, 56–57).

5.4.5. *'The Shulammitte' for 'Peace' (Greeting)*

The rendering of שלום, 'peace', as שׁלמ־מַלְמֵל, 'the Shulammitte', in 2 Kgs 4:23 is treated elsewhere.⁵⁵⁸

5.5. *Names Reflecting Multiple Stages of Development*

In the following case, the first elements in the composite names are different in the two versions:

חבב־שלמ [<BDCLWM] for אב־ישלום [>BCLWM]⁵⁵⁹

It is possible that the Dalath and Yudh were confused, a phenomenon attested in the ancient manuscripts of the Peshitta of Kings.⁵⁶⁰ Because no comparable variant is attested among the other ancient versions, the confusion is probably due to an inner-Syriac corruption. Subsequently, when the text was dictated and the copyist wrote אב as חבב by association with חבב־, 'servant', חבב־שלמ may have become חבב־שלמ, 'servant of peace'.

Various differences can be noticed in:

אני [>NJ], 'Ani', for האריה [H > RJH],⁵⁶¹ 'Arieh', lit. 'the lion'

The definite article and the final He of the Hebrew name are not rendered in the Syriac name, and the Resh has been replaced by the Nun. The latter difference may be due to a reading error that occurred during transmission.⁵⁶² It is not uncommon for the Peshitta to leave determination in Hebrew names unexpressed.⁵⁶³ The fact that final He is unrepresented in the Syriac is more difficult to explain. Perhaps both the final He and the Yod preceding it were taken to be *matres lectionis* and the second one was therefore omitted. The letter could have been lacking in the translator's source text (compare the rendering in the Vulgate *Ari*).

In the following case, the fact that Syriac sometimes has Dalath where Hebrew has Zayin could have played a role:

חֲדָרוֹן [HDRWN], 'Hedron', for רִזּוֹן [RZWN], 'Rezon'⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁵⁸ See chapter 8, section 1.21.

⁵⁵⁹ 2 ×: 1 Kgs 15:2, 10.

⁵⁶⁰ For example, in 1 Kgs 5:11 ga1 has גַּד־ for גַּד־ in the other MSS (= MT דַּד־).

⁵⁶¹ 2 Kgs 15:25.

⁵⁶² Thus Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 31.

⁵⁶³ See section 1.1.7.1.

⁵⁶⁴ 1 Kgs 11:23.

The phonological shifts may have occurred in steps during the course of textual transmission: first Dalath instead of Zayin (ܨܘܘܝ [RDWN]), then He added initially (ܨܘܘܝܗ [HRDWN]), and finally metathesis of Dalath and Resh (ܨܘܘܝܗܘܘܠ [HDRWN]).

In spite of a number of shared letters, the Syriac involves a major deviation from the name in the Masoretic text in:

ܬܘܒܝܐ [VWBJ>], 'Tobia', for הַנְּטַפְתִּי [HNVPTJ], 'the Netophathite'⁵⁶⁵

The other ancient versions concur with the Masoretic text. The Syriac name, 'Tobia', corresponds to טוֹבִיָּה in Ezra (1×), Nehemiah (14×), and Zechariah (2×). It is possible that the original rendering was closer to the Hebrew and subsequently underwent corruption. The acoustic similarity of [P] and [B] could have precipitated confusion of the two when the text was dictated.⁵⁶⁶ During the process of transmission, the obscure name may have been reinterpreted as the more familiar name ܬܘܒܝܐ.

In one final case, the reading of 9a1 in 1Kgs 5:32 is an example of a secondary development:

ܐܪܘܒܠܝܬܝܢ [>R"GWBLJ>], 'the Argublites', for [HGBLJM], 'the Giblites'

This case is treated elsewhere.⁵⁶⁷

6. SUMMARY

In the books of Kings when counting each name only once, we find that approximately half of the unique proper nouns are spelled identically in the Masoretic text and in the Peshitta. When not using the letters corresponding to those in the Masoretic text, or a systematic adaptation of the spelling, the Peshitta shows a tendency to render different spellings of names, and even separate names, by a single item, so that the Peshitta contains fewer unique names than does the Masoretic text.⁵⁶⁸

Differences between Syriac and Hebrew names in corresponding positions range from spelling issues to the substitution of entire names. Most deviations from the Hebrew go back to the stage of translation, but a small portion of them must have arisen during textual transmission. Many names

⁵⁶⁵ 2Kgs 25:23. See also section 1.4.

⁵⁶⁶ See chapter 3, section 1.1.1.

⁵⁶⁷ See chapter 8, section 1.4.

⁵⁶⁸ See chapter 13, section 1.3.

involve deliberate changes: phonological shifts, changes that in other respects pertain to the Syriac language, and substitutions of names. Other differences arose inadvertently, resulting from inner-Syriac corruption or from the translator's failure to recognize a proper noun. Only once or twice does the form in the Peshitta possibly reflect Hebrew consonants different from those in the Masoretic text. Frequently Syriac manuscripts differ among themselves in the spelling of a name,⁵⁶⁹ illustrating the impact of corruption and phonological shift. This results in names deviating from their Hebrew basis during the process of transmission.

In a number of instances, the differences can be explained both on the basis of linguistics and on the basis of text-historical considerations.⁵⁷⁰ Multiple letter differences in names result from changes that took place either over subsequent stages or simultaneously during one stage. It is not always easy to establish the relative proportion of text-historical and phonological factors involved in these complex differences.⁵⁷¹

In view of the range of factors involved, the comparison of Hebrew names with their Syriac renderings is a complex undertaking indeed. On the basis of the materials presented in this chapter, six types of differences in proper nouns can be distinguished.

6.1. *Phonological Shifts*

Adaptations to Syriac phonology were made either directly by the translator or by scribes during the transmission of the Syriac text.

6.1.1. *Vowel Letters*

The vowel notation by means of vowel letters is less ambiguous in Syriac than in Hebrew. The Peshitta of Kings makes effective use of this system to indicate the desired pronunciation of names in Syriac. Hence, vowel letters are often added (Alaph to indicate *a*, Waw to indicate *u* / *o*, and Yudh to indicate *i*) or altered (He to Alaph or Waw, Aleph to Waw). Strict consistency in adding vowel letters was not maintained, however. There are even several cases of Hebrew *matres lectionis* not being represented in Syriac,

⁵⁶⁹ A selection of these inner-Syriac differences is listed in the Index Nominum of the Kings volume of *The Old Testament in Syriac*.

⁵⁷⁰ For example, ححلم [<MLJQ] for ענמלך [<NMLK]. See section 2.

⁵⁷¹ Some names with complex changes are believed to have evolved gradually. See section 5.5.

among these the so-called etymological Aleph.⁵⁷² Moreover, phonological rules seem to have been applied with some discrimination, as the transcription *ܨܚܝ ܒܗ* for *ܨܚܝ ܒܗ* with audible *ܗ* suggests.⁵⁷³ A few phenomena merit special attention.

- Alaph is sometimes prefixed to Yudh in initial position; as a result the Yudh turns into a vowel letter.⁵⁷⁴ The combination Alaph–Yudh in Syriac moreover appears where the theophoric element *אל* is rendered as *Ⲑⲟ*,⁵⁷⁵ though this is reduced to *Ⲑ* in word-medial position.
- In some words where the Waw and the Resh occur adjacent to one another, the two switch places in the corresponding name in the other version.⁵⁷⁶
- Names exhibiting spelling variation in the Masoretic text are generally rendered uniformly in the Peshitta. Thus names that occur both with plene and defective spelling in the Masoretic text are all written plene.⁵⁷⁷

6.1.2. Consonants

Differences in consonants are frequent. Many of these reflect phonological changes, like

- addition of Nun in final position
- omission of Nun (possibly due to assimilation)⁵⁷⁸
- addition of Alaph as initial consonant before Yudh (which in that case turns into a vowel letter)⁵⁷⁹
- omission of initial Aleph before a consonant⁵⁸⁰
- omission of Aleph where it is quiescent in combination with a vowel⁵⁸¹
- addition of He
- addition of Resh

⁵⁷² For example, *ܨܚܝܘܢ* [NBWZRDN] for *ܨܚܝܘܢ* [NBWZR>DN] and *ܨܚܝܘܢ* [TGLTPLSR] for *ܨܚܝܘܢ* [TGLT PL>SR]. See section 1.1.1.5.

⁵⁷³ See section 1.1.1.1 and section 2.

⁵⁷⁴ See section 1.1.1.1.

⁵⁷⁵ For example, in *Ⲑⲟⲩ* [BJT >JL] and *Ⲑⲟⲩ* [XZ>JL]. See section 1.3.1.1.

⁵⁷⁶ See section 1.2.

⁵⁷⁷ See sections 3.1 and 3.3.

⁵⁷⁸ See Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 28.

⁵⁷⁹ Cf. section 1.1.1.

⁵⁸⁰ See Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 32.

⁵⁸¹ See Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 33.

- substitution of Beth for Pe⁵⁸²
- substitution of Dalath for Taw
- substitution of Zayin for Tsadhe
- substitution of Semkath for Tsadhe
- substitution of Lamadh for Sin
- substitution of Semkath for Sin
- substitution of Taw for Shin

Differences between letters that are similar in pronunciation—Aleph and E, possibly Beth and Pe, Dalath and Taw, Mim and Nun—could also be explained as the result of aural errors committed by copyists to whom the Syriac text was dictated.⁵⁸³

Some Syriac names exhibit metathesis in comparison with their Hebrew correspondences.⁵⁸⁴ The phenomenon of metathesis is widely attested in languages of the Ancient Near East. Manuscripts of the Peshitta of Kings exhibit metathesis as an inner-Syriac development, which makes it probable that phonological factors inherent to Syriac played a role.

A number of Syriac names display multiple differences with their Hebrew correspondences. There seems to be little systematic restriction on which differences can co-occur within a word.⁵⁸⁵

6.2. *Graphic Similarity*

A considerable number of differences between Hebrew and Syriac names arose during the transmission process (inner-Syriac corruption) as a result of the confusion of graphically similar Syriac letters.⁵⁸⁶

6.3. *Aspects of the Syriac Language*

Features pertaining to the character of the Syriac language may have had an affect on the translation.

The Peshitta of Kings tends to render a name consisting of two components as a single word. However, this is not always the case and even the opposite may occur.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸² See Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 27; see also chapter 3, section 1.1.1.

⁵⁸³ For example, ܓܠܫܐ [DLSR] for תלאשר [TL>FR] and ܥܠܡܢܫܐ [CLMN<SR] for שלמנאסר [CLMN>SR].

⁵⁸⁴ See section 1.2, and chapter 3, section 1.10.

⁵⁸⁵ Interrelated changes may have occurred in ܚܘܠܐ, ܫܥܘܘܫܐ, ܢܨ, ܫܘܘܟܐ, ܚܘܠܐ, ܫܘܘܫܐ, ܢܨ, ܫܘܟܐ, ܚܘܠܐ, ܫܘܘܫܐ, ܢܨ. See section 2.

⁵⁸⁶ See section 1.1.6.

⁵⁸⁷ See sections 1.3.2, 1.5.1, and 1.5.2.

The theophoric element יה, יו, and יהו are often rendered as ܐ in initial position or as ܐ in final position.⁵⁸⁸

The article before a Hebrew name is sometimes left unrendered in Syriac; this includes names consisting of two components in genitive relationship. In other names, the Hebrew article is rendered as an emphatic state ending.⁵⁸⁹ The influence of Syriac grammar is probably also present in the *Taw* for the *He* in word-final position,⁵⁹⁰ and the interchange of *Yudh* and *Nun* in some forms.⁵⁹¹

A combination of nouns which serve as a proper noun in Hebrew is sometimes transcribed in Syriac. As the words involved are mostly common ones, it is improbable that the translator transcribed them because he did not know their meaning. Rather, they functioned as fixed names and designations.⁵⁹² Apparently, the translator could safely assume that his audience was familiar with the Hebrew terms. This would suggest that the *Peshitta* of *Kings* arose in Jewish circles.

6.4. *Different Vorlage*

There are two situations in which spelling differences could be attributed to the use of a Hebrew *Vorlage* with consonants other than those present in the *Masoretic* text:

- Of the thirteen instances of *K^ctib* / *Q^ere* in Hebrew names, twelve renderings in Syriac are closer to *Q^ere* than to *K^ctib*. The most plausible explanation for this is that the *Q^ere* forms were in the running text of the Hebrew exemplar used by the translator.⁵⁹³
- Where names in the *Peshitta* and one or more ancient versions share consonantal deviations from the *Masoretic* text, they could reflect a different Hebrew text. *Kings*, however, does not contain any such examples.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁸⁸ See section 1.3.1.2 and chapter 3, section 1.7.

⁵⁸⁹ See section 1.1.7.1.

⁵⁹⁰ See section 1.1.7.2.

⁵⁹¹ See section 1.1.7.4.

⁵⁹² For example, גבמח [DBRJMJN] for דברי הימים [DBRJ HJMJM]. See section 2.

⁵⁹³ See section 3.2.

⁵⁹⁴ See section 3.4.

6.5. *Names not Recognized as Such by the Translator*

In a few instances, a composite name was interpreted as a sequence of nouns and / or verbs and rendered accordingly. It is debatable whether this deviation from the Masoretic understanding was deliberate.⁵⁹⁵

6.6. *Exegetical Factors*

Differences of an exegetical nature, here taken to comprise all differences that result from intentional changes except language-oriented ones, are more prominent in the Peshitta of Kings than in the Targum.

6.6.1. *Substitution of One Name for Another*

Where the Syriac name fits the literary context better than the Hebrew correspondence, the motive for the substitution probably was to create agreement between similar or related names ('levelling'),⁵⁹⁶ to improve narrative logic,⁵⁹⁷ to correct what was presumed to be incorrect,⁵⁹⁸ to contemporize a place name⁵⁹⁹ or the name of a month,⁶⁰⁰ or to capture an exegetical tradition.⁶⁰¹ Where the Peshitta rendered two graphically similar yet different names in the Masoretic text in the same manner, it may have taken the Hebrew names to refer to the same entity.⁶⁰² Furthermore, in one case the Peshitta replaced one form of a name in the Masoretic text with another to distinguish between two kings that are not differentiated in the Masoretic text,⁶⁰³ thus manifesting the Peshitta's commitment to narrative clarity and consistency.

6.6.2. *Name of a Nation versus the People of That Nation*

Where the Masoretic text uses the name of a nation to indicate the people belonging to that nation, the Peshitta often renders this as a gentilic. On the

⁵⁹⁵ See section 5.2.

⁵⁹⁶ Instances of this are included in section 3.4.

⁵⁹⁷ Examples involve the substitution of 'Abijah son of Rehoboam' for 'Rehoboam' in 1 Kgs 15:6 and the substitution of 'Ahab' for 'Hiel' in 1 Kgs 16:34. See section 3.4.

⁵⁹⁸ For example, the substitution of 'Arwad' for 'Edom' in 1 Kgs 9:26. See section 5.3.1.

⁵⁹⁹ Examples include the substitution of 'Bashan' for 'Mathnin' (see section 4.2) and of 'Mabbog' for 'Carchemish' (see section 5.3.2).

⁶⁰⁰ See section 5.3.4.

⁶⁰¹ See sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.3.

⁶⁰² See section 3.4.

⁶⁰³ See section 4.1.

other hand, in one instance the Peshitta substitutes three proper nouns for gentilics, probably for syntactic reasons.⁶⁰⁴

6.6.3. *Composite Names in Hebrew Not Rendered as Names*

A few composite names in the Masoretic text containing nouns and / or verbs are not taken as names in the Peshitta. Where the interpretation in the Peshitta is similar to those found in other versions, translators probably drew upon Jewish exegetical traditions. Where the Peshitta closely agrees with other versions, in particular with the Septuagint and the Antiochene text, it may have undergone direct influence from the latter. In that case a translator or scribe chose to adopt readings from the Greek text into the Syriac text. Where an interpretation is also attested in the Targum of Kings, the rendering may have its roots in the Jewish exegetical tradition.⁶⁰⁵

6.6.4. *Tradition of Syriac Names*

Several Syriac names differing conspicuously from their counterparts in the Masoretic text, such as אֶלְנָתָן אֶלְמָלֵךְ⁶⁰⁶ for בית שאן,⁶⁰⁷ חַסְתְּרוֹת for עֶרְעֵר,⁶⁰⁸ and רֶאֱבֵל for רְאוּבֵן,⁶⁰⁹ are also found in other books in the Peshitta. With regard to the same phenomenon in 1 Samuel Morrison remarks: 'The uniform spelling of these names suggests that the S translator relied on a tradition for the writing of certain names even though the Syriac spelling may have emerged from a translation error.'⁶¹⁰ The translator of Kings may also have drawn from such a tradition. Possibly the first occurrence of a name, whether corrupt or not, was considered to be the standard form (examples could be בֶּת יַשָּׁן, 'Beth Jashan', רֶבֶל, 'Rubel', חַסְתְּרוֹת, 'Astaroth'). Weitzman, however, attributes the uniformity in spelling to revisional activity. In favour of his view one might argue that a translator would be less prone to introduce a form deviating strongly from his source than a reviser, who worked without reference to a Hebrew source. An inquiry into the distribution of such forms throughout the Peshitta may be an effective tool to trace translational or scribal affiliations between individual books, and thus to reconstruct the formative history of the Syriac version.

⁶⁰⁴ See section 1.4.

⁶⁰⁵ See section 5.2.3.

⁶⁰⁶ See section 1.1.7.4.

⁶⁰⁷ See section 2.

⁶⁰⁸ See section 2.

⁶⁰⁹ See section 2.

⁶¹⁰ Morrison, *First Book of Samuel*, 52.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE TREATMENT OF HEBREW HOMOGRAPHS

Occasionally, the translator of the Peshitta of Kings and the Masoretes identified different lexemes in what appears to have been identical sequences of consonants in their Vorlagen. In addition, in a few cases the Masoretic vocalization leaves room for more than one lexical interpretation, whereas the Syriac rendering indicates which interpretation was chosen. In the following paragraphs, several cases from both categories are presented in alphabetical order.¹

1. אור, 'LIGHT', AND אור, 'LIGHT UP'

In the Hebrew expression cited below אור is ambiguous:

2 Kgs 7:9

בַּנְּשָׁא וְנִמְסוּ אֶפְרָא

'until the dawn becomes light'

עַד אֹר הַבֶּקֶר

'until the morning becomes light' or 'until morning light'

TJ אֶד מִיָּהֵר צִפְרָא

'until the morning becomes light'

LXX Ant. ἕως φάωστος ἡμέρας

'until morning light'

VL *ad lucem mane*

'until morning light'

VG differently

אור could be taken as a Qal infinitive construct of the verb אור. In that instance אור הַבֶּקֶר is the subject and אור the predicate of the clause אור הַבֶּקֶר, עד אור הַבֶּקֶר

¹ Not included in this chapter are cases where the Syriac rendering suggests that a Hebrew verb form was interpreted differently than indicated by the vocalization of MT. For instance, in 2 Kgs 17:23 P renders as though it read וַיִּגַּל (Hiphil), while MT has וַיִּגַּל (Qal); in 2 Kgs 9:8 P renders as though it read וַאֲבַד (first sg imperfect), while MT has וַאֲבַד (third masc sg perfect).

‘until the morning becomes light’. Alternatively, אור could be considered a noun in the construct state inside the prepositional phrase עד אור הבקר, ‘until the light of the morning’. Lexicons mention both possibilities.²

Provided that the ancient versions have not rendered freely, it seems that the Peshitta and Targum interpreted אור as a verb, whereas the Septuagint and (indirectly?) the Vetus Latina understood it as a noun.

2. אָפֶר, ‘DUST, ASHES’, AND אֶפֶר, ‘HEADBAND’

In 1Kgs 20:38, 41, אָפֶר, ‘(head) band’ of the Masoretic text is rendered as אַפֶּר, ‘ashes’. Apparently אֶפֶר was read as אָפֶר, ‘dust’,³ a term also used for ‘ashes’,⁴ and translated according to the latter sense:⁵

1Kgs 20:38

וַיִּכְסֶה בְּאַפֶּר אֶפְסוֹ,

‘and he covered his face with ashes’

וַיִּתְחַפֵּשׂ בְּאַפֶּר עַל עֵינָיו

‘and he disguised himself with a headband over his eyes’

The renderings of Septuagint and Targum Jonathan indicate that אפר was read as אָפֶר, ‘(head)band’, and therefore cannot have served as the basis for the Syriac rendering.

Having read ‘ashes’ instead of ‘headband’, the translator apparently chose the smoother rendering of ‘covered his face’ instead of ‘changed his appearance’.⁶ As part of the adjustments involved in this rendering, ‘over the eyes’ in the Masoretic text became the direct object ‘face’ in the Peshitta.⁷

3. בָּעַר PIEL I, ‘KINDLE, BURN DOWN’, AND PIEL II, ‘SWEEP CLEAN, REMOVE’

The Piel of בָּעַר is used to designate two distinctive semantic domains: ‘burn’ and ‘pluck, graze, clean’. Whereas *Koehler—Baumgartner Lexicon* regards

² See *KBL*, 22b; *HALAT* I, 24a; *BDB*, 21, Nestle, ‘Miscellen’, 338.

³ Thus also in Aquila, Symmachus, VG, Arab.

⁴ Compare MT Num 10:9, 10: ‘dust (ashes) of the heifer’.

⁵ אַפֶּר is used to render דֶּשֶׁן, ‘(fatty) ashes’, in 1Kgs 13:3, 5. These are the only other occurrences of the Syriac term in P Kings.

⁶ The choice of the verb כָּסָה Pael, ‘veil, cover, hide’, to render חִפֵּשׂ Hitpael, ‘disguise oneself’, in this verse is dealt with in chapter 8, section 1.13.

⁷ Within Kings, only in 1Kgs 20:38, 41 is MT ‘eyes’ rendered in P as ‘face’.

the latter domain as having developed from the former, other dictionaries assign it to a different verb, בער II.⁸ Syriac seems to justify that decision, for the cognate ܒܥܪ covers only the semantic domain ‘pluck, graze, clean’, as in the following text:

2 Kgs 23:24

סאפ וחסדא סנטקא ... ܒܥܪ ܢܥܨܪ

וגם את האבות ואת הידענים ... בער יאשיהו

‘and moreover the necromancers and soothsayers ... Josiah rooted out’

The translator apparently interpreted בער as בער II. Targum Jonathan, Septuagint, Antiochene text and Vulgate also offer renderings of בער II. The remaining occurrences of בער in the Masoretic text of Kings are semantically less ambiguous, because they involve instances of the expression בער אחר,⁹ ‘sweep behind’, which are rendered with ܒܥܪ as may be expected. It remains unclear whether the word image of the Hebrew played a part in the translator’s choice to render בער as ܒܥܪ.

4. חרב I, ‘BE DRIED UP, BE DESOLATE’, AND II, ‘SLAUGHTER’

In the Masoretic text of 2 Kgs 3:23, החרב נחרבו is derived from חרב I, ‘be dried up, be desolate’, which produces a meaning that does not fit the context:

2 Kgs 3:23

ܒܥܠܝܬܐ ܐܘܠܥܝܬܐ ܚܠܟܐ

‘the kings have indeed been cut down’

החרב נחרבו המלכים

‘the kings are utterly desolate’

In the Peshitta the phrase is rendered by the Ethpeel of ܚܪܒ. This gives some reason to suppose that the translator derived החרב נחרבו from חרב II, ‘slaughter’. See the extensive treatment in chapter 5, section 2.1.2.1.

⁸ *KBL*, 139–140; *HALAT* I, 139–140.

⁹ 1 Kgs 14:10 (1st); 16:3; 21:21. The second occurrence of בער in 1 Kgs 14:10 is not followed by אחר, but for contextual reasons interpretation as בער II is warranted. For a discussion of 1 Kgs 14:10, see chapter 13, section 5.

5. כרמל I, 'ORCHARD', AND II, 'CARMEL'

Both the reference to an orchard and the reference to the place name 'Carmel'¹⁰ are rendered in the Peshitta as ܒܫܘܪܬܐ, 'Carmel'. The reference to 'orchard' occurs in Masoretic text of 2 Kgs 19:23:

2 Kgs 19:23

אֲרַחֵם לְיָמֶיךָ וְגַבְרַת גְּבוּרַתְךָ וְהַבְּרָא וְהַבְּרָא

'and I shall enter the height of the border of the forest of Carmel'

וְאֵבֹא אֶל־מִלּוֹן קִצָּה יַעֲר כַּרְמֶלֶךְ

'and I will enter into the lodging of his borders, the forest of his orchard'

In spite of the third masc sg suffix, which renders interpretation of כרמלו as a proper noun problematic, the Peshitta takes the Hebrew word as a reference to Carmel.¹¹ It is not to be ruled out that the Peshitta reflects (secondary) influence from the Antiochene text, which offers δρυμοῦ τοῦ Καρμῆλου, 'forest of Carmel'.

6. לַמֶּלֶךְ, 'AS KING', AND 'TO BE KING'

1 Kgs 14:2

אָמַר אֵלַי וְאָמַר לִי וְאָמַר לִי

'he has said to me that I shall be king'

הוּא דַבֵּר עָלַי לְמֶלֶךְ

'he said about me to (be) king'

The Peshitta agrees with other ancient versions (Hexapla, Targum Jonathan, Vulgate)¹² in rendering לַמֶּלֶךְ verbally, contrary to לְמֶלֶךְ of the Masoretic text.¹³

¹⁰ 1 Kgs 18:19, 20, 42; 2 Kgs 2:25; 4:25. In 2 Kgs 4:27 ܒܫܘܪܬܐ occurs as a plus in P. This is a case of harmonization with v. 25.

¹¹ יַעֲר כַּרְמֶלֶךְ, which is an apposition to מִלּוֹן קִצָּה, is rendered in P as though יַעֲר קִצָּה were in construct state binding. For more cases where Hebrew construct state is rendered in other ways in Syriac, see chapter 11, section 3.1.

¹² The passage is not represented in LXX.

¹³ For a treatment of this case, see chapter 2, section 2.8.3.

7. ענה I, 'ANSWER', AND II, 'BE OPPRESSED'; PIEL, HIPHIL, 'OPPRESS'

The Masoretic vocalization תַעֲנֶנּוּ in 1 Kgs 8:35 allows for three interpretations of the verbal form: as either a Qal or a Hiphil of ענה I, Qal, 'answer', Hiphil, 'heed', or a Hiphil of ענה II, 'oppress, afflict' (the object suffix on the form excludes the possibility of Qal II):

1 Kgs 8:35

כִּי תַעֲנֶנּוּ בְּיָמֵי אֲנֹכִי אֲנִי
 כי תעננו 'when you answer them'
 כי תעננו 'because you heed / afflict them'

Septuagint and Vulgate took the verbal form to be either the Hiphil or Piel of ענה II (Piel, 'oppress, humble', to be pointed as תַעֲנֶנּוּ; Hiphil, 'oppress, afflict', to be pointed as תַעֲנֶנּוּ). Many modern exegetes and translations tend to follow this interpretation because then 'when you answer them' would precede the invocation of YHWH to pardon which follows in v. 36.¹⁴ Both the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan, however, offer renderings of ענה I, Qal 'answer'. The word image of the Hebrew may have prompted the Peshitta to choose a cognate verb as a rendering, though this is not the case in Targum Jonathan, where קבל Pael, 'receive, take, accept', is used. The remaining instances of ענה I and II in the Masoretic text of Kings are contextually unambiguous.¹⁵

8. ראה, 'SEE', AND ירא, 'FEAR'

In 1 Kgs 19:3 the verb form יירא is pointed יִירָא in the Masoretic text. The Syriac rendering ܝܘܪܝܐ, however, indicates that the translator interpreted יירא as יִירָא:

1 Kgs 19:3

וַיִּירָא וַיִּירָא 'and Elijah was afraid'
 וירא 'and he saw'

In v. 2 it is reported that Jezebel sends a messenger to Elijah conveying the message that she will have him tracked down and killed as soon as possible. Elijah's reaction to this threat, 'and Elijah was afraid', which is found in the Peshitta, fits better in the context than 'and he saw' of the Masoretic

¹⁴ Cogan, *1 Kings*, 285. Differently Talstra, *Solomon's Prayer*, 116, and note 36.

¹⁵ 1 Kgs 11:39; 2 Kgs 17:20.

text. Septuagint, Antiochene text, and Vulgate agree with the Peshitta in interpreting וִירָא as וִירָא.

9. רֶכֶב, 'CHARIOT, CHARIOTRY', AND רֶכָב, 'CHARIOTEER, HORSEMAN'

There are 35 occurrences of the term רֶכֶב, 'chariot, group of chariots', in Kings. In 25 instances מַחְבָּלָא, 'chariot, carriage', corresponds to רֶכֶב in the Masoretic text.¹⁶ In ten instances רֶכָב is matched by רֶכָב,¹⁷ either to be interpreted as רֶכָב, 'rider, horseman', or as רֶכָב, 'horseman, warrior in a chariot'.¹⁸ Nine of these instances are in the plural, רֶכָבִים.¹⁹ This variation in rendering entails a semantic difference. Why did the translator render רֶכָב at times as מַחְבָּלָא and at times as רֶכָב? The following considerations must be taken into account.

In seven instances where רֶכָב corresponds to רֶכָב, it is accompanied by רֶכָב, 'horses', corresponding to סוּס in the Masoretic text.²⁰ In 2 Kgs 9:17 רֶכָב corresponds to רֶכָב, 'horseman, charioteer', suggesting the possibility that in the seven instances where the translator encountered רֶכָב together with סוּס, he interpreted רֶכָב as רֶכָב.²¹ However, רֶכָב occurs only three times in the Masoretic text, two of them in Kings.²² Therefore it is doubtful whether the translator had this infrequent word in mind when encountering the consonantal sequence רכב in the source text.²³ Another possibility is that he construed רכב as רֶכָב, the Qal active participle of רכב, 'ride'.²⁴ The interpretation of רכב as 'horseman' may have been triggered by the collocation with horses, as the horse does not go without the horseman. Though the Peshitta normally uses רֶכָב as a term for 'horseman' where the Hebrew has פֶּרֶשׁ, it

¹⁶ 1 Kgs 1:5; 9:19, 22; 10:26 (3 ×); 20:1, 21; 22:31, 32, 33, 35 (2nd), 38; 2 Kgs 2:11; 5:9; 8:21 (2nd); 9:21 (2 ×), 24; 10:2, 16; 13:7, 14; 18:24; 19:23. In 19 instances the plural מַחְבָּלָאִים is used. Where the context shows that רֶכָב refers to a single chariot, P has a singular form: 1 Kgs 22:35 (2nd), 38; 2 Kgs 2:11; 9:21 (2nd), 24; 10:16.

¹⁷ 1 Kgs 16:9; 20:25 (2 ×); 2 Kgs 2:12; 6:14, 15, 17; 7:6 (the BTR offers this equivalent in a different position than 9a1 does), 14; 8:21.

¹⁸ Cf. CSD 541b.

¹⁹ Only in 2 Kgs 2:12 does the Leiden Edition have a singular.

²⁰ 1 Kgs 20:25 (2 ×); 2 Kgs 6:14, 15, 17; 7:6, 14.

²¹ Cf. Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 45.

²² 1 Kgs 22:34 // 2 Chr 18:33; 2 Kgs 9:17.

²³ However, the translator may have recognized it in 1 Kgs 22:34, since there it is rendered as מַחְבָּלָא, 'charioteer'.

²⁴ See also Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 45. The form רֶכָב occurs in the MT of 2 Kgs 9:18, 19, 25; 18:23; in 2 Kgs 9:18 this participle is rendered as רֶכָב, the construct state of רֶכָב, 'rider, horseman' (CSD 541b).

may have preferred the cognate term **זַבַּח** where **רַכָּב** was taken to mean 'horseman' (**רִכָּב**).

In three instances where **רַכָּב** is not accompanied by **סוּס**, the Peshitta renders this term as **זַבַּח** all the same.²⁵ In 2 Kgs 2:12 this lexical choice has theological overtones. When Elijah ascends to heaven, Elisha exclaims **אָבִי אָבִי רַכָּב יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפְרָשָׁיו**, 'my father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof'. The Peshitta renders **אָבִי אָבִי זַבַּח וְרִמְסָיו סַפְצָמָס**, 'my father, my father, the rider of Israel and his horsemen', apparently taking **רַכָּב** as a reference to Elijah. In 2 Kgs 13:14 the same phrase is translated as **אָבִי אָבִי זַבַּח וְרִמְסָיו סַפְצָמָס**, 'my father, my father, the chariots of Israel and its horsemen'. This time the one referred to by 'my father' is Elisha. The difference could indicate that the Peshitta wished to reserve the title 'the rider of Israel' for Elijah.

10. SUMMARY

Where the Masoretic vocalization is ambiguous due to homography, the Peshitta is unequivocal in presenting one particular rendering. This was found to be the case with **אָוֵר**, **חָרֵב**, and **עֵנָה**, and perhaps also with **בָּעַר**.

In a few instances, comparison of the Masoretic vocalization and the Syriac rendering reveals that different identifications of lexemes in identical sequences of Hebrew consonants were made. This applies to **אָפֵר**, **וִירָא**, and **רַכָּב**. These may derive from a different perception of the contextual information. Thus, the interpretation of **אָפֵר** as 'ashes' in the Peshitta of 1 Kgs 20:38 is probably based on the translator's understanding of this verse as a description of a mourning rite.

In the case of **כַּרְמֶלִי** in 2 Kgs 19:23, the translator ignored the grammatical signs indicating that this form is a substantive and translated it as the proper noun, 'Carmel', possibly under the influence of the Septuagint or the Antiochene text.

²⁵ 1 Kgs 16:9 (pl); 2 Kgs 2:12 (sg); 8:21.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SIMILARITY IN CONSONANTS, DIFFERENCE IN MEANING: WORD IMAGE AND SEMANTIC DOMAIN

A considerable number of differences between the Masoretic text and the Peshitta are difficult to trace back to systematic linguistic or exegetical motivations. In some of these the Syriac words share at least partially the sequence of consonants of their Hebrew correspondences while differing in meaning. In some cases the general sense of the context is preserved, but in others it is profoundly changed. Some of these originated in the translation phase, while others developed during the transmission of the text. Within these broader divisions, we discuss a number of cases, following their order of occurrence in the text.

1. CASES INTRODUCED BY THE TRANSLATOR

1.1. 1Kgs 2:15 ותסב, 'It Turned', and ܕܠܗܘܢܩܘܡܐ, 'It Was Taken'

Where Adonijah complains to Bathsheba about having lost the kingdom to his younger brother Solomon, the Peshitta renders:

1Kgs 2:15

ܕܠܗܘܢܩܘܡܐ ܠܡܠܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ

'the kingdom was taken from me'

ותסב המלוכה

'the kingdom turned'

The verb in the Masoretic text is in the Qal and the subject of this active verb is 'the kingdom': the kingdom itself turned and became Solomon's. The verb in the Peshitta is in the Ethpeel, a passive stem formation, so that the subject 'the kingdom' undergoes the action: the kingdom was taken, to which is added 'from me' in order to complete the sense.

The actual consonants of the conjugated form occurring in the two versions produce word images that partially concur. The initial conjunction [W] is present in both forms. What is left of the verbal root is the two letters [SB]. This could have predisposed the translator to choose a verb containing these consonants, whereby he picked one with an initial nasal consonant—which

is frequently assimilated in certain positions in the syllable¹—instead of one more in line with the sense of the Hebrew term. It could be that the various Syriac verbs meaning ‘turn’ would not have covered the specific meaning intended here, though the verbs are numerous enough.²

It is also quite possible that the Syriac involves a conscious deviation from the sense of the Hebrew. In the Syriac rendering, Adonijah presents himself as a victim who seeks compensation.³ It remains to be seen to what extent linguistic motivations played a part in the choice of the rendering.

1.2. 1Kgs 4:19 אַחַד, ‘One’, and אָרַב, ‘Grasp, Seize’

The list of prefects in the Masoretic text of 1Kgs 4:8–19 presents a discrepancy. According to v. 7, there were twelve prefects (נְצִבִים) for all Israel. In the subsequent verses, however, thirteen are listed. Twelve of these are listed by name with their districts. In v. 19, a thirteenth prefect goes without name and district: ‘one prefect who was in the land’. The inconsistency in numbers with v. 7 and the difference in formal characteristics of this entry with the preceding ones pose a literary-critical problem.

1Kgs 4:19

וּמִנְצִבֵי אֲרָבֵי כְּנָעַן

‘and the prefects held the land’

וְנָצִיב אֶחָד אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ

‘and one prefect who is in the land’

In contrast to the Hebrew text, the Peshitta offers a version of v. 19 which makes good sense: ‘and the prefects held (that is, controlled) the land’. This statement provides a fitting conclusion to the list of twelve prefects (מִנְצִבֵי) introduced in v. 7.

The translator apparently recognized the difficulty posed by v. 19 in the Hebrew text and tried to solve it by resorting to an alternative interpretation of the Hebrew letters. This involved reading the cardinal numeral אַחַד, ‘one’, as as the Syriac verb אָרַב, ‘hold’, which is pronounced similarly. By skipping אֲשֶׁר, the preposition ב in בְּאֶרֶץ, ‘in the land’, was linked directly

¹ See chapter 3, section 1.4.

² These include (with their frequency of occurrence within P Kings): סָפַר, ‘turn, change, move’ (94×); שָׁבַח, ‘turn aside, depart (from)’ (25×); חָסַר, ‘turn, return, turn back’ (27×); וָשׁוּב, ‘return, come again, repent’ (9×).

³ See chapter 2, section 2.2.1.7.

to the verb, thus rendering the pattern רָאָהוּ , ‘take hold of’.⁴ Finally the number of the subject and of the predicate were made congruent. While maintaining the sound of the original, the translator produced a meaningful and contextually fitting phrase.

1.3. *1Kgs 5:21*, רב, ‘Numerous,’ and יָבֵב, ‘Great’

The Peshitta most frequently renders גדול, ‘great’, as יָבֵב, ‘great’, and רב, ‘numerous’, as מְאֵד, ‘much, many’.⁵ In *1Kgs 5:21*, however, יָבֵב [RB] appears to render Hebrew רב [RB].

1Kgs 5:21

ܘܥܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܘܐ ܗܘܘܐ ܘܥܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ
 ܘܥܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ

Only here in Kings is רב rendered by its Syriac cognate. In the Pentateuch, 58 instances of יָבֵב match גדול and only five match רב. Four of the latter seem to be a rendering *ad sensum*,⁶ as may also be the case in *1Kgs 5:21*. Nonetheless, it is possible that the sound or spelling of the Hebrew form influenced the choice of the equivalent.

1.4. *1Kgs 5:32*, הגבלים, ‘The Giblites,’
 and אֲרָזֵי אֲבֵלֵם, ‘The Stone Masons’

The Hebrew text of *1Kgs 5:32* mentions three groups engaged in preparing building stones: ‘the builders of Solomon’, ‘the builders of Hiram’, and ‘the Giblites’. The Peshitta (BTR) renders the difficult and unique term הגבלים as אֲרָזֵי אֲבֵלֵם, ‘stone masons’, and בני, ‘builders’, as בְּנֵי, ‘builders’. To some extent, the word image of the Hebrew terms is reflected in the Syriac renderings.

⁴ Thus *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 114, *rem sibi cepit*. The Syriac phrase in *1Kgs 4:19* is accordingly translated as *praefecti terram sibi administrandam ceperunt*.

⁵ Of the 51 occurrences of גדול in Kings, 35 are rendered as יָבֵב; of the 15 occurrences of רב in Kings, 13 are rendered as מְאֵד.

⁶ In Gen 7:11; Num 11:33 רב must be taken in the sense of ‘great’. In Gen 25:23 the opposition רב—צעיר, ‘elder’—‘younger’, is rendered in Syriac with ܘܥܘܒܪܐ—ܘܥܘܒܪܐ, ‘great’—‘small’. In Gen 45:28 the rendering of the expression רב, ‘(it is) enough’ (lit. ‘great’), as ܘܥܘܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ, ‘this is a great thing’ (lit. ‘great is this’), could also be *ad sensum*. Only in Num 32:1 is the correspondence רב—יָבֵב not satisfactorily explained in terms of an *ad sensum* rendering; here the translation of רב, ‘much cattle’, as ܘܥܘܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ, ‘great substance’, may be due to the influence of the form of the Hebrew word.

1Kgs 5:32

9a1

P

BTR

פפסלו בניה ופפסלו ופפסלו ופפסלו

אִי־אֶבְלָתָא

אִי־אֶבְלָתָא

'and they hewed—Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders'

BTR 'and the master masons'

9a1 'and the Argublites[?]'

ויפסלו בני שלמה ובני חירום והגבלים

'and they hewed—Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders and the Giblites'

TJ ויפסלו ארדיכלי שלמה וארדיכלי חירום וארגובליא

'and Solomon's stonemasons and Hiram's stonemasons and the master masons hewed'

LXX B (3 Kgdms 6:1b)

καὶ ἐπέλεξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Σαλωμών καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Χειράμ καὶ ἔβαλαν αὐτούς

'and Solomon's sons and Hiram's sons hewed and laid them'

There is reason to assume that in 1Kgs 5:32 the Syriac renderings were influenced by the word image of the Hebrew. Elsewhere in Kings אִי־אֶבְלָתָא is used to render בנים (see the list below). In 1Kgs 5:32, however, it is employed to render הגבלים, thereby reflecting the consonantal sequence [GBL] of הגבלים. As a consequence, the Syriac term was not available for rendering בנים in the same verse, and this may have prompted the translator to resort to the cognate בניה.

In 1Kgs 5:32 Targum Jonathan renders הגבלים with the Aramaic cognate of אִי־אֶבְלָתָא, ארגובליא. 1Kgs 5:32 is the only instance in Kings where אִי־אֶבְלָתָא and ארגובליא correspond. In 2Kgs 12:13; 22:6 Targum Jonathan uses ארגובליא to render Hebrew גדרים, 'masons', while the Peshitta offers אִי־זַבְלָא, 'keystone setters, architects'. The divergences argue against a direct influence from one version on the other. In 1Kgs 5:32, the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan may have drawn upon the same exegetical or translational tradition to render הגבלים.

	P	MT	TJ
1Kgs 5:32	אִי־אֶבְלָתָא	הגבלים	ארגובליא
2Kgs 12:12	אִי־אֶבְלָתָא	בנים	ארדוכליא
2Kgs 22:6	אִי־אֶבְלָתָא	בנים	ארדכליא
2Kgs 12:13	אִי־זַבְלָא	גדרים	ארגובליא
2Kgs 22:6	אִי־זַבְלָא	גדרים	ארגובליא

The reading אֵר אֶבְלָלֵךְ of 9a1 exhibits the ending ל , suggesting a gentilic, 'Argublites' (?). As a gentilic, it stands closer to הַגְּבִלִים than אֵר אֶבְלָלֵךְ of the BTR. Yet the initial letters אֵר have no correspondence in Hebrew. Their presence in אֵר אֶבְלָלֵךְ could have been borrowed from אֵר אֶבְלָלֵךְ , the reading preserved in the BTR. אֵר אֶבְלָלֵךְ of 9a1 might be a conflation of that reading and another one, $\text{אֵר אֶבְלָלֵךְ} = \text{הַגְּבִלִים}$, which derived from a different text tradition.

The rendering offered by the Septuagint, $\text{καὶ ἔβλεψεν αὐτοῦς}$, also reflects part of the consonants of הַגְּבִלִים , namely, the sequence [BL]. Thus it appears that the Septuagint, the Peshitta, and the Targum all preserved part of the consonantal sequence of הַגְּבִלִים , possibly because of the obscurity of the Hebrew term.

1.5. *1Kgs 6:21* עבר, 'Cross Over, Pass By', and חָבַד , 'Do, Make'

In the following, the relationship between the Hebrew and Syriac texts is obscure.

1Kgs 6:21

$\text{וַיַּחַד חֲזֵה־מַנְוֹתַי}$ 'and he made a doorpost'
 $\text{וַיַּעֲבֵר בְּרִתֵּיקוֹת זֶהָב}$ 'and he drew chains (?) of gold'

The translator may have read וַיַּעֲבֵר instead of וַיַּחַד .⁷ As to the word following the verb in Syriac, in 1Kgs 6:31, 33, חֲזֵה־מַנְוֹתַי corresponds to מַנְוֹתַי , 'doorpost'.⁸ In v. 21 there is no semantic relationship to the Hebrew, and only a limited graphic or phonetic connection: the first two letters of חֲזֵה־מַנְוֹתַי and $\text{וַיַּעֲבֵר בְּרִתֵּיקוֹת}$ correspond phonetically.⁹

1.6. *1Kgs 6:34* גלילים, 'Pivoted', and חָלַקַף , 'Carved'

In the Masoretic text of Kings the word גָּלִיל , 'pivoted, hinge', appears only here. In the Peshitta it is matched by חָלַקַף , which is the Peal plural passive participle of חָלַק , 'carve'.

1Kgs 6:34

$\text{וְהָיוּ שְׁתֵּי־הַלְּפָאִים הַאֵחָדִים חָלַקַף}$
 $\text{וְהָיוּ שְׁתֵּי־הַלְּפָאִים הַשֵּׁנִיִּים חָלַקַף}$
 'the two leaves of the one door were carved,
 and the two leaves of the other door were carved'

⁷ For other differences between the roots [<BD] and [<BR], see sections 1.8 and 1.13, and chapter 9, section 4.

⁸ See also Mulder, *1Kings*, 274.

⁹ See chapter 3, section 1.1.1, and chapter 6, section 1.1.5.1.

שני צלעים הדלת האחת גלילים
 ושני קלעים הדלת השנית גלילים
 'two leaves of one door were folding
 and two carvings of the other door were folding'

The verb **חלף** is used elsewhere in the account of the building of the temple (1Kgs 6:18, 29, 32, 35). Moreover, the noun **חלפה**, 'carving', occurs in vv. 32, 35. The frequency of the root in the building report and the resemblance in word image may have led the translator to render the possibly obscure term **חלפים** as **חלפים**. The occurrence of **קלעים**, 'carvings', in v. 34 may also have played a role, for **חלף** appears as the rendering of the verb **קלע** in vv. 29, 32, 35.¹⁰ In choosing **חלפים** the translator not only partially preserved the word image of the Hebrew, but also offered a rendering that made sense.

1.7. 1Kgs 7:30 עבר, 'Opposite, Beyond', and **חבוא**, 'Deed, Work'¹¹

1Kgs 7:30

חבוא ונחבוא חבוא חבוא
 'shoulderings which had been cast, beautiful work'
 הכתפת יצקות מעבר איש ליות
 'shoulderings cast over against each of the wreaths'

From a semantic point of view, **חבוא חבוא**, 'beautiful work', has nothing in common with **מעבר איש ליות**, 'over against each of the wreaths', occurring in the corresponding position in the Masoretic text. A similar phrase, **נראה חבוא חבוא**, 'the appearance of the work was splendid', occurs at the end of v. 29, where it matches **מעשה מורד ליות**, 'wreaths of hammered(?) work'.¹² It seems that in v. 29 the translator resorted to a free, unspecific rendering, perhaps because the meaning of the Hebrew phrase was unclear to him. In particular the word **ליות** may have caused difficulties, for remarkably it is also not translated in v. 30.¹³ Probably, the recurrence of **ליות** at the end of v. 30 prompted the translator to repeat part of the Syriac corresponding to **ליות** in v. 29, namely, **חבוא חבוא**. In this manner, he supplied a rendering of **מעבר איש ליות** which preserved part of the word image of the Hebrew (**מעבר** — **חבוא**).

¹⁰ However, since the ancient versions agree in rendering **קלעים** similar to **צלעים** in the first part of v. 34, it is doubtful whether P's exemplar actually read **קלעים**.

¹¹ See also sections 1.6, 1.12, and chapter 9, section 4.

¹² For the Hebrew, see Mulder, 1Kings, 335–336.

¹³ The third occurrence of **ליות** is in 1Kgs 7:36. There it belongs to a sequence of five words which are not rendered in P and which may involve a later, corrupt gloss: **במעבר איש וליות**, 'as the nakedness of a man (?), with wreaths (on all sides)' (see Mulder, 1Kings, 338, 347–348).

1.8. 1Kgs 11:14 הוּא, 'He', and כִּסַּם, 'He Was'

In 1Kgs 11:14 the position of כִּסַּם within the Syriac clause roughly parallels that of הוּא in the Hebrew clause. The words, however, represent different parts of speech, הוּא being a pronoun and כִּסַּם the third masc sg perfect form of the verb כִּסַּם, 'be'.

1Kgs 11:14

ܟܢ ܘܘܠܟܐ ܟܣܡܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܟܥܘܕܝܡ
מזרע המלך הוא באדום
'for he was of the royal seed in Edom'

It is possible that the appearance of כִּסַּם is connected with the identically spelled הוּא.

There are other texts in Kings where a correlation between the personal pronoun הוּא and the verb form כִּסַּם may be considered.¹⁴ However, where these words hold quite different positions within the clause, a connection is less likely. Thus it is questionable whether such a connection can be assumed in 1Kgs 8:41, where a clause with negation is found:¹⁵

1Kgs 8:41

ܘܠܐ ܟܣܡܐ ܟܢ ܥܒܕܝ ܥܡܘܢܐ
אשר לא מעמד ישראל הוא
'who is not of your people Israel'

In 2Kgs 19:37 הוּא plus the participle in the Masoretic text is rendered by the participle plus כִּסַּם. Here a connection is plausible, as the difference entails merely a reversal in word order:

2Kgs 19:37

ܥܒܕ ܟܣܡܐ ܥܢ ܒܝܬ ܢܝܪܘܟ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ
הוא משתחוה בית נסרך אלהיו
'he was kneeling in the house of Nisrok his god'

In the last two examples there is a switch in word order of the pronoun (Hebrew) or the copular verb (Syriac) and the predicate complement (1Kgs 8:41) or the participle (2Kgs 19:27). In the first case, this switch in word order needs to be explained on the basis of the scope of the negative. In the second case, the explanation lies in the regular word order in participial clauses with pronominal subjects in the Masoretic text, where the pronoun

¹⁴ For instance, 1Kgs 3:3; 8:41; 17:19; 19:19; 20:12, 16, 28; 22:33; 2Kgs 8:27; 19:37.

¹⁵ See also 1Kgs 20:28; 22:33; 2Kgs 8:27.

precedes the participle, and the word order of the copular verb with a participle in the Peshitta, where the copular verb follows the participle.¹⁶ This touches on levels beyond the word. If we are to go further and observe that there are also comparable clauses to be found with plural pronouns in the Masoretic text rendered by the plural of the copular verb in the Peshitta, reasonable doubt arises whether this is to be explained at word level, for the plural personal pronouns הַמָּוֶה and הֵם do not resemble the third masc pl perfect form הָיוּ, 'they were'.¹⁷

Thus, in spite of the possible influence of the consonantal sequence in the singular constructions, comparison with the plural constructions forces the admission of the possibility that other factors besides the consonantal sequence could be playing a role in these constructions.¹⁸

1.9. 1Kgs 11:27 סָגַר 'Close, Shut', and שָׁבַח 'Shut, Stop, Block'

The verb שָׁבַח Peal appears as an equivalent of סָגַר Qal, 'shut, close', in 2Kgs 4:4, 5, 21, 33; 6:32, with as object, 'door' (implied in 2Kgs 4:21).¹⁹ Only in 1Kgs 11:27 is סָגַר rendered as שָׁבַח.²⁰

1Kgs 11:27

שָׁבַח וְאִסְּרָה גְּמֻלָּה וְגִמְלוֹת

'(when he ...) had blocked up the breaches of the City of David'

סָגַר אֶת פְּרֵץ עִיר דָּוִד

'he closed the breach in the City of David'

The lexical choice here may be due to there being a different object, namely, גְּמֻלָּה, 'breaches'.²¹ Influence from the formal characteristics of the Hebrew verb, however, cannot be excluded.

¹⁶ See also 1Kgs 3:3; 19:19.

¹⁷ For negated nominal clauses, see 1Kgs 9:20; 2Kgs 19:18; for non-negated participial clauses, see 2Kgs 17:40; 22:7.

¹⁸ For observations on aspects going beyond word level, see chapter 12, section 4.

¹⁹ Occurrences of the passive participle Qal סָגוּר (1Kgs 6:20, 21; 7:49, 50) are not taken into account here.

²⁰ Regarding the instances mentioned, T_J shows a distribution of אָחַד Peal which is quite different from that of שָׁבַח Peal in P: אָחַד Peal is used in 1Kgs 11:27; 2Kgs 6:32; in 2Kgs 4:4, 5, 21, 33 the verb is גָּוַח, 'close'.

²¹ *Thesaurus Syriacus* does not mention any attestations of שָׁבַח וְאִסְּרָה outside 1Kgs 11:27.

1.10. 1Kgs 16:9 ארצא, 'Arza', and ארעא, 'Earth, Land'

In the following verse the translator probably read a Hebrew noun as a proper noun:

1Kgs 16:9

בבית ארעא גבא כגוץ א

'(and he was drinking old wine in Tirzah) in the house of the land which he had built in Tirzah'

בית ארצא אשר על הבית בתרצה

'(and he was in Tirzah, drinking himself drunk) in the house of Arza, who was over the household in Tirzah'

The rendering ארעא suggests that the translator treated the proper noun ארצא as the noun ארץ, 'land', followed by the emphatic state ending.²² Since this interpretation strips ארעא, 'who was over the household in Tirzah', of an antecedent, the translator had to adapt the relative clause to ארעא כגוץ א, 'which he had built in Tirzah', which refers to the location of ארעא, 'house of the land'.

1.11. 1Kgs 18:5 כרת Niphal, 'Be Exterminated, Be Cut Off',
and פלי Pali, 'Be Wanting, Be Absent, Fail'

The ancient versions diverge in their renderings of the final clause of:

1Kgs 18:5

אלא נבוגא נה כנא

'that we may not be deprived of the animals'

ולוא נברית מהבהמה

'that we not have to destroy (any) of the animals'

TJ ולא נפסוק מבעירא

'that we will not be cut off from the animals'

LXX Rahlfs

καὶ οὐκ ἐξολοθρευθήσονται ἀπὸ τῶν κτηνῶν

'and (that) they will not be destroyed from among the animals'

Ant. καὶ οὐκ ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἀφ' ἡμῶν κτήνη

'and the animals will not be destroyed from among us'

VG *et non penitus iumenta intereant*

'and the animals will not utterly perish'

²² This interpretation is not found in TJ. The Aramaic translation בית ארצה טעותא דבביתא, 'in the house of Arza, the idol, who was in the house in Tirzah', shows that ארצא was treated as a personal name.

The variation is mainly due to the way the Hebrew verb was read and understood. The Masoretic pointing has נְכַרִית as a Hiphil (imperfect first person pl), but the ancient versions seem to have read a Niphal: Targum Jonathan נְכַרִית or נְכַרִית (imperfect first person pl),²³ the Septuagint, and possibly the Vulgate, נְכַרִית, perhaps due to confusion of Yod and Nun. Burney and Wellhausen used the Antiochene text to reconstruct the original Hebrew as וְלֹא תִכְרַת מִמֶּנּוּ בַהֲמָה.²⁴ However, the Antiochene text itself appears to be an adjustment of the older Septuagint text. Moreover, the proposed reconstruction deviates too much from the Masoretic text to be plausible.

The Peshitta suggests that the translator read נְכַרִית like Targum Jonathan. וְלֹא נְכַרִית (+ נְכַרִית), 'be deprived of, be left without', is found neither in the Pentateuch nor elsewhere in the historical books. The three instances of נְכַרִית Niphal in the Masoretic text of Kings all occur in the context of a particular formulaic expression and are rendered as נְכַרִית.²⁵ The rendering in 1 Kgs 18:5 might reflect an attempt to imitate the sound of the Hebrew (נְכַרִית—נְכַרִית). Irrespective of this formal resemblance, however, נְכַרִית constitutes an appropriate equivalent of נְכַרִית. Hence it can be ruled out that the Peshitta resorted to formal imitation of the Hebrew because the translator did not understand the clause וְלֹא נְכַרִית מִהַבְּהֵמָה, although the sound of the Hebrew text may have influenced his choice.

1.12. 1 Kgs 19:11 עבר, 'Cross over, Pass by', and חָבַב, 'Do, Make'²⁶

The interchange of [R] and [D] could play a role in:

1 Kgs 19:11

וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה חֲבֹב וְזֶמְלָה וְכֹלֵה הַרְיָמֹת הַגְּבוּרִים

'and behold the Lord made a great and strong wind rending mountains'

וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה עֹבֵר וְרוּחַ גָּדוֹל וְחֲזָק מִפָּרֶק הַרִים

'and behold YHWH passed by and a great and strong wind rent the mountains'

Semantically the Peshitta differs from the Masoretic text in offering חָבַב, 'do, make', for עָבַר, 'pass by', and in omitting the coordinating conjunction preceding 'wind'. The absence of a conjunction before זֶמְלָה enables that word, together with its sequel, to serve as an object of the transitive verb חָבַב,

²³ This may be assumed because פֶּסַק Peal also appears in TJ 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:29; 9:5, where it matches כָּרַת Niphal of MT.

²⁴ Burney, *Notes*, 221.

²⁵ 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:25; 9:5. See chapter 5, section 2.2.1.

²⁶ See also in this chapter, sections 1.5, 1.7, and chapter 9, section 4.

'do, make'. As a consequence, the Peshitta does not represent ורוח גדולה וחזק מפרק הרים, 'and a great and strong wind rent the mountains', as a separate clause, but as the object of the preceding verb. As the Syriac fits well into the narrative context, the two deviations from the Masoretic text seem to be related.

The ancient versions are either in agreement with the Masoretic text (Septuagint, Antiochene text, Vulgate) or deviate from it in a manner entirely different from the Peshitta (Targum Jonathan). It is improbable that the Peshitta alone reflects a Hebrew exemplar different from the Masoretic text. Rather, an inner-Syriac corruption of **חב** (the usual rendering of Hebrew עבר) into **חב** may have induced the omission of the conjunction before **ויגלה**.

An alternative possibility is to view both differences in terms of an exegetical change in the Peshitta aimed at removing the anthropomorphic image of YHWH passing by. This option gains in probability in light of Targum Jonathan where the same passage has been replaced by one stating that the Lord revealed himself.

If the latter explanation applies, the Peshitta may have chosen **חב** as a formal counterpart of עבר in order to preserve the word image of the Hebrew as much as possible.

1.13. 1Kgs 20:38 **חפש** *Hitpael*, 'He Disguised Himself',
and **כס** *Pael*, 'He Covered'

In other occurrences of the Hebrew verb **חפש** within Kings, the Piel, 'search through', is rendered by **כס**, *Peal* and *Pael*, 'search into, inquire into',²⁷ and the *Hitpael* of the Hebrew verb, 'disguise oneself (let oneself be searched for)', by the *Ethpaal* of **על**, 'be changed, be troubled'.²⁸ In our text, the Peshitta offers **כס**, 'ashes', where the Masoretic text has **אָפֶר**, 'headband':²⁹

1Kgs 20:38

וַיִּכְסֶה בְּאַפְרָי אֶפְסָיו

'and he covered his face with ashes'

וַיִּתְחַפֵּשׂ בְּאַפְרָי עַל עֵינָיו

'and he disguised himself with a headband over his eyes'

²⁷ 1Kgs 20:6; 2Kgs 10:23.

²⁸ 1Kgs 22:30 (2×).

²⁹ See chapter 7, section 2.

Having read ‘ashes’ instead of ‘headband’, the translator chose the smoother rendering of ‘covered his face’ instead of ‘changed his appearance’. This an example of verbal satellites or expansions influencing the choice of verb in the Peshitta. However, as the first two letters of the roots in the two languages concur, the translator, in choosing ܡܨܦܪ as a rendering, may have, either consciously or unconsciously, been influenced by the form of the Hebrew ַוּיַתְּחַפֵּשׂ.³⁰

1.14. 1Kgs 21:19 ה (Question Marker) and ܐܘܪܝܢ, ‘Behold’

Since Syriac lacks a question marker comparable to the Hebrew ה, sometimes this difference is compensated syntactically, as in the following text:³¹

1Kgs 21:19

ܐܘܪܝܢ ܡܠܠܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܐܘܪܝܢ

‘behold, you have killed and, behold, you have taken possession’

ܘܐܘܪܝܢ ܘܓܡ ܝܪܫܬܐ

‘have you killed and have you also taken possession?’

By rendering the Hebrew question marker as the particle ܐܘܪܝܢ, ‘behold’, the Peshitta diverges significantly from the Masoretic text. Furthermore, the Syriac repeats the particle before each of the verbs involved. The phonetic similarity between the Hebrew question marker and the Syriac particle could have played a role in this rendering; nonetheless, it remains so that in the Hebrew text the prophet was not requesting information by posing a question, but was questioning the validity of the deeds already done. The Syriac affirmative particle both preserves the phonetic and graphic characteristics of the Hebrew text and renders the sense of the passage.

1.15. 1Kgs 22:10 ܒܓܪܝܢ, ‘At the Threshing Floor’, and ܒܘܝܥܐ, ‘Spotted’

In this text ܒܘܝܥܐ, ‘spotted’, stands in a position corresponding to ܒܓܪܝܢ, ‘at the threshing floor’:

1Kgs 22:10

ܘܡܠܒܫܝܡ ܒܘܝܥܐ ܠܒܫܝܡ ܒܘܝܥܐ

‘and dressed in spotted robes’

ܡܠܒܫܝܡ ܒܓܪܝܢ

‘dressed in robes at the threshing floor’

³⁰ VG suggests that the translator reading ‘ashes’ for ‘headband’ had alternative possibilities for adapting the verb than with ‘cover’ alone: *et mutavit aspersione pulveris os et oculos suos*, ‘and by sprinkling dust he changed his mouth and eyes’.

³¹ For a detailed treatment of the rendering of the Hebrew question marker in P Kings, see chapter 12, section 2.

The adjective כִּבְרִי appears four other times in the Peshitta: Gen 31:10, 12; Zech 6:3, 6. In Gen 31:10, 12 it corresponds to its Hebrew cognate כְּרִי, 'speckled'. In view of this correspondence, it is conceivable that in 1 Kgs 22:10 the Peshitta rendered כְּרִי instead of כְּרִי. In that case, the Peshitta rendered the Hebrew adjective by its Syriac cognate and adapted the number to the singular noun כְּרִי. Since among the ancient versions the Peshitta stands alone in reading 'spotted' instead of 'at the threshing floor', there is no reason to question the primacy of כְּרִי.³² The Syriac reading may reflect either a corruption in the exemplar or a reading error, since it is difficult to see why the Peshitta deliberately would deviate from the reading כְּרִי.³³ Still, the possibility cannot be excluded that the translator, while consciously departing from the sense of כְּרִי, sought to preserve a portion of the word image of the Hebrew.

1.16. 1 Kgs 22:38, הַזִּנּוֹת, 'The Whores', and כְּרִי, 'His Armour'

In the following text most versions show a curious deviation from the Masoretic text:

1 Kgs 22:38

כְּרִי כְּרִי	'and they washed his armour'
והזנות רחצו	'and the whores washed themselves'

TJ	ומני זינא שטפו	'and they washed the implements of war'
VG	<i>et habenas laverunt</i>	'and they washed the reins'

LXX Ant = MT

The correspondences of הַזִּנּוֹת in the Peshitta, Targum Jonathan, and the Vulgate all go back to the reading הַזִּינּוֹת³⁴ from זִין, 'weapon, armament', known from Aramaic and Rabbinic Hebrew. The fem pl is attested in the latter dialect only. The renderings in the Peshitta, Targum Jonathan, and the Vulgate represent various contextual adaptations. There is reason to doubt whether the reading was actually present in the Vorlage of each version. More probably, we are dealing here with an exegetical tradition prescribing that הַזִּינּוֹת be read for הַזִּנּוֹת.³⁵ On no account do the renderings of the Peshitta

³² Thus see Gray, *I and II Kings*, 400.

³³ The other instance of כְּרִי in Kings (2 Kgs 6:27) is duly translated in P as כְּרִי, 'threshing floor'.

³⁴ See for a similar explanation Berlinger, *1 Könige*, 46; Burney, *Notes*, 258; Thenius, *Könige*, 257.

³⁵ See also Van Keulen, 'Points of Agreement', 215–216.

and Targum Jonathan reflect a reading that is more original than והזנות, for the Hebrew verb רצה is never used with inanimate objects.³⁶

1.17. 1Kgs 22:47 בער II, 'Sweep Clean, Remove'
and חבו Aphel, 'Cause to Pass, Remove'

While בער is usually rendered as the cognate Syriac verb, in this single case it is rendered as חבו:

1Kgs 22:47

סעזכא דונסולא ... סחבו מן ארצא

'and the rest of the fornication (which remained in the days of Asa his father) he removed from the land'

ויתר הקדש ... בער מן הארץ

'and the remnant of the temple prostitutes (which remained in the days of Asa his father) he removed from the land'

The rendering is the more striking since in a passage with similar content in 2Kgs 23:24 the verb בער is translated with חבו:

2Kgs 23:24

סרפ וסח'א סנה'סא ... סבו סעסא

וגם את האבות ואת הידענים ... בער יאשיהו

'and moreover the necromancers and soothsayers ... Josiah rooted out'

The other occurrences of בער in Kings involve instances of the expression בער אחר,³⁷ 'sweep behind', rendered as סבו סא' in the Peshitta.

The reason for the unusual rendering in 1Kgs 22:47 may be the fact that the passage echoes events described in 1Kgs 15:12:

1Kgs 15:12

סחבו וסח'א מן ארצא

'and he removed the male prostitutes from the land'

ויעבר הקדשים מן הארץ

'and he expelled the male prostitutes from the land'

In 1Kgs 22:47 the translator may have chosen סחבו as a rendering of בער in conformity with סחבו in 1Kgs 15:12. What also may have influenced the

³⁶ See especially Burney, *Notes*, 259. It should be noted that earlier in the same verse in the statement about washing the chariot, a different verb is used in MT, namely, שטף. In P both verbs are rendered as סע Aphel, 'wash, purify'.

³⁷ 1Kgs 14:10 (1st); 16:3; 21:21. The second occurrence of בער in 1Kgs 14:10 is not followed by אחר, but for contextual reasons interpretation as בער II is warranted.

translator's lexical choice here is the frequency of the expression אָחַב (Aphel), 'he removed', to designate that a particular king did or did not remove the high places or other idolatrous objects.³⁸

We must conclude that the word image of the Hebrew does not seem to have played a marked role in the translator's preference for אָחַב in 1Kgs 22:47, otherwise he would have employed the cognate of בער.

1.18. 2Kgs 3:10, 13 כִּי (*Adversative Particle*) and חַ (*Adverbial*)

The Hebrew particle כִּי can function both as a conjunction ('for, when') and as an adverb ('now, verily'). In 2Kgs 3:10, 13 כִּי is often translated as a conjunction (thus in the Septuagint and Targum Jonathan). The Peshitta interpreted כִּי as an adverb, for the particle חַ that renders כִּי in this text functions only as an adverb ('indeed, verily, truly') in Syriac.

2Kgs 3:10

אָמַס חַל סוֹדָא חַר מַזָּא מַזְזִי לַלְלִימָא זְחַלְחַב סַלְבַּי

'Alas! For this has the Lord indeed called these three kings (that he might deliver them into the hand of Moab)'

אָהַהּ כִּי קִרָּא יְהוָה לְשִׁלְשַׁת הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה

'Alas! For YHWH has called these three kings (to give them into the hand of Moab)'

It appears that the Peshitta rendered the Hebrew conjunction twice—once as חַל סוֹדָא, 'for this',³⁹ and once as חַר, 'indeed'. As the interpretation of כִּי as an adverb in 2Kgs 3:10, 13 is grammatically possible, it is not certain that the Peshitta deviates from the sense of the Hebrew as intended by the original author. However, because these are the only two occurrences of חַר in Kings, the possible influence of the similarity in form of the Hebrew and Syriac particles cannot be entirely ignored. Whether the double rendering derives from the translator himself or results from conflation of two different translations cannot be determined here.

³⁸ Thus in 1Kgs 15:14; 22:44; 2Kgs 3:2; 14:4; 15:4, 35; 18:4, 22; 23:19. Moreover, the expression is more frequent than its counterpart הִסִּיר in MT: in 1Kgs 15:14; 22:44; 2Kgs 14:4; 15:4, 35, the corresponding Hebrew text has סָרוּ, 'the high places) did not go away'. P shares this deviation from MT with LXX and VG.

³⁹ See also 1Kgs 8:35; 11:9; 21:6; 2Kgs 15:16 where כִּי is rendered חַל אָ.

1.19. 2 Kgs 4:8 מדי 8, 'As Often as', and ג רס, 'That Which'

2 Kgs 4:8

סמס וחסו סמס למס

'and when he passed, he turned aside there'

ויהי מדי עברו יסר שמה

'and whenever he passed, he turned aside there'

In Kings the only other occurrence of מדי, 'as often as', is in:

1 Kgs 14:28

סכסס גססל חלסס לסססס גסס

'and at the time that the king would enter the house of the Lord'

ויהי מדי בא המלך בית יהוה

'and whenever the king entered the house of YHWH'

The iterative aspect of מדי, 'as often as', is rendered as ג סכסס, 'at the time that', in 1 Kgs 14:28, while in 2 Kgs 4:8 this is expressed by ג רס.⁴⁰ Targum Jonathan renders בזמן ד, 'at the time that', in both passages. Since ג רס is not specifically used to express an iterative in the Peshitta of Kings,⁴¹ and the only other occurrence of מדי is rendered ג סכסס, there certainly was no particular semantic reason for the translator to render מדי as ג רס in 2 Kgs 4:8. Against this background, it is possible that the word image of מדי prompted the translator to render this expression as the graphically and phonetically similar ג רס.

1.20. 2 Kgs 4:16 עת 16, 'Time', and גסס, 'You'

2 Kgs 4:16

לסכסס ססס סב גסס, ססס סססס גסס, כזס

'at this time, when you are living, you (will be) embracing a son'

למועד הזוה כעת חיה אתי חבקת בן

'at this appointed time, according to the time of life, you will embrace a son'

The phrases כעת חיה, 'according to the time of life', and סב גסס, 'when you are living', could be explained as a contextually idiomatic equivalents. Support for such a position can be found in the rendering of the same expression, but then in the third person, in 2 Kgs 4:17:

⁴⁰ The meaning 'as often as' is given in *CSD*, 246a.

⁴¹ ג רס corresponds to כ in five instances: 1 Kgs 13:31; 14:12; 2 Kgs 4:10; 5:18 (2×); to כ in three instances: 1 Kgs 1:21; 14:5; 2 Kgs 6:32; to כ׳ in 2 Kgs 7:12; to מדי in 2 Kgs 4:8; to עד in 1 Kgs 14:10. Only in 2 Kgs 4:8, and perhaps in 2 Kgs 5:18 (2×), does ג רס have an iterative aspect.

2 Kgs 4:17

וַיֵּלֶד בֵּן לְכַחַשׁ מֵתָּה בְּזֶמְנָהּ שֶׁנִּיָּיָהּ

'and she bore a son at this time, when she was living'

וַתֵּלֶד בֵּן לְמוֹעֵד הַזֶּה כְּעֵת חַיֶּיהָ

'she bore a son at this appointed time, according to the time of life'

Keeping in mind the manifest fuzziness in the distinction of the pharyngeal / velar consonants,⁴² it is not impossible that עת was understood as את, 'you' (fem sg). The accompanying הִייה in fem sg form would then be rendered as referring to the fem sg pronoun: בְּזֶמְנָהּ שֶׁנִּיָּיָהּ, 'when you are living'. In view of the idiomatic expression in 2 Kgs 4:17 this possibility becomes less likely.

A more convincing instance of the possible effect of the confusion of the pharyngeal / velar consonants is to be found in 1 Kgs 1:18 where the adverbial interjection עתה, 'now', is rendered as the second person pronoun את, 'you' (masc sg), as though the Hebrew text read אתה at this point.

1.21. 2 Kgs 4:23 שלום, 'Peace' (Greeting), and שִׁלֹמְמִיתָא, 'Shilommitte'

In 2 Kgs 4:22–23 the Shunammite woman asks her husband to send a youth and an ass so that she could go to the man of God. When her husband asks why she wants to visit Elisha that day when it was neither the first of the month nor a Sabbath, she replies, 'all is well', and saddles her ass.

2 Kgs 4:23–24

וַיִּשְׁמַע הַשִּׁלֹמְמִיתָא (23) 'and the Shilommitte spoke,'

וַיִּשְׁמַע לָהּ חֵל אֲחֻזָּה (24) 'and they set her upon the ass'

וַתֹּאמֶר שְׁלוֹם (23) 'and she said, "All is well";

וַתַּחְבֵּשׂ אֶת־הָאֲתוֹן (24) 'and she saddled the ass'

In a position corresponding to שלום, 'all is well', the Peshitta offers שִׁלֹמְמִיתָא, 'the Shilommitte'. These words have completely different grammatical functions in the text. Whereas שלום is a one-membered nominal clause in direct speech, שִׁלֹמְמִיתָא can only be understood as the subject of a verbal clause within the narrative portion. As a result, contrary to the cognate ותאמר, the verb וישמע does not introduce direct speech, and must be taken to mean: '(the Shilommitte) spoke'.

V. 24 of the Peshitta contains another important deviation from the Masoretic text: the Qal third fem sg perfect ותחבש, 'and she saddled', is rendered as an Aphel third masc pl perfect וישמע, 'and they set her'. Thus,

⁴² See chapter 3, section 1.1.2, and chapter 6, section 1.1.4.

whereas the Masoretic text relates that the woman saddled her ass herself, the Peshitta has it that ‘they’ set her upon the ass. The fact that in the Peshitta ‘and the Shilommite woman spoke’ is followed by ‘and they set her upon the ass’ suggests that ܕܘܚܪܐ was meant to be understood as ‘she ordered’. Two explanations are conceivable:

- It was considered improper for the Shunammite woman to saddle her ass herself, for she is described in v. 8 as a ܐܫܫܗ ܓܕܘܠܗ, ‘a wealthy woman’. Thus the Peshitta presents the woman as ordering her servants to saddle the ass. The salient graphic resemblance between שלום and ܥܠܡܘܬܐ, as well the equal number of words used in the final clause of v. 23, shows that the translator was keen to preserve formal aspects of the source text. The interpretation of שלום as a reference to the woman was facilitated by the fact that she is designated as ܥܠܡܘܬܐ in v. 12.⁴³
- The translator simply did not understand the meaning of שלום in the narrative context. To help out the sense, he read שלום as a reference to the ܥܠܡܘܬܐ of v. 12, and then adapted v. 24a to his rendering of the final part of v. 23 (‘the Shilommite spoke [= ordered]’).

The former explanation is more tempting because the argumentation relates to the narrative context. The other ancient versions basically agree with the Masoretic text in vv. 23–24, thus lending support to the view that the Peshitta version of this portion is exegetically inspired.

1.22. 2 Kgs 5:11, הנה, ‘Behold’, and ܐܢܝ, ‘I’

In the Peshitta, הנה, ‘behold’, is usually translated as ܐܢܝ. In the following text, however, it is left unrendered, while in the corresponding position ܐܢܝ, ‘I’, occurs:

2 Kgs 5:11

ܐܢܝ ܐܢܝ ܐܢܝ ‘I said (that)’
 ܐܢܝ ܐܢܝ ܐܢܝ ‘Behold, I said to myself (that)’

The Peshitta may have added the personal pronoun ܐܢܝ to compensate for not rendering ܐܢܝ, ‘to myself’. In itself, the presence of an explicit subject pronoun in this sentence is not remarkable, nor is the position of ܐܢܝ before

⁴³ In P Kings ܥܠܡܘܬܐ, ‘Shilommite’, is consistently used as a rendering of שְׁנַמִּית / שְׁנַמִּית, ‘Shunammite’ (8×: 1 Kgs 1:3, 15; 2:17, 21, 22; 2 Kgs 4:12, 25, 36). Cf. 2 Kgs 4:8 ܥܠܡܐ; probably originally ܥܠܡܐ for שְׁנַמִּית of MT. See chapter 2, section 2.7.1.

the predicate.⁴⁴ It is conceivable that originally הנה, 'behold', was rendered as כח, 'behold', as is customary, and that in the process of transmission חכ was dropped, perhaps due to the sequence of similar sounding syllables in כח כח. What remained in corresponding positions in these clauses are two words which resemble each other in word image.

1.23. 2 Kgs 7:3 שער, 'Gate', and חיצה, 'Wall'

In the following passage the text of the Peshitta is not supported by any of the ancient versions:

2 Kgs 7:3

לבו חיצה
'outside of the city wall'

פתח השער
'at the gate's entrance'

The location of the four lepers appears to be adapted to what was customary at the time of the Peshitta. The fact that the deviation from the Masoretic text extends over more than one word shows that it is exegetical in nature. Nonetheless, it could be that the word image of שער exerted influence on the choice of the Peshitta for חיצה as a formal correspondence.

1.24. 2 Kgs 7:9 מצא, 'Find', and אפ, 'Befall'

In some cases it appears that both the attempt to render idiomatically and the tendency to preserve the phonological properties of the item in the Masoretic text have influenced the choice of words in the Peshitta:

2 Kgs 7:9

BTR	סנחלף נלחא	'and sin will befall us'
9a1	גנחלף נלחא	'that sin might befall us'
	ומצאנו עון	'and sin will find us'

This is the only place in Kings where מצא, 'find', is rendered by אפ, 'befall'. The usual translation for מצא is *جاء*,⁴⁵ which seems to cover the more literal significance of 'finding'. Within the Hebrew narrative, the expression

⁴⁴ See Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 324: '... if a new subject of importance appears, or if the subject has to be brought emphatically into notice, it is more usual to place the subject first'. In 2 Kgs 5:11, where Naaman addresses himself, the direct speech is opened by ארסא רחמי.

⁴⁵ מצא is rendered 2 × as *جاء* (2 Kgs 19:4; 25:19); 38 × as *جاء*.

involves connotations of accountability—‘we will be held responsible’—in which עוון has the transferred meaning of ‘guilt, punishment’. If the Syriac verb ܥܘܢܘܢ could not be used for the non-literal connotations of מצא, the translator had to resort to other verbs to translate ‘sin will find us’. In other texts where מצא occurs with subjects as ‘accident’ or ‘evil’, the Syriac uses verbs other than ܥܘܢܘܢ to render מצא.⁴⁶ Among these texts, Deut 31:17 and Ps 119:143 agree with 2 Kgs 7:9 in using ܥܘܢܘܢ. On the other hand, Gen 44:34 and Job 31:29 have other words to render מצא. The choice for ܥܘܢܘܢ apparently was motivated by two factors: the limitations of the more literal significance of ܥܘܢܘܢ and the phonological properties of the two verbs.⁴⁷

In this text the reading of the BTR is prior to that of 9a1, because it agrees with the Masoretic text in the opening conjunction.

1.25. 2 Kgs 7:17 מלך, ‘King’, and ܐܪܡܝܐ, ‘Messenger’

2 Kgs 7:17

ܒܘ ܨܘܥܐ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܥܘܢܘܢ ܥܘܢܘܢ ܥܘܢܘܢ
 ברדת המלך אליו ‘when the messenger came down to him’
 ‘when the king came down to him’

LXX B Ant. ἐν τῷ καταβῆναι τὸν ἄγγελον πρὸς αὐτόν
 ‘when the messenger came down to him’

The passage refers back to 2 Kgs 6:33, where it is reported that a מלאך, ‘messenger’, came down to Elisha. In 2 Kgs 7:17, המלך, ‘the king’, does not tally with the report of 2 Kgs 6:33, unless it is assumed that המלאך in the latter verse should be emended as המלך.⁴⁸ By contrast, in the Peshitta ܐܪܡܝܐ, ‘messenger’, of 2 Kgs 7:17 is in agreement with 2 Kgs 6:33. Interestingly, ܐܪܡܝܐ corresponds to τὸν ἄγγελον, ‘the messenger’, in the Septuagint and the Antiochene text. In view of the similarity in word image between המלאך and המלך, the Greek reading is likely to be based on the Hebrew. The Vorlage of the Peshitta may also have read המלאך, or the Peshitta was influenced here by the Septuagint or the Antiochene text.

⁴⁶ In Gen 44:34 ܥܘܢܘܢ, ‘happen’; in Deut 31:17 and Ps 119:143 ܥܘܢܘܢ, ‘befall, come’; in Job 31:29 ܕܥܘܢܘܢ, ‘be (happen) to’.

⁴⁷ For the interchange of ܥ, Tsade, and ܥ, Teth, see chapter 3, section 1.1.3.

⁴⁸ The emendation is accepted by various exegetes (for instance, Cogan, *1 Kings*, 50; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 468; Montgomery—Gehman, *Kings*, 386; also the critical apparatus of *BHS*) because it fits the narrative context.

1.26. 2 Kgs 10:12 עקד הרעים, 'Eqed', in בית עקד הרעים,
'Beth Eqed of the Shepherds', and חצו, 'Break Down'

A first impression could be that there might be some prompting from the form עקד, 'Eqed', in the rendering חצו, 'break down', due to the frequently occurring interchange or confusion of [D] and [R].

2 Kgs 10:12

והוא חצו חמס חלואה גבאוינא

'and he was breaking down the high places that were by the road'

הוא בית עקד הרעים בדרך

'he was at Beth Eqed of the Shepherds by the road'

Further observation, however, reveals that the Syriac text manifests two more deviations from the Masoretic text:

- a rendering of בית (construct state), 'house of', is lacking
- חלואה, 'the high places', occurs in the position corresponding to הרעים, 'the shepherds'.

In itself, the Syriac text makes good sense and fits within the report of Jehu's measures against pagan cults and their adherents. In v. 27 Jehu is said to have broken down the statue of Baal (ܫܚܫܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܐ ܘܥܒܠܐ). A similar action by Jehu is related in v. 12, using the same verb as in v. 27. Throughout the Peshitta the verb חצו is markedly associated with cultic reform, rendering various Hebrew verbs denoting the destruction of idolatrous objects.⁴⁹ The formulation of v. 12 thus underscores Jehu's role as a cult reformer.

The other ancient versions all agree with the Masoretic text. It is improbable that the Peshitta alone would reflect a deviant Hebrew source. Moreover, the Syriac text of v. 12 could be reduced to the consonants of the Masoretic text: חצו, 'break down', corresponds to עקד, 'Eqed', and חלואה, 'high places', is probably a contextual interpretation of הרעים, pointed as הרעים, 'the evil things', rather than as הרעים, 'the shepherds', of the Masoretic text.⁵⁰ The fact that the deviations from the Masoretic text observable in the Peshitta version of v. 12 combine to produce a meaningful text that fits well into the narrative context suggests that they are interrelated.

⁴⁹ Designating the destruction of idolatrous objects, חצו corresponds to אבד Piel, 'destroy' (2 Kgs 21:3); to נתץ, 'break down' (2 Kgs 10:27 [2 ×]; 11:18; 23:7, 8, 12, 15); to טמא Piel, 'defile' (2 Kgs 23:10, 13).

⁵⁰ Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 112.

It is improbable that the translator did not recognize בית עקד in his Vorlage as a place name and therefore resorted to a fanciful rendering of the Hebrew text,⁵¹ for in v. 14 he duly renders אל בור בית עקד, ‘by the pit of Beth Eqed’, as ܐܠ ܒܘܪ ܒܝܬ ܥܩܕ, ‘into the pit of Beth Aqar’.⁵² Rather it seems that he deliberately associated עקד (or עקר due to the confusion of [D] and [R]) with ܚܡܝ, ‘break down’, a verb occurring in v. 27 to describe an action characteristic of Jehu as a champion of YHWH. This association, then, may have led the translator to interpret הרעים as an adjective referring to the high places. Attempting to keep close to the Hebrew while creating a Syriac text that served his exegetical purposes, the translator had little use for בית (construct state), ‘house of’, which he simply ignored. The exegetical procedure followed here brings to mind the *al tiqre*.

1.27. 2 Kgs 11:6 מסח, ‘Alternately (?)’, and ܘܚܡܝܢܐ, ‘Due to Harm’

2 Kgs 11:6

ܘܫܘܡܪܘ ܘܫܘܡܪܘ ܘܫܘܡܪܘ ܘܫܘܡܪܘ

‘and guard the watch of the house from harm’

ܘܫܘܡܪܘ ܘܫܘܡܪܘ ܘܫܘܡܪܘ ܘܫܘܡܪܘ

‘and you shall keep guard of the house by turns (?)’

TJ ותטרון ית מטרת ביתא מדישתלי

‘and you shall keep guard of the house, that it is not abandoned’

SYH ܘܫܘܡܪܘ ܘܫܘܡܪܘ ܘܫܘܡܪܘ ܘܫܘܡܪܘ

‘and guard the watch of the house from fault’

מסח is not rendered in the Septuagint. The Antiochene text offers a transcription. Targum Jonathan either interpreted מסח as the preposition מן followed by a noun derived from the Hebrew verb נסח, ‘tear down’,⁵³ or read a Niphal infinitive construct plus מן מהנסח, ‘from being torn down’, which it rephrased as ‘that it is not abandoned’.⁵⁴

The rendering in the Peshitta is remarkable in that the consonants of מסח [MSX] recur in an identical order in ܘܚܡܝܢܐ [MN SWRXN>]. This

⁵¹ Thus Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 112–113. At the time Walter wrote his dissertation, however, he did not have the opportunity of consulting 9a1. In v. 14 this manuscript confirms that the translator did in fact recognize בית עקד as a place name.

⁵² 9a1 alone has preserved the original Syriac here. In the other MSS ܘܫܘܡܪܘ has been dropped.

⁵³ Thus Montgomery—Gehman, *Kings*, 424.

⁵⁴ Some connection with נסח is plausible in light of Prov 15:25 יהוה יסח גאים יסח, ‘YHWH will tear down the house of the proud’.

suggests that a translation technique reminiscent of the later *notaricon* was applied here,⁵⁵ according to which the consonants of a word are taken as abbreviations of the words intended.⁵⁶ The translator resorted to this either because he did not know the Hebrew term, or because he understood it in a sense similar to Targum Jonathan but wished to preserve the Hebrew consonants in the rendering.

The Syrohexapla is very close to the Peshitta. Since in 2 Kgs 11:6 the Hexapla offers no Greek word corresponding to *מסח*, the Syrohexapla may directly depend on the Peshitta, to which it is almost identical in this verse. *ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ*, 'from fault', may go back to *ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ*, 'from harm'.

1.28. 2 Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 16:4 קטר Piel, 'Send Sacrifice up in Smoke', and *ܩܬܪ* Aphel, 'Produce Fumes'

The standard rendering of קטר, both Piel and Hiphil, in the Peshitta is *ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ*, 'place incense'.⁵⁷ In the following texts, however, the Peshitta translates with *ܩܬܪ* Aphel, 'make fumes'.

2 Kgs 12:4; 14:4

ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ

'and the people were still sacrificing and making fumes upon the high places'

ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ

'the people were still sacrificing and burning offerings at the high places'

2 Kgs 16:4

ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ

'and he sacrificed and made fumes upon the high places'

ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ

'and he sacrificed and burned offerings at the high places'

⁵⁵ Midda 30 of Rabbi Eliezer, see Strack, *Einleitung*, 107.

⁵⁶ Weitzman, *Introduction*, 37, mentions 2 Kgs 11:6 as an example of associative translation. However, in view of the formal differences between *ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ* and *מסח* it is unlikely that the Syriac rendering was chosen on the basis of mere association.

⁵⁷ *ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ* renders קטר Piel (1 Kgs 22:44; 2 Kgs 15:4, 35; 17:11; 18:4; 22:17; 23:5 [2×], 8); and קטר Hiphil (1 Kgs 3:3; 9:25; 11:8; 12:33; 13:1, 2). However, in 2 Kgs 16:13 ויקטר את עלתו ואת מנחתו *ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ*, 'and he offered his burnt offering and his meal offering', is rendered as *ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ*, 'and he offered on it burnt offerings and oblations'. A similar Hebrew text and corresponding Syriac translation occurs in 2 Kgs 16:15. Since in 2 Kgs 16:13, 15 קטר Hiphil is construed with objects, P was forced to deviate from the standard rendering *ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ*, which already includes an object, and to resort to *ܩܬܪ ܥܠ ܗܝܘܠܘܬܐ* (Aphel), which allows for the addition of objects.

1.30. 2 Kgs 14:20 אָתּוּ (Object Marker with Suffix ו),
‘Him’, and אָבֹר, ‘They Came’

In the following text, the Peshitta seems to render an element in the Hebrew text twice:

2 Kgs 14:20

וַיִּשְׂאוּ אֹתוֹ עַל חֲמֹשֵׁי

‘and they carried him, and they came upon horses’

וַיִּשְׂאוּ אֹתוֹ עַל הַסּוּסִים

‘and they carried him upon horses’

The object marker plus third masc sg suffix אָתּוּ is rendered twice:

- as the pronominal suffix ,ו in ,וַיִּשְׂאוּ
- as the Peal perfect third masc pl form of אָבֹר / אָבֹר, ‘come’

Semantically, אָבֹר entails a plus vis-à-vis the Hebrew text. The double representation of אָתּוּ may have a linguistic explanation related to the shorter range of government characteristic of Syriac verbs.⁶¹ It cannot be ruled out, however, that it results from a conflation of two different Syriac translations: ,וַיִּשְׂאוּ, ‘and they carried him’, and אָבֹר ,וַיִּשְׂאוּ, ‘and they carried [him] [and] came’. The translator responsible for אָבֹר may erroneously have understood אָתּוּ in a Syriac / Aramaic sense.⁶² This view would imply that at some stage in the formation of the Peshitta alternative Syriac translations circulated.

1.31. 2 Kgs 15:10 קָבַל עִם (Uncertain), and אֲמַכְלָא, ‘Against, Before’

The Hebrew עִם קָבַל in the following verse is enigmatic:

2 Kgs 15:10

וַיִּכּוּ אֶתְּכֹהֵן לְפָנֵי הָעָם, אֲמַכְלָא

‘and he struck him in front of the people’
וַיִּכּוּ אֶתְּכֹהֵן לְפָנֵי הָעָם ‘and he struck him [...?]

TJ וּמַחֲהִי קִדְמָא עִמָּא
‘and he struck him in front of the people’

⁶¹ See chapter 12, section 3.1.1.

⁶² The error may have occurred either visually if the translator worked from a written source, or aurally if the source text was read aloud. In the latter case the translator could have mistaken אָתּוּ for the Aramaic Peal third person masc pl perfect אָבֹר, which is pronounced similarly. In Syriac, the third person masc pl ending is not pronounced.

LXX B και ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν Κεβλαάμ
‘and Keblaam struck him’

b o e₂ και ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰεβλαάμ
‘and he struck him in Ibleam’

c₂ και ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν κατέναντι τοῦ λαοῦ ... ἐν Ἰεβλαάμ
‘and he struck him in front of the people ... in Ibleam’

A x y και Κεβλαάμ και ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν κατέναντι τοῦ λαοῦ
‘and Keblaam, and he struck him in front of the people’

The preposition **למול**, which holds a position in the text corresponding to that of **קבל**, occurs ten times in the Peshitta of Kings.⁶³ The renderings of the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan imply that these versions interpreted **קבל** in 2 Kgs 15:10 in the sense of the Aramaic preposition **קבל**, ‘opposite, in front of’.⁶⁴ However, rather than rendering **קבל** as **בגב**, as the Targum did, the Peshitta used the less frequently occurring preposition **למול**. In this, the translator may have been influenced by the word image of the Hebrew.

In the Antiochene manuscript c₂ **κατέναντι τοῦ λαοῦ** reflects the same interpretation as the Peshitta and the Targum. The reading is also preserved in Hexaplaric manuscripts. Both in c₂ and A x y it appears in the context of a double rendering.

It is improbable that the phrase **עם קבל** with the assumed meaning ‘in front of (the) people’ represents the original Hebrew text. A preposition **קבל** is not attested in Biblical Hebrew.⁶⁵ **עם קבל** may represent a corruption which arose in the proto-Masoretic text type from which Targum Jonathan and Peshitta were translated, and after which the *kaige*-recension, which is widely represented in the Septuagint manuscripts of 4 Kingdoms, was revised.⁶⁶

⁶³ **למול** renders **לעמח** (1 Kgs 7:20); **לעבר** (1 Kgs 7:20); **ממול** (1 Kgs 7:39); **נגד** (1 Kgs 8:22; 20:27); **נבח** (1 Kgs 20:29; 22:35); **על פני** (1 Kgs 6:3 [2×]); **קבל** (2 Kgs 15:10); and occurs as plus (1 Kgs 22:34). The form occurs 2× with metathesis **למול** (1 Kgs 21:10, 13).

⁶⁴ Thus Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 145.

⁶⁵ Thus Gray, *I & II Kings*, 561, note c.

⁶⁶ The Ant. MSS b o e₂ offer **ἐν Ἰεβλαάμ**, which corresponds to **ביבליעם** in Hebrew. A city called Ibleam is mentioned in 2 Kgs 9:27. In 4 Kingdoms the Ant. text is generally held to be closest to the Old Greek, because it alone seems to have escaped the *kaige* and / or Hexaplaric revisions represented by the majority of manuscripts. Thus it is conceivable that **ביבליעם** constitutes an old, and indeed, the original Hebrew reading in 2 Kgs 15:10 (thus already Burney, *Notes*, 321–322). In the majority of LXX manuscripts, including B, **עם קבל** is transcribed as **Κεβλαάμ** and treated either as a personal name or as a place name.

Apparently the translators of Peshitta and Targum Jonathan interpreted קבל in the sense that was most obvious to them, whether or not they were aware of the fact that קבל is not a preposition in Hebrew.

1.32. 2 Kgs 21:13 מוחה, 'Wipe', and כעס, 'Strike, Wound'

A simile in the Hebrew text of 2 Kgs 21:13 is turned into a plain statement in the Peshitta:

2 Kgs 21:13

ga1 P BTR

אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם
לְיִרוּשָׁלַם

'and I will strike (BTR + 'her,') Jerusalem'

וּמַחִיתִי אֶת יִירוּשָׁלַם

'and I will wipe Jerusalem'

It is not inconceivable that the Peshitta tried to preserve the word image of the Hebrew root מוחה.⁶⁷

1.33. 2 Kgs 23:20 שם, 'There', and שם, 'Place'

In 2 Kgs 23:20, the phrases שם and שם, introduced by the so-called relative particles, diverge in the two versions:

2 Kgs 23:20

וַיִּזְבַּח אֶת כָּל כַּהֲנֵי הַבָּמֹת אֲשֶׁר שָׁם עַל הַמִּזְבְּחוֹת

'and he slaughtered all the priests of the high places who offered incense upon the altars'

וַיִּזְבַּח אֶת כָּל כַּהֲנֵי הַבָּמֹת אֲשֶׁר שָׁם עַל הַמִּזְבְּחוֹת

'and he slaughtered all the priests of the high places who were there upon the altars'

This difference also affects the syntactic dependence of the final phrase, 'upon the altars'. The similarity in word image between שם and שם brings with it considerable semantic and syntactic differences. One possible explanation for this deviation from the Masoretic text can be dismissed forthwith: since the other ancient translations all offer renderings that agree with the Masoretic text, an explanation in terms of a different Vorlage is improbable. Two alternative explanations are possible:

⁶⁷ This text is extensively treated in chapter 5, section 2.1.3.2.

1. The text in the Peshitta in v. 20 is due to an error.
2. The text in the Peshitta entails a deliberate modification.

Ad 1. Within Kings, **שם**, 'there', occurs 100×, 95 of which are rendered by some sort of locative expression.⁶⁸ Only in 2Kgs 23:20 does it correspond to a form of the verb **שם**, 'place'. When the final plural verbal ending of this verb is disregarded, what is left is a sibilant and a labial nasal. As shown in chapter 3, section 1.1.3, the sibilants exhibit a wide range of variation between the two languages in words related to one another in phonetic quality. It could be that the translator took this **שם**, 'there', to be **שם**, 'he placed'. This 'mistake' could have been motivated by the similarity either in the form of the two Hebrew letters, or in the sound of the sibilants, if an auditory factor were involved in the translation process. If the Hebrew were to be understood in this manner, the singular verb would refer back to Josiah, the king who slaughtered the priests 'which he placed upon the altars'. In Syriac the text was adjusted in accordance with 2Kgs 23:8 where it says that the priests burned incense (see Ad. 2 below). In this manner, the verb referred not to Josiah but to the priests, by which it acquired the third person plural verbal ending. The object, 'incense', was assumed from 2Kgs 23:8, thus becoming 'who placed incense upon the altars'. The usual expression for offering or burning incense is 'place incense'.

The rendering of elements in the preceding verse argues in favour of the view that the translator interpreted Hebrew grammatical elements in a Syriac manner:⁶⁹

2 Kgs 23:19

וַיַּעַשׂ אֵת אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה בְּבֵית אֱלֹהִים

'and he made them like the work which he had done in Bethel'

וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם כְּכֹל הַמַּעֲשִׂים אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה בְּבֵית אֱלֹהִים

'and he did to them according to all the things which he had done in Bethel'

⁶⁸ 82×: **שם**, 'there'; **איהו**, 'whither', 1Kgs 2:3; **ארצה**, 'land', 2Kgs 17:33 (BTR, probably representing a secondary development; 9a1 **שם**); **הנה**, 'here', 2Kgs 6:1; **הנה**, 'where', 2Kgs 17:29 (BTR; 9a1 **הנה**, which is probably a secondary development); **ב**, 'in' (+ suffix), 2Kgs 2:20; 12:6; 23:8 (the last one rendering **שם** followed by **ה** locative); **ל**, 'to, for' (+ suffix) 2Kgs 1:4, 6, 16; **משם** rendered as **מנה**, 'from' (+ suffix) 2Kgs 7:2, 19; **שם** על, 'there upon', rendered as **על**, 'upon the side, beside', 1Kgs 10:20. In four instances **שם** is not translated: 1Kgs 8:21; 17:13, 19; 2Kgs 6:2.

⁶⁹ See also 2Kgs 23:18 discussed in chapter 11, section 1.2.

In all likelihood, the Peshitta understood the Hebrew preposition ל in להם in the sense of the Syriac object marker ܐ, and thus rendered as the Syriac object pronoun.⁷⁰

Ad 2. It could well be that the context of offering and altars prompted the association of the unpunctuated Hebrew שם with Syriac ܫܡܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ.⁷¹ Earlier in the story in a comparable context, similar phrasing explicitly combines the elements found in this instance:

2 Kgs 23:8

ܘܝܫܡܢܐ ܐܬܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ
 ויטמא את הבמות אשר קטרו שמה הבהנים

'and he defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense'

Here the Peshitta did not read the Hebrew as though it were Syriac: the Syriac preposition + suffix ܐܢܗܘܢ, 'in them', represents the translation of the Hebrew שמה, 'there'. All the same, the collocation of קטר and שם in v. 8 in conjunction with the expression ܫܡܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ in the Syriac text of this verse may have led the translator to associate שם in v. 20 with ܫܡܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ.

1.34. 2 Kgs 24:14, 16 חרש 'Craftsmen', and ܘܕܥܘܠܐ 'Guardsmen'⁷²

In the following verse, ܘܕܥܘܠܐ, 'guardsmen', and ܘܕܥܘܠܐ, 'couriers', parallel the collectively used terms חרש, 'craftsman', and ܘܕܥܘܠܐ, 'smith':⁷³

⁷⁰ For the interpretation of ל in להם as though it were the the Syriac object marker ܐ, see chapter 11, section 1.2.

⁷¹ Walter argues that the translator derived שם from the root שׁוּם (or שׁוּם), 'set, place', thus within the context suggesting the Hebrew idiom for burning incense to be שׁוּם קטורה (*Peshitta of II Kings*, 220). However, since שׁוּם קטורה occurs in MT only in Deut 33:10, it seems unlikely that the translator associated שם with this Hebrew expression.

⁷² The material of this section appeared previously in Dyk—Van Keulen, 'Of Words and Phrases'.

⁷³ The Greek συγγαλείων, 'one who locks up', is a literal rendering of ܘܕܥܘܠܐ, 'smith', read as a participle of סגר Hiphil, 'shut up, confine'. The renderings of VG and Tj, *clusor* and *תרעיא*, respectively, reflect a similar understanding of the Hebrew. Whether the versions are correct in connecting ܘܕܥܘܠܐ with סגר may be questioned (see Montgomery—Gehman, *Kings*, 542; Thenius, *Könige*, 451). In MT סגר ܘܕܥܘܠܐ occurs seven times. Four times it forms part of the expression ܘܕܥܘܠܐ ܘܕܥܘܠܐ (2 Kgs 24:14, 16; Jer 24:1; 29:2). For the latter instances of ܘܕܥܘܠܐ, *KBL* (541a) gives: 'builder of bulwarks and trenches', adding an honest question mark between brackets. A homograph (*KBL*, 540b), or perhaps another meaning of the same word (cf. *BDB*, 689b), is 'dungeon' (Isa 24:22; 42:7; Ps 142:8).

2 Kgs 24:16

ܐܘܬܘܪܝܢ ܘܘܫܬܘܪܝܢ 'guardsmen and couriers'
 וְהַחֲרָשׁ וְהַמְּסַגֵּר 'craftsmen and smiths'

The Syriac terms denote military functions whereas the Hebrew terms refer to artisans. All other versions concur with the Masoretic text in referring to craftsmen. What could lie behind this divergence from the semantic field of the Hebrew terms?

One approach would be to focus on the first terms, where we see חֲרָשׁ [XRC] rendered as ܐܘܬܘܪܝܢ [D"XC>]. In Semitic languages metathesis is well attested.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the interchange of [D] and [R] is frequently encountered in Hebrew and Syriac material. These two letters not only resemble one another in the two scripts—ך and ר in Hebrew, ܟ and ܕ in Syriac—but they could also have been articulated in a similar fashion.⁷⁵ It could be that in the rendering of the first term, phonetic, acoustic, or transcriptional factors played a role so that 'craftsman' became 'guardsmen', not so much as a translation but as a word which preserved aspects of the Hebrew word image. Once this choice was made, the second term could have been supplied from within the same field of meaning.

A different explanation is offered by Walter:

The substitution of military for commercial classes is probably motivated by 24:16a where the חֲרָשׁ וְהַמְּסַגֵּר are listed in an enumeration of military forces. [...] s presumably assigned the meaning of 'those who shut up', therefore 'guards', and accordingly identified [ו]הַמְּסַגֵּר with the well-known military corps, the [רָצִים] ('the runners'; apparently the royal bodyguard in 1 Sam 22:17; 1 Kgs 14:27,28 = 2 Chr 12:10,11, 2 Kgs 10:25, 11:4,6,11,19) which s renders with ܐܘܬܘܪܝܢ.⁷⁶

Walter's explanation of ܐܘܬܘܪܝܢ, 'couriers', is attractive because it brings the Peshitta in line with the other ancient translations which all provide renderings based on a grammatical exegesis of הַמְּסַגֵּר, 'the smith'.

It is noteworthy that Walter's explanation takes ܐܘܬܘܪܝܢ, 'couriers', as point of departure, but does not specify why the Peshitta chose ܐܘܬܘܪܝܢ, 'guardsmen'. The assumption seems to be that ܐܘܬܘܪܝܢ, 'couriers', was simply chosen as a

⁷⁴ See Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 192–193.

⁷⁵ Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 132–133, presents evidence for the dental basis of articulation of the [r], [l], and [n]; cf. also: 'variations in ancient and modern articulations of r have no phonemic value'. The two might have approximated one another in pronunciation—a voiced coronal alveolar plosive [D] versus a voiced coronal alveolar flap [R].

⁷⁶ Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 228.

parallel suited to **שׂוּרְיָה**, ‘guardsmen’. On the other hand, the first explanation mentioned above focuses on **שׂוּרְיָה**, ‘guardsmen’, and views the choice of **רָסְוִי**, ‘couriers’, to render **הַמְסַגֵּר**, ‘the smith’, as being dependent on the first choice. Thus, the two explanations are not mutually exclusive, but supplement one another: while the rendering of **הַמְסַגֵּר**, ‘the smith’, as **רָסְוִי**, ‘couriers’, is seen as being motivated by v. 16a, the choice of **שׂוּרְיָה** could have been motivated by a desire to preserve as much of the Hebrew word image as possible.

1.35. 2 Kgs 25:15 **בַּסֵּף**, ‘Silver’, and **חֲפָצִים**, ‘Cups’

To the list of utensils taken from Jerusalem and carried off to Babylon, the Peshitta makes an interesting addition:

2 Kgs 25:15

9a1	P		BTR
		וְהַחֲפָצִים וְהַמְסַגֵּר וְהַכֶּסֶף	
		וְהַכֶּסֶף	וְהַכֶּסֶף
		וְהַכֶּסֶף	

‘and the censers and the braziers of gold and (BTR + ‘of’) silver and the cups’

וְאֵת הַמַּחְתֹּת וְאֵת הַמְזַרְקוֹת אֲשֶׁר זָהָב וְאֲשֶׁר כֶּסֶף

‘and the fire pans and the sprinkling basins of pure gold and of pure silver’

Among the ancient versions the Peshitta alone offers ‘and the cups’ as a plus. Since cups are not mentioned among the utensils listed in 1 Kgs 7:50 and 2 Kgs 12:14, this plus cannot be explained in terms of harmonization.

A striking feature of the Hebrew text is the repetition of **זָהָב** and **כֶּסֶף**, which probably is meant to express the fine quality of these metals.⁷⁷ The Peshitta agrees with the Septuagint and the Antiochene text, over against Targum Jonathan and the Vulgate, in not rendering the repetition. Possibly, the Peshitta was influenced by the Septuagint in this respect.⁷⁸ The translator seems to have attempted to preserve some of the word image as well as more closely approximating the number of Hebrew words by representing the second **כֶּסֶף**, ‘silver’, as **חֲפָצִים**, ‘the cups’.

⁷⁷ Thus Gesenius—Kautzsch, *Grammar*, §123e.

⁷⁸ It may not be mere coincidence that in 2 Kgs 3:16 a similar repetition of Hebrew nouns has been rendered exactly alike in P, Ant., and LXX.

2. CASES DEVELOPING DURING THE TRANSMISSION PHASE

Some homographs do not appear to represent the original rendering. In this section homographs are listed which are likely to represent secondary, inner-Syriac developments.

2.1. 1Kgs 12:15 מֶלֶךְ, 'King', and מַלְכָּה, 'Counsel'

In the BTR of 1Kgs 12:15 a diacritical dot below מַלְכָּה indicates that the sequence of consonants is to be read as מַלְכָּה, 'counsel'. In 9a1 and 12a1*fam*, however, the diacritical dot appears above מַלְכָּה, thus indicating that in these manuscripts the sequence of consonants is to be read as מֶלֶךְ, 'king'. The latter reading agrees with the Masoretic text.

1Kgs 12:15

BTR minus 12a1*fam* ܘܠܗ ܥܡܕ ܡܠܟܗ ܟܝ ܥܡܗ
'and he did not heed the counsel of the people'

9a1 12a1*fam* ܘܠܗ ܥܡܕ ܡܠܟܗ ܟܝ ܥܡܗ
ܘܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܗܡܠܟ ܐܠ ܗܥܡ
'and the king did not listen to the people'

In all likelihood, the BTR-reading in v. 15 is evoked by the occurrence of מַלְכָּה, 'counsel', in previous verses (vv. 8, 13, 14). According to these verses, the king rejected the advice of the elders to treat the people kindly. In a way, then, the king ignored the advice of the people themselves.

If the reading of 9a1 is indeed original in v. 15, the question arises why מַלְכָּה, 'king', which in Kings is usually not supplied with a diacritical dot, is supplied with one in 9a1. This phenomenon, too, is to be explained from the occurrence of מַלְכָּה, 'counsel', in previous verses. As Syriac syntax allows for both interpretations of מַלְכָּה in v. 15, the diacritical dot above מַלְכָּה prevents the word from being confused with מַלְכָּה, 'counsel'.

2.2. 2Kgs 6:7 ܢܐ ܗܢܗ, 'Behold, Now', and ܐܘܗܘܐ, 'That'

At the onset of this text we find variation between the Syriac versions:

2Kgs 6:1

9a1	P	BTR
ܐܘܗܘܐ ܐܘܗܘܐ		ܐܘܗܘܐ ܐܘܗܘܐ
	ܕܡܠܟܗ ܥܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ	

9a1 'behold, the place where we are dwelling now'

BTR 'this place where we are dwelling now'

הנה נא המקום אשר אנחנו יושבים שם
 'behold, the place where we are dwelling'

נא, 'behold', of 9a1 agrees with הנה of the Masoretic text and probably supplies the original reading here. נא is usually left untranslated in the Peshitta of Kings.⁷⁹ הנה, 'this', of the BTR lends more emphasis to the reference to the location. Within the setting of v. 1 נא may have easily developed into הנה. In this view, the graphic resemblance between נא הנה and הנה would be coincidental. There is no evidence of the BTR having undergone secondary influence from the (proto-)Masoretic text.

2.3. 2 Kgs 9:33 אל, 'To, Towards', and על, 'Go Up'

In the following example, Syriac על and Hebrew אל occur in corresponding positions within the text and are phonetically similar, though the grammatical functions of these words are quite different. The Hebrew אל is a preposition that marks an extension of the preceding prepositional phrase אל הקיר. The Peshitta has here the verb form על opening a new clause in which the verbal form is an added element:

2 Kgs 9:33

ויושעוהו גזמיהו על רגליו ואל הקיר והוא

'and they sprinkled of her blood upon the wall, and the horses went up and trampled her'

ויוזממהו אל הקיר ואל הסוסים וירמסנהו

'and he sprinkled of her blood towards the wall and towards the horses, and he trampled her'

From a linguistic perspective, several aspects could be involved: the tendency of Syriac verbs to have a more limited range of government⁸⁰ so that 'sprinkle' is less likely to extend its government over the following two coordinated phrases as it does in the Hebrew, and the rendering of אל in the first part of the phrase by על (preposition). In this both the gradual loss of distinction between the prepositions אל and על in Hebrew as well as the similarity in their forms could have played a role.⁸¹

⁷⁹ נא occurs 53 × in Kings; only once is it rendered by a cognate particle in Syriac, 'I beg, I pray thee' (1 Kgs 22:5). The rest are left unrendered.

⁸⁰ See chapter 12, section 3.

⁸¹ Of the 580 occurrences of אל in Kings, 322 × are rendered as על, 102 × as על, and 74 × as על; these three prepositions account for the majority of the renderings.

The other occurrences of the verb $\omega\dot{\iota}$, 'sprinkle', in Kings involve the sprinkling of blood upon an altar,⁸² where the verb occurs in combination with the preposition חל . The choice for חל in 2 Kgs 9:33 could thus have been motivated by the verb present.⁸³

From a text-historical point of view, a few additional comments can be made. The simplest explanation of the Syriac is to consider חל as an inner-Syriac corruption of חל . Manuscript 7h10 may have preserved the original reading $\text{חל וְחַל אֶל הַיְּמִינִים}$, 'upon the wall and upon the horses'.⁸⁴ It is conceivable that a copyist interpreted original חל as חל when the Syriac text was dictated to him, an error easily committed since the third masc pl ending is not pronounced. Similar aural errors can be argued to underly other variants in the Peshitta of Kings.⁸⁵ What may have facilitated the error is the occurrence of the third masc pl verb form חַלְּוּ in the sequel. The Peshitta, the Septuagint, the Antiochene text, Targum Jonathan, and the Vulgate agree in having third masc pl verb forms where the Masoretic text has וַיִּרְמֹסָהּ , 'and he trampled her'. This makes it likely that Vorlagen of ancient versions read וַיִּרְמֹסוּהָ , 'and they trampled her'. The third masc pl verbal form חַלְּוּ , therefore, is more likely to be due to dependence on either the Vorlage or the Septuagint than to a conscious adaptation to the new subject וְחַל .

2.4. 2 Kgs 19:32 קדם Piel, 'Meet with', and וַיִּבֶן , 'Overlay'⁸⁶

Both the possibility of a different Vorlage and of inner-Syriac corruption are present in the following case:

2 Kgs 19:32

$\text{וְלֹא יִבְרַח מִפְּנֵי הַיְּמִינִים}$

'and he will not overspread it (namely, the city) with bucklers'

TJ $\text{וְלֹא יִקְדָּמָהּ מִגֵּן}$ 'and he shall not advance shields against it'
 TJ $\text{וְלֹא יִקְדָּמָהּ בַּתְּרִיסִין}$ 'he will not come before it with shields'

⁸² 2 Kgs 16:13, 15.

⁸³ The Hebrew verb נזה , 'spatter, sprinkle', occurs with both אל and על , as well as with את and the object marker לפני .

⁸⁴ See Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 106.

⁸⁵ An identical case of confusion of the preposition חל and the verb form חל is attested as a textual variant in the Syriac MSS. In 2 Kgs 18:17 MS 9a1 offers $\text{וַיֵּלְכוּ וַיָּבֹאוּ לְיְרוּשָׁלַם}$, 'and they went up and came to Jerusalem'; which agrees with $\text{וַיֵּלְכוּ וַיָּבֹאוּ יְרוּשָׁלַם}$, 'and they went up against Jerusalem', of the BTR probably results from an aural error of a copyist who misinterpreted חל לְיְרוּשָׁלַם as $\text{חל (א) לְיְרוּשָׁלַם}$.

⁸⁶ See also chapter 9, section 1.

Either the translator read the verb יקרמנה, 'he will overspread it' (Qal קרם), in the Vorlage,⁸⁷ which he translated using the Syriac cognate, or the Syriac form represents an inner-Syriac corruption of ܩܪܡܢܗ. The addition of the preposition ܐܘܪܝܚܐ, 'with', is in keeping with the valence pattern of ܩܪܡܐ (see 1 Kgs 6:15, 20, 21). On the other hand, the preposition ܒ also occurs in Targum Jonathan despite the fact that in having יקרמנה Pael the latter version concurs with the Masoretic text. In the Aramaic translation, the preposition renders the double accusative occurring with קדם Piel, 'come to meet a person with something'. The same may hold true of the Syriac translation, provided it originally had ܩܪܡܢܗ.

In light of the text of Targum Jonathan, an inner-Syriac corruption is more likely than that the translator read יקרמנה in his source. The fact that קרם rarely occurs in the Masoretic text and when it does occur it is not rendered by ܩܪܡܐ in the Peshitta, supports this position.

3. SUMMARY

In the Peshitta of Kings a limited but significant number of Syriac words manifest striking graphic or phonetic similarity to their Hebrew correlates while having different semantic ranges. Strictly speaking, only words that share all consonants with their Hebrew counterparts may be called homographs. For the sake of convenience we have used the term to include words with a partial graphic or phonetic correspondence. In the Peshitta of Kings diverse forms of homography can be discerned. Variation is manifest in the following aspects:

- Extent. Whereas some Syriac words, especially shorter ones, represent the full sequence of consonants of their Hebrew correlates (for example, ܐܘܪܝܚܐ in 1 Kgs 5:21; ܚܘܪܝܚܐ in 2 Kgs 3:10, 13; ܐܘܪܝܚܐ in 1 Kgs 4:19; ܐܘܪܝܚܐ in 1 Kgs 11:15), most reflect only part of the consonantal sequence (for example, ܐܘܪܝܚܐ in 2 Kgs 25:15). In 2 Kgs 11:6, where ܡܫܚܐ seems to have been treated as an abbreviation of a phrase in Syriac (a procedure reminiscent of the so-called *notaricon*), a special kind of variation in extent occurs.
- Part of speech. While most homographs have the same part of speech, some differ from their source in this regard (for example, ܐܘܪܝܚܐ in 1 Kgs 4:19; ܐܘܪܝܚܐ in 2 Kgs 9:33; ܐܘܪܝܚܐ in 2 Kgs 10:12). Where the Peshitta offers a

⁸⁷ The only other occurrences of this verb in MT are Ezek 37:6, 8.

homograph with a part of speech different from the Hebrew, words within the direct syntactic context have been adjusted to maintain syntactic coherence (thus in 2 Kgs 9:33; 10:12).

- Nature of the similarity. A few homographs exhibit phonetic rather than graphic resemblance (for example, $\text{אֲרָם} / \text{וְעַתָּה}$ in 1 Kgs 1:18; $\text{אֲרָם} / \text{כָּרַת}$ in 1 Kgs 18:5). More often, however, the similarity is both graphic and phonetic.
- Syriac versus Aramaic. In a few instances, the Syriac homograph presupposes an interpretation of the Hebrew, not in a Syriac sense, but an Aramaic sense, thus מַלְאֲכֵי in 2 Kgs 15:10 and, possibly, אֲרָם in 2 Kgs 14:20.

The formative history of the homographs is as diverse as the aspects mentioned.

As we saw, a few homographs do not appear to represent the original Syriac rendering. In 2 Kgs 9:33 (אֲרָם) and 19:32 (אֲרָם) inner-Syriac development can be plausibly argued, whereas in 2 Kgs 6:1 (אֲרָם) inner-Syriac development is actually attested in the manuscript evidence.

Other homographs give ground for the suspicion that the Vorlage was read differently from the Masoretic text (for instance, אֲרָם in 1 Kgs 1:18; חַבּוֹ in 1 Kgs 6:21; אֲרָם in 1 Kgs 22:10).

Where the homograph seems to represent the original Syriac, the translator may have applied it either consciously or unconsciously. It is conceivable that in employing a homographic rendering he was unconsciously influenced by the word image of the Hebrew. The alternative possibility is that the translator strived to preserve part of the word image of the Hebrew in the Syriac rendering, perhaps thus to compensate for not rendering the sense of the source text. It is not always clear which factors have been at work in a particular case. One might argue that where the homograph is accompanied by obligatory transformations, as in 1 Kgs 2:15 (אֲרָם alongside אֲרָם) and 2 Kgs 23:20 (object added to אֲרָם), intention is manifest.

Where exegetical motives can be suspected, homography seems to have been intentionally applied. These motives include

- avoidance of rude language, as in 1 Kgs 22:38 (אֲרָם)
- improvement of textual cohesion, as, possibly, in 2 Kgs 23:20
- textual clarification by replacing metaphors / similes with plain language, as in 2 Kgs 21:13
- theological reasons, as in 1 Kgs 19:11 (חַבּוֹ)

Moreover, the translator may have resorted to homography in cases where he did not understand the Hebrew, as in 2 Kgs 11:6 and 2 Kgs 15:10 (מַלְאֲכֵי).

CHAPTER NINE

COMPLICATED WORD DIFFERENCES

In the preceding chapters, various types and categories of word differences have been examined. Among these, several resulted from complicated formative processes (see especially chapters 6 and 8). Similar interesting differences, however, are also found outside of the categories distinguished in chapters 5–8. As these provide information concerning the translation and transmission processes in the Peshitta, a small selection is presented below.

1. 1 KGS 6:20 **לפני**, 'BEFORE, IN FRONT OF', AND **מוֹכַח**, 'OVERLAY'

As it stands, the first part of the Masoretic text of 1 Kgs 6:20 is an ellipsis that does not produce a meaningful clause. By contrast, the text of the Peshitta does make sense:

1 Kgs 6:20

מוֹכַח כַּתֵּב מִסֹּדֶךָ

'and he overlaid the sanctuary (—twenty cubits its length ...)'

וּלְפָנֵי הַדְּבִיר

'and in front of the shrine (—twenty cubits its length ...)'

The difference is best explained by assuming an inner-Syriac alteration of original **מוֹכַח**, which is a literal rendering of **וּלְפָנֵי**, into **מוֹכַח**. The implication is that the original Syriac text was a faithful rendering of the problematic Hebrew text, comparable to the Aramaic rendering of the same text in Targum Jonathan. The current Syriac text could have resulted from an unintentional correction by a later scribe.

2. 1 KGS 16:33 **עָשָׂה**, 'DO, MAKE', AND **עָבַד**, 'SERVE'

A case involving the Hebrew verb **עָשָׂה**, 'do, make', can be found in:

1 Kgs 16:33

עָבַד אַחָב אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֵׁרָה

'and Ahab served the dreaded deities'

ויעש אחאב את האשרה
 'and Ahab made the Asherah'

2 Kgs 17:29

והיו עובדים כל עם הארץ
 'and they were serving each nation its god'

ויהיו עושים גוי גוי אלהיו
 'and they were making each nation its own god'

In the Masoretic text of 1 Kgs 16:33 (2 ×); 2 Kgs 17:29, 30 (3 ×), 31, the manufacturing of idols is expressed by the verb עשה followed by an object involving a reference to a deity.¹ In these instances, as well as in 2 Kgs 17:32, the Peshitta offers *ḥlmd*, 'serve', for עשה, 'make'. There is no reason to assume that the translator had a Hebrew source before him that differed from the Masoretic consonantal text. Though the choice of the Peshitta for *ḥlmd* entails a semantic deviation from the Hebrew text, there is a connection between עשה and *ḥlmd*. Probably, the translator arrived at his rendering by associating עשה with עבד, 'serve', a verb displaying the same sequence of consonants as *ḥlmd*, 'do, make'.

In other instances where עשה is used for the making of objects of worship, the Peshitta retains *ḥbd*: thus in 1 Kgs 12:32 ('calves'); 14:15 ('dreaded deities' for 'their Asheras' in the Masoretic text); 2 Kgs 17:16 ('calves'); 21:3 ('dreaded deities' for 'Ashera' in the Masoretic text, with reference to 1 Kgs 16:33 where the Peshitta has *ḥlmd*).

The varied treatment of seemingly similar instances could be explained partly on the basis of the translator's concern for internal consistency. In 1 Kgs 16:33 the reference to the manufacture of 'dreaded deities' may have been changed because in 1 Kgs 14:15 it was already reported that Israel 'made dreaded deities for themselves' (*ḥbdm lms' ḥlml' ḥ*). A similar 'contextual' alteration occurs in 2 Kgs 17:16: 'they made an Asherah' of the Hebrew text is changed to *ḥbdm ḥlml' ḥlml' ḥ*, 'and they made sacrifices to the dreaded deities', following shortly after 2 Kgs 17:12, *ḥlml' ḥlml' ḥ*, 'and they served the dreaded deities'. Conversely, the reference in 2 Kgs 21:3, 'he made dreaded deities', may have been maintained because 2 Kgs 18:4 reports the removal of earlier *ḥlml' ḥ*.²

¹ In 2 Kgs 17:30, Succoth Benoth, Nergal, Ashima; in v. 31, Nibhaz and Tartaq.

² In 2 Kgs 17:32 P's modification of *ḥbdm ḥlml' ḥ* בבית הבמות להם, 'they were officiating for them in the house of the high places', as 'they were serving for them in the house of the high places', may also be considered contextual, since the clause is preceded by 'they made for themselves from among them priests of the high places'.

No similar contextual reason can be adduced, however, for the other deviations noted in 2 Kings 17. It is improbable that the translator simply confused עשה / עבד with עבד, since the overall account in the Peshitta makes good sense. Still, some clue may be found in the repeated occurrence of עבד and עשה alongside each other with similar objects from the realm of idolatry: עבד in vv. 12, 16, 33, 41; עשה in vv. 16 (2×), 29, 30 (3×), 31, 32. The alternation of these verbs at least strengthened the association of עשה / עבד and עבד, and may have encouraged the translator to align references to the manufacture of idols with references to idolatry.

3. 2 KGS 2:25 שׁב, 'HE RETURNED', AND ܫܒܐ, 'AGAIN'

A Hebrew verb appears to be rendered by an adverb in Syriac in:

2 Kgs 2:25

ܘܥܘܕ ܡܢ ܫܡܪܝܐ ܘܥܘܕ ܡܢ ܫܡܪܝܐ ܘܥܘܕ ܡܢ ܫܡܪܝܐ ܘܥܘܕ ܡܢ ܫܡܪܝܐ

'and he went from there to Mount Carmel, and from there again to Samaria'

וילך משם אל הר הכרמל ומשם שב שמרון

'and he went from there to Mount Carmel, and from there he returned to Samaria'

In this example, the second part of the Syriac clause assumes a continuation of the range of government of the verb ܥܘܕ from the first part. This goes counter to the tendency—encountered often within the Peshitta of Kings—of inserting an additional verb in Syriac to cover the more extended range of government found in Hebrew.³

The verb ܫܒܐ, 'return, flow back, repent', occurs nine times⁴ as the translation of the verb שׁוב, but if the form present in the Syriac text were to be taken as a verbal form, it could only be the imperative of ܫܒܐ, which does not fit the narrative at this point.

Due to the tendency noted concerning the range of government of Syriac verbs within Kings, we suggest that it is not improbable that originally a perfect form of the Syriac verb ܫܒܐ did occur in this verse and that the substitution of the adverb at this point reflects a later development within the Syriac language.

³ See in chapter 12, section 3.

⁴ 1 Kgs 8:33, 47; 12:6, 16; 20:9; 2 Kgs 5:10; 17:13; 22:9, 20.

4. 2 KGS 6:16 עשה, 'DO, MAKE', AND חבו, 'PASS OVER'

Another case involving the Hebrew verb עשה, 'make', occurs in 2 Kgs 6:15 where the Hebrew verb has the unexpected correspondence חבו, 'pass over':

2 Kgs 6:15

9a1 BTR

אֲנַחְנוּ נַחֵב אֲנַחְנוּ נַחֵב

9a1 'What shall we do?'

BTR 'How shall we pass over?'

אֵיכָה נַעֲשֶׂה 'What shall we do?'

While 9a1 has preserved the original Syriac rendering of נעשה, in the textual transmission leading up to the BTR, נחבו, 'we shall do', became נחבו, 'we shall pass over', probably due to the confusion of Dalath and Resh. Since the reading נחבו, 'we shall pass over', fits the context—Elisha's servant asks him how to pass by the army besieging the city—subsequent scribes did not recognize it as a corruption.

5. 2 KGS 7:8 המצרעים, 'THE LEPERS', חוצה, 'LEPERS', חבה, 'MEN'

Because the rendering fits so well into the narrative, the following case has a chance of not being noticed:

2 Kgs 7:8

וַיָּבֹאוּ הַמְצָרְעִים הָאֵלֶּה 'and those men came'

וַיָּבֹאוּ הַמְצָרְעִים הָאֵלֶּה 'and those lepers came'

All ancient versions but the Peshitta agree with the Masoretic text. Probably חבה is an inner-Syriac corruption of חוצה, 'lepers'.⁵ The fact that in 2 Kgs 7:3 both terms occur side by side (חבה חוצה) may have facilitated the confusion.

6. 2 KGS 11:6 סור, 'SUR', סיר, 'COOKING POT',

מושל, 'CAULDRON', AND מושל, 'CHARIOT'

An interesting string of semantically diverse elements seem to be involved in the following instance:

⁵ Thus Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 85.

2 Kgs 11:6

והשלשם בגוץ גמסע

'and a third at the gate of the Chariot'

והשלשית בשער סור

'and a third at the Sur gate'

LXX Ant.

καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τῶν ὁδῶν

'and a third at the gate of the Roads'

TJ readings in manuscripts

וּתְלָתָא בְּתַרְעַ גִּינְיָא / גִּנְיָא / גִּיבְרִיָא / גִּיבְרָא / גִּיבְרָא / גִּיבְרָא / גִּיבְרָא

'and a third at the gate of the Protectors / Gardens / Warriors / the Warrior / Guards'

VG *tertia autem pars sit ad portam Sir*

'and a third at the Sir gate'

2 Chr 23:5

והשלשית בשער היסוד

'and a third at the gate of the Foundation'

Given the variation among the ancient versions, it is uncertain whether סור of the Masoretic text represents the earliest reading. Like Jerome, the Syriac translator may have read סיר, 'cooking pot', which he rendered as מַגְסַע, 'cauldron'. In the course of textual transmission מַגְסַע became מַגְסַע.⁶ If מַגְסַע is meant to be understood as 'chariot',⁷ it may reflect a correction towards what was felt to be contextually more appropriate. Alternatively, the form results from mere confusion of Dalath and Resh. The parallel in the Peshitta of 2 Chr 23:5 has בַּגְוֹץ גַּבְבָּא, 'at the gate of the Cooks', which may have been inspired by the original reading בַּגְוֹץ גַּבְבָּא in the Peshitta of Kings. The Syriac rendering is not related to the renderings in the Targum manuscripts.⁸

7. 2 KGS 23:8 יהושע, 'JOSHUA', AND מַגְסַע, 'SALVATION'

The name of a gate is also involved in 2 Kgs 23:8:

⁶ Thus Weitzman, *Introduction*, 295–296.

⁷ CSD, 520b.

⁸ On these see Dray, *Translation and Interpretation*, 43.

9a1	גהזחג געסד	'... of the gate of Joshua'
BTR	גהזחג גסזמל	'... of the gate of the Salvation'
	שער יהושע	'... of the gate of Joshua'

גסד in 9a1 agrees with יהושע, 'Joshua', of the Masoretic text. According to Weitzman's criterion⁹ it must represent the original reading. Weitzman thinks that גסזמל of the BTR results from interpretation of גסד, which is also the name of Jesus, in the light of Matt 1:21 and Acts 4:12.¹⁰ However, such a theologically inspired allusion to Jesus would not make much sense in the context of our verse.

It is worthy of note that גסזמל represents ישועה, 'help, salvation', a noun exhibiting the letters of יהושע in a different order. Possibly, the BTR depends on an alternative Hebrew reading, or it reflects an understanding of גסד as the phonetically similar Hebrew ישועה. It is implied in both explanations that scribes engaged in the transmission of the Syriac text still knew Hebrew and were in touch with Hebrew texts. Though not impossible, this assumption is not corroborated by evidence.

8. SUMMARY

In comparison to the Hebrew text, the word differences dealt with in this section all result from multiple steps in the formative processes. Most involve an inner-Syriac corruption of the original Syriac translation: מזח in 1 Kgs 6:20, גלג in 2 Kgs 2:25, חב in the BTR of 2 Kgs 6:16, גבג in 2 Kgs 7:8, and מזמל in 2 Kgs 11:6 (here even the Hebrew source may have been different from the Masoretic consonants). One item, חלד in 1 Kgs 16:33 and other places, involves an associative rendering that reflects three stages: (1) translation (חבג-עשה); (2) translanguistic association (חבג-עבד); (3) translation (חלד-עבד). The nature of גסזמל in the BTR of 2 Kgs 23:8 is unclear.

The selection presented in this chapter mirrors the fact that complicated word differences are predominately due to inner-Syriac corruption.

⁹ See chapter 1, section 2.2.

¹⁰ Weitzman, 'Unique Readings in 9a1', 238.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS ON THE FINDINGS AT WORD LEVEL

Up to this point attention has been focused on words. Between phonetic raw material and significance, words form an intermediate level in language—usually the smallest element isolated by blank spaces in manuscripts and printed volumes, having their own accent, their own part of speech and lexical meaning, and at the same time being built up of a number of components below word level. Contributing to a word are sounds (both the phonetic raw material and the phonemic system within a language), morphemes, and lexical information including the inherent part of speech and meaning. For written texts, there is the added factor of the shape and value of the letters with which a word is written.

Both of the languages of the texts being compared in this study are Northwest Semitic and share characteristics of vocabulary, grammar, and syntax. The languages are, however, sufficiently divergent to have necessitated a translation of the one into the other.

The Syriac translation basically follows the word order of the Hebrew, though generally respecting the grammatical constraints of Syriac. This means that at the level of clauses and phrases Hebrew and Syriac roughly correspond, but less so on the lower levels of words or lexemes. For instance, though the phrases *בית המלך* and *ܒܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ*, ‘the house of the king’, correspond, not all the individual Hebrew lexemes are represented by corresponding items in Syriac, since the determination of [MLK], which in Hebrew is indicated by the article [H], is expressed in Syriac by an emphatic state ending. Nevertheless, corresponding lexemes can be identified fairly easily on the basis of a synopsis of parallel clauses and phrases. Using this basis, the translation concordance has been built up.

1. IDENTICAL, COGNATE, AND NON-IDENTICAL SPELLING

In the preceding chapters we focused on verbs, nouns, and proper nouns, the elements which account for much of the content of a text. Counting as ‘identical’ only those items which match both in spelling and in part of speech and as ‘cognate’ those forms whose differences can be explained on

the basis of systematically applied spelling rules, we register the proportions for the two books of Kings as given in table 10.1.

Table 10.1: Totals of identical, cognate, and non-identical items

	<i>Identical</i>	<i>Cognate</i>	<i>Non-identical</i>	<i>Total</i>
Names	746 (22.15%)	1,989 (59.06%)	633 (18.79%)	3,368
Nouns	2,967 (26.40%)	1,553 (19.06%)	3,630 (44.54%)	8,150
Verbs	1,680 (29.26%)	665 (11.58%)	3,397 (59.16%)	5,742
Other	9,833 (37.36%)	686 (2.61%)	15,798 (60.03%)	26,317
Total	15,226 (34.94%)	4,893 (11.23%)	23,458 (53.83%)	43,577

Of the three parts of speech focused on, the proper nouns manifest the most congruence in graphic characteristics with the source item. A little less than a quarter of the proper nouns are spelled identically in the two versions and more than half manifest systematic spelling differences. Less than one fifth of the proper nouns remain in the category ‘non-identical’! The proportion of identical and cognate forms is considerably lower for regular nouns, but nouns rank higher than verbs and the other parts of speech in their similarity in form in Hebrew and Syriac.

The proportions of related and unrelated translation correspondences are more pronounced when the ‘identical’ and ‘cognate’ entries are combined (see table 10.2).

Table 10.2: Totals of identical and cognate versus non-identical items

	<i>Identical & Cognate</i>	<i>Non-identical</i>	<i>Total</i>
Names	2,735 (81.21%)	633 (18.79%)	3,368
Nouns	4,520 (55.46%)	3,630 (44.54%)	8,150
Verbs	2,345 (40.84%)	3,397 (59.16%)	5,742
Other	10,519 (39.97%)	15,798 (60.03%)	26,317
Total	20,119 (46.17%)	23,458 (53.83%)	43,577

The statistics presented need to be relativized somewhat because of the presence of a few high-frequency items which are spelled identically and which often correspond to one another, for example, the conjunction [W], ‘and’ (4220×), the verbs [>MR], ‘say’ (612×), and [MLK], ‘reign, rule, be king’

¹ Among these is the *tetragrammaton* יהוה, which in 522 of its 531 occurrences is rendered by a translation (with non-identical spelling) of the traditional reading of the divine name—*יהוה*, ‘Lord’, thus accounting for the majority of the non-identical cases. See also chapter 13, section 1.3.

(148×), the nouns [MLK], 'king' (640×), and [>B], 'father' (159×), and the prepositions [B], 'in' (935×), and [L], 'to, for' (879×). Counting each unique lexical entry but once yields the proportions of 'identical', 'cognate', and 'non-identical' as found in table 10.3.

Table 10.3: Identical, cognate, and non-identical proportions for unique lexical items

	<i>Identical</i>	<i>Cognate</i>	<i>Non-identical</i>	<i>Total</i>
Names	158 (38.26%)	199 (48.18%)	56 (13.56%)	413
Nouns	114 (11.40%)	175 (17.50%)	711 (71.10%)	1,000
Verbs	78 (10.13%)	65 (8.44%)	627 (81.43%)	770
Other	40 (2.65%)	135 (8.95%)	1,334 (88.40%)	1,509
Total	390 (10.56%)	574 (15.55%)	2,728 (73.89%)	3,692

Again the proportions of related and unrelated translation correspondences are more pronounced when the 'identical' and 'cognate' entries are combined (see table 10.4).

Table 10.4: Identical and cognate versus non-identical for unique lexical items

	<i>Identical & Cognate</i>	<i>Non-identical</i>	<i>Total</i>
Names	357 (86.44%)	56 (13.56%)	413
Nouns	289 (28.90%)	711 (71.10%)	1,000
Verbs	143 (18.57%)	627 (81.43%)	770
Other	175 (11.60%)	1,334 (88.40%)	1,509
Total	964 (26.11%)	2,728 (73.89%)	3,692

It can thus be said that in the vocabulary of the two books of Kings, the two languages differ considerably, having only about a quarter of their unique items which can be counted as identical or cognate. However, within the whole text corpus, the identical and cognate forms include items which appear frequently enough to raise the proportion of related forms to nearly half of the volume of the text.

2. FORMAL CORRESPONDENCE AND SEMANTIC CORRESPONDENCE

In addition to the formal relationship between corresponding items, the preceding chapters focused on the relation of formal and semantic aspects of Syriac verbs, nouns, and proper nouns compared to the Hebrew items occurring in corresponding position. Four different configurations are possible:

formal correspondence—semantic correspondence
 formal correspondence—no semantic correspondence
 no formal correspondence—semantic correspondence
 no formal correspondence—no semantic correspondence

As the tables above show, frequently the translator could use identical or cognate items having the same semantic content (formal correspondence—semantic correspondence). In the equivalents chosen, however, semantic correspondence needs to prevail over formal correspondence if the significance of the source text is to be captured in the translation (no formal correspondence—semantic correspondence). That this is indeed predominately the case is aptly demonstrated in chapter 5. In the distribution of nouns and verbs belonging to the realms of law and destruction, no fixed correspondence between Syriac term A and Hebrew term B could be discerned.² The translator's basic procedure was to use the Syriac term deemed most appropriate to render the meaning of the Hebrew term as inferred from the context. In cases where the meaning of a Syriac term is less aligned with the corresponding Hebrew term, exegetical motives can be seen to play a role (no formal correspondence—no semantic correspondence).

Chapters 7–9 presented many instances of words in corresponding positions that semantically diverge despite a measure of formal correspondence between them (tending towards formal correspondence—no semantic correspondence). Chapter 7 dealt with cases where the translator identified a different lexeme than the Masoretes did. Chapter 8 focused on terms combining similar consonants and a different semantic range. These included both inadvertent and intentional differences. Chapter 9 treated word differences attributable to secondary, inner-Syriac developments.

Various explanations for the combination of different semantic domains and a similarity in word image were considered. In several cases the translator reproduced certain formal—graphic or aural—characteristics of the Hebrew word in Syriac and thus maintained a connection with his exemplar. Chapter 8 supplied various examples of this translational device. Inadvertent textual developments also proved to be responsible for quite a few instances.

The issue of formal correspondence also dominated in chapter 6, which involves a review and analysis of Syriac names that are not identical to their Hebrew counterparts. The overwhelming majority of names in the

² Moreover we found no evidence of a systematic alternating of Syriac terms to compensate for a more extensive set of terms occurring in the Hebrew text as suggested by Weitzman, *Introduction*, 30–31. See also chapter 5, section 2.4.1.3.

Peshitta of Kings, both identical and non-identical, are transcriptions. Most non-identical names exhibit more or less systematic adaptations in spelling. There appeared to be a tendency in the Peshitta to conflate names and render different spellings and even separate names by a single item, so that the Peshitta contains 7.7% fewer unique names than the Masoretic text does.³ Few names are translations, although identifiable lexemes within names are sometimes translated, like the words for 'son', בן and בַּ. More drastic differences in the representation of names between the two versions were found to be due to a different construal of the Hebrew, to exegetical intervention, or to text-historical factors.

Among the items dealt with in chapters 6–9, several exhibited not only a different semantic range, but also an altogether different part of speech. This phenomenon has implications for phrase and even clause structure, thus showing that the analyses at word, phrase, and clause levels are closely linked. Chapters 11–13 will supply more examples of different phrase and clause divisions in conjunction with formal similarity and different parts of speech of corresponding words.

³ See Chapter 13, section 1.

Section Two

Cases Requiring an Explanation above Word Level

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CASES REQUIRING AN EXPLANATION AT PHRASE LEVEL

In this chapter, examples will be presented where Hebrew seems to have been interpreted as though it were Syriac (section 1), where a Hebrew expression referring to a time phrase is reformulated to conform to the usual Syriac formulation (section 2), and where differences in internal phrase structure between Hebrew and Syriac account for a number of observed divergences (section 3).

1. HEBREW APPEARS TO BE INTERPRETED AS THOUGH IT WERE SYRIAC

During the process of translation certain elements of the source language appear to have been understood as having the value they would have in the target language. A number of such examples are discussed below.

1.1. *Hebrew Feminine Singular Ending Acquires a Possessive Pronoun*

Having been alerted to the possibility of the effect of the graphic or phonetic qualities of the source text on the rendering, we present some examples which seem to exhibit this characteristic. In 1 Kgs 15:13 two nouns with fem sg nominal ending ה in Hebrew are rendered by a noun with a fem sg possessive suffix ם in Syriac:

1 Kgs 15:13

וְגַם אֶת מַעֲכָה אִמּוֹ וְיִסְרָהּ מִגְבִּירָהּ

וְגַם אֶת מַעֲכָה אִמּוֹ וְיִסְרָהּ מִגְבִּירָהּ

‘and also Maachah, his mother, he removed from her dignity,
because she used to make a festival to her dreaded one’

וְגַם אֶת מַעֲכָה אִמּוֹ וְיִסְרָהּ מִגְבִּירָהּ

אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה מִפְּלֶצֶת לְאֲשֶׁרָהּ

‘(v. 12 and he removed ...) and even Maachah, his mother, and he removed her
from (being) principal lady

because she made a horrible object for Asherah’

The (fem) pronominal suffixes attached to וְגַם אֶת מַעֲכָהּ and וְגַם אֶת מַעֲכָהּ occur in positions corresponding to the nominal fem endings ם and גְּבִירָהּ and אֲשֶׁרָהּ. The fem

explanations can be offered involving internal phrase structure,² clause structure,³ and the mentioned tendency to make the possessor explicit.

Thus, the suffix ܐ on the forms ܐܘܢܘܟܐ and ܐܘܢܘܟܐ is most likely a reflection of the Syriac tendency to specify the possessor, though the fem nominal ending ܐ on ܐܘܢܘܟܐ and ܐܘܢܘܟܐ may have provided an incentive.

1.2. *Confusion of ܐܘܢܘܟܐ, ܐܘܢܘܟܐ, and ܐܘܢܘܟܐ*

The particle ܐܘܢܘܟܐ can mark the object of the verb, but can also function as a preposition, 'with'. Only when occurring with pronominal suffixes are these functions distinguishable by means of the Masoretic pointing. In Syriac the preposition ܐܘܢܘܟܐ can function as an object marker as well as the preposition 'to, for'. In the latter significance it corresponds in form and meaning to the Hebrew preposition ܐܘܢܘܟܐ. There is evidence that in some instances these functions were confused during the translation process. A few examples are discussed below.

In 2 Kgs 23:18 the Syriac text suggests that the translator understood ܐܘܢܘܟܐ differently than indicated in the Masoretic text:

2 Kgs 23:18

ܐܘܢܘܟܐ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ, ܐܘܢܘܟܐ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ

'they rescued his bones, (namely) the bones of the prophet who came from Samaria'

or:

'and his bones (namely, of the prophet of the Lord who came from Judah) made the bones of the prophet who came from Samaria escape'

ܐܘܢܘܟܐ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ

'and they spared his bones (namely, of the man of God who came from Judah) along with the bones of the prophet who came from Samaria'

TJ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ ܐܘܢܘܟܐ

'and his bones (namely, of the prophet who came from Judah) saved the bones of the prophet of falsehood who came from Samaria'

The verb ܐܘܢܘܟܐ, 'rescue, let escape', has 'his bones' as an object. As this verb does not occur with a double object construction, the particle ܐܘܢܘܟܐ in the same clause must mean 'with, by'. It appears that the translator took the particle ܐܘܢܘܟܐ to be the object marker, either to introduce the object of a clause

² See section 3 below.

³ See chapter 13, section 1.3.

which has as its subject 'his bones', or as a further specification of the original object. In contrast to Hebrew, Syriac has few double object constructions.⁴

Like the Peshitta, Targum Jonathan appears to have taken אַת as an object marker. However, in Targum Jonathan the subject is unambiguous due to the exegetical expansion נְבִי שֶׁקֶרָא, 'the prophet of falsehood'. Since this is a different prophet than the one from Judah to whom 'his bones' refers (cf. v. 17), the possibility that in Targum Jonathan the object marker יַת is a specification of the previous object is to be excluded. In view of the fact that Targum Jonathan interpreted the Hebrew preposition אַת in the same sense as the Peshitta did, the Aramaic rendering may be indicative of how the Peshitta is meant to be understood in v. 18: 'and his bones made the bones of the prophet who came from Samaria escape'.

One verse later there is yet another instance where it appears that the particles under discussion have been confused:

2 Kgs 23:19

וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם כְּכָל הַמַּעֲשִׂים אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה בְּבֵית אֵל

'and he made them like the work which he had done in Bethel'

וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם כְּכָל הַמַּעֲשִׂים אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה בְּבֵית אֵל

'and he did to them according to all the deeds which he had done in Bethel'

In all likelihood, the Peshitta understood the Hebrew preposition ל in להם as the object marker ל, and thus rendered it as the Syriac object pronoun. Something similar may have occurred in:

1 Kgs 8:21

וַיִּסַּח אֲנִי וְיָצַח אֲנִי מִן הַיָּם

'and I have placed there the ark'

וַיִּסַּח אֲנִי וְיָצַח אֲנִי מִן הַיָּם

'and I have appointed there a place for the ark'

The Peshitta simplifies the clause by not rendering מוקם and by rendering ארון as the direct object. The simplification may have been provoked by ל in לארון, which was taken as the Syriac object marker.⁵

Some cases manifest the confusion of particles mentioned above, but involve other aspects as well, so that an alternative explanation is possible or even preferable.

⁴ See chapter 12, section 3.

⁵ For other aspects involved in this example, see chapter 12, section 3.2, and chapter 13, section 3.2.1.2.

1Kgs 10:1

וּמַלְכַת שֶׁבַע שָׁמְעָה אֶת שְׂמֵעַת אֶת שְׁלֹמֹה וְשֵׁם יְהוָה

'and the queen of Sheba heard the report of Solomon and the name of the Lord'

וּמַלְכַת שֶׁבַע שָׁמְעָה אֶת שְׂמֵעַת אֶת שְׁלֹמֹה לְשֵׁם יְהוָה

'and the queen of Sheba heard the report of Solomon concerning the name of YHWH'

LXX B Καὶ βασίλισσα Σαβὰ ἤκουσεν τὸ ὄνομα Σαλωμῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου

'and the queen of Sheba heard about the name of Solomon and the name of the Lord'

The last two phrases in the Syriac are coordinated and both function as the object of *שמע*, while in the Masoretic text the final phrase *לשם יהוה* specifies the preceding phrase, 'the report of Solomon', which is the object of *שמעת*. The possibility presents itself that the translator understood *ל* as though it were an object marker, and the phrase *לשם יהוה* as being syntactically connected to the previous one. On the other hand, in view of the presence of the object marker *את* earlier in the clause and the lack of a conjunction before *לשם*, it is improbable that the translator would have misunderstood the Hebrew in this way.

The text of the Septuagint points to another possibility. Over against the other ancient versions,⁶ the Septuagint, the Peshitta, and the Arabic version have in common that the verb 'hear' governs an object coordinated by a conjunction. Possibly, the Vorlagen of both versions agreed in reading *ושם* for *לשם* of the Masoretic text.⁷ That the Peshitta is not directly dependent on the Septuagint is shown by the fact that the Peshitta does not share the latter's reading 'the name of Solomon' (= *שם שלמה*).

In another case, slightly different issues are present:

2Kgs 11:4

וַיִּקַּח אֶת שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת לַכַּרִּי וְלַרְצִיִּם

'and he took the captains of hundreds, and the guards, and the runners'

וַיִּקַּח אֶת שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת לַכַּרִּי וְלַרְצִיִּם

'and he took the captains of hundreds of the Karites and of the runners'

⁶ The final phrase is lacking in TJ and the parallel text in MT 2Chr 9:1. As there is no obvious reason why *לשם יהוה* would be left untranslated in TJ, presumably the phrase was lacking in the Vorlage. The combined evidence of TJ and 2Chr 9:1 makes it plausible that the phrase is a later gloss in proto-MT. The *lectio facilior* *ושם יהוה*, which in our view is reflected by LXX and P, represents a secondary development.

⁷ Thus already Thenius, *Könige*, 154.

The Masoretic text contains an object phrase *את שרי המאות*, ‘the captains of hundreds’, which is followed by the specification *ולכרי ולרצים*, ‘for the Karites and for the runners’. The Peshitta, on the other hand, offers three coordinated object phrases. The translator seems to have read the prepositions *ל* as object markers and the phrases introduced by them as parallel to the *את* phrase. That this explanation is plausible is indicated by the Greek of the Septuagint (LXX B) in this verse:

καὶ ἔλαβεν τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχους τὸν Χορρεὶ καὶ τὸν Ῥασεῖν
 ‘and he took the captains of hundreds, the Chorri and the Rasim’

The asyndetic connection of *τὸν Χορρεὶ* with the previous word suggests that the translator’s source text did not deviate from the consonants of the Masoretic text, but that he interpreted the prepositions *ל* in an Aramaic sense, namely, as object markers.

However, a simpler and for that reason preferable explanation is that in the Peshitta v. 4 is harmonized with v. 19, where the same Syriac text occurs as a rendering of:

2 Kgs 11:19
 ויקח את שרי המאות ואת הכרי ואת הרצים
 ‘and he took the captains of hundreds and the Karites and the runners’

Coordinated object phrases in Hebrew are followed by a *ל* phrase in:

2 Kgs 16:10
 וישלח המלך אחז אל אורייה הכהן את דמות המזבח ואת תבניתו לכל מעשהו
 ‘and King Ahaz sent to Urijah, the priest, the fashion of the altar, and its construction, and all its work’
 וישלח המלך אחז אל אורייה הכהן את דמות המזבח ואת תבניתו לכל מעשהו
 ‘and King Ahaz sent to Urijah, the priest, the fashion of the altar, and its construction, according to all the workmanship thereof’

In the Masoretic text the final phrase is a specification of the preceding phrase which is part of the coordinated object. The Peshitta offers a string of three coordinated object phrases. The other ancient versions reflect the Masoretic text. The simplest explanation here is that the Peshitta read the conjunction *ו* instead of the preposition *ל* and translated accordingly.

2. A HEBREW EXPRESSION FOR TIME REFORMULATED

Both Hebrew and Syriac have time phrases containing words like ‘day’, ‘month’, or ‘year’, specified by ordinal or cardinal numbers. In expressions for

time, when a specific day within the span of a particular month is indicated, the Masoretic text uses the following mode of expression:

[כ, 'in', + specific day] [לְחֹדֶשׁ, '(belonging) to the month']⁸

The expression encountered in the Peshitta⁹ in these instances is:

[כ, 'in', + specific day] [כ, 'in', + suffix third masc sg] [ܟܢܝܢܐ, 'in the month']

The suffix in the intervening phrase functions as anticipatory pronominal agreement,¹⁰ referring to and being congruent with 'month' in the next phrase. When years are specified as belonging to a particular era, like to the reign of a certain king, to the period of exile, or to the number of years since the departure from Egypt, Syriac uses either the same expression as the Hebrew or uses ܐ instead of ܟ:

[כ, 'in', + specific year] [ܟ / ܐ, '(belonging) to', + description of era]¹¹

A specific month within a particular year is indicated similarly, but with ܟ, 'in', in the second part:

[כ, 'in', + specific year] [כ, 'in', + particular month]¹²

In one text a contamination of these two expressions seems to have occurred:

2 Kgs 13:20

ܘ ܕܠܦܫܬܐ ܕܡܘܒܝܬ ܟܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܒܝܬ ܟܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܝܢܐ
'and the robber bands of Moab came over the land in that year'

ܘ ܕܠܦܫܬܐ ܕܡܘܒܝܬ ܟܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܒܝܬ ܟܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܝܢܐ
'and the bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming in of the year'

A first consideration is that the Syriac expression occurring in this text is used elsewhere in Kings to specify a particular day within a month, rather than a year. Furthermore, the expression in the Masoretic text at the end of 2 Kgs 13:20 is somewhat out of the ordinary. In the Syriac phrase, the preposition has a third fem sg suffix, agreeing in number and gender with 'year'

⁸ This can be found, for example, in 1 Kgs 12:32; 2 Kgs 25:3, 8, 27. In 1 Kgs 12:33 the second phrase is introduced by ܟ instead of by ܠ.

⁹ However, 2 Kgs 25:3, 27 not in gal.

¹⁰ See Van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation*, 323–329, though time expressions are not mentioned in the examples treated there.

¹¹ This can be found, for example, in 1 Kgs 6:1 (2 ×); 14:25; 15:1, 9; 2 Kgs 12:7; 15:8; 23:23 (with ܟܢܝܢܐ, 'of him', added between the two phrases); 25:1.

¹² This can be found, for example, in 1 Kgs 6:1, 38.

which follows. This would produce an exact phonetic equivalent to the participle of ‘come’ in Hebrew. It could be that the translator perceived the Hebrew as though it were Syriac and thus rendered an expression for a year by an expression which elsewhere in Kings he reserves for specifying a day belonging to a particular month.

Having recognized the possibility of this pattern, we are alerted to a deviation from it in the following text:

2 Kgs 25:1 (9a1)

ܘܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܬܫܝܥܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܢܫܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ

‘and in the ninth year of his reign in the ten[th day] in the tenth month’

ויהי בשנת התשיעית למלכו בחדש העשירי בעשור לחדש

‘and it came to pass in the ninth year of his reign in the tenth month in the tenth of the month’

Since this is the only occurrence in Kings of an alternative Syriac structure for the Hebrew expressions ‘(specific day) of a month’, it is not possible to evaluate whether this is an unusual Syriac construction or not.

3. INTERNAL PHRASE STRUCTURE

Complex phrases are composed of simpler units connected by means of construct state binding, attribution, apposition, specification, and coordination.¹³ In this section we consider a number of examples in which the differences between the Masoretic text and the Peshitta bring to light systematic differences between Hebrew and Syriac.

3.1. *Structures with Construct State Binding*

A grammatical construction found both in Hebrew and Syriac is the construct state, by means of which a nominal form governs a full nominal phrase immediately following it.¹⁴ However, the two languages differ significantly in their use of this syntactic possibility. While Hebrew regularly

¹³ For discussion of the approach to phrase structure applied here, see Dyk, ‘Data Preparation: What are We Doing and Why Should We?’, 146–149; Dyk, ‘The Computer and Complex Phrase Structure’.

¹⁴ Although enclitic in form, pronominal suffixes behave syntactically as full NPs, having their own number, gender, and definiteness independently of the form they are connected to. Furthermore, they are able to function as objects and subjects (appended to the infinitive construct) of clauses.

allows for strings of nominal elements in construct state, Syriac most often uses smaller units in which the particle ܐ, 'of', and pronominal suffixes maintain the syntactic binding between the nominal elements. Nonetheless, there are certain Syriac items which seem to have a lexically determined predisposition to occur in construct state: words such as ܒܐ, 'son', ܒܝܬܐ, 'house', and ܚܠܐ, 'all', are found to occur more frequently in construct state than other words do.¹⁵

An example of the most frequent Syriac construction for that which in Hebrew is effected by the construct state alone is:¹⁶

2 Kgs 18:16 (9a1)

ܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ

lit.: 'the doors of his temple (that is) of the Lord'

ܐܬ ܕܠܬܘܬ ܗܝܚܠ ܝܗܘܐ

'OBJ MARK the doors(-of) the temple(-of) YHWH'¹⁷

It is not our intention to present a full analysis of Syriac phrase structure,¹⁸ but merely to point out syntactic principles behind the numerous occurrences of the particle ܐ and of pronominal suffixes which have no correspondences at word level in the Masoretic text. These items are not to be regarded as pluses in the Peshitta, but constitute the Syriac structure which renders the Hebrew construct string chain.

Due to the prevailing tendency to use the particle ܐ and pronominal suffixes in this way, in cases where the Peshitta reproduces the construct state strings in the Hebrew text, the question arises whether the syntactic range of government of the Hebrew elements in construct state is preserved in the translation. There are a number of cases where the Peshitta is careful to express the necessary syntactic connection, such as in:

¹⁵ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 15–25. One comment on Williams' approach: Williams speaks of the 'genitive noun' to refer to a noun in construct state with a pronominal suffix. Considering the fact that the number of participants referred to in a construction is used as one of Williams' points of comparison, it appears that the fact that a 'genitive noun' refers to two different participants was not taken into account. We propose that Williams' so-called 'genitive noun' should be treated along with constructions having two elements at this point rather than just one.

¹⁶ For more examples, see 1 Kgs 8:30, 39; 10:15, 21, 29; 11:28; 15:3; 16:13; 18:31, 36; 19:1; 22:43; 22:46; 2 Kgs 5:1; 6:32; 9:7; 10:6, 13, 19, 33; 12:14; 14:25; 16:15.

¹⁷ The construct state binding will be rendered as '(-of)' following the nominal form in construct state. Though possessive pronouns occur as suffixes following the nominal form they belong to, these will be rendered in the usual English word order.

¹⁸ For the treatment of Syriac phrase structure in a non-translational Syriac text, see Bakker, *Bardaisan's Book of the Laws of the Countries*, chapter 3.

2 Kgs 23:1

כלם־ם שִׁתָּא דַּמְסוּדָא סוּדָאִי עַלְמַן

‘all(-of)-them the elders of Judah and of Jerusalem’

כל זקני יהודה וירושלם

‘all(-of) the elders(-of) Judah and (of) Jerusalem’

There are other cases, however, where the connecting element is lacking in the Peshitta. In the following text in the initial part of the phrase, the Peshitta supplies the particle *ו* to provide the syntactic binding effectuated by the construct state in Hebrew. In the second part, following the coordinating conjunction, the particle has not been supplied:

2 Kgs 23:22

כלם־ם סַחְתָּאֵא דַּחֲלָאֵא וְדַחֲלָאֵא סַחְתָּאֵא דַּמְסוּדָא

‘all(-of)-them (that is) the days of the kings of Israel, and the kings of Judah’

וּכְל יְמֵי מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה

‘all(-of) the days(-of) the kings(-of) Israel and (of) the kings(-of) Judah’

The effect is possibly that in Syriac the part following the conjunction is no longer syntactically subordinate to ‘all the days of’, but is parallel to it, thus rather dangling as an appendage: ‘all of the days of the kings of Israel, and the kings of Judah’.

In Hebrew the governing range of the element ‘all of’ can be maintained at quite a distance as in:

2 Kgs 25:26

כָּל הָעָם מִקָּטָן וְעַד גָּדוֹל וְשָׂרֵי הַחַיִּים

‘all(-of) the people from small unto great and (all-of) the chiefs(-of) the forces’

In the BTR, a second ‘all-of-them’ was added secondarily (it is lacking in *g_{ai}*, which represents the more ancient Syriac text in 2 Kgs 25:26):

BTR

כָּל־ם חַיִּים וְחַיִּים סַחְתָּאֵא לְאֶרֶץ סַחְתָּאֵא זְכַר עַלְמַן

‘all(-of)-him people of land from small and unto to great and all(-of) them great(-of) forces’

This seems to indicate that Syriac felt the need to restate the syntactic connection, because of a more limited range of government of ‘all’.¹⁹

¹⁹ For a discussion of the range of government of the word ‘all’, see Dyk—Van Keulen, ‘Of Words and Phrases’, 53–55.

The range of government of a construct state form in Hebrew can be quite extensive, even extending over an intervening attributive clause to continue thereafter. A particularly complicated example occurs in:

2 Kgs 17:8

וילכו בחקות הגוים
 אשר הוריש יהוה מפני בני ישראל
 ומלכי ישראל אשר עשו
 'and walked in the statutes(-of) the heathen,
 whom the Lord cast out from before the children(-of) Israel,
 and [of the] kings(-of) Israel, which they did / instituted'

This text states that they walked 'in the statutes of the heathen ... and of the kings of Israel', in which the construct state of 'statutes' and the preceding preposition 'in' syntactically govern the rest of the verse.

The Peshitta translator reproduced neither this extensive range of government nor the complexity of the total structure, but simplified the text by leaving off the extension of the phrase occurring after the first attributive clause:²⁰

2 Kgs 17:8

וסלחו בעמם ובגוים
 ואסבו גוים קד מוק בני ישראל
 'and walked in the law of the peoples
 whom the Lord had destroyed before the children of Israel'

Since construct state chains are usually broken up in Syriac by the particle *ܐ* and pronominal suffixes, it is the more surprising that in six cases in Kings, the Peshitta renders three construct states in a string, thus reproducing the Hebrew structure. Five of the six cases involve an identical phrase:

1 Kgs 15:5²¹

ܠܗܝܘܢ ܕܝܡܝ ܗܝܘܢ
 'all(-of) days(-of) his life'
 ܠܗܝܘܢ ܕܝܡܝ ܗܝܘܢ
 'all(-of) days(-of) his life'

Three construct state forms in succession is extremely unusual in the Peshitta of Kings.²² One wonders what characteristics of this phrase might

²⁰ Cf. Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 155: "P om. this awkward phrase."

²¹ This identical phrase occurs in 1 Kgs 5:1; 11:34 (not in 9a1); 15:5. Additionally, in 1 Kgs 15:6 the same phrase occurs but 'all' is written plene in P, and in 2 Kgs 25:29 in the same phrase P has 'their lives' instead of 'his life'.

²² Besides this phrase, only one other phrase in P Kings has three construct state forms in succession. In 1 Kgs 5:10 ܘܗܝܘܢ ܕܝܡܝ ܗܝܘܢ ܕܝܡܝ ܗܝܘܢ, 'from wisdom(-of) all(-of) sons(-of) the

have precipitated the close reflection of the syntax of the source language. The same phrase is rendered without the succession of three construct state forms—thus following the more prevalent Syriac structure—in 2 Kgs 25:30, which occurs immediately after a verse containing the same phrase using three construct state forms in succession:

2 Kgs 25:30

כל ימי חייו כל ימי חייו
 חלמס מֵהַבַּיְתָּה שֶׁבְּמִסְכָּה
 'all(-of)-them (that is) days(-of) his life'
 'all(-of) days(-of) his life'

Interestingly, of the six cases with three construct state forms in the Peshitta of Kings, three occur in 1 Kings 5 and two in 1 Kings 15, which raises the question whether there is a tendency for exceptional renderings to be clustered together, thus exposing perhaps the idiosyncracies of a particular translator.

In another case the Masoretic text has two phrases in apposition to one another. Each of the phrases has a noun in construct state governing a following noun in absolute state. The translator evidently read the whole series as being in construct state binding and rendered accordingly, using א three times to make the syntactic connections:

2 Kgs 19:23²³

ואבואה מלון קצה יער כרמל
 ואבואה מלון קצה יער כרמל
 'and I shall enter the height of the border of the forest of Carmel'
 'and I will enter into the lodging(-of) his borders, the forest(-of) his orchard'

The same appears to have happened in the following text:

2 Kgs 11:16²⁴

ותבוא דרך מבוא הסוסים בית המלך
 ותבוא דרך מבוא הסוסים בית המלך
 'and she went up by the way of the entrance of the horses of the king'
 'and she came by the way(-of) the horses' entrance (to) the house(-of) the king'

east', parallels the MT construct state chain at this point. Two of the items involved in this string—בַּיְתָּה, 'all', and בֶּן, 'son'—belong to those lexical items predisposed to occur in construct state in Syriac. In contrast to the limited use of construct state strings in Syriac, the MT has other series of three consecutive construct state forms in 1 Kgs 2:5; 3:15; 5:4; 8:39; 9:19; 10:2 (2×); 15:3, 23; 18:31; 20:6; 22:10, 22, 23; 2 Kgs 5:1; 6:32, 9:7; 12:5; 16:15; 17:23, 39; 20:13; 21:5; 22:17; 23:2, 12, 22; 24:13; 25:30 (treated in the main text); four consecutive construct state forms in 2 Kgs 10:6; 17:13; and five consecutive construct state forms in 2 Kgs 18:24.

²³ For further discussion of this text, see chapter 7, section 5.

²⁴ For further discussion of this text, see chapter 12, section 3.2.2.

Following the verb 'come', the Hebrew text contains two phrases with construct state strings. The boundary between the two is marked by the absolute state ending on הַסּוּסִים, 'horses'. All formal elements in this structure are accounted for by taking the second phrase, 'the king's house', as where Athaliah was headed, and the first as her route to this location. Probably due to the intervening phrase, translations often miss the connection between 'come' and 'the king's house', and instead join 'the king's house' to מִבּוֹא, 'entrance', thus having the text refer to the horses' entrance to the king's house. This solution ignores the fact that הַסּוּסִים is in absolute state and leaves the verb 'come' without an indication of where the movement was headed.

Syriac appears to have read the two Hebrew phrases as a single construct state string, connecting all of the phrases by means of the particle ܐ. From other examples, it has become clear that it would be unlikely for Syriac to maintain the connection between the main verb and the final phrase over an intervening phrase, so that the final phrase, 'the house of the king', would not have been understood as being related to the verb.²⁵ Since 'house' was not no longer necessary to indicate direction, the Peshitta simplified 'the horses of the house of the king' as 'the horses of the king'.²⁶

3.2. *Extra Elements in Syriac Due to a More Limited Scope of Government*

In spite of their affinity as Northwest Semitic languages and in spite of their cognate lexical items, Hebrew and Syriac use prepositions differently. It is often through the use of prepositions that a language manifests particular characteristics related to verbal valence or to the range of government within the syntax. The electronic concordance gives 6,011 occurrences of prepositions in the Masoretic text, 911 (15.2%) of which have no rendering in the Peshitta (BTR), while of the 8,680 occurrences of prepositions in the Peshitta, 2,288 (26.4%) have no correspondence at word level in the Masoretic text.

A few of the high scores in the statistics involve elements which reflect specific aspects of the languages involved. For example, the object marker ܐܘܪܐ in Hebrew has no direct equivalent in Syriac. Objects often have no

²⁵ See chapter 12, sections 3.2.2 and 3.3.

²⁶ Walter thinks that ܐ either rendered freely or that ܐܘܪܐ or ܐܘܪܐܐ was accidentally omitted during the transmission of the Syriac text (Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 126).

particular marker in Syriac,²⁷ or are preceded by the preposition Δ (אֵת is rendered 470× as Δ in the Peshitta). So the fact that, of the 1,199 occurrences of אֵת in Kings, 632 (52%) are not rendered in the Peshitta reflects a systematic difference between the two languages: this element alone accounts for more than two-thirds of the prepositions in the Masoretic text with no correspondence in the Peshitta.

Similarly the particle א occurs a total of 2,880 times in the Peshitta (BTR); 1,597 (55%) of these have no corresponding element in the Masoretic text. This phenomenon can be largely accounted for by the function of this particle in rendering Hebrew construct state constructions (see section 3.1). א alone accounts for more than two-thirds of the prepositions in the Peshitta lacking a correspondence in the Masoretic text.

Besides the prevalent א, the proportionately higher number of occurrences of prepositions in the Peshitta is partially due to what appears to be a more limited scope in the range of government of the Syriac prepositions, whereby a preposition needs to be repeated in order to continue the range of government within the construction:

2 Kgs 13:23

ܩܪܢܐ ܡܢܪܡܐ ܘܥܒܪܐܢܐ ܘܥܝܫܐܩܐ ܘܥܝܫܐܩܐ ܘܥܝܫܐܩܐ ܘܥܝܫܐܩܐ ܘܥܝܫܐܩܐ

'because of his covenant with Abraham and with Isaac and with Jacob'

למען בריתו את אברהם יצחק ויעקב

'because of his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob'

Nonetheless, Hebrew also can repeat the particle in a series, as in:

2 Kgs 24:14 (BTR)

ܠܗܠܘܢ ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܘܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܘܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܘܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܘܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܘܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܘܐܘܪܝܬܐ

את כל ישראל ואת כל השרים ואת כל גבורי החיל

'OBJ MARK all Jerusalem, and OBJ MARK all the princes, and OBJ MARK all the mighty men of valour'

In the earlier parts of Kings, Hebrew omits a preposition after having repeated it a number of times in a series. In 1 Kgs 1:44 a list is given of whom the king sent. In the Masoretic text the first two are introduced by the object marker אֵת and the rest following thereafter are unmarked. In the Peshitta each of those sent—five in total—are all introduced by the preposition Δ . An even more remarkable example of this is in 1 Kgs 4:8–19 where the names

²⁷ For examples of series with repeated object markers in Hebrew with no marking on the object in Syriac, see 1 Kgs 9:15; 2 Kgs 16:15; 23:3.

of Solomon's officers are given with the region where they came from. Prepositions are skipped in Hebrew within a list as mentioned above:

1Kgs 4:9

בְּנֵי דֶקַר בְּמַקַּטְיָ וּבְשַׁעֲלֵבִים וּבֵית שֶׁמֶשׁ וְאֵילֹן בֵּית חֲנָן

'Bardaqr in Makats and in Shaalbim and in Beth Shamash and in Ilon of Beth Hanan'

בֶּן דֶקַר בְּמַקַּטְיָ וּבְשַׁעֲלֵבִים וּבֵית שֶׁמֶשׁ וְאֵילֹן בֵּית חֲנָן

'Ben Dekar in Makats and in Shaalbim, and Beth Shemesh, and Elon Beth Hanan'

As the list continues, the Hebrew text often even skips the first preposition indicating where an officer was located, and presents merely the officers name and the name of the location. The BTR (but not 9a1 which represents the more ancient text) has consistently supplied the implicit preposition:²⁸

1Kgs 4:12 (BTR)

בַּעֲנָא בֶן אַחִילוּד תַּעֲנֹךְ וּמַגְדוֹ וְכָל בֵּית שָׁאן

'Baana, the son of Ahilud, in Taanach and in Megiddo and in all Beth Jashan'

בַּעֲנָא בֶן אַחִילוּד תַּעֲנֹךְ וּמַגְדוֹ וְכָל בֵּית שָׁאן

'Baana, the son of Ahilud, Taanach and Megiddo, and all Beth Shan'

The Syriac tendency to repeat the items within phrase structure accounts for many of the 'extra' words appearing in the Peshitta of Kings.

In cases where there is extended government in the Hebrew text and the Peshitta follows this closely, the question arises whether the significance of the Hebrew was preserved or whether the resulting structure in Syriac means something different. Compare the following two structures which are divergent in Hebrew but rendered identically in Syriac:

1Kgs 10:15

וְכָל מַלְכֵי הָעֲרָב וְכָל מְשָׁלְטֵי אֶרֶץ הָאָרָץ

'and all(-of)-them (that is) the kings of the Arabs and the rulers of the land'

וְכָל מַלְכֵי הָעֲרָב וְכָל מְשָׁלְטֵי אֶרֶץ הָאָרָץ

'and all(-of) the kings(-of) the Arabs and (all-of) the governors of the land'

1Kgs 10:29

וְכָל מַלְכֵי אֶדְוִם וְכָל מְשָׁלְטֵי אֶרֶץ הָאָרָץ

'all(-of)-them, (that is) the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Edom'

²⁸ For a discussion of the range of government of prepositions, see Dyk—Van Keulen, 'Of Words and Phrases'.

לכל מלכי החתים ולמלכי ארם
 ‘for all(-of) the kings(-of) the Hittites and for the kings(-of) Aram’

The range of government of כל, ‘all’, in construct state in the Masoretic text is clearly limited in 1 Kgs 10:29 by the repeated preposition ל. In 1 Kgs 10:15, however, it is possible that כל, ‘all’, governs both of the following coordinated phrases.²⁹ The two structures are rendered identically in the Peshitta. Observing the more limited range of government within Syriac constructions, we would posit that in 1 Kgs 10:15 ‘all’ in Syriac governs only the first phrase and that the second phrase is parallel to the phrase beginning with ‘all’ but not falling under the syntactic government of ‘all’.³⁰ Thus, while reproducing the forms of the Hebrew literally, and thereby appearing to approximate the Hebrew closely, the Peshitta could have failed to render the scope of the syntactic construction so that the Peshitta reads ‘all of the kings of the Arabs, and the rulers of the land’, instead of ‘all of the kings of the Arabs and (all of) the rulers of the land’, as in the Masoretic text.

In the following text, where the preposition ה in Syriac occurs only once as in the Hebrew text, it can be questioned whether the four coordinated phrases all fall under the government of the single preposition, as they do in Hebrew:

1 Kgs 5:11

מסמא עבטת הך כל ארמ חך ארמ הך ארמ הך ארמ הך ארמ הך
 ויחכם מכל האדם מאיתן האזורחי והימן וכלכל ודרדע בני מחול

‘and he was wiser than all men: than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol’

In simpler constructions without embedded appositional phrases, it seems more likely that a greater number of coordinated elements do fall under the government of a single preposition, as in:³¹

1 Kgs 9:20

סכלט סכר דא רעבנוס הך ארמורי ספריזיס ספריזיס ספריזיס

‘and all the people that were left from the Amorites and Hittites and Perizzites and Hivites and Jebusites’

כל העם הנותר מן האמרי החתי הפרזי החוי והיבوسی

‘all the people left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites’

²⁹ Comparable constructions with a noun in construct state governing coordinated phrases occur in Gen 46:15; Ex 14:9; Lev 13:59; Deut 5:23; 1 Kgs 12:23; Jer 11:17.

³⁰ For a discussion of the range of government of prepositions and of כל, ‘all’, see Dyk—Van Keulen, ‘Of Words and Phrases’.

³¹ For discussion of the additional conjunctions, see comments in section 3.3.

3.3. *Coordination in Syriac Instead of an Asyndetic Connection, Apposition, or Specification in Hebrew*

Kings has 5,484 occurrences of conjunctions in the Masoretic text, and 5,131 in the Peshitta. By far the majority of these involve the coordinating conjunction. Table 11.1 gives a survey of the renderings of this element:

Table 11.1: The coordinating conjunction in Kings

	Hebrew ו	Syriac ܘ
Cognate rendering	4,220	4,220
Other renderings	44	128 ³²
No correspondence	318	403
Totals of 'and'	4,582	4,751

Many of the Hebrew coordinating conjunctions not rendered are those used to connect clauses.³³ On the other hand, many of the Syriac coordinating conjunctions without correspondence in the Masoretic text occur in phrase-level constructions. In this section we look at examples of phrase-internal coordination.

In strings of coordinated elements, Hebrew often leaves out the conjunction between the first elements in a string, while Syriac most often supplies the conjunction, as in 1Kgs 9:20 given at the end of the previous section.³⁴

The tendency of Syriac to insert the conjunction to break up asyndetically coordinated elements in the Hebrew spills over in some cases into phrases not asyndetically coordinated, but syntactically subordinate to one another in the Masoretic text. In 1Kgs 20:15, an appositional phrase is rendered as a coordinated phrase in the Peshitta:

1Kgs 20:15³⁵

ܠܠܗܘܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܘܬܐ

'to all of the people and to all of the sons of Israel'

³² Of these, 102 instances involve the rendering of the Hebrew ו. This high proportion is related to the Hebrew infinitive construct with ו being rendered by a finite form in Syriac preceded by the coordinating conjunction. See chapter 13, section 1.1.

³³ The ipf consec, frequently occurring in Hebrew narrative texts, with its built-in coordinating conjunction is rendered by appropriate Syriac verbal forms, but not always with an accompanying coordinating conjunction. See chapter 13, section 1.1.

³⁴ Further examples can be found in 2Kgs 7:6; 10:19; 11:4 (not 9a1); 18:34; 25:16 (not 9a1). For a treatment of other aspects of 2Kgs 11:4, see section 1 of this chapter.

³⁵ More examples can be found in 2Kgs 10:1, 33; 15:29; 17:13; 24:16; 25:19.

את כל העם כל בני ישראל

'OBJ MARK all the people, (that is) all of the sons of Israel'

In the Peshitta rendering, two groups are summed up: 'all the people' and 'all the sons of Israel', while in the Masoretic text a single group is referred to and the phrase 'all the sons of Israel' is an apposition further specifying 'all the people'.

The same can be found in a non-appositional phrase specifying a preceding phrase:

2 Kgs 24:3

בְּכָל חַטֹּאת מְנַשֶּׁה וּבְכָל מַעֲשֵׂיוֹ

'because of the sins of Manasseh and all things that he did'

בְּחַטֹּאת מְנַשֶּׁה כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה

'in the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he did'

Here the Peshitta appears to simplify the syntactic structure, but it could be that the translator simply read the first Kaph of כָּל as a Waw. The Septuagint, Antiochene, Targum Jonathan, and Vulgate all support the Masoretic reading.

The tendency to break up longer structures by means of coordinating conjunctions is found even in cases of construct state chain binding. The effect of this in 1 Kgs 20:19 is that the Peshitta speaks of two groups, 'youths' and 'chiefs', while the Masoretic text refers to a single group:

1 Kgs 20:19 (compare v. 15)

בְּנֵי יְשָׁרָיִם וּבְרָאשֵׁי הַמְּדִינָה

'youths and chiefs of the provinces'

בְּנֵי יְשָׁרָיִם וּבְרָאשֵׁי הַמְּדִינָה

'young men(-of) the princes(-of) the provinces'

There is one instance in which the coordinating conjunction in the Masoretic text is not rendered, thus producing an asyndetic connection or an apposition:

2 Kgs 17:6; 18:11³⁶

בְּחָלָה וּבְחָבּוּר נְהַר גּוֹזָן וְעָרֵי מְדִינָה

'in Halah and in Habor, river of Gozan, cities of Media'

בְּחָלָה וּבְחָבּוּר נְהַר גּוֹזָן וְעָרֵי מְדִינָה

'in Halah and in Habor, river of Gozan, and (in) the cities of Media'

³⁶ In 2 Kgs 18:11 ga1 reads בְּחָלָה וּבְחָבּוּר וְעָרֵי מְדִינָה.

In Hebrew the initial preposition can govern the rest of the phrase, so that 'in' can be understood preceding 'the cities of Media'. Since prepositions in Syriac have a more limited range of government, and since asyndetic connections are rare, the final phrase in the Peshitta rendering should probably be read as an apposition. In both texts, the phrase 'river of Gozan' is problematic, breaking up phrases which otherwise are more closely related to one another. Without this phrase the Masoretic text would read: 'in Halah and in Habor, and in the cities of Media', and the Peshitta would read: 'in Halah and in Habor, cities of Media'. Why the Syriac goes against the prevalent tendency to add conjunctions rather than remove them, and what effect is hereby achieved is not clear.

4. SUMMARY

The explanation of certain differences between the two versions observable at word level sometimes needs to be sought within the context of the whole phrase. A number of diverse cases are discussed.

In certain instances the Hebrew text was interpreted as though it were Syriac. These include the rendering of the Hebrew fem sg nominal ending as fem possessive pronoun in Syriac; the confusion of ܐܘܪ (object marker and preposition 'with'), ܐܘܪ (preposition 'to, for'), and ܐܘܪ (preposition 'to, for', also used as object marker); and the reformulation of a Hebrew expression for time, probably under the influence of the sound of the Hebrew construction.

The systematic differences between Hebrew and Syriac phrase structure account for many of the elements which at word level have no correspondence in the other version. The rendering of Hebrew construct state strings in Syriac often involves the addition of particles and pronominal elements. The limited scope of syntactic government in Syriac accounts for the addition of nouns and verbs within more extensive structures. Syriac tends to make the coordination between phrases explicit, adding a coordinating conjunction where Hebrew has an asyndetic connection. This tendency leads, however, to the addition of conjunctions also in cases where the Hebrew text has apposition or specification, thus modifying the syntactic relationships between the elements.

Due to the differences in phrase structure between the two languages, in cases where Hebrew syntax is exactly reproduced in the Peshitta, it is possible that the resulting Syriac phrase diverges in meaning from the Hebrew.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CASES REQUIRING AN EXPLANATION AT CLAUSE LEVEL

Some of the data found in corresponding positions in the texts can only be explained satisfactorily at levels beyond the word or phrase—at clause level or perhaps even beyond that. In this chapter, a number of aspects illustrative of what can be found on the books of Kings will be discussed. The selection includes the difference in range of government of negative particles (section 1), the renderings of the Hebrew question marker (section 2), Syriac renderings of complex Hebrew verbal valence patterns (section 3), differences in the occurrences of the copular verb ‘be’ (section 4), and examples of correspondence at word level within the framework of a different syntactic structure (section 5), all of which extend beyond word and phrase level in scope.

1. DIFFERENCE IN THE RANGE OF GOVERNMENT OF NEGATIVE PARTICLES

Expressions for negation in Syriac all contain the element ܐܠ, at times combined with or incorporated into other particles, for example, ܐܠ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, ܐܠܐܘܪܝܢܐ, ܐܠܐܘܪܝܢܐ, ܐܠܐܘܪܝܢܐ, ܐܠܐܘܪܝܢܐ, ܐܠܐܘܪܝܢܐ, while Hebrew has three negative particles (לֹא, לֹא, לֹא), occurring 439× in Kings. The Syriac ܐܠ, either alone or in combination with other particles, occurs 448×. The proximity of the two statistics masks a greater divergence in usage of these particles, as shown in table 12.1.

Table 12.1: Rendering of negative particles

<i>Negatives</i>	<i>Rendering by a negative particle</i>	<i>Rendering without a negative particle</i>	<i>No correspondence</i>	<i>Total</i>
MT	400	32	7	439
P	396	28	24	448

1.1. *Cases Rendered without a Negative Particle*

All but one of the Hebrew negatives rendered in Syriac without a negative particle involve the rendering of the Hebrew question marker ָ followed

by אֵל.¹ The single other case occurs in 2 Kgs 3:13 where the Peshitta preserves part of the word image, but creates a difference in sentence boundaries.²

Somewhat less than half of the Syriac negatives which correspond to Hebrew expressions without a negative particle are renderings of particles with a connotation involving negation, such as אַף כִּי, 'how much less' (after a negation),³ אַפְסֵס, 'not any, nothing',⁴ בְּלֹא, 'except, without',⁵ הַבֵּל, 'vanity, vapour',⁶ and לֹא אִלֵּי, 'if not, unless'.⁷ The rest of the cases involve various and sundry *ad sensum* renderings.

1.2. Cases without Correspondence

The seven cases where the Hebrew negative particle is not rendered in the Peshitta fall into the following categories:

- the text involved is skipped in the Peshitta⁸
- the Hebrew question marker followed by אֵל is not rendered⁹
- the text involved is an *ad sensum* rendering of the Hebrew expression¹⁰
- the text involved is an exegetical adjustment¹¹

There are three times as many cases where a negative in the Peshitta has no correspondence in the Masoretic text as the opposite situation. Some of the explanations offered for the unrendered Hebrew negative may also apply to cases where the Syriac negative does not correspond to a negative in the Hebrew text: idiomatic rendering¹² and probably exegetical adjustment

¹ For an exhaustive treatment of the rendering of the Hebrew question marker in P Kings, see section 2 of this chapter.

² See chapter 13, section 4.1.

³ 1 Kgs 8:27.

⁴ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 14:26.

⁵ 6 ×: 1 Kgs 11:10; 15:17; 2 Kgs 10:11; 12:9 (2 ×); 17:15.

⁶ 2 Kgs 17:15.

⁷ 2 Kgs 3:14.

⁸ With אֵל: 1 Kgs 10:21; with אֵל: 1 Kgs 3:23; 18:25. See chapter 13, section 3.

⁹ 2 Kgs 5:12. See section 2 below for treatment of the Hebrew question marker.

¹⁰ With אֵל: 2 Kgs 5:26 (the understood rhetorical question: 'Did not my heart go with you?' becomes: 'My heart has shown me'); 22:17 ('[God's wrath] will not be quenched' becomes: 'I will destroy you').

¹¹ With אֵל: 2 Kgs 6:27 ('The Lord will not save you' becomes: 'The Lord will save you').

¹² For example, מֵא, 'refuse', is rendered as ܠܘܢܐܢܐ, 'not want to', in 1 Kgs 20:35; 21:15; 2 Kgs 5:16. Comparable idiomatic renderings with an 'added' negative in P can be found as well in 1 Kgs 3:1; 2 Kgs 16:11; 17:15.

or harmonization.¹³ A few cases involve texts where the Peshitta provides additional explanation.¹⁴

Besides these, a number of cases can be explained by a difference between Hebrew and Syriac in the range of government of the negative particles. In the Masoretic text it is possible for the negative to occur once and yet to affect a number of items listed thereafter. In the Peshitta, the negative is repeated with each of the items affected:

2 Kgs 12:14 (BTR)

ܠܡܐ ܐܘܬܝܚܒܘ ܕܒܫܠܡܝܢ ܘܕܝܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܩܢܝܐ ܘܕܒܫܝܦܐ ܘܠܡܐ ܩܚܝܠܝܢ ܘܠܡܐ ܩܚܝܠܝܢ

‘and there were not made in the house of the Lord no basins of silver and no sprinklers, and no braziers, and no horns, and not any vessel of gold or vessels of silver’

אך לא יעשה בית יהוה ספות כסף מזמרות מזרקות חצצרות כל כלי זהב וכלי כסף

‘Howbeit there were not made for the house of YHWH bowls of silver, snufflers, basins, trumpets, any vessels of gold, or vessels of silver’

By means of the repeated particles the negation extends over the entire clause.¹⁵ The ‘extra’ negatives in these cases appear to have been supplied to compensate for the shorter range of government of the Syriac negative. This is similar to the difference in range of government encountered with construct state forms and prepositions.¹⁶

2. RENDERINGS OF THE HEBREW QUESTION MARKER

The Hebrew question marker η occurs 96 times in Kings in both verbal and nominal clauses, with and without negation.

The usual position for the question marker is immediately preceding the element being questioned. That which is being questioned is often the core of the sentence, that is, the verbal action itself or the subject of the verb, with or without a preceding negation. In such cases the question marker occurs at the beginning of the sentence immediately followed by the verb or by the explicit subject of the verb when present, as in:¹⁷

¹³ 2 Kgs 18:27, 32.

¹⁴ 2 Kgs 9:37; 23:18, 29 (2 ×). See chapter 13, section 2.

¹⁵ Other examples of the negative particle being repeated in P with each item affected can be found in 1 Kgs 11:33 (2 ×); 22:31 (2 ×); 2 Kgs 5:25 (2 ×); 18:5.

¹⁶ See chapter 11, section 3.

¹⁷ Other references where this can be found include 1 Kgs 16:31; 20:13; 21:19, 29; 22:3, 4, 6, 15; 2 Kgs 2:3, 5; 3:7; 4:28; 6:21, 32; 7:2, 19; 8:8, 9; 18:33; 19:12.

1 Kgs 21:20

המצאתני איבי

[QUEST MARK] Have you found me, my enemy?

When another element is being questioned, this element can occur at the beginning of the sentence with the question marker preceding it, as in:¹⁸

2 Kgs 18:25

המבלעדי יהוה עלייתי על המקום הזה לשהחחו

[QUEST MARK] Is it without YHWH (that) I have come up against this place to destroy it?

When the element being questioned occurs later on in the sentence, the question marker precedes it in that position, as in:¹⁹

2 Kgs 6:27

מאינ אושיעדן המן הגרן או מן היקב

'Whence shall I help you—[QUEST MARK] from the threshing floor or from the winepress?'

In the absence of an overt question marker in Syriac, it is interesting to observe how the Hebrew sentences containing the question marker are rendered. In more than half of the cases (50%), the Hebrew text is rendered closely, and the question marker is merely omitted. In other cases, the syntax is adjusted in some way to compensate for the absence of the question marker. A large proportion of those cases which manifest syntactic adjustment involves source citations. We make a diversion to introduce these structures.

Source citations in the Masoretic text of Kings follow two different formulas:²⁰

1. a rhetorical question:²¹

ויתר דברי X [...] הלא הם / המה ככתובים על ספר Y

'and the rest of the acts of X [...] [QUEST MARK] are they not written on the book Y?'

¹⁸ Other references where this can be found include 1 Kgs 2:13; 8:27; 13:14; 17:20; 18:7, 17; 20:32; 2 Kgs 5:7, 26; 6:22; 9:11, 17, 18, 22, 31; 10:15; 18:27.

¹⁹ Another example can be found in 1 Kgs 20:33.

²⁰ Thus Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 34–35, 136.

²¹ This form occurs 29 ×: 1 Kgs 11:41; 14:29; 15:7, 23, 31; 16:5, 14, 20, 27; 22:39, 46; 2 Kgs 1:18; 8:23; 10:34; 12:20; 13:8, 12; 14:15, 18, 28; 15:6, 21, 36; 16:19; 20:20; 21:17, 25; 23:28; 24:5.

2. a statement:²²

ויתר דברי X [...] הנם ככתובים על ספר Y

‘and the rest of the acts of X [...] see they are written on the book Y’

In the source citations of the Peshitta of Kings we encounter a single type of citation formula:

Y מעומק ופעל גחא, X [...] X סא חלמכ ספרא

‘and the rest of the deeds of X, see they are written in book of Y’

The phrase סא חלמכ corresponds to הנם ככתובים in the statement type of formula in the Masoretic text. The third person pronominal suffix attached to הנה , representing an impersonal subject, is always left untranslated in Syriac.²³ However, in the majority of instances, סא חלמכ , ‘see, they are written’, in Kings corresponds to the question-type formula in the Masoretic text. Regarding this curious state of affairs Williams remarks:

The change from “are they not” to “behold they are” is necessitated by the fact that the Syriac had no other way of representing the sense of the expression, since it has no ready equivalent of the interrogative *hé*.²⁴

However, in the Syriac renderings of other rhetorical questions in Kings introduced by הל[ו] ,²⁵ the Peshitta duly renders the negation לא without representing the interrogative particle. Since Syriac questions are not characterized by a different word order,²⁶ such cases provide no syntactic clues as to whether we are dealing with a rhetorical question or a statement. Sometimes the narrative context in which a phrase is embedded provides indications that the Syriac phrase should be interpreted as a question, but syntactically the phrase is ambiguous. Therefore, it is conceivable that the translator, fearing that in translation the rhetorical question could be easily mistaken for a negation, decided to rephrase the citation formula as a plain positive statement. The question remains whether the translator had no other choice but to use a formula construed with סא , ‘behold’, as Williams claims in the quote above.

²² This form occurs 5×: 1 Kgs 14:19; 2 Kgs 15:11, 15, 26, 31.

²³ Contrary to the Hebrew particle הנה , ‘see, behold’, the Syriac particle סא , ‘see, behold’, takes no pronominal suffixes; rather, the pronominal element is expressed by an independent pronoun (cf. 1 Kgs 11:22), though Syriac leaves the impersonal third person subject unexpressed (cf. 2 Kgs 17:34). Thus in the source-citation formulas the absence of the pronominal element is paradigmatic. Cf. also Williams, *Studies*, 179.

²⁴ Williams, *Studies*, 179, note 2.

²⁵ 1 Kgs 1:11, 13; 2:42; 18:13; 22:18; 2 Kgs 2:18; 4:28; 5:12; 6:11; 18:22; 19:25.

²⁶ Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 331 A.

2.1. *Inventory of the Data*

Of the 96 occurrences of the Hebrew question marker in the two books of Kings, approximately one third occurs in 1Kings (34×) and two thirds in 2Kings (62×). As remarked in the previous section, in 50 of these the question marker is merely skipped in the Syriac rendering, while in the other cases the absence of the question marker is compensated for in some way, often by the use of some particle in Syriac. The source-citation formula, which exhibits compensation, occurs a total of 29×—11× in 1Kings and 18× in 2Kings.

This would mean that, apart from the source citations, there is syntactic adjustment for the Hebrew question marker in 17 cases (see table 12.2).

Table 12.2: Distribution of presence of syntactic adjustment

<i>Text</i>	<i>No syntactic adjustment</i>	<i>Syntactic Adjustment</i>		<i>Total</i>
		<i>Source citations</i>	<i>Other</i>	
1 Kgs	21 (61.8%)	11 (32.4%)	2 (5.8%)	34
2 Kgs	29 (46.8%)	18 (29.0%)	15 (24.2%)	62
<i>Total</i>	50 (52.1%)	29 (30.2%)	17 (17.7%)	96

Leaving the source-citation formula aside for the moment, it is noteworthy that there are only two cases in 1Kings where there is syntactic adjustment for the absence of the Hebrew question marker.²⁷ The other 15 cases with syntactic adjustment all occur in 2Kings. Thus in 1Kings of the 23 non-source-citation cases, 21 merely skip the question marker, while in 2Kings of the 44 cases, a much lower proportion (29) skip the question marker, while 15 have some sort of syntactic adjustment (see table 12.3).

Table 12.3: Source citations versus other environments

<i>Text</i>	<i>Non source citations</i>		<i>Total</i>	<i>Source citations (adjustment)</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>No adjustment</i>	<i>Adjustment</i>			
1 Kgs	21 (91.2%)	2 (8.8%)	23	11 (100%)	11
2 Kgs	29 (65.9%)	15 (34.1%)	44	18 (100%)	18
<i>Total</i>	50 (74.6%)	17 (25.4%)	67	29 (100%)	29

In summary, while source citations exhibit a standard syntactic adjustment in all cases in both 1 and 2Kings, the other renderings of the Hebrew

²⁷ 1Kgs 16:31; 21:19.

question marker exhibit much more variety, with a significant shift to more syntactic adjustment in 2 Kings.

2.2. Cases with Observable Syntactic Adjustment

In cases which are not source citations, various adjustments are made to compensate for the absence of the question marker. Some of these explicitly maintain an interrogative construction, but the majority of instances seem to work around the question. The following adjustments are observed:

- *Explicitly interrogative constructions with* אלא, ‘why?, is it not?’²⁸
- *Constructions which seem to work around the question*
 - Particles giving an explicative / causal connection:
 - A positive question turned into a causal connection with א ע, ‘due to’²⁹
 - A negative (rhetorical) question turned into a causal connection א לכן, ‘because’³⁰
 - The particle כן, ‘see’, turning a positive question into an affirmative statement³¹
 - The particles אם, ‘if’, or אולי, ‘if, oh that’, added in the preceding clause provide the condition for the ensuing clause³²
 - The particle אולי, ‘if, oh that’, appears instead of question marker, thus turning a question into wish³³
 - A negative interrogative (rhetorical question with הלא) rendered by אלא, ‘if not, unless, except’; this rendering approximates the source text both in significance and in graphic form³⁴
 - A negative interrogative (rhetorical question with הלא) plus אם, ‘if’, rendered by אולי, ‘but oh that’³⁵
 - A negative interrogative (rhetorical question with הלא) turned into a negative declarative statement³⁶

²⁸ 3 ×: 2 Kgs 18:25, 33; 19:12.

²⁹ 1 Kgs 16:31.

³⁰ 2 Kgs 6:32.

³¹ 1 Kgs 21:19; see also discussion in chapter 8, section 1.14.

³² 3 ×: 2 Kgs 5:13; 7:2, 19.

³³ 2 ×: 2 Kgs 8:8, 9.

³⁴ 2 Kgs 18:27.

³⁵ 2 Kgs 20:19.

³⁶ 2 Kgs 5:12.

- An interrogative turned into positive statement made emphatic by the use of deictic *כֵּן*, ‘this’³⁷
- An interrogative turned into an explicit negative statement, adding a negation in the rendering.³⁸

2.3. *Cases without Observable Syntactic Adjustment*

When the question marker in the Hebrew text has not been rendered or compensated for,³⁹ the Syriac syntax corresponds to renderings of Hebrew sentences in which the question marker does not play a role. In other words, the syntax itself is ambiguous. If it is to be argued that the Syriac sentence can be read as a question when there is no syntactic indication for this, this applies to other sentences as well. Thus, if one is to argue that in 1 Kgs 18:13 the Syriac rendering is to be understood as a question, what arguments are there for not applying the same to 1 Kgs 3:7?

1 Kgs 18:13

וְלֹא נִשְׂמַע לַיהוָה, וְיָבֹרַךְ יְהוָה

and-not I-have-told to-lord-my thing that-I-have-done

[AS STATEMENT] ‘I have not told my lord what I have done’

[AS QUESTION] ‘Have I not told my lord what I have done?’

הֲלֹא הִגַּד לְאָדֹנָי אֵת אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי

[QUEST MARK]-not was-told to-lord-my [OBJ MARK] that I-have-done

‘Was it not told to my lord what I did ...?’

1 Kgs 3:7

וְלֹא יָדַעְתִּי לֵצֵאת וּלְבָרֵךְ

and-not knowing I to-exit and-to-enter

[AS STATEMENT] ‘I do not know to go out and to come in’

[AS QUESTION] ‘Do I not know to go out and to come in?’

לֹא אֲדָעַתְי לֵצֵאת וּלְבָרֵךְ

not I-know to-exit and-to-enter

‘I know not to go out or come in’

In fact, only non-syntactic, contextual arguments argue against reading 1 Kgs 3:7 as a question.

³⁷ 2 Kgs 5:26.

³⁸ 2 Kgs 2:3; 14:10; 18:27.

³⁹ With negation: 1 Kgs 1:10, 13; 2:42; 18:13; 22:7,18; 2 Kgs 1:3, 6, 16; 2:18; 3:11; 4:28; 6:11; 18:22; without negation: 1 Kgs 2:13; 8:27; 13:14; 17:20; 18:7, 17; 20:13, 32, 33; 21:20, 29; 22:3, 4, 6, 15; 2 Kgs 2:5; 3:7; 4:13, 26 (3×), 28; 5:7, 21; 6:21, 22, 27, 32; 9:11, 17, 18, 22, 31; 10:15; 19:25.

To this category belong also questions regarding שלום, 'well being'. Without the question marker, the ש-ש-ש-ש-question would be turned into an statement or a greeting as a wish concerning the 'well being' of another.⁴⁰

According to Gesenius,⁴¹ it is possible in Hebrew to have questions without the presence of a special interrogative indicator: 'Frequently the natural emphasis upon the word is of itself sufficient to indicate an interrogative sentence as such'. Gesenius cites an article by Mitchell⁴² in which 39 instances are given where the sentence is to be read as though the interrogative particle were present. A number of these are attributed by Mitchell to corruption of the text, that is, he assumes the interrogative particle is erroneously omitted.⁴³ In spite of our reservations in a number of instances, there remain cases in Hebrew where a question could be understood to be present without any overt marking. This would provide argumentation for reading Syriac sentences which lack the question marker as though a question were intended.

⁴⁰ 1 Kgs 2:13; 2 Kgs 4:26 (3×); 5:21; 9:11, 17, 18, 22, 31.

⁴¹ Gesenius—Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 150.

⁴² Mitchell, 'Omission of the Interrogative Particle'.

⁴³ Although within the more limited scope of a single clause, this would seem to be true, if the broader syntax is taken into consideration in a number of cases it can be argued that the Hebrew text should not be emended, and that it is not necessary to read the interrogative particle where it is not present. The foregoing standpoint can be substantiated by two cases cited by Gesenius as statements which should be read as interrogatives. Gen 27:24 אתה זה בני עשו, 'art thou my very son Esau?' (KJV). The Hebrew text as it stands reads: 'you are my son Esau'. Mitchell would read here with the Samaritan האתה, 'are you?', as in v. 21. Though this is understandable, if one is to follow the progression of the story closely, it will be noted that from the moment that Isaac first heard Jacob's voice, in a series of questions he inquires as to the identity of this son who has presented himself as his firstborn, Esau: 'who are you, my son?' (v. 18); 'what is this that you have hastened ...?' (v. 19); 'draw near and I shall touch you: are you this, my son Esau?' (v. 21). All of these are clearly marked as questions. The statement in v. 24 is not thus marked and need not necessarily be read as a continuation of the questions, but indeed as a statement of a confirmation of identity made after Isaac had felt Jacob's hairy hands covered with kid's skin. Jacob also affirms this by saying, 'I am.' As a second example, we take 1 Sam 30:8: 'and David inquired of YHWH, saying, "Shall I pursue after this troop? Shall I overtake them?" And he answered him, "Pursue: for thou shalt surely overtake them"' (KJV). Although the sentence begins with 'David inquired', the question marker only occurs on the second part: 'Shall I overtake them?'. Taking the Hebrew text as it is, this would mean that the first part: 'I will pursue them', is not the question, but provides the circumstance in which the question is being posed. A partial confirmation of this interpretation can be read in the answer: 'Go ahead and pursue, for you shall overtake them'. David was inquiring as to the success of the pursuit, and God confirmed that the pursuit would be successful. That the decision to pursue or not to pursue would depend on the answer to the question about the success of the pursuit does not imply that the first part necessarily should be understood as a question, nor that the text is corrupt, as is Mitchell's position.

Nöldeke⁴⁴ is quite concise of the matter:

In Syriac there is no special syntactical or formal method of indicating direct questions, as to “whether” the Predicate applies to the Subject. Such interrogative sentences can only be distinguished from sentences of affirmation by the emphasis. ܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ may mean ‘God is great’, quite as well as ‘Is God great?’.

It seems that the reader is left to decide whether a certain case is to be read as a question or not. We would recommend that the sentence be read simply as it stands, that is, as a negative or positive statement, unless the context provides clues indicating that a question should be read, including ironically or sarcastically intended questions.

The consequences of this approach are that a sentence in the Syriac text may be interpreted differently from its counterpart in the Hebrew source text. Thus in the following text, there is no compelling reason to interpret the Syriac as a question, although it remains possible to translate ‘Is this you, disturber of Israel?’⁴⁵

1 Kgs 18:17

ܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ
‘you are that one, disturber of Israel’

האתה זה עבר ישראל
‘is that you, you troubler of Israel?’ (NIV)

The reader must be alert to clues in the context to interpret the sentence other than at its face value. Compare the following examples:

1 Kgs 1:11

ܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ
[AS STATEMENT] ‘You have not heard that ...’
[AS QUESTION] ‘Have you not heard that ...?’

ܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ
[QUEST MARK] ‘Have you not heard that ...?’

1 Kgs 1:13

ܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ
[AS STATEMENT] ‘You have not, my lord the king, sworn ...’
[AS QUESTION] ‘Have you, my lord the king, not sworn ...?’

ܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܘܠܗ
[QUEST MARK] ‘Have not you, my lord the king, sworn ...?’

⁴⁴ Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 331 A.

⁴⁵ For the marked construction used in this Syriac clause, see chapter 13, section 1.4.2.

2.4. *Summary on the Question Marker*

In the absence of a question mark like the Hebrew ך, Syriac could compensate syntactically for the question marker in the source text or merely skip it. Where the particle was skipped, it appears that it is left to the reader to decide whether to read an interrogative or not. There is thus at least the possibility of ambiguity. In the majority of cases which are not source-citation formulas, the question marker is skipped. In 1 Kings this is true of 91.2% of the cases. The more literal rendering of the text in 1 Kings was achieved at the price of a higher possibility of ambiguity. The tendency to compensate syntactically in one way or another for the Hebrew question marker is more strongly present in 2 Kings: the proportion of cases where it is merely skipped is significantly lower than in 1 Kings (65.9%), thus manifesting a freer style of translation.

Returning to the source-citation formulas, it seems likely that the translator bypassed the problem of ambiguity caused in Syriac by the citation formulas couched as negative rhetorical questions by rendering all of them as a positive statement. As both formulas are synonymous in Hebrew,⁴⁶ this translation strategy did not involve a semantic deviation. Interestingly, the Septuagint, as the Peshitta, has reduced the difference between the two formulas with the aid of the element 'behold'.⁴⁷

This consistency in the adjustment of the syntax in source-citation formulas, which in Hebrew contain a question marker, contrasts to the renderings of the Hebrew question marker in other contexts where in the majority of the cases the question marker is merely skipped.

⁴⁶ Gesenius—Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 150 e.

⁴⁷ However, unlike P, LXX maintains the distinction between the two citation formulas:

καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων X ... οὐκ ἰδοῦ / οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ...

'and the rest of the acts of X ... (behold) are not these written ...'

καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων X ... ἰδοῦ ἐστὶν γεγραμμένα ...

'and the rest of the acts of X ... behold, they are written ...'

Probably the element 'behold' was added in order to achieve maximum formal concord between the question type and the statement type. The alternative explanation—that the translator read ך as ךה—is rather improbable. In the formulas of the statement type, nowhere does LXX use ταῦτα to render the third masc pl suffix in ךה. As this word is a fixed element of the formulas of the question type, it is more likely to correspond to ך than to ךה in the source. Thus, by reducing the differences between the two types, LXX and P exhibit comparable translational approaches towards the citation formulas.

3. SYRIAC RENDERINGS OF COMPLEX HEBREW VERBAL VALENCE PATTERNS

Valence refers to a verb's capacity to combine with other sentence constituents⁴⁸ to express particular meanings. This notion is closely aligned with the traditional idea of transitivity.⁴⁹ Verbs can be divided into classes based on the number of arguments required. In some languages, these classes have distinctive morpho-syntactic characteristics, such as unique case markings, or restrictions on tense, aspect, or modality markings.⁵⁰

In many languages, the bond between constituents of a sentence is determined by the verb. The relationship can be obligatory, whereby certain elements are required to produce a grammatically satisfactory sentence, or non-obligatory, whereby elements add extra information to the sentence, often indicating location, time, or manner.

The distinction between those elaborators required by the verb, often called 'complements', and those elements occurring freely in a sentence, often called 'adjuncts', is not easily drawn. Tests designed to distinguish the two on the basis of semantic, morpho-syntactic, or functional criteria have proven to be less than watertight.⁵¹ There seems to be 'no formal or operational criteria for the distinction' and no types of constituents that are by nature a complement or an adjunct.⁵² For example, a phrase indicating location can be merely extra information, but with verbs of movement locative phrases tell where to or where from the movement takes place, and are consistently a part of the pattern occurring with such verbs. In longer stretches of texts, elements which are commonly viewed as obligatory for a particular verb could be omitted in a sentence because the context supplies the information. On the other hand, even when an element can be omitted in a sentence without creating ungrammaticality, the meaning of the sentence may be altered by the presence or absence of such an optional element, so that it is not the case that the sentence with the extra element entails the sentence without it.⁵³

In data-oriented research, particularly when dealing with languages for which no mother-tongue speakers are available, one is well advised to base conclusions concerning the valence pattern(s) of a verb on a broad compilation of data.

⁴⁸ Allerton, *Valency and the English Verb*, 1, 2.

⁴⁹ Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax*, 171.

⁵⁰ See <http://www.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsValency.htm>.

⁵¹ See Vater, 'Distinguishing between Complements and Adjuncts', 21–45.

⁵² Vater, 'Distinguishing between Complements and Adjuncts', 39.

⁵³ Cf. Günter, 'Valence in Categorical Syntax', 131.

Of particular interest to the present research is the question of how the valence pattern(s) of one verb in the source text is / are transmitted in the target text. As illustration we will look at the verbs נשא and שים, with special attention given to the more complex patterns in which they occur.

3.1. *The Verb נשא*

The Koehler—Baumgartner lexicon assigns to נשא in the Qal meanings ranging from ‘lift up’ to ‘discriminate’, from ‘receive kindly’ to ‘be willing’, and from ‘bear guilt’ to ‘forgive’. The patterns of interest for a comparison with the data from the Peshitta of Kings are given in table 12.4.

The basic significance of נשא is something like: ‘pick up and carry’. This verb combines with many different objects, some of which would never co-occur with such a core meaning in other languages. One wonders whether in the syntactic environment of the verb there are indications as to which significance is intended, and, if so, whether the observed patterns are used consistently to indicate a particular meaning. The element which affects the meaning of נשא most strongly is the direct object.

The significance of נשא with an object can be literal or more figurative, as in the combination with ראש, ‘head’, where the difference between the literal and the figurative meaning allowed for the merciless play on words in Gen 40:13–20 in which the dreams of the Pharaoh’s servants are explained and fulfilled. It is noteworthy as well that the meaning of the combination is often dependent on what can be termed ‘participant tracking’, that is, whether or not the object refers to the same entity as the subject of the sentence. For instance, again with ראש, ‘head’, in the figurative meaning, ‘raise one’s own head’ means ‘rebel against’, while ‘raise another’s head’ means ‘restore reputation’ or ‘single out for attention’.

Table 12.4: Direct objects occurring with נשא in the Masoretic text

<i>Direct object</i>	<i>Literal meaning</i>	<i>Non-literal meaning</i>
<i>Basic meaning:</i>		
with object ⁵⁴ מן, ‘from’ (non-locative) ⁵⁵	‘lift up and carry’	
<i>Speech:</i>		
משל, ‘proverb’ ⁵⁶		‘take up a proverb’

⁵⁴ MT 1 Kgs 2:26; 8:3; 18:12.

⁵⁵ MT Deut 33:3.

⁵⁶ MT Num 23:7, 18; 24:3.

<i>Direct object</i>	<i>Literal meaning</i>	<i>Non-literal meaning</i>
משא, 'burden' (message) ⁵⁷		'take up a message'
תפלה, 'prayer' ⁵⁸		'lift up a prayer'
<i>Body parts:</i> ⁵⁹		
עין, 'eye' ... (+ ראה, 'see')	'lift up / raise eyes (and see)'	'lift eyes on high (exalt oneself) against (+ על) ⁶⁰
ראש, 'head'	(another's): (+ בליו) 'carry away head and armour' ⁶¹ (+ מעל, 'from upon') 'lift up someone's head from upon him' ⁶²	(own): 'rebel against' ⁶³ (another's): 'restore reputation; single out for attention' ⁶⁴ (another's): (+ מבית, 'from house') 'restore from prison' ⁶⁵ (+ countable mass): 'take sum of; count' ⁶⁶
פנים, 'face'	(own): (+ אל, 'towards') 'raise one's face towards' ⁶⁷	(own): (+ אל, 'towards') 'dare to show one's face'; ⁶⁸ (+ על, 'over') 'look with favour on' ⁶⁹ (another's): 'grant request'; ⁷⁰ 'respect presence of' ⁷¹ (no one's in particular): 'show favouritism'; ⁷² 'command respect' ⁷³

⁵⁷ MT 1 Kgs 9:25.

⁵⁸ MT 2 Kgs 19:4.

⁵⁹ Other body parts occurring with נשא: קול, 'voice' (Isa 52:8; Ps 93:3); רגל, 'feet' (Gen 29:1); יד, 'hand' (in various patterns with distinct meanings: Num 14:30; Lev 9:22; Deut 32:40; 2 Sam 18:28); נפש, 'soul' (Deut 24:15; 2 Sam 14:14).

⁶⁰ MT 2 Kgs 19:22.

⁶¹ MT 1 Chr 10:9.

⁶² MT Gen 40:19.

⁶³ MT Judg 8:28. Syriac: ܐܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ.

⁶⁴ MT Gen 40:13, 20.

⁶⁵ MT 2 Kgs 25:27.

⁶⁶ MT Ex 30:12.

⁶⁷ MT 2 Kgs 9:32.

⁶⁸ MT 2 Sam 2:22.

⁶⁹ MT Num 6:26.

⁷⁰ MT Gen 19:21; 32:21.

⁷¹ MT 2 Kgs 3:14.

⁷² MT Lev 19:15.

⁷³ MT 2 Kgs 5:1.

In Kings the verb נשא occurs in a number of valence patterns,⁷⁴ which will be treated in the order presented in table 12.4.

3.1.1. Basic Pattern

The verb נשא means simultaneously both ‘lift up’ and ‘carry’, though in some contexts it appears that only one of the two meanings is required. In the renderings in the Peshitta this combination of meanings results in various patterns even without non-literal meanings being involved.

The most frequent rendering of נשא is ܐܨܝܘܘܢ, occurring as given in table 12.5. Some of the Hebrew texts have the verb merely with an object and are rendered in similar fashion in Syriac. When the Hebrew also includes a locative as an indication of where an object is being carried to, Syriac uses a second verb to express this movement, that is, ܐܨܝܘܘܢ seems to cover only one of the two simultaneously present significances of נשא.

Table 12.5: Most frequent renderings of נשא

Hebrew	Syriac
נשא + object	ܐܨܝܘܘܢ + object ⁷⁵
נשא + object + locative	ܐܨܝܘܘܢ + object + 2nd verb + locative ⁷⁶
נשא + object + 2nd verb + locative	ܐܨܝܘܘܢ + object + 2nd verb + locative ⁷⁷

In two cases where the Masoretic has an object and a locative expression, the Peshitta follows the Hebrew text closely:

2 Kgs 23:4

וַיִּשֹׂא אֶת-אֲשֵׁי הַבַּיִת לְבֵית-בֶּתֶל

וַיִּשֹׂא אֶת עֲפָרָם בֵּית אֵל

‘and he carried their ashes unto Bethel’

In this text the Peshitta uses the verb ܐܨܝܘܘܢ as though it can take the valence pattern of both an object being carried and the locative where the object is being carried to. This pattern is not attested elsewhere in Kings. It could be

⁷⁴ Other valence patterns of this verb in MT include expressions for taking a wife, taking a sum (counting), receiving favour, carrying guilt or punishment for oneself or for another, the latter case being an expression for forgiveness. In each case the combination of elements indicate the intended idiom. Because these combinations do not occur in Kings, they are not dealt with here.

⁷⁵ 1 Kgs 2:26; 8:3; 13:29; 15:22; 18:12; 2 Kgs 4:36, 37; 5:23 (in both MT and P the object is understood from the context); 18:14.

⁷⁶ 1 Kgs 18:12; 2 Kgs 4:19 (P has the object after the second verb); 20:17; 25:13.

⁷⁷ 1 Kgs 14:28; 2 Kgs 2:16; 4:20; 7:8; 9:25 (both MT and P place the object on the second verb).

a case of contamination, in which the translator let himself be influenced by the pateren in the source text.

In 2Kgs 14:20 we find the Hebrew surface text reflected in an unusual manner:

2Kgs 14:20

ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ

'and they carried him, and they came upon horses and he was buried in Jerusalem'

ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ

'and they carried him upon horses and he was buried in Jerusalem'

Although the double action of the Hebrew verb upon the object ('lifting up' and 'carrying') is often expressed by two verbs in Syriac, here there is a single expression for the action, plus an inserted verb 'they came' accompanied by a different subject. In the Syriac rendering, it is not the object 'him' who was carried upon the horses, but 'they came upon horses', a rather usual expression for which Syriac has other vocabulary (ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ, 'ride'; Aphel 'cause to ride'). Noting carefully the letters of the Masoretic text, we see that the spelling of the direct object marker plus the third masc suffix attached to it (אתו [>TW]) is exactly reflected in the Syriac spelling of 'they came' (ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ [>TW]).⁷⁸ The preceding 'and' in Syriac makes the sentence run more smoothly. Here again the translator seems to have been guided by the Hebrew text, but this time not by its content, but by its form.⁷⁹

The literal meaning of נשא is also expressed by other more or less synonymous verbs in Syriac, such as ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ, 'take', and ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ, 'bear, carry'. In some cases the direction in which something is being carried is made explicit, as in:

2Kgs 7:8

ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ

ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ

'and they carried away from there silver, and gold, and raiment'

In 2Kgs 9:26, both the source text and the translation wait until the second verb to express the object, but by using ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ, 'take away', Syriac appears to be more explicit concerning the direction of the movement, namely, away from the speaker, while Hebrew is neutral in this regard.

⁷⁸ The double representation of Hebrew אתו in P is labelled by Walter as 'double translation' (Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 142). Since the Syriac verb form ܘܫܡܪܝܡܐ does not involve a translation, this case could be more appropriately designated as graphic representation.

⁷⁹ See discussion of this text in chapter 8, section 1.30.

2 Kgs 9:26

ܘܥܬܐ ܫܐܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

'and now, take away! Throw him in this lot'

ܘܥܬܐ ܫܐܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

'and now, pick up! Throw him in this lot'

In the somewhat curt instructions of Hiram concerning the floats of cedars, the Syriac fills out the statements, making them easier to understand:

1 Kgs 5:23

ܘܥܬܐ ܫܐܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܘܥܬܐ ܫܐܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

'and I will cast them down there, and you will carry them away from there'

ܘܥܬܐ ܫܐܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

'and I will shatter them (that is, demount the floats) there and you will carry (them) / pick (them) up'

When *ܢܫܐ* is used reflexively or in the intensive stem formation, it is rendered by other Syriac verbs not related to its rendering for the Qal. The reflexive meaning, 'raising (exalting) oneself' (Qal with 'your heart' as subject and 'you' as object), is rendered by the Aphel of ܢܫܐ;⁸⁰ one occurrence in the Hitpaal is rendered by the Ethpaal of ܢܫܐ.⁸¹ The Hebrew verb in the Piel means 'support, aid, assist'; this is rendered by the Taphel of ܢܫܐ.⁸² When camels or ships are the ones carrying the burdens, Syriac uses the verb ܢܫܐ.⁸³

In one final case having the basic meaning of 'carrying', the Masoretic text has a double expression 'carrying carrier'.⁸⁴ The Peshitta reduces this to ܢܫܐ, 'porters', probably to avoid redundancy.⁸⁵

3.1.2. Meanings with Expressions for Speech

In two texts in Kings, *ܢܫܐ* is used in combination with an expression of speech: in 2 Kgs 9:25 with *ܢܫܐ*, 'burden' (message), and in 2 Kgs 19:4 with *ܢܫܐ*, 'prayer'. In both cases Syriac translates idiomatically: ܢܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ, 'speak a word'; and ܢܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ, 'pray', respectively. In these instances the translator appears to be guided in his choice of rendering by the object involved.

⁸⁰ 2 Kgs 14:10.

⁸¹ 1 Kgs 1:5.

⁸² 1 Kgs 9:11.

⁸³ 1 Kgs 10:2, 11, 22.

⁸⁴ 1 Kgs 5:29. According to *BDB*, 688a, '1 Kgs 5²⁹ is certainly wrong' and suggests it should be 'carrying burdens'. The P text is an *ad sensum* rendering either of MT, or of the correction as suggested in *BDB*.

⁸⁵ Cf. chapter 13, section 3.

3.1.3. *Meanings with Body Parts*3.1.3.1. *With 'Eye'*

נשא can be used in combination with 'eye' in both a more literal meaning, 'raise one's eyes (and look)', and in a less literal meaning, such as encountered in the following text in combination with [<L], 'against':

2 Kgs 19:22

אזננה חנניה לחזקתה על סגרתה דאשמה

והשא מרום עיניך על קדוש ישראל

'and you raised your eyes on high against the Holy One of Israel'

Syriac renders the expression of 'raising eyes upwards against' idiomatically, employing the Aphel of ܡܝܢ. One can assume that this expression with [<L], 'against', in Syriac as well as in Hebrew indicates exalting oneself in rebellion against another.

3.1.3.2. *With 'Head'*

נשא can be used in combination with 'head' with a literal meaning and in several figurative senses (see table 12.4, above). One of the non-literal significances occurs in 2 Kgs 25:27 where Evil Merodach, king of Babylon, brought Jehoiachin, king of Judah, out of prison.

2 Kgs 25:27

אזננה אשׁמל מלכותא ... כזעמ דמלכותא ... סאפמט סח סל אשׁמה

'and Evil Merodach raised ... with the head of Jehoiachin ... and caused him to go out of prison'

נשא אויל מרדך ... את ראש יהויכין ... מבית כלא

'and Evil Merodach did lift up ... the head of Jehoiachin ... out of prison'

Two aspects of the rendering of נשא in Syriac which we have already encountered can be observed in this example: Syriac employs the Aphel of ܡܝܢ to express 'raising'; and a second verb (Aphel ܢܥܡ) with an accompanying locative to express where someone was brought to. In the Masoretic text, the object is separated from the verb by an intervening appositional phrase and a time phrase. The range of government of the verb in Hebrew appears to be able to span the distance; the direct object is introduced by the object marker את. In Syriac, the distance appears to be too great to maintain the syntactic government. As a result, the object marker in Hebrew is read as the homographic preposition 'with' and is rendered by the preposition ܐܘܝܠ, 'in, with', in Syriac.⁸⁶ This, however, leaves the Syriac verb without an object

⁸⁶ For the more limited scope of government of prepositions and construct state in Syriac,

which is unusual for an Aphel. Thus, by following the Masoretic text slavishly the translator failed to render the intention of the source text, and the text ends up with a causative verb without a direct object, which would seem to be an ungrammatical construction. The question then arises whether the idiomatic expression ‘raise someone’s head out of prison’ meaning ‘release someone from prison’ with the added implication of restoring him to a more comfortable position, was understood in Syriac.⁸⁷

3.1.3.3. *With ‘Face’*

In Hebrew and Syriac ‘raise one’s face’ can be used in the literal sense of looking upwards, as in:

2 Kgs 9:32

ܐܪܘܚܝܢ ܕܥܘܢܝܢ ܠܥܘܢܝܢ
 ܘܝܫܐ ܦܢܝܐ ܐܠ ܗܚܠܘܢ

‘and he (Jehu) raised his face towards the window’

For this sense again Syriac uses the Aphel of ܐܪܘܚܝܢ.

The idiomatic expressions involving ‘raise’ and ‘face’ are subtle in the distinctions between whether one raises one’s own face or that of another (see table 12.4, above). The two non-literal uses of this combination in Kings will be dealt with separately.

2 Kgs 3:14

ܐܪܠܗ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܥܘܢܝܢ ܗܠܘܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘܠܥܝܢ ܐܪܘܚܝܢ

‘if it were not that I blush / am ashamed from (due to) the face (presence) of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah’

ܕܝܠܝ ܦܢܝܐ ܗܘܫܦܦܬ ܡܠܟ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܐܢܝ ܢܫܐ

‘were it not that I respect Jehoshaphat, king of Judah’

(lit.: ... I lift up the face of ...)

In this the ‘face’ referred to is not that of the subject of the verb, but someone else’s face. At least two possibilities present themselves. It could be that the Syriac translation is intended to mean: ‘if I were to refuse the request, I would be ashamed before King Jehoshaphat’. In that case, it would be an *ad sensum*

see chapter 11, section 3. In Syriac, the expression ܐܪܘܚܝܢ ܕܥܘܢܝܢ is attested only in P 2 Kgs 25:27, the parallel in Jer 52:31, and in Bar Hebraeus’s scholion on the Kings passage. This strongly suggests that it is closely linked to the Hebrew. In 2 Kgs 25:27, the translator may have depended on the Syriac of Jeremiah (see Walter, ‘Use of Sources’, 198).

⁸⁷ In Gen 40:13, 20, ܢܫܐ is used with ‘head’ in a play on words with both the literal and the less literal meaning. In both of these texts, P employs the Ethpeel of ܢܫܐ, ‘call to mind, remember’, which would argue against the Hebrew idiom being a regular expression in Syriac.

translation of the Masoretic text which expresses that Elisha consented to grant the request due to his respect for Jehoshaphat.

On the other hand, in Hebrew, when the 'face' refers to the same person as the subject of נשא, the expression means 'being ashamed', in combination with אל, 'towards', indicating before whom one feels shame. In 2 Sam 2:22 Abner states that if he were to kill Asahel, who was pursuing him, he would not be able to 'lift up his face' to Joab, Asahel's brother:

2 Sam 2:22

וַאִיךָ אֲשֵׁא פְנֵי אֵל יוֹאָב אַחִיךָ

'and how shall I lift up my face to Joab, your brother?'

The difference between the two meanings has to do with whose face is to be lifted up: is it the face of the subject of the verb or someone else's face? The Peshitta renders 2 Sam 2:22 as follows:

וַאִיךָ אֲשֵׁא פְנֵי אֵל יוֹאָב אַחִיךָ וְאֵיךָ אֲשֵׁא פְנֵי אֵל יוֹאָב אַחִיךָ

'and how shall I lift up my face and look at Joab, your brother?'

In this rendering we observe again that while the Hebrew verb takes both an object ('face') and a complement ('to Joab'), Syriac has an extra verb to relate to the second verbally governed element: 'lift up face' and 'look at Joab'. In doing so, the meaning has reverted to the more literal meaning of the combination 'lift up' with 'face', and it would only be the expression as a whole ('lift up face and look at someone') which could function as a metaphor for feeling ashamed.

As regards the rendering in 2 Kgs 3:14, it is possible that the translator was primarily aware of the connection between the verb and the object involved ('lift' and 'face') and that this connection was understood as signifying embarrassment or shame. In this he failed to distinguish between the various participants which in Hebrew make a difference in the meaning, whereby 'lifting up one's own face' is an expression of embarrassment or shame, and 'lifting up the face of another' is an expression of respect or diffidence towards another.

One final Hebrew text with this combination is to be found in the story of Naaman, the Syrian:

2 Kgs 5:1

וְנַעֲמָן כְּתָרָא

'(Naaman ... was a great man ...) and glorious in face'

וְנִשְׂא פָנָיו

'(Naaman ... was a great man ...) and honourable'

The sense of the Hebrew idiom is well captured in the Syriac Peal passive participle of ܘܒܘܕ, ‘glorious, illustrious, celebrated, splendid’. It is, however, the combination of the two words ‘raise’ and ‘face’ in Hebrew which creates this idiom. Syriac has an idiomatic expression using the passive participle of ܘܒܘܕ followed by the preposition ܐ and the object referred to.⁸⁸ The rendering retains much of the formal characteristics of the Hebrew expression and uses a Syriac idiom, but in doing so the translation makes use of the item ‘face’ twice and the significance is altered.

3.2. *The Cognate Verbs ܘܫܝܡ and ܘܒܘܕ*⁸⁹

In Kings ܘܫܝܡ occurs 51× in the Masoretic text and ܘܒܘܕ occurs 56× in the Peshitta. In 25 cases—only about half of the occurrences—the two are paired as corresponding in the translation. In table 12.6, the Syriac verbs occurring as a translation of ܘܫܝܡ are presented in alphabetical order.

Table 12.6: Syriac correspondences of ܘܫܝܡ in Kings

ܘܫܝܡ	1 × ܘܫܝܡ, ‘bind’
	1 × ܘܒܘܕ, ‘reckon, regard’
	1 × ܘܒܘܕ Aphel, ‘make dwell, appoint, set (cause to sit)’
	1 × ܘܒܘܕ Ethpaal, ‘be covered with, be clothed with’
	1 × ܘܒܘܕ, ‘pile up, heap’
	1 × ܘܒܘܕ, ‘take, receive, assume’
	25 × ܘܒܘܕ
	7 × ܘܒܘܕ, ‘do, make’
	3 × ܘܒܘܕ Aphel, ‘raise, set, place, rouse’
	6 × ܘܒܘܕ Aphel, ‘throw, cast, set, place’
	1 × ܘܒܘܕ, ‘name, denominate, assume a name’
	1 × ܘܒܘܕ Pael, ‘fashion, furnish, arrange, get ready’
	2 × not translated

In spite of their overlap in sound, syntax, and semantics, the fact that these two verbs correspond in the translation in less than half of the occurrences points to considerable differences between them. To gain insight into how these verbs relate to one another, we look first at texts in which the Hebrew verb is used, considering first occurrences with a single object, and then occurrences with other patterns.

⁸⁸ Cf. ܘܒܘܕ ܘܫܝܡܘܬܐ, ‘of goodly stature’, *CSD*, 555b. Our thanks to Terry Falla for pointing out this idiom during a valence seminar in Melbourne in March 2010.

⁸⁹ The contents of this section have been published in Dyk, ‘The Cognate Verbs ܘܫܝܡ and ܘܒܘܕ in the Books of Kings’.

3.2.1. שִׁים *with a Single Object*3.2.1.1. *Basic Pattern*

The basic meaning of שִׁים, 'locate, place, or position something somewhere', is clearly present when there is a concrete object which can be placed and a location where this is placed. In such cases the meaning is literal, as when Elisha addresses his servant and tells him:

2 Kgs 4:29

ושמת משענתי על פני הנער
'and put my staff upon the face of the lad'

In some contexts, the location is not mentioned, and the action is simply 'setting' a concrete object, in the sense of 'preparing, getting ready', as in:

Gen 43:31, 32

שימו לחם ושימו לו לבדו ולהם לבדם
'"Set bread". And they set for him alone and for them alone'

In these patterns when a phrase beginning with ל, 'to, for', occurs, this indicates location only in combination with the expressions לפני, 'before the face of',⁹⁰ לעיני, 'before the eyes of',⁹¹ לפי / פני / למו, 'upon the mouth',⁹² and לנגד, 'over against'.⁹³ In other cases, a phrase beginning with ל introduces the one affected by the action, as in the example just cited. The effect often benefits the one involved, but in a few cases the effect can be negative, as in Ex 15:2, where we read that '(Amalek) who placed (himself) against (ל) him (Israel) in the way when he came up from Egypt', thus barring Israel's way.⁹⁴

Depending on the combination of lexical elements involved, the expression is used in Hebrew in a wide range of contexts and can be literal or figurative. When the object involved is not something which is to be physically placed somewhere, the expression has a less literal sense, for instance, 'place rulers over', 'place statutes before', 'place usury upon' ('demand usury from'⁹⁵), 'place wonders in' ('perform wonders among'⁹⁶), 'set oneself against' (lit.: 'place face in'⁹⁷), 'look expectantly to' (lit.: 'place face upon'⁹⁸).

⁹⁰ MT Ex 21:1; 1 Sam 9:24; 2 Kgs 6:22.

⁹¹ MT Gen 30:41.

⁹² MT Job 29:9; 40:4.

⁹³ MT Ps 54:5; 86:14.

⁹⁴ See also Deut 22:14, 'and give (put) occasions of speech against (ל) her'.

⁹⁵ MT Ex 22:24.

⁹⁶ MT Ex 10:2.

⁹⁷ MT Lev 20:5.

⁹⁸ MT 1 Kgs 2:15.

In many contexts this pattern of the Hebrew verb is rendered by *שׁוּבַע*, both in a literal sense,⁹⁹ when the object involved can be placed in the mentioned location, and in a figurative sense, when the relation is more abstract, as in:

1Kgs 9:3

וַיִּשְׁבַּע לְבַנְיָמִן הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה וַיִּבְנֵהוּ לְשֵׁם יְהוָה וַיִּשְׁבַּע לְבַנְיָמִן
הַקִּדְשָׁתִי אֶת הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר בָּנִיתָ לְשֵׁם יְהוָה עַד עוֹלָם

'I have hallowed this house which you have built to place my name there forever'

In the example above, placing one's own name involves singling out or appointing for a special bond.¹⁰⁰

The verb can have the sense of 'preparing, getting ready', as in 1Kgs 20:12, where it is not accompanied by an object (2×):

1Kgs 20:12

וַיִּשְׁבַּע בְּלַחַם מָוֶה

lit.: 'set to set against the city' (that is, 'prepare for battle, set battle in array')

שִׁימוּ וְיִשְׁימוּ עַל הָעִיר

'“Set!” And they set against the city'

Particularly when body parts are involved, a specific nuance is present, as in the combination with 'face':¹⁰¹

1Kgs 2:15

וְעַל יְהוָה חָלְסוּ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְרִיבֹתָי וְלְרִיבֹתָי

וְעַל יְהוָה חָלְסוּ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְרִיבֹתָי וְלְרִיבֹתָי

'and upon me has all Israel set their faces to reign / that I will be king'
(that is, all Israel looked expectantly)

2Kgs 12:18

וַיִּשְׁבַּע נְהַזֵּאל לְרִיבֹתָי וְלְרִיבֹתָי

וַיִּשְׁבַּע נְהַזֵּאל לְרִיבֹתָי וְלְרִיבֹתָי

'Hazeal set his face to go up against Jerusalem'

(that is, he was determined / prepared to go up against Jerusalem)

⁹⁹ 15×: 1Kgs 12:29; 18:23 (3×), 33, 42; 2Kgs 4:29, 31, 34; 6:22; 9:13; 10:7; 13:16; 20:7; 21:7 (1st occurrence).

¹⁰⁰ Also in 1Kgs 11:36; 14:21; 2Kgs 21:4, 7 (2nd occurrence).

¹⁰¹ See also MT Isa 41:22; Hag 2:15 with 'place heart', that is, 'pay heed to, consider, take to heart'.

3.2.1.2. Other Hebrew Correspondences of ܐܘܨܐ

Within the range of placing an object somewhere, the Syriac verb is also found in Kings as the translation for the following verbs:

Table 12.7: Hebrew correspondences of ܐܘܨܐ in Kings

4 × נוּחַ Hiphil I, 'cause to settle down, give rest'; II, 'lay, deposit, leave behind' ¹⁰²
11 × נָתַן Qal, 'give, grant, put, set, make, constitute' ¹⁰³
15 × קָטַר Piel and Hiphil, 'make sacrifices smoke, send up in smoke' ¹⁰⁴
25 × שָׁם
1 × שָׁם, 'there' ¹⁰⁵

When occurring with an object which gets placed and a location where the object is placed, the Hebrew verbs נוּחַ Hiphil and נָתַן have largely the same meaning as שָׁם.¹⁰⁶ The rendering ܐܘܨܐ is not surprising. The parallel use of these verbs in Hebrew can be illustrated by the following example where in the Masoretic text first שָׁם occurs and then נָתַן, and the Peshitta renders both as ܐܘܨܐ:

1 Kgs 12:29

ܐܘܨܐ ܥܘ ܕܘܚܐ ܕܐܝܠ ܘܥܘܬܐ ܕܕܢ
 וישם את האחד בבית אל ואת האחד נתן בְּדַן
 'he put the one Bethel, and the other he set (נָתַן) in Dan'

Also rendered by ܐܘܨܐ is the Hebrew verb קָטַר, 'send up in smoke, make sacrifices smoke'. For this Syriac uses its own idiomatic expression: ܐܘܨܐ ܕܘܨܘܚܐ, 'place incense'.

This covers the range of correspondences of ܐܘܨܐ in the Peshitta of Kings, except an unusual rendering where the form of the Hebrew (שָׁם, 'there') may have influenced the choice for ܐܘܨܐ.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² All Hiphil: 1 Kgs 8:9; 13:29, 30, 31. In P Kings this verb is also rendered as ܐܘܨܐ (1 Kgs 5:18), ܐܘܨܐ (1 Kgs 7:47), ܐܘܨܐ (1 Kgs 19:3; 2 Kgs 17:29; 23:18), and ܐܘܨܐ (2 Kgs 2:15).

¹⁰³ 1 Kgs 7:16; 10:17; 12:4, 9, 29; 18:23; 2 Kgs 4:44; 11:12; 12:10; 16:14. In P Kings this verb is also rendered as ܐܘܨܐ (1 Kgs 2:5), ܐܘܨܐ (1 Kgs 21:15), ܐܘܨܐ (80 ×), ܐܘܨܐ (2 Kgs 19:18), ܐܘܨܐ (1 Kgs 10:9), ܐܘܨܐ (31 ×), ܐܘܨܐ (1 Kgs 6:19), ܐܘܨܐ (10 ×), ܐܘܨܐ (1 Kgs 7:51), ܐܘܨܐ (1 Kgs 2:35 [2 ×]; 5:19; 2 Kgs 23:5), ܐܘܨܐ (2 Kgs 8:6), ܐܘܨܐ (2 Kgs 12:10; 18:14; 23:33; 25:28), ܐܘܨܐ (1 Kgs 15:17), ܐܘܨܐ (19 ×), and not translated (2 Kgs 18:23; 22:5; 23:35 [2 ×]).

¹⁰⁴ 1 Kgs 3:3; 9:25; 11:8; 12:33; 13:1, 2; 22:44; 2 Kgs 15:4, 35; 17:11; 18:4; 22:17; 23:5 (2 ×), 8. In P Kings this verb is also rendered as ܐܘܨܐ (2 Kgs 16:13, 15), ܐܘܨܐ (2 Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 16:4).

¹⁰⁵ 2 Kgs 23:20.

¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, in 1 Kgs 22:23, where נָתַן occurs with this valence pattern, P renders with the usual translation of נָתַן, namely, ܐܘܨܐ, 'give'. The particular valence pattern in MT appears to have been missed in P in this case: MT has 'behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets' (KJV), while P renders 'see, the Lord has given a spirit of lying in the mouths of all these your prophets'.

¹⁰⁷ In 2 Kgs 23:20: the case has been discussed in chapter 8, section 1.33.

The Hebrew verb שִׁים with an object which is not concrete plus a ל phrase ‘for the benefit of’ has the sense of ‘appoint, institute’.¹⁰⁸

2 Sam 23:5

כִּי בְרִית עוֹלָם שָׁם לִי

‘for an everlasting covenant has he established for me’

The sense of ‘appointing’ can also be understood in the following example, where the word-for-word translation would be ‘I will place a place for (ל) the ark’:

1 Kgs 8:21

וַאֲשֶׁם שָׁם מְקוֹם לְאָרוֹן

‘and I have appointed there a place for the ark’

The Peshitta skipped one word (מְקוֹם, ‘place’) in the rendering of this verse, perhaps finding the two locative expressions ‘there’ and ‘place’ to be redundant,¹⁰⁹ thus reverting to the simpler pattern of literally placing the ark somewhere:

וַאֲשֶׁם שָׁם אֶת־אֲרוֹן

‘and I have placed there the ark’

In this, it appears that the ל in ‘for the ark’ has been read as though it were the cognate Syriac preposition which functions as the object marker, so that ‘for the ark’ has been rendered as the direct object, ‘the ark’.¹¹⁰

3.2.1.3. *Other Syriac Correspondences of שִׁים with a Single Object*

The Hebrew verb שִׁים with a single object is rendered in the Peshitta of Kings by verbs other than שָׂבַח, as listed in table 12.8. In these more idiomatic renderings the choice of the translator seems to be influenced primarily by the object involved.

¹⁰⁸ For example, MT Ex 4:11: ‘who appointed a mouth for a man?’ (lit.: ‘who placed a mouth for man?’); 15:25: ‘he appointed for them a statute and an ordinance’; 1 Sam 8:5: ‘appoint for us a king’; Job 18:2: ‘appoint an end to your words’; 28:3: ‘appoint an end to darkness’.

¹⁰⁹ See chapter 13, section 3.

¹¹⁰ See also chapter 11, section 1.2.

Table 12.8: Other Syriac correspondences of רָשַׁם with a single object

ܪܫܡܐ , 'bind' ¹¹¹
ܪܫܡܐ , 'reckon, regard' ¹¹²
ܪܫܡܐ , Aphel, 'make dwell, appoint, set (cause to sit)' ¹¹³
ܪܫܡܐ , Ethpaal, 'be covered with, be clothed with' ¹¹⁴
ܪܫܡܐ , 'take, receive, assume' ¹¹⁵
ܪܫܡܐ , Aphel, 'throw, cast, set, place' ¹¹⁶
ܪܫܡܐ , Aphel, 'raise, set, place, establish, appoint' ¹¹⁷

3.2.2. רָשַׁם with Other Valence Patterns

רָשַׁם with other combinations of elements occurs with accompanying differences in meaning. One pattern involves either two objects or an object and a phrase beginning with ܕ , 'like', and signifies:

*make someone or something into something*¹¹⁸
*cause someone or something to become (like) something*¹¹⁹

As with the pattern involving a single object, these patterns can have an additional ܕ phrase indicating for whom the action is undertaken, or who is affected by the action. These combinations may also contain a locative

¹¹¹ 1 Kgs 20:31: MT 'we will put sacks on our loins and ropes on our heads'; P 'we will bind sacks on heads and cord on loins'. Note the switch in the elements being bound.

¹¹² 1 Kgs 2:5: MT 'he put the blood of war in (a time of) peace and put (נתן) the blood of war on his girdle'; P 'he regarded them as though in war and shed their blood with a sword'. Again this less literal significance borders on the meaning 'institute', 'appoint', 'make one thing into another', for Joab introduced an act of war during a time of peace. However, P's rendering is probably based on an exegetical tradition, for the root רָשַׁם is also used in TJ's rendering of this passage. See chapter 2, section 2.2.2.6, and Van Keulen, 'Points of Agreement', 212.

¹¹³ 2 Kgs 10:3: MT 'put upon his father's throne'; P 'set upon his father's throne'.

¹¹⁴ 1 Kgs 21:27: MT 'he put sackcloth upon his flesh'; P 'he was covered with sackcloth upon his flesh'.

¹¹⁵ 1 Kgs 20:6: MT 'each thing pleasing to you they shall put in their hand and take (it)'; P 'each desirable thing they shall take in their hand and come'. The first verb in the Syriac (ܪܫܡܐ) is the most frequent rendering of the second Hebrew verb (לָקַח)—65 of its 110 occurrences. The second Syriac verb (ܪܫܡܐ) occurs 9 × as a rendering of לָקַח , but all cases except this one are Aphel. Here the Syriac simplifies the more awkward Hebrew syntax.

¹¹⁶ 6 ×: used for placing furniture (1 Kgs 2:19; 2 Kgs 4:10), casting into prison (1 Kgs 22:27), casting salt into a cruse (2 Kgs 2:20), imposing tribute (2 Kgs 18:14), and placing a hook in the nose (2 Kgs 19:28). Though the sense is fitting to the context, we have not investigated whether this verb, rather than ܪܫܡܐ , is usually used in such contexts.

¹¹⁷ 3 ×: 1 Kgs 20:34; 2 Kgs 10:24; 11:18. These all involve putting guards or captains in position.

¹¹⁸ Josh 8:28: 'he made it (a city) a heap of ruins'; 1 Sam 8:1: 'he made his sons judges'; Ps 39:9: 'make me not the reproach of fools'.

¹¹⁹ Gen 13:16: 'make your seed as the dust of the earth'; Josh 6:18: 'make the camp of Israel a curse'; 1 Sam 30:25: 'he made it a statute and an ordinance for Israel'.

expression but this does not make the expression revert to the more basic meaning ‘place something somewhere’; rather the locative merely provides extra information.

That the translators of Kings understood well the significance of this valence pattern of שִׁים with a double object is particularly clear when the verb is rendered by *חבב*, ‘do, effect, make’,¹²⁰ as in:

1Kgs. 5:23

וְאֵנִי אֲחַבְבֵם אֶל־יָם לְפָנֶיךָ כִּי־בָרֹת
‘and I will make them floats by the sea’

וְאֵנִי אֲשִׁימָם דְּבָרוֹת בַּיָּם
‘and I will make them into floats by the sea’¹²¹

In one of the references rendered by *חבב* the Masoretic text contains but a single object:

1Kgs 20:34

וְרֹבֵעַ אֲחַבְבֵךְ לְךָ בְּדַמְשֶׁקַּךְ אֶל־כִּי־בָרֹת
‘and a quarter I shall make for you in Damascus as my father made in Samaria’

וְחֻצוֹת תִּשְׂיֵם לְךָ בְּדַמְשֶׁקַּךְ כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׂם אָבִי בְּשַׁמְרוֹן
‘and streets you shall appoint for yourself in Damascus as my father appointed in Samaria’

Since streets are not an object which can readily be placed somewhere, the use of שִׁים in this verse can be taken to concur with the patterns indicating ‘institute, appoint’. Probably prompted by the tangible object ‘streets’, the Peshitta chose to translate with *חבב*, the same the verb which is used to render שִׁים with double object. This necessitated changing the person of the first verb from ‘you’ to ‘I’.

In a few cases of שִׁים with double object, the translator chose not to use *חבב*, but a verb which was suited to the object involved.

In the Hebrew text of 2 Kgs 10:8, שִׁים has two objects—‘them’ (that is, the heads of the king’s sons) and ‘heaps’. The Peshitta renders *בָּחַר*, ‘pile up, heap’, which fits well with the object:

¹²⁰ 7 ×: 1Kgs 5:23: ‘make (cedars) into floats’; 10:9 ‘make you king’; 19:2: ‘make your soul as the soul of one of them (the prophets Elijah had slaughtered)’; 20:34 (2 ×): ‘make for ... streets in ...’; 2 Kgs 10:27: ‘made it (house of Baal) a dung heap’; 13:7: ‘make them like dust’.

¹²¹ Some translations, like the KJV, have missed the specific significance of the valence pattern and translate: ‘and I will convey them by sea in floats’. Hiram was not proposing to convey the large cedars by floats, but to make them into floats. The valence pattern indicates precisely how one transports large trees—one makes them into floats.

2 Kgs 10:8

הֵאֵם אֶת־הָאֲדָמָה חֲצֵי חֲצֵי בְּפֶתַח הַשַּׁעַר עַד־בֹּקֶר

'Heap them up two heaps at the entrance of the gate until the morning'

שִׁימוּ אֹתָם שְׁנֵי צְבָרִים פֶּתַח הַשַּׁעַר עַד־בֹּקֶר

'Make them into two heaps at the opening of the gate until the morning'

This *ad sensum* construction does capture the fact that the heads are to end up in two heaps, and uses the verb related to 'heaps' to do so. As mentioned above, in double object constructions a locative ('at the entrance of the gate') merely adds extra information, as does the time phrase ('until the morning').

In 2 Kgs 17:34 שִׁים with the object 'name' is rendered as שָׁמַח Pael, 'name, call, give a name, denominate, assume a name':

2 Kgs 17:34

וַיִּשְׁמַח יְהוָה לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־שָׁמַח אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל

'which the Lord commissioned to the sons of Jacob whose name he *named* Israel'

אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב אֲשֶׁר שָׁם שְׁמוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל

'which YHWH commanded the children of Jacob, whom he *named* Israel' (KJV, RSV, NIV)

In double-object constructions with שִׁים, one object is 'made into' or 'changed into' the second object. In the text above, it is not so much that Jacob was 'named' Israel, but that his already existent name was 'made into' or 'changed to' Israel.¹²²

In the historical books, the verb שָׁמַח occurs only in Judg 8:31 and 2 Kgs 17:34 as a translation of שִׁים שָׁם, and in 2 Kgs 23:34 // 2 Chr 36:4 and 2 Kgs 24:17 שָׁם סָבַח Hiphil (lit.: 'turn aside his name'). Thus it could well be that the infrequently occurring verb שָׁמַח does indeed render the special significance of שִׁים שָׁם.

In 2 Kgs 11:16, שִׁים is rendered as שָׁמַח Pael, 'fashion, arrange, get ready', in which negative effect of the ל-phrase must be understood:

¹²² Similarly, in MT Neh 9:7: 'you gave him the name of Abraham' (KJV) is actually a case where his name was changed to Abraham. In Dan 1:7 שִׁים with an object (names) and a ל-phrase is used when Daniel and his friends received new names in Babylon. One exception to this pattern occurs in Judg 8:31 where שִׁים is used for giving a name to a newborn. It could be that someone else had thought of a different name which was changed, but there also could be contamination with the pattern involving the changing of names. Alternatively, the use of שִׁים here may have to do with the significance of שִׁים, 'institute', that is, making a statement—'my father is king', which would also fit well in the story.

2 Kgs 11:16

והכין לה מקום למעלה בדרך הכניסה והיא עלתה בדרך הכניסה

‘and he prepared a place for her, and she went up by the way of the entrance of the horses of the king’

וישמו לה ידים ותבוא דרך מבוא הסוסים בית המלך

lit. ‘they put for / to her hands and she came by the way of the horses’ entrance, the house of the king’

In view of other texts where a negative sense of the לֵ-phrase is involved, it could be that 2 Kgs 11:16 indicates that Athaliah’s way was barred (‘placed hands, affecting her negatively’) so that she ‘came’, that is, only made it to the horses’ entrance before being killed.

In the first clause, והכין לה מקום, the Peshitta deviates considerably from the Masoretic text. Here the Syriac text runs roughly parallel to the Aramaic text of Targum Jonathan: ואתקינו לה אתר, ‘and they prepared a place for her’. Both versions seem to allude to the Hebrew of Ex 21:13, which reads: ושמתי לך מקום אשר ינוס שמה, ‘and I will appoint for you a place to which he may flee’ (RSV).¹²³ In the light of Ex 21:13, it seems that the Peshitta and Targum of 2 Kgs 11:15 refer to a place of asylum. However, what this would mean in the context of 2 Kgs 11:15 cannot easily be determined. Does the expression ‘he / they prepared a place for her’ mean that Athaliah was offered an alternative place of asylum after the priest had forbidden to kill her in the temple (v. 15), and that on the way to this place she was killed anyway (v. 16)? Or does the place prepared for her refer to a place appointed where she would be killed?¹²⁴

In two remaining cases, the verb שים is not rendered.¹²⁵

3.3. Summary on Verbal Valence

At least two different types of observations can be made concerning the renderings in the Peshitta of Kings of the two chosen Hebrew verbs:

¹²³ The wording of Ex 21:13 in Targum Onkelos (ואשוי לך אתר), using the verb שוה Pael, ‘set, appoint, place’ and in P (חבב לך ארעא) shows that the alleged exegetical tradition does not depend on either translation. Again P uses חבב to render שים.

¹²⁴ For the rendering of the final phrase in this example, see chapter 11, section 3.1.

¹²⁵ 1 Kgs 18:25 involves repetition of a previous statement in the narrative (see chapter 13, section 3). In 2 Kgs 8:11 the somewhat awkward first sentence in MT: ‘he stiffened (lit.: caused to stand) his countenance and set (שים) it, until he was ashamed’ (KJV), is skipped in P, where the narrative continues with the following sentence of the MT, ‘and the man of God wept’, thus smoothing out an apparently awkward text.

- Observations concerning the language systems involved
- Observations concerning the choices made by the translator

Seldom does an item in one language correspond fully to an item in another language. Though on the basis of these two verbs alone far-reaching conclusions would be unwarranted, the observations made here fit into what has been observed in other cases in this study.

Both נָשָׂא and שָׂיַם manifest a more extensive set of valence patterns than do their Syriac counterparts. Sometimes in the Peshitta more than one verb is used to express the various valence patterns of the Hebrew verb. At times, the translator employs an unrelated verb suited to the context, orienting the translation to the object involved, particularly in cases where a less literal significance is present. In doing so, on occasion the particular significance of the construction in the Hebrew text appears to have been missed. In other instances the translator reverted to the more basic valence pattern of the verb instead of taking the more specific pattern into account.

In a number of cases, Syriac verbs seem to have a more limited scope of syntactic government than do their Hebrew counterparts. This concurs with what we have observed with prepositions, nouns in construct state, and negative particles, which in Syriac are repeated in order to maintain the scope of syntactic government.

Besides the differences in language systems involved, the translation shows a number of choices of the translator, such as the tendency to skip redundancies and to smooth out complexities in a text, which fit in with tendencies observed in translations in general.¹²⁶ This goes along with the tendency to offer an *ad sensum* rendering, sometimes thereby circumventing difficulties in the Hebrew text. The shape or sound of the Hebrew words may have exerted influence as well in the choice of a few renderings.

4. DIFFERENCES IN THE OCCURRENCES OF THE COPULA¹²⁷

Besides the cognate forms שָׂיַם and ܫܝܡܝܢܐ discussed above, another illustration of how apparently similar elements can differ in their use in the two languages can be found in the functioning of the copular verbs הָיָה and ܗܘܐ. The two verbs are cognates, similar both in spelling and meaning, yet

¹²⁶ See Lind, 'Translation Universals', 1–3.

¹²⁷ The material in this section also appears in Dyk, 'The Hebrew and Syriac Copula in Kings'.

they do not always correspond to one another in the two texts, as can be seen in table 12.9.

Of particular interest is the fact that in both texts a significant number of occurrences of these verbs have no corresponding form in the other version. Yet the reasons for verbs not being rendered differ per language. We consider a limited number of aspects which account for the majority of cases without equivalents.

As interesting as the examples belonging to the category ‘other translations’ may be,¹²⁸ we leave those aside and focus on the category ‘no correspondence’.

Table 12.9: Occurrences of the copular verbs in Kings (MT–BTR)

	Hebrew היה	Syriac ܗܝܐ
Cognate rendering	222	222
Other translations	9	17
No correspondence	86	149
Total	317	388

4.1. Macro-Syntactic Narrative ויהי, ‘and it came to pass’

The element ויהי, ‘and it came to pass’ (KJV), often marks the beginning of a new paragraph, and is frequently accompanied by a temporal expression.¹²⁹ In later phases of Hebrew, both the imperfect consecutive form of verbs in general and the macro-syntactic function of this form of the copula dropped out of use. Cases of ויהי are unevenly distributed in Kings: 1 Kings has 78 occurrences of clause-initial ויהי, 2 Kings has 55, a difference of nearly one third. Though 2 Kings is somewhat shorter than 1 Kings,¹³⁰ the difference in length is not sufficient to explain the reduction in the use of clause-initial ויהי.

¹²⁸ In the category ‘other translations’, the Hebrew copula corresponds to other Syriac verbs: ܗܝܐ (1 Kgs 4:7); ܗܝܐ (1 Kgs 10:5); ܗܝܐ (2 Kgs 6:25; 7:18); ܗܝܐ (1 Kgs 11:15); ܗܝܐ (1 Kgs 17:7); ܗܝܐ (1 Kgs 7:8); ܗܝܐ (2 Kgs 20:13, 15). In contrast, the Syriac copula corresponds 15 × to a masc sg or pl pronoun (1 Kgs 3:3; 8:41; 9:20; 11:14; 17:19, 40; 19:18, 19; 20:12, 28; 22:33; 2 Kgs 8:27, 29; 19:37; 22:7), and 2 × to the interjection הנה. This lack of symmetry is another confirmation that the two languages employ distinctive strategies in the use of the copula.

¹²⁹ See Gesenius—Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 111f, g; Andersen, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew*, 63.

¹³⁰ In the electronic database of the WIVU, 1 Kings comprises 13,092 words, and 2 Kings 12,235, a difference of approximately 6.5%.

While the overall frequency of ויהי is less in 2 Kings, there are more cases of ויהי with a time expression in comparison to 1 Kings, as shown in table 12.10.

Table 12.10: Distribution of ויהי in Kings

ויהי	1 Kings	2 Kings
With time expressions	43 (55%)	36 (65%)
With other structures	35 (45%)	19 (35%)
Total	78	55

In considering the rendering of ויהי in the Peshitta, the distinctions made above prove to be significant.

4.1.1. *With Expressions for Time*

The expressions for time following the narrative element ויהי in Hebrew can be either a phrase containing a word expressing time, such as ‘day’, ‘month’, ‘year’, ‘morning’, the phrase ‘after these things’, or a preposition plus an infinitive clause describing the circumstances under which the ensuing action takes place.

Syriac has neither the imperfect consecutive as narrative tense, nor this special function of the copula verb as narrative discourse marker; nonetheless, at times ויהי is rendered quite literally by a form of ܐܘܡܐ, ‘be’:¹³¹

1Kgs 11:29

ܐܘܡܐ ܐܘܡܐ ܫܘܒܬܐ ܫܘܒܬܐ ܫܘܒܬܐ ‘and it was at that time’
 ܘܝܗܝ ܒܥܬ ܗܝܐ ‘and it came to pass at that time’

More often, however, whether with a time phrase or with a dependent clause expressing time, the introductory element ויהי is skipped; Syriac renders the time expression and continues with the following clause:¹³²

¹³¹ 18×: a time expression introduced by ב, rendered as ܐܘܡܐ in 1Kgs 6:11; 11:29; 14:25; 20:29; 22:2; 2Kgs 3:20; 19:35, and rendered as ܘܝܗܝ in 2Kgs 2:1; introduced by מן קצה, rendered as ܘܝܗܝ ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ in 1Kgs 9:10; introduced by אחר, rendered as ܘܝܗܝ ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ in 1Kgs 21:1; introduced by לעת, rendered as ܘܝܗܝ ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ in 1Kgs 11:4; an unmarked time phrase rendered as a phrase introduced by ܘܝܗܝ in 1Kgs 18:1, rendered as a phrase introduced by ܘܝܗܝ in 2Kgs 4:8, and rendered as an unmarked time phrase in 2Kgs 4:18, 18; introduced by ל, rendered as ܘܝܗܝ in 1Kgs 20:26. In 1Kgs 18:27 a time phrase preceded by ב ויהי is rendered as a time phrase preceded by ܘܝܗܝ. In 2Kgs 7:18 an infinitive of speaking preceded by ב ויהי is rendered as ܘܝܗܝ followed by the noun ܘܝܗܝܐ, ‘word’.

¹³² 61×, for example, a time expression introduced by ב, rendered as ܐܘܡܐ in 1Kgs 18:44; 2Kgs 25:1, 15, rendered as ܘܝܗܝ in 1Kgs 3:18, and rendered as ܘܝܗܝ ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ in 2Kgs 17:25; introduced

1Kgs 9:1

סבג עלג עללכ 'and when Solomon completed'
 ויהי ככלות שלמה 'and it came to pass when Solomon had finished'

When ויהי is left unexpressed in Syriac, the time expression can be moved to a later position in the following clause to which it has been incorporated:

2Kgs 10:9

ספפ כז פז 'and he went out in the morning'
 ויהי בבקר ויצא 'and it came to pass in the morning, and he went out'

The distribution of the use of אסס to render ויהי plus time expression is given in table 12.11.

Table 12.11: Use of אסס to render ויהי plus time expression in Kings

ויהי plus time expression	1 & 2 Kings
Rendered using אסס	18 (23%)
Rendered without אסס	61 (77%)
Total	79

The tendency not to use אסס in rendering ויהי plus time is considerably stronger in 2 Kings than in 1 Kings, as shown in table 12.12. There is thus a strong tendency not to render ויהי when it introduces a time expression in the narrative and this tendency is more marked in 2 Kings than in 1 Kings.

Table 12.12: Use of אסס to render ויהי plus time expression in 1 and 2 Kings separately

ויהי plus time expression	1 Kings	2 Kings
Rendered using אסס	11 (26%)	7 (19%)
Rendered without אסס	32 (74%)	29 (81%)
Total	43	36

That this phenomenon is not limited to the imperfect consecutive form ויהי alone can be seen, for example, in:¹³³

by קז, rendered as כגז in 1Kgs 2:39; introduced by אחר, rendered as חגז in 1Kgs 13:23; 17:17. The combination of ויהי with an infinitive introduced by ב or כ is most commonly rendered as כ alone: with ב in 1Kgs 8:10; 11:15; 16:11; with כ in 1Kgs 9:1; 14:6; 18:17; 22:33; 2Kgs 2:9; 4:6; 5:8; 12:11; 19:1. However, see the last two examples in the previous note for other possibilities.

¹³³ Other examples with pf consec are 1Kgs 1:21; 2Kgs 4:10; with ipf 1Kgs 14:5.

1Kgs 2:37

סבטלכא גנפפ רטג

'and in the day that you go out'

והיה ביום צאתך

'and it shall be (pf consec) in the day you go out'

This tendency alone accounts for the nearly three-fourths (61 out of 86; see table 12.9) of the occurrences of היה not rendered in the Peshitta.

4.1.2. *With Other Structures*

In contrast to the tendency discussed in the previous section, when the imperfect consecutive of היה occurs with other structures, the Peshitta tends to render the copula.¹³⁴

1Kgs 18:7

אסמסא סבכגלסא כאסוילסא

'and Obadiah was on the road'

ויהי עבדיהו בדרך

'and it came to pass, Obadiah [was] on the road'

2Kgs 15:5

אסמסא זולסא בולסא לטולסא גנמט

ויהי מצרע עד יום מתו

'and he was a leper until the day of his death'

Because Hebrew nominal clauses do not require a copula, it is possible that in 1Kgs 18:7 the imperfect consecutive of היה in these examples functions as a macro-syntactic element outside of the nominal clause, comparable to its functioning with time expressions. This option, however, does not work in 2Kgs 15:5 since the ensuing clause in Hebrew needs the subject present in the form ויהי. This testifies to the shift in function of ויהי from a macro-syntactic element to a regular expression for being. In contrast, the Peshitta in both cases renders the copula as part of the following clause.¹³⁵ This interpretation of the data is substantiated by examples where the Peshitta accommodates the form of the copula to the subject of the following clause:

¹³⁴ 43 ×, for example, 1Kgs 4:1; 5:27; 10:14; 12:22; 2Kgs 3:27; 7:20; 17:3; 24:1.

¹³⁵ On the use of אסמסא to render Hebrew verbless clauses, see section 4.2.2.

1Kgs 5:29

ܘܫܠܘܡܘܢ ܠܥܠܡܝܗ ܥܒܕܝܗ ܩܪܝܒܝܢ ܩܘܦܝܢ

'and Solomon had (lit.: to Solomon were) seventy thousand carriers'

ויהי לשלמה שבעים אלף נשא סבל

'and it was so, Solomon had (lit.: to Solomon) seventy thousand bearers of burdens'

Thus although the rendering corresponds closely at word level, there is a significant structural difference: Hebrew frequently employs ויהי as a macro-syntactic narrative element followed by a verbless clause, while Syriac has a 'to be' clause with an explicit copula.

The distribution of the use of ܐܘܢ to render ויהי with structures other than time expressions is presented in table 12.13.

Table 12.13: Use of ܐܘܢ to render ויהי without time expressions in Kings

ויהי with other structures	1 & 2 Kings
Rendered using ܐܘܢ	43 (80%)
Rendered without ܐܘܢ	11 (20%)
Total	54

The distribution of this data for the two books of Kings separately is presented in table 12.14. Again the tendency not to render ויהי is stronger in 2 Kings than in 1 Kings.

Table 12.14: Use of ܐܘܢ to render ויהי without time expressions in 1 and 2 Kings separately

ויהי with other structures	1 Kings	2 Kings
Rendered using ܐܘܢ	31 (89%)	12 (63%)
Rendered without ܐܘܢ	4 (11%)	7 (27%)
Total	35	19

The cases rendered without ܐܘܢ attract attention due to their infrequency. In 1 Kings, three of the four involve a participial clause following ויהי, apparently understood as descriptive of the circumstances in which the following clause took place. In these, the Peshitta did not render ויהי, but added particles to make the connection explicit.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ See also 1Kgs 20:39 with ܐܘܢ; 20:40 with ܘܒܢ. In 1Kgs 18:45, ܥܕ is apparently understood in this manner and rendered as ܘܒܢ, leaving ויהי unrendered.

1Kgs 13:20

וּבַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יָשְׁבוּ עַל הַטֹּבֵל

'and when they were sitting at the table'

וַיָּבֵר הוֹיָא הֵם יוֹשְׁבֵי אֵל הַשְּׁלַחן

'and it came to pass, they were sitting at the table'

In 2 Kings all but one of the seven cases rendered without *וַיְהִי* involve the translation of a participial clause following *וַיְהִי*. In four of these, the Peshitta adds the particle *וּבַ*.¹³⁷

There are also cases of the perfect consecutive of *וַיְהִי* functioning within speech in a manner similar to the imperfect consecutive *וַיְהִי* within narrative texts, namely, introducing the circumstances under which the following clause occurs:

1Kgs 11:38

וְאִם תִּשְׁמַע אֶת כָּל אֲשֶׁר אֲצַוְךָ

'and if you will harken to all that I command you'

וְהָיָה אִם תִּשְׁמַע אֶת כָּל אֲשֶׁר אֲצַוְךָ

'and it shall be, if you harken to all that I command you'

Nonetheless there are cases where the Peshitta both adds the particle and renders *וַיְהִי*, as in:¹³⁸

2Kgs 2:11

וַיְהִי כִּי הָיוּ הֹלְכִים וְדַבְּרִים וְרַכְבֵּי אֵשׁ וְסוּסֵי אֵשׁ

'and it was that while they were talking and walking, and see, a chariot of fire and a horse of fire'

וַיְהִי כִּי הָיָה הַמָּה הַלְכִים הַלֹּךְ וְדַבֵּר וְהָנָה רֶכֶב אֵשׁ וְסוּסֵי אֵשׁ

'and it came to pass, they went on walking and talking, and see, a chariot of fire and horses of fire'

Rendering both *וַיְהִי* and a circumstantial particle remains exceptional to the general pattern and perhaps occurred under the influence of the source text. Thus the cases of *וַיְהִי* not rendered in the translation reveal a systematic difference in the functioning of the copula in the two languages.

¹³⁷ Without a particle: 2Kgs 6:5; 8:5; 13:21; 19:37; with a particle: 2Kgs 6:26; 8:21; 20:4 (with pf in the MT).

¹³⁸ This occurs also in 2Kgs 17:7.

4.2. Syriac ܐܘܢ without Correspondence in the Masoretic Text

In contrast to the instances in the preceding section, there are more occurrences of the copula in the Peshitta without a correspondence in the Masoretic text than vice versa (see table 12.9). In this section we will look at two factors which play a role in this and which together account for the majority of the cases.

4.2.1. ܐܘܢ as Auxiliary Verb

A difference in the use of the verbal system lies behind many of the cases of the verb ܐܘܢ which have no correspondence in the Masoretic text. In Syriac the copular verb frequently occurs together with other verbal forms—often the participle—to form the main predication within a clause:

1 Kgs 1:1

ܘܡܫܚܘܢ ܠܗ ܠܘܫܘܬܐ

‘and they were covering (ptc + ‘be’ [pf]) him with clothes’

ܘܝܚܘܫܘܢ ܒܒܘܕܝܢ

‘and they covered (ipf consec) him with clothes’

The use of the participle in this manner, did develop in later Hebrew, but was not common in Kings, though a number of examples can be found.¹³⁹

1 Kgs 12:6

ܘܡܫܘܬܘܢ ܥܡܘܢ ܥܒܪܐܗܡ

‘which were standing (ptc + ‘be’ [pf]) before his father’

ܘܥܡܘܢ ܥܒܪܐܗܡ ܥܡܘܢ ܥܒܪܐܗܡ

‘which were standing (‘be’ [pf] + ptc) before Solomon his father’

In a few cases a combination of the tendency to skip over ܘܝܗי in its macro-syntactic narrative function and the possibility of the participle functioning with the copular verb to form a single verbal predication results in a

¹³⁹ 1 Kgs 2:45; 5:1, 15; 18:3; 22:35; 2 Kgs 4:1; 6:8; 9:14; 17:25, 28, 29, 32 (2 ×), 33, 41 (2 ×); 18:4; 21:15. The shift in the Hebrew use of the verbal system can be seen within this range of examples: those in 1 Kgs 5:1, 15; 18:3 could be debated as being the copula with a nominal or adjectival predicate complement instead of with a verbally functioning participle. The example in 1 Kgs 12:6, cited in the main text, involves a dependent clause, an environment more conducive to the verbal functioning of the participle. Though the list is not exhaustive, the references given occur predominantly in the later part of Kings and could be indicative of a shift in the use of the Hebrew verbal system within Kings itself. For the possibility of the reanalysis of the participle as the main verb, see Dyk, *Participles in Context*, esp. 136–140, 212.

ולא אלהי עמקים הוא
 'and not god of the valleys he (pronoun third masc sg)'

Compare also the sequence of letters in:

2 Kgs 18:22

... לא מסא מס ג
 'was ('be' [pf third masc sg]) it not he who (Hezekiah took away his altars)¹⁴⁴

... הלוא הוא אשר
 'is it not he (pronoun third masc sg), whose (altars Hezekiah took away)'

In spite of the similarities in spelling, it is improbable that the form of the Hebrew pronoun alone influenced the rendering as the Syriac copula, since syntactic aspects are also at work in these constructions.

In some cases an apparently superfluous existential particle ܐܘܪ appears alongside the verb ܐܘܪܐܢܝܢ in the rendering of some of the Hebrew expressions for 'be', both with and without the copular verb:¹⁴⁵

1 Kgs 10:22

ܡܚܠܐ ܕܩܝܦܢܐ ܕܗܘܘ ܐܘܪܐܢܝܢ ܐܘܪܐܢܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܒܝܡܐ
 lit.: 'for ships of Tarshish there-being they were for the king in the sea'
 'for the king had ships of Tarshish in the sea'

ܕܡܠܟܐ ܒܝܡܐ ܕܐܘܪܐܢܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܒܝܡܐ
 'for the king had a Tarshish fleet in the sea'

When the copula is lacking in Hebrew nominal clauses it can be unclear where the boundary is between the subject and the predicate in more complex nominal structures. Making the copula explicit in combination with the interpretation of the participle as the main verb has resulted in three forms of the copula being present in the Peshitta version of the following verse where the Masoretic text has none at all:

2 Kgs 10:6¹⁴⁶

ܐܘܪܐܢܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܒܝܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܒܝܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܒܝܡܐ
 lit.: 'and the sons of the king were being (ܐܘܪܐܢܝܢ ptc and pf) seventy men and the captains of the city were (ܐܘܪܐܢܝܢ ptc) raising them'

¹⁴⁴ See section 2.3 above on the interpretation of the Syriac rendering in the absence of the question marker.

¹⁴⁵ Such examples corresponding to the copular verb in Hebrew can be found in 1Kgs 10:2; 2Kgs 3:9 (with negation); 10:1; 24:7; 25:3 (with negation). The functioning of this particle within P is a separate topic of research. In the electronic translation concordance, ܐܘܪ corresponds 11 × to the existential particle יִשׁ in Hebrew, and 30 × it has no correspondence at word level in the Hebrew text.

¹⁴⁶ For the difference in clause boundaries, see chapter 13, section 4.

by the cognate Syriac copula, in many cases it is more than likely that the form has a different syntactic function in the translated text than it did in the source text.

5. CORRESPONDENCE AT WORD LEVEL, DIFFERENCE IN SYNTACTIC BOUNDARIES AND CLAUSE-CONSTITUENT FUNCTIONS

Besides the cases of homography treated in chapter 8, there are passages with a close resemblance between the Masoretic text and the Peshitta at word level, but a difference in syntactic structure and in the clause-constituent functions of the elements. The limited selection is merely indicative of what can be found.¹⁴⁸

5.1. *Different Phrase Boundaries*

A phrase boundary in the Peshitta has been drawn at a different point than in the Masoretic text, thus resulting in different clause boundaries, in:

1Kgs 11:27

וַיִּזְכֹּר אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְסוּלֹמֹן בְּבִנּוֹת מִלּוֹ

‘(And this was the matter) that he (Jeroboam) raised the hand against King Solomon, when he (Solomon) built Millo’

אֲשֶׁר הָרִים יָד בְּמֶלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה בְּנָה אֶת הַמִּלּוֹא

‘(And this was the matter) that he (Jeroboam) raised the hand against the king. Solomon built the Millo’

According to the Masoretic punctuation, *בְּמֶלֶךְ*, ‘against the king’, marks the end of the first clause. As a consequence, *שְׁלֹמֹה*, ‘Solomon’, is the explicit subject of the second clause. The word order subject—perfect verb is not uncommon in Hebrew. In the Peshitta, however, *בְּכַלְכַּל עַל־מֶלֶךְ*, ‘against King Solomon’, constitutes one phrase, as is clear from the following conjunction *וַ*, which marks a new clause. Apparently, the translator construed the Hebrew differently than the Masoretes did.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Similar cases involving clauses can be found in 1Kgs 11:18; 19:11 (see chapter 8, section 1.12); 2Kgs 23:11 (see chapter 6, section 5.2.2). For cases above clause level, see chapter 13, section 4.

¹⁴⁹ Another example occurs in 2Kgs 17:33–34; see chapter 13, section 5.

5.2. *Demonstrative Pronoun Rendered as Object Instead of Subject*

A rearrangement in the word order results in a reanalysis of the function of the constituents within a clause in the following text:

2 Kgs 5:7

וַיִּשְׁלַח לְמֶלֶךְ אֲדָמָה אִישׁ אֶת הַיָּדָא הַזֶּה

'... that he sent to me this (man). Can I heal a man from his leprosy?'

בִּיְהוּהוּ שְׁלַח אֵלַי לְאִסְףָּ אִישׁ מִצְרַעְתּוֹ

'... that this (man) has sent to me to recover a man from his leprosy?'

The king of Israel is distraught at the request of the king of Edom to heal Naaman of his leprosy. In the rendering, all corresponding parts of speech are present, but by a change of word order the demonstrative pronoun—the subject in the Masoretic text—becomes the direct object in the Peshitta. In the Hebrew, the object of the verb *שָׁלַח*, 'send', is the following infinitive clause: 'send (with the purpose of) to recover'. The Syriac, however, already has the demonstrative pronoun as the object and continues the quote with the verb in the first person: 'Can I heal ...?' It could be that in Syriac the verb *ܘܫܠܟ*, 'send', is used preferably with a concrete object that gets sent rather than with an infinitive clause stating the purpose of sending. This would have prompted reading the demonstrative pronoun as the object, which in turn led to changing the infinitive into an imperfect. These assumptions, however, can only be substantiated by further research.

6. SUMMARY

The limited selection of phenomena presented here illustrates how differences between the Peshitta and the Masoretic text can be related to clause-level syntax. The Peshitta appears to follow the Hebrew text rather closely. Divergences are frequently related to differences between the two language systems.

The most noteworthy difference in the occurrence of negatives is probably the need to repeat a negative in a series in Syriac, while in Hebrew a single negative suffices. This seems to indicate a shorter range of government of the negative particle in Syriac.

In the absence of a Syriac question marker, in the majority of cases the Hebrew question marker is merely skipped in the rendering. In 1 Kings this is true of 91% of the cases. The tendency to compensate syntactically in one way or another for the Hebrew question marker is more strongly present in

2 Kings, where the proportion of cases merely skipping the question marker is significantly lower.

As to the valence patterns of the verbs chosen, the Hebrew verbs שׁוּב and שׁוּבָה manifest more different valence patterns and a more extensive scope of syntactic government than do their Syriac counterparts. These factors are compensated for in the Peshitta by using various verbs to render a single Hebrew verb and by the repetition of verbs to extend the scope of verbal government.

The lack of correspondence between the Masoretic text and the Peshitta in the occurrences of the copula reveals systematic differences between Hebrew and Syriac. The macro-syntactic narrative marker וַיְהִי is often not rendered, particularly when it introduces the circumstances in which a following action takes place. On the other hand, Syriac employs the copula frequently to render verbless nominal clauses in Hebrew. Furthermore, the participle and the copula occur together much more often in Syriac narratives to render other tenses in Hebrew.

In general, the differences between the two languages systems cause observable compensation in the syntax. Where the differences are not compensated but the source text is followed closely, it is legitimate to question whether the translation faithfully renders the original. By adhering closely to certain formal elements of the source text, the effect achieved in the translation can diverge from the significance in the source text.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

CASES REQUIRING AN EXPLANATION ABOVE CLAUSE LEVEL

Many correspondences in the electronic translation concordance cannot be explained satisfactorily at word or phrase level, but require the perspective of a level higher in the syntactic hierarchy. Since the database has been built up on the basis of a clause-level synopsis of the texts, we mention a number of aspects which have caught our attention. The topics chosen include the proportionate distribution of the various parts of speech (section 1), the presence of additional material (section 2), the avoidance of repetition (section 3), cases where the word image is preserved but the sentence boundaries are different (section 4), and cases where sentences are rendered differently but the narrative as a whole is compatible with the Masoretic text (section 5).

1. PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PARTS OF SPEECH

Counting a word as a unit separated by blank spaces, the electronic text of the Peshitta of Kings¹ contains 24,908 words, being slightly shorter text than the Masoretic text, with 25,327 words. The distribution in 1 and 2 Kings is given in table 13.1.

Table 13.1: Word count in Kings

<i>Words</i>	MT	P	<i>Difference</i>	
1 Kings	13,092	12,883	-209	(-1.6%)
2 Kings	12,235	12,025	-210	(-1.7%)

In both Hebrew and Syriac, what occurs between blank spaces can involve more than one lexical entry, since prepositions and pronominal suffixes can be attached to a form. Comparing the numbers of lexemes per part of speech shows up some interesting differences and similarities between the

¹ That is, the running text in the Kings volume of *The Old Testament in Syriac*, which basically represents the BTR.

two versions. Although containing slightly fewer words, the Peshitta has a slightly higher total number of lexical items as registered in the electronic translation concordance. The relative distribution between the parts of speech shows much variation, as can be seen in table 13.2.²

Table 13.2: Frequency of lexemes per part of speech

<i>Part of Speech</i>	MT	P	<i>Difference</i>	
Definite article	2,923	0	-2,923	(-100%)
Verb	6,081	6,035	-46	(-0.8%)
Noun	9,023	8,812	-211	(-2.3%)
Proper noun	3,492	3,613	+121	(+3.5%)
Adverb	387	334	-53	(-13.7%)
Preposition	6,007	8,680	+2,673	(+44.5%)
Conjunction	5,484	5,131	-353	(-6.4%)
Pronoun	3,608	4,975	+1,367	(+37.9%)
Interjection	180	125	-55	(-30.6%)
Negative	437	448	+11	(+2.5%)
Interrogative	131	18	-113	(-86.3%)
Adjective	513	672	+159	(+31.0%)
Total	38,266	38,843	+577	(+1.5%)

When a unique lexical item is counted only once, the Peshitta attests fewer unique items. Though containing about 1.5% more total lexical items, the Peshitta has approximately 9.8% fewer unique lexical items, a reduction by nearly one tenth. The distribution of the unique lexical items among the parts of speech is given in table 13.3.

² In order to facilitate the comparison between the two versions, a single entry in the translation concordance is sometimes made up of a combination of several lexical elements in the other version. In such combinations, the part of speech of the initial element is noted as the part of speech of the whole entry. This part of speech has been registered in the statistics of tables 13.2 and 13.3, with the following exceptions. When in the electronic translation concordance in a single entry a negative occurs preceded by another part of speech, the negative particle has been counted separately (see chapter 12, section 1). Also, the Hebrew negative particle לֹא is counted as a negative and not as a noun as it appears in the electronic translation concordance (due to the part of speech assignment in *KBL*). Furthermore, where the nominal element 'son of' is combined with a proper noun in order to correspond to a single proper noun in the other version, the combination is registered as a proper noun. The part of speech 'pronoun' includes personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and pronominal suffixes.

Table 13.3: Number of unique entries per part of speech

<i>Part of Speech</i>	MT	P	<i>Difference</i>	
Definite article	1	0	-1	(-100%)
Verb	463	384	-79	(-17.1%)
Noun	823	752	-71	(-8.6%)
Proper noun	414	382	-32	(-7.7%)
Adverb	23	39	+16	(+69.6%)
Preposition	86	77	-9	(-10.5%)
Conjunction	15	18	+3	(+20%)
Pronoun	26	35	+9	(+34.6%)
Interjection	14	6	-8	(-57.1%)
Negative	3	1	-2	(-66.7%)
Interrogative	13	5	-8	(-61.5%)
Adjective	101	89	-12	(-11.9%)
Total	1,982	1,788	-194	(-9.8%)

The parts of speech with three digits show significant reductions in unique items in the Peshitta: 17.1% fewer verbs, 8.6% fewer nouns, and 7.7% fewer proper nouns. These three sets of content words will be commented on below. The most dramatic decrease—100% for the category ‘definite article’—points to a difference in language system: the definite article in Hebrew is a separate lexical item, while Syriac does not have a lexicalized definite article. The second most dramatic decrease—66.7% for the category ‘negative’—is to be discounted because of the low frequency of the items involved.³

Prepositions show a decrease in unique items (-10.5%), but in actual occurrence a considerable increase (+44.5%, see table 13.2). Some of the factors contributing to this difference have to do with internal phrase structure.⁴

Only adverbs, conjunctions, and pronouns show an increase in the number of unique lexical entries occurring in the Peshitta of Kings. The 69.6% increase in lexical entries for the category ‘adverb’ can be explained by the tendency in Hebrew to use adjectives adverbially, while Syriac has a wider range of lexicalized adverbs. Though there are more lexical items for the category ‘adverb’, on the whole this part of speech occurs less frequently

³ While Hebrew has three different lexical negatives—אֵל, לֹא, אֵינִי—Syriac consistently uses the single negative particle ܐܘܠܐ. See chapter 12, section 1.

⁴ See chapter 11, section 3.2.

throughout the text (see table 13.2). The Peshitta contains slightly more lexically unique conjunctions, but conjunctions occur on a whole less often in the Peshitta than in the Masoretic text (see table 13.2). There are basically two reasons for this. First, the frequently occurring Hebrew imperfect consecutive form includes a conjunction which is not always rendered in the Peshitta.⁵ Second, where Syriac differs from Hebrew in internal phrase structure, the conjunction in the Hebrew text may not be represented in Syriac.⁶

Separate attention will be given to verbs (section 1.1), nouns (section 1.2), proper nouns (section 1.3), and pronominal elements (section 1.4).

1.1. *Verbs*

The Peshitta of Kings has only a slightly lower total number of verbs, but contains significantly fewer unique lexical items. See the following excerpt from tables 13.2 and 13.3:

<i>Verb</i>	MT	P	<i>Difference</i>
Total occurrences	6,081	6,035	-46 (-0.8%)
Unique items	463	384	-79 (-17.1%)

This reduction in unique lexical items is one of the highest of all parts of speech. Discounting the definite article which is lacking in Syriac, only interjections, negatives, and interrogatives show a larger reduction in unique lexical items. For these groups, however, the totals are so low, that even a small difference would shift the proportions considerably. The significant reduction in unique verbal lexical items merits further attention in future research.⁷

Though containing nearly the same number of verbal forms, the two texts show a vast divergence in the proportionate distribution of the various forms of the verbal system, as given in table 13.4.⁸

⁵ See below section 1.1.

⁶ See chapter 11, section 3.3.

⁷ See below section 3.1 for remarks on the reduction in the rendering of verbs.

⁸ In the database, Hebrew *a-e* verbs are recognized as having participial verbal forms; some lexica provide no participial forms for these verbs, but only a cognate adjective. The verbs involved are מִשַׁח (1Kgs 1:45; 4:20; 8:66; 2Kgs 11:14), כָּבַד (1Kgs 3:9; 10:2; 12:4, 11; 2Kgs 6:14; 18:17), יָשַׁח (1Kgs 3:20; 18:27), חָסַר (1Kgs 11:22), חָפַץ (1Kgs 13:33; 21:6), and מָלַא (2Kgs 4:4). Further, some passive participial forms, which some lexica treat as separate nominal entries,

Table 13.4: Proportionate occurrences of verbal forms

<i>Form</i>	MT		P		<i>Difference</i>	
Perfect ⁹	1,602	(26.3%)	3,791	(62.8%)	+2,189	(+136.7%)
Imperfect	650	(10.7%)	785	(13.0%)	+135	(+20.8%)
Ipf consec	2,254	(37.1%)	–	(0.0%)	–2,254	(–100.0%)
Imperative	349	(5.8%)	435	(7.2%)	+86	(+24.6%)
Infinitive	640	(10.5%)	240	(4.0%)	–400	(–62.5%)
Participles	586	(9.6%)	784	(13.0%)	+198	(+33.8%)
Total	6,081	(100.0%)	6,035	(100.0%)	–46	(–.8%)

The difference in distribution can rarely be explained at word or clause level, but is related to the use of the verbal system within each of the languages. Some insight into this use is provided by a survey of how the various tenses in the Masoretic text are rendered in the Peshitta.

In his study on 1Kings, Williams devotes a chapter to the use of the verbal forms. He comments on the fact that since both languages have the same verbal forms—with the exception of the imperfect consecutive which is exclusive to Hebrew—certain tenses tend to be seen as equivalents of each other in the other language. He proceeds to show that this conception is inadequate. Williams does this by commenting on those forms which deviate from the simple equation of correspondence.¹⁰

In our presentation we will include notes on Williams' observations, but it is somewhat difficult to compare his statistics with ours for various reasons. Williams focuses on determining the tense value of a form, which is not a topic in our treatment; he treats the verbal forms occurring with the coordinating conjunction separately from those *asyndetically* connected;

are taken to be verbal forms in the present data. This involves סגור (1Kgs 6:20, 21; 7:49, 50) and בצור (2Kgs 18:13; 19:25). Finally, the infinitive of מות is treated as a verb instead of as a noun as in some lexica (1Kgs 11:40; 13:34; 2Kgs 3:5; 14:17). For Syriac the occurrences of 'Rab Shaqeh' (2Kgs 18:17, 19, 26, 27, 28, 37; 19:4, 8) are analysed as a proper noun and not as a noun followed by a participle (see chapter 6, section 5.2.3).

⁹ In the consonantal text, which is the basis of the analysis, many instances of masc sg participle and third masc sg perfect are graphically indistinguishable from each other. Their identification is based on contextual (syntactic) information, and in ambiguous cases, on the interpretation offered by the vowel signs in the Mosul edition.

¹⁰ Williams, *Studies*, 101. He lists as forms taken to be equivalents in the two languages: 'imperative, participle, perfect, and imperfect, while ... the "conversive"-waw in Hebrew ... makes Hebrew *wayyiqtol* correspond to Syriac *w^aqatal*, and both Hebrew *w^eqatal* and *w^eyiqtol* to correspond to Syriac *wneqtol*.'

he comments only on the cases which deviate from the simple equation; and his study is limited to 1 Kings.

1.1.1. Hebrew Imperfect Consecutive

One notable example of a difference in the verbal system is that Hebrew uses the imperfect consecutive as the main narrative tense, a form which does not occur in Syriac. The Hebrew imperfect consecutives are rendered in the Peshitta of Kings as presented in table 13.5 (in descending order of frequency).

The relatively high frequency of this form with its accompanying coordinating conjunction also explains a number of the coordinated conjunctions in the Hebrew text not rendered in the Peshitta of Kings.¹¹ The most frequent corresponding form is the perfect, which indeed does function as the main narrative tense in Syriac, as in:

2 Kgs 25:6

וַיִּשְׁפֹּט אֶת-הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶסְמַחֲמַס, לְחַלְקוֹ אֶת-הַמֶּלֶךְ וְיָעִלּוּ אֹתוֹ ... וַיִּדְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ

'and they seized (pf) him, the king, and caused (pf) him to go up ... and spoke (pf) judgment with him'

וַיִּתְּפֹשׂ אֶת-הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיִּעֲלֵה אֹתוֹ ... וַיִּדְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ מִשְׁפָּט

'and they seized (ipf cons) the king and caused (ipf cons) him to go up ... and spoke (ipf cons) judgment with him'

A number of the imperfect consecutive forms which are not rendered can be accounted for by the macro-syntactic introductory, 'and it came to pass' (KJV), which is not always rendered in Syriac, as in:¹²

2 Kgs 8:5

וַיְהִי כִּשְׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת-הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר-נִשְׁמָע

'and while relating to the king that he made alive one who had died'

וַיְהִי כִּשְׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת-הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר-נִשְׁמָע

'and it came to pass, he was telling the king how he had restored a dead one to life'

¹¹ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 100: 'If *wayyiqtol* appears after a verb of motion it may be translated asyndetically simply by the perfect without *waw*.' See table 13.2 above and chapter 4, section 2.2.

¹² See also chapter 12, section 4.1.

Table 13.5: Syriac correspondences of the Hebrew imperfect consecutive

<i>Hebrew Ipf Consecutive</i>	<i>Syriac</i>
2053	Perfect
73	Participle ¹³
6	Infinitive ¹⁴
4	Participle plus perfect ¹⁵
3	Imperfect
3	Perfect plus Participle ¹⁶
2	Perfect plus Perfect
2	Imperative
<i>Not rendered</i>	
100	
<i>Ipf Cons plus participle</i>	
8	Perfect plus Participle

1.1.2. *Hebrew Perfect*

The Hebrew perfect corresponds to verbal forms in the Peshitta of Kings as listed in table 13.6. The fact that a number of Hebrew perfects are rendered by imperfects and imperatives in Syriac can be explained partially by the fact that the perfect consecutive can follow an imperfect or an imperative and be used as a continuation of that form.

Table 13.6: Syriac correspondences of the Hebrew perfect

<i>Hebrew Perfect</i>	<i>Syriac</i>
1187	Perfect ¹⁷
158	Imperfect ¹⁸

¹³ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 111: ‘*qātel hwā* occurs as the translation of a *wayyiqtol* form ... where ... [the action] is represented a something durative ... [in 1Kgs] 18:27’. Cf. also, 114: ‘... five examples where *wqātel* translates *wayyiqtol*’.

¹⁴ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 109: ‘In once case Hebrew *hwātōl* is translated by a Syriac infinitive preceded by “and he began to”’, citing 1Kgs 6:1. The perfect form ‘and he began to’ is recorded in our data as a perfect not rendered.

¹⁵ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 114: ‘On five occasions *wayyiqtol* is translated by *wqātel hwā*’.

¹⁶ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 113: ‘Syriac uses *wahwā qātel* for Hebrew *wayyiqtol*, e.g. 18:26’.

¹⁷ Williams, *Studies*, 104, mentions for 1Kings that ‘Syriac *waqtal* is used eight times to represent the Hebrew *wēqātal*’.

¹⁸ Williams, *Studies*, 105–106, treats the cases occurring with a coordinating conjunction separately, observing: ‘Syriac *neqtol* renders Hebrew *wēqātal* in an apodosis (14:12) or following a verb of motion (17:12)’. Further, 106, ‘Syriac *wneqtol* may express purpose, but does so less than Hebrew *wēyiqtol*’.

<i>Hebrew Perfect</i>	<i>Syriac</i>
123	Participle ²¹
56	Imperative ²²
14	Participle plus Perfect ²³
8	Perfect plus Perfect ²⁴
1	Imperfect plus Participle
1	Infinitive plus Perfect
<i>Not rendered</i>	
36	
<i>Perfect plus Participle</i>	
9	Participle plus Perfect
1	Perfect
1	Participle

1.1.3. *Hebrew Imperfect*

The rendering of the Hebrew imperfect forms in the Peshitta of Kings are presented in table 13.7.

Table 13.7: Syriac correspondences of the Hebrew imperfect

<i>Hebrew Imperfect</i>	<i>Syriac</i>
453	Imperfect
94	Participle ²³
41	Perfect ²⁴

¹⁹ Williams, *Studies*, 109: 'Syriac *qātel* may translation Hebrew *qātal* in some predictable circumstances. For instance, the verb יד [‘know’] in the second person perfect ... is translated by the participle in Syriac. ... But neither the Hebrew nor Syriac is bound to use this construction’. Cf. also 113: ‘*wqātel* may also translate *w^eqātal*’; 114: ‘*wqātel* | *pronoun* may also translate *w^eqātaltā* forms’.

²⁰ Williams, *Studies*, 106: ‘Syriac *qtol* may render Hebrew *w^eqātaltā* when the latter represents a command’; ‘Syriac *qtol* may also render Hebrew *w^eqātaltā* without needing to be the second of two imperatives.’ For cases with the conjunction, cf. Williams, *Studies*, 107: ‘Often *waqtol* may render Hebrew second person forms, i.e. *w^eqātaltā* etc.’

²¹ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 111: ‘Twice Syriac *qātel hwā* translates Hebrew *qātal*. *qātel hwā* seems to represent continuous action in the past.’ Cf. also 116: ‘Once (9:25) *wqātel hwā* is used to translate *w^eqātal*’.

²² Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 102, for 1 Kings: ‘In up to five cases, *qtal hwā* may be representing Hebrew *qātal*’.

²³ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 110: ‘Syriac *qātel* may also render the Hebrew form *yiqtol* (in past, present, or future time reference) with or without a pronoun following the participle.’

²⁴ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 100–101, for 1 Kings: ‘probably nine cases where the Syriac perfect translates the Hebrew imperfect’.

<i>Hebrew Perfect</i>	<i>Syriac</i>
	17 Imperative ²⁵
	10 Participle plus Perfect ²⁶
	5 Infinitive
	2 Perfect plus Participle ²⁷
	1 Imperfect plus Participle
<i>Not Rendered</i>	
	11
<i>Imperfect plus Infinitive</i>	
	1 Infinitive plus Imperfect
<i>Imperfect plus Participle</i>	
	2 Imperfect plus Participle

1.1.4. *Hebrew Imperative*

The more frequent occurrence of imperatives in the Peshitta points to another systematic difference between the two languages. As already mentioned, in Hebrew the perfect consecutive can be used to continue the tense of a preceding verbal form. Thus the perfect is frequently employed to continue a series of imperatives, as in:

1Kgs 17:3

וְלִי חֲבֹרָה מֵאֲחֵרֶיךָ לִי לְחַוֵּסָה מֵאֲחֵרֶיךָ בְּנַחְלֵי חֵרִית

‘go (imp) from here and turn (imp) for yourself eastwards and hide yourself (imp) by the brook of Cherith’

לְךָ מִזֶּה וּפְנִיתָ לְךָ קִדְמָה וְנִסְתַּרְתָּ בְּנַחְלֵי חֵרִית

‘go (imp) from here and turn (pf consec) for yourself eastwards and hide yourself (pf cons) by the brook Cherith’

Table 13.8 presents how Hebrew imperatives are rendered in the Peshitta.

²⁵ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 107, for 1Kings: ‘Hebrew second person forms that express command or obligation, i.e., *tiqtōl*, etc., may be translated by Syriac imperatives; ‘Of course, *tiqtōl* may also be translated by Syriac *teqtōl*’.

²⁶ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 112: ‘*qātel hwā* may also translate Hebrew *yiqtol*’.

²⁷ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 112: ‘Twice *hwā qātel* translates *tiqtōl*’.

Table 13.8: Syriac correspondences of the Hebrew imperative

<i>Hebrew Imperative</i>	<i>Syriac</i>
	336 Imperative
	4 Participle
	1 Perfect
	1 Imperfect
<i>Not Rendered</i>	
	7

1.1.5. *Hebrew Infinitive*

The Syriac version of Kings has less than half of the number of infinitive forms as compared to the Masoretic text. The Hebrew infinitives are rendered in the Peshitta as presented in table 13.9.

The compound tenses consisting of the infinitive plus another verbal form are mostly those in which the same verbal lexeme is used twice, the emphatic use of the infinitive, as in:

2 Kgs 14:20

ܡܨܘܒܝܢ ܥܘܒܕܐ ܕܥܕܘܡ

הכה הכית את אדום

'you have indeed destroyed Edom'

In most cases the Peshitta uses the infinitive in the same way as the Hebrew does,²⁸ the single exception being two renderings by an imperfect plus participle (1Kgs 8:29, 52).

Table 13.9: Syriac correspondences of the Hebrew infinitive

<i>Hebrew Infinitive</i>	<i>Syriac</i>
	201 Infinitive
	180 Perfect
	104 Imperfect
	36 Participle
	5 Imperative
	1 Imperfect plus Participle
	1 Perfect plus Participle
<i>Not Rendered</i>	
	90

²⁸ See also the case listed in table 13.7 where the order of the verbal forms is reversed.

<i>Hebrew Perfect</i>	<i>Syriac</i>
<i>Infinitive plus Imperfect</i>	
11	Infinitive plus Imperfect
1	Infinitive plus Imperative
1	Infinitive plus Participle
<i>Infinitive plus Perfect</i>	
6	Infinitive plus Perfect
<i>Infinitive plus participle</i>	
2	Imperfect plus Participle

1.1.6. *Hebrew Participle*

The Peshitta of Kings contains nearly twice the number of participles as does the Masoretic text, again pointing to a specific use of this form within the verbal system. In the Peshitta the participle functions more frequently as the main verb of a clause, with or without an accompanying form of the copula. The Hebrew participles in Kings are rendered as presented in table 13.10.

Table 13.10: Syriac correspondences of the Hebrew participle

<i>Hebrew Participle</i>	<i>Syriac</i>
338	Participle
49	Perfect
44	Participle plus Perfect ²⁹
13	Imperfect
2	Imperfect plus Participle
1	Infinitive
<i>Not Rendered</i>	
115	
<i>Participle plus Perfect</i>	
1	Perfect plus Perfect

1.1.7. *Compound Verbal Elements*

In the tables above cases involving more than one verbal element within a single clause have been listed. The data are brought together in table 13.11 in which all cases are listed where a compound verbal form occurs in at least one of the texts.

²⁹ Cf. Williams, *Studies*, 111: ‘Syriac *qātel hwā* may translate Hebrew *pronoun / participle*’.

Table 13.11: Occurrences of compound verbal forms

<i>Hebrew</i>		<i>Syriac</i>
Ipf Consecutive	4	Participle plus Perfect
	3	Perfect plus Participle
	2	Perfect plus Perfect
Ipf Cons plus Participle	8	Perfect plus Participle
Perfect	14	Participle plus Perfect
	8	Perfect plus Perfect
	1	Imperfect plus Participle
	1	Infinitive plus Perfect
Perfect plus Participle	9	Participle plus Perfect
	1	Perfect
	1	Participle
Imperfect	10	Participle plus Perfect
	2	Perfect plus Participle
	1	Imperfect plus Participle
Imperfect plus Infinitive	1	Infinitive plus Imperfect
Imperfect plus Participle	2	Imperfect plus Participle
Infinitive	1	Imperfect plus Participle
	1	Perfect plus Participle
Infinitive plus Imperfect	11	Infinitive plus Imperfect
	1	Infinitive plus Imperative
	1	Infinitive plus Participle
Infinitive plus Perfect	6	Infinitive plus Perfect
Infinitive plus participle	2	Imperfect plus Participle
Participle	44	Participle plus Perfect
	2	Imperfect plus Participle
Participle plus Perfect	1	Perfect plus Perfect

The Peshitta attests far more instances of compound verbal forms than does the Masoretic text: 136 in Syriac over against 44 cases in Hebrew. All compound verbal elements in Hebrew have been rendered by compound verbs in Syriac except for two cases where a perfect plus participle is rendered once by a perfect (1 Kgs 10:3) and once by a participle (2 Kgs 6:8). Except for the cases with the infinitive, the compound use involves the presence of the copular verb, as in:

1Kgs 5:15

בְּכָל־יְזַמֵּן־סָמָאֵל לְדָוִד בְּחַמְדָּה מְבֹרָחָה
 כִּי אָהַב הָיָה חִירָם לְדָוִד כָּל־הַיָּמִים
 'for Hiram was loving David always'

This more extensive use of the copular verb in combination with other verbal forms is not absent from the Hebrew text, but the proportion in which it is used in the two texts points to a systematic difference between the two language systems.

1.1.8. *Verbal Forms rendered Identically in the Two Versions*

Extracting from these figures, table 13.12 presents the proportion of forms rendered identically in the two versions.³⁰

Table 13.12: Verbal forms rendered identically

Total in MT	% of MT	Count—Form	% of P	Total in P
1602	74.1%	1187—Perfect	31.3%	3791
637	71.1%	453—Imperfect	59.2%	765
2	100.0%	2—Ipf plus Ptc	22.2%	9
349	96.3%	336—Imperative	77.2%	435
629	32.0%	201—Infinitive	87.8%	229
13	84.6%	11—Inf plus Ipf	91.7%	12
584	57.9%	338—Participle	38.2%	885

1.1.9. *Verbal Forms without Verbal Correspondence*

The distribution of forms which have no equivalent in the other version provides yet another angle from which to view the use of the verbal system in the two languages. In table 13.13 the total number of occurrences of a category is given, as well as the percentage of this total which has no correspondence. Some of the cases lacking correspondence in the other version involve verbs within segments of texts which are pluses or minuses.³¹ The percentages in the double digits all involve the participle and the infinitive, either alone or in combination with another verbal form. It is particularly the double character of these forms, being both verbal and nominal, which accounts for the fact that an infinitive or a participle in one language could

³⁰ To be counted as identical, when two verbal forms occur together, the order of the forms has been taken to be significant. Thus identical includes an identical order of the verbal forms.

³¹ See below sections 2 and 3.

correspond to an adjective or a noun in the other language. An example of a verbal form in one language corresponding to a nominal form in the other is:

2 Kgs 17:9

כל מדינותם הם סגור בלוחים סגורה ליהודה חטומה
בכל עריהם ממגדל נוצרים עד עיר מבצר

'in all their cities, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city'

The word for 'watchmen' in Hebrew is a participle, while in the Syriac it is a noun; on the other hand, the word for 'fenced' in Syriac is a participle, while in Hebrew it is a noun.

Table 13.13: Verbal forms without verbal correspondence

Total in MT ³²	% of MT	MT—Form—P	% of P	Total in P
1,591	2.3 %	36—Perfect—145	3.8 %	3,791
11	0.0 %	0—Pf plus Ptc—1	16.7 %	15
650	1.7 %	11—Imperfect—32	4.2 %	765
2,254	4.4 %	100—Ipf Cons—0	0.0 %	0
349	2.0 %	7—Imperative—18	4.1 %	435
640	14.1 %	90—Infinitive—6	2.5 %	240
584	19.7 %	115—Participle—103	11.6 %	885
1	0.0 %	0—Ptc plus Pf—9	10.0 %	90

Some of the cases lacking correspondence in the other version involve verbs within segments of texts which are pluses or minuses.³³

Singling out the copula, the verb 'to say', and the verbs of movement, table 13.14 presents the distribution of the forms having no correspondence in the other version. Clearly, the copular verbs show the greatest amount of divergence.³⁴ Various aspects of the use of these verbs have been commented on in chapter 12, section 4. The skipped forms of אמר are treated below in section 3.1. The 'extra' verbs of movement in the Masoretic text which have not been rendered in the Peshitta are commented on in section 3.1.

³² The totals in table 13.11 and 13.12 differ because some of the forms are represented in verbal combinations, since the verbal combinations are not the same for those rendered identically and those having no correspondence.

³³ See below sections 2 and 3.

³⁴ Williams, *Studies*, 108, mentions three forms of the copula occurring with the coordinating conjunction (perfect and imperfect forms with the conjunction, and the imperfect consecutive), 'which may be used to mark sections in the narrative or discourse. ... In most cases where they are simply narrative markers they are ignored by Syriac and are merely represented by *waw*.'

The verbs in the Peshitta without correspondence in the Masoretic text can partially be explained by the less extensive range of government of Syriac verbs discussed in chapter 12, section 3.

The differences noted point to an interesting divergence in the use of the forms of the verbal system. As the observations of Williams amply show, similar verbal forms are not simply equivalent to one another in the two languages. Research into how the two language systems make use of the verbal forms can only be conducted within the framework of a full analysis of the use of the verbal systems in corpora in the two languages.

Table 13.14: Frequency of verbs without correspondence

	MT		P	
	No correspondence	Total	No correspondence	Total
היה and ܪܫܡ	85 (26.8%)	317	145 (37.4%)	388
אמר and ܪܫܡܐ	53 (7.9%)	671	15 (2.1%)	725
Verbs of movement ³⁵	22 (2.3%)	957	43 (4.3%)	994
Other verbs	50 (1.2%)	4,136	115 (2.9%)	3,928
Totals	210 (3.5%)	6,081	318 (5.3%)	6,035

1.2. Nouns

While there are slightly fewer nouns in the Peshitta than in the Masoretic text, the number of unique lexical entries for nouns in the Peshitta is considerably lower. Excerpts from tables 13.2 and 13.3 show the following proportions of nouns:

Nouns	MT	P	Difference
Total occurrences	9,023	8,812	-211 (-2.3%)
Unique items	823	752	-71 (-8.6%)

The reduction in unique items reflects the fact that, where the Hebrew text provides different vocabulary items, the Syriac renders these with a single word. To illustrate this, we choose those Syriac nouns beginning with the first letter of the alphabet (see table 13.15).

³⁵ The following verbs of movement have been counted (total occurrences are given in parenthesis) for Hebrew: בוא (266), הלך (221), הפך (4), יצא (94), נפל (24), עלה (112), שוב (117), and שלח (119); for Syriac: ܕܘܢܐ (174), ܪܫܡܐ (179), ܪܫܡܐ (56), ܪܫܡܐ (94), ܪܫܡܐ (92), ܪܫܡܐ (110), ܪܫܡܐ (89), ܪܫܡܐ (144), ܪܫܡܐ (31), and ܪܫܡܐ (25).

Table 13.15: Single Syriac renderings for multiple Hebrew entries

P	MT
כַּד, 'large bowl, crater (of a volcano), capital (of a pillar)'	גלה, 'horizontal projections on pillars' (3×) בתרת, 'capital (of pillar)' (4×) מכונה, 'base, wheeled cart' (15×)
כַּד, 'wage, fee'	מקוה, 'collected mass' (1 Kgs 10:28) שכר, 'hire, wages' (1 Kgs 5:20)
כַּד, 'strait, distress'	לחץ, 'oppression' (2 Kgs 13:4) מצור, 'siege' (2 Kgs 14:20; 25:2) צרה, 'distress' (2 Kgs 19:2)
כַּד, 'length'	ארך, 'length' (6×) קומה, 'height' (1 Kgs 6:23)
כַּד, 'ambassador, envoy, messenger'	מלאך, 'messenger' (20×) מלך, 'king' (2 Kgs 7:17) ³⁶ נער, 'youth' (2 Kgs 19:6)
כַּד, 'maidservant, handmaid'	אמה, 'handmaid' (3×) שפחה, 'maidservant' (3×)
כַּד, 'porch, portico'	אילם, 'porch' (8×) עב, 'canopy (?)', projecting roof (?)' (1 Kgs 7:6)
כַּד, 'lion'	ארי, 'lion' (1 Kgs 10:19, 20) אריה, 'lion' (8×)
כַּד, 'earth, land, country, soil, floor of house'	אדמה, 'arable soil' (10×) אדמה, 'Adamah' (1 Kgs 7:46) ארץ, 'earth, territory, country' (121×) ארצא, 'Arza' (1 Kgs 16:9) ³⁷ גוי, 'people, nation' (2 Kgs 19:17) חיל, 'army' (2 Kgs 15:20) מקום, 'place' (2 Kgs 18:25) עיר, 'city' (2 Kgs 24:11) שדה, 'field' (2 Kgs 9:37) שם, 'there' (2 Kgs 17:33)
כַּד, 'sign, mark, pledge, token'	אות, 'sign, omen' (3×) מופת, 'sign, token' (3×)
כַּד, 'place, region, district, country'	ארץ, 'earth, territory, country' (2 Kgs 3:27) בית, 'house' (1 Kgs 8:33) מקום, 'place' (22×)

³⁶ See chapter 8, section 1.25.³⁷ See chapter 8, section 1.10.

Whether systematic factors are involved in this reduction has not been investigated here. A reduction in unique vocabulary items occurs more often in translated works. Whether the Peshitta is an average example of this tendency in translations has not been investigated.

1.3. *Proper Nouns*

There are more occurrences of proper nouns in the Peshitta, but the number of unique items is considerably less. The data from tables 13.2 and 13.3 bring these facts together:

<i>Proper nouns</i>	MT	P	<i>Difference</i>
Total occurrences	3,492	3,613	+121 (+3.5%)
Unique items	414	382	-32 (-7.7%)

The reduction in the number of unique proper nouns reflects the tendency observed above with nouns: diverse Hebrew names are rendered as the same name in Syriac.³⁸

On the other hand, the increase in the total number of proper nouns could be affected by various factors. In additional material in the Peshitta, both the subject and the verb are pluses as compared to the Masoretic text, as in:

1Kgs 2:28³⁹

ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܘܢܐ ܕܐܕܘܢܝܗܐ ܕܐܕܘܢܝܗܐ ܕܐܕܘܢܝܗܐ

‘and the news reached Joab that Adonijah had been killed’

והשמעה באה עד יואב

‘and the news came to Joab’

Another factor affecting the number of proper nouns is the fact that the Syriac text tends to fill out the valence pattern of a verb, thus making explicit that which is taken to be implicit in the Hebrew text, as in:⁴⁰

1Kgs 12:18

ܘܡܠܟܐ ܪܗܘܒܘܡ ܘܨܠܚ ܐܕܘܢܝܪܡ ܠܟܠ ܝܫܪܐܝܝܠ

‘and King Rehoboam sent Adoniram to all Israel’

וישלח המלך רבועם את אדרם

‘and King Rehoboam sent Adoram’

³⁸ See chapter 6, section 3.

³⁹ See also chapter 2, section 2.4.6. Other examples can be found in 1Kgs 5:15; 18:29; 2Kgs 9:16 (not in 9a1); 25:11; see also section 2 below.

⁴⁰ See also 1Kgs 2:42 (see also chapter 2, section 2.1.1.23); 14:20 (not in 9a1).

Furthermore, the Peshitta often names the character explicitly where the Masoretic text omits the repetition of a name already introduced:

1 Kgs 18:18⁴¹

וַיֹּאמֶר לְיִשְׂרָאֵל 'and Elijah said to him'
וַיֹּאמֶר 'and he said'

Additionally, the Peshitta more often supplies the name of a king where the Masoretic text has only 'the king', and more frequently repeats specific information about a character such as 'son of so-and-so' or 'king of ...', which in the Masoretic text is repeated less often with a new mention of the character involved.⁴²

2 Kgs 14:5⁴³

וַיִּמְלֹךְ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל חֹזַי בֶּן־חֹזַי,
'who had killed Joash, the king, his father'
הַמְכִּים אֶת הַמֶּלֶךְ אָבִיו
'who killed the king, his father'

The higher frequency of proper nouns in the Peshitta thus has partially to do with the tendency to name participants more explicitly than is done in the Masoretic text.

1.4. Pronominal Elements

The distribution of the pronominal elements in the electronic translation concordance is as given in table 13.16.

Table 13.16: Occurrences of pronominal elements

	MT	P	Difference
Personal pronoun	339	611	+272 (80.2%)
Demonstrative pronoun	186	228	+42 (22.6%)
Interrogative pronoun	54	78	+24 (44.4%)
Pronominal suffix	3,028	4,057	+1,029 (34.0%)
Total	3,607	4,974	+1,367 (37.9%)

⁴¹ Other examples can be found in 1 Kgs 1:25 (see also chapter 2, section 2.4.2); 11:24; 17:19 (first clause); 18:16, 18 (first clause); 19:3; 2 Kgs 4:43; 5:16, 26 (not in 9a1); 8:12, 14, 15 (not in 9a1); 18:32; 20:2; 25:7 (not in 9a1).

⁴² See chapter 2, section 2.6.

⁴³ See also 1 Kgs 1:10 (see also chapter 2, section 2.1.1.3), 15 (in the BTR and 9a1 in different positions; see also chapter 2, section 2.1.1.5); 8:62; 15:4; 20:22; 22:2; 2 Kgs 1:5; 9:16; 15:37; 16:1, 12; 21:11; 25:30.

Proportions which diverge in this magnitude point to systematic differences between the languages.⁴⁴ Mention has already been made of the use of pronominal suffixes to maintain the chain of government within phrases in Syriac.⁴⁵ The higher proportions of personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns in the Peshitta are related to a large extent to systematic differences in the structure of verbal and nominal clauses. Here we explore a number of systematic differences, and thereby provide the background for a couple of cases which deserve extra attention.

1.4.1. *In Verbal Clauses*

Within verbal clauses, Syriac uses pronominal elements more extensively than Hebrew does. In comparison to the Hebrew text, additional pronouns occur in the Syriac text accompanying finite verbal forms, as in:⁴⁶

1 Kgs 14:7

ܐܢܗ ܐܘܨܬܐܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ

'I (pron) I have raised (pf) you from the people'

ܝܥܢ ܐܫܪ ܗܪܝܡܬܝܚ ܡܬܘܚ ܗܥܡ

'since I have raised (pf) you from among the people'

2 Kgs 5:5⁴⁷

ܐܢܗ ܐܫܘܢ ܐܘܨܠܚܐ ܠܠܚܐ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܠ

'I (pron) I will send (ipf) a letter to the king of Israel'

ܘܐܫܠܚܗ ܣܦܪ ܐܠ ܡܠܚ ܝܫܪܐܝܠ

'I will send (ipf) a letter to the king of Israel'

Making the subject explicit by means of a pronoun is related to narrative strategies and participant tracking within a text. Syriac tends to refer to participants in a more explicit manner than does Hebrew.

⁴⁴ The total number of registered items for Hebrew is 38,305, and for Syriac 39,040. These totals being so close, the difference in the proportion of pronouns begs explanation.

⁴⁵ See in chapter 11, section 3.

⁴⁶ Pronouns 'conjoined with the finite verb' can occur 'with no special emphasis', cf. Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 220 A&B. In Syriac additional subject pronouns occur with a perfect in 1 Kgs 2:7; 2 Kgs 4:13; 5:11. In 1 Kgs 8:13 this happens also with an infinitive absolute preceding the perfect. In 1 Kgs 1:41; 22:32; 2 Kgs 22:13 the opposite occurs: a Hebrew subject pronoun plus perfect is rendered by a perfect without the pronoun.

⁴⁷ Additional subject pronouns occur accompanying an imperfect form in Syriac in 1 Kgs 2:8; 22:22; 2 Kgs 3:37. In 1 Kgs 14:9; 2 Kgs 2:14 the same occurs, though the Hebrew imperfect is rendered in Syriac as a perfect in these cases.

Some of the additional pronominal elements involve participial constructions. In contrast to finite verbal forms, the participle is inflected only for number and gender. In both Hebrew and Syriac, when functioning as the main verb, the participle needs an explicit subject; however, since participles occur more often in Syriac (see table 13.4), the accompanying pronouns are more prevalent as well. In Syriac the participle is most often followed by an enclitic pronominal element, as in:⁴⁸

2 Kgs 8:12

ܘܕܢ ܐܘܪܗ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܘܕܒܘ ܐܘܪܗ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܝܫܪܐܝܝܠ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

'I know (ptc + pron) the evil that you do (ptc + pron) to the children of Israel, their fortified places you burn (ptc + pron) with fire'⁴⁹

ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

'for I know (pf) that you will do (ipf) to the children of Israel evil, their strongholds you will set (ipf) on fire'

The enclitic pronominal element following the participle is also present in cases where the clause contains an explicit subject pronoun:⁵⁰

1 Kgs 2:44

ܐܘܪܗ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ

'you (pron) know (ptc + pron) all the evil'

⁴⁸ Cf. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, on clause structure, 59–65, esp. 60–61: '... the enclitic personal pronoun ... may represent the subject of the clause nucleus ... or it may be an enclitic whose basic function is to extrapose or underline the immediately preceding clause component This latter type of extraposing enclitic may follow any part of speech, even an adverb or a verb. It usually takes the form of the third person masc sg ܐܘܪܐ, which however may be varied by attraction or analogy.'

⁴⁹ The verse continues in Syriac with three more participle-plus-pronoun constructions rendering Hebrew imperfects. Other cases where the Hebrew imperfect without accompanying pronoun is rendered in Syriac by a participle plus pronominal element include: 1 Kgs 1:42; 2:20, 23; 3:7; 5:20; 13:16; 20:9, 22; 21:4, 6; 22:4, 22 (2×); 2 Kgs 1:2; 6:12, 19 (2×); 8:1, 8, 9; 10:5 (2×); 18:14 (2×), 24; 20:1, 18; 23:27. Besides the case in 2 Kgs 8:12, the Hebrew perfect without accompanying pronoun is rendered in Syriac by a participle plus pronominal element in: 1 Kgs 1:6; 2:37; 3:21; 8:46 (2×); 12:20; 20:13; 22:3; 2 Kgs 2:3, 5; 4:9; 5:12; 7:4 (2×); 19:27; 20:8, 10. See also 1 Kgs 22:12; 2 Kgs 5:23; 6:3; 9:25; 19:29 where the Hebrew imperative is rendered by a participle plus pronoun, and 1 Kgs 5:19; 2 Kgs 19:10 where a Hebrew infinitive construct is rendered by a participle plus pronoun. In 1 Kgs 2:22; 6:12; 2 Kgs 1:6; 8:21 the opposite occurs: the Hebrew pronoun plus participle is rendered in Syriac as a perfect without accompanying pronoun.

⁵⁰ Other cases where the Hebrew explicit pronoun plus a verbal form other than participle is rendered by a pronoun plus participle with extra pronominal element can be found for Hebrew perfect in: 1 Kgs 2:5, 15; 3:39; 5:17, 20; 2 Kgs 2:3, 5; 4:1 (all cases with the verb [JD<], 'know'); 2 Kgs 8:18; for Hebrew imperfect: 1 Kgs 3:9; 22:21; 2 Kgs 19:11.

אתה ידעת את כל הרעה
'you (pron) know (pf) all the evil'

Hebrew participial constructions with an explicit nominal or pronominal subject are rendered in Syriac with the elements contained in Hebrew plus an additional pronominal element, as in:⁵¹

1Kgs 2:2

אנכי הולך בדרך כל הארץ
'I (pron) am going (ptc + pron) in the way of all the earth'

אנכי הולך בדרך כל הארץ
'I (pron) am going (ptc) in the way of all the earth'

A noteworthy exception to this tendency involves structures in which an impersonal subject is expressed by the plural participle. In these, Hebrew has a third personal plural pronoun accompanying the participle and Syriac renders it without the accompanying pronoun.⁵²

The more frequent use of pronominal elements in Syriac accompanying both finite and, in particular, participial verbal forms accounts for a number of the extra pronominal elements recorded in table 13.16. The fact that the participle occurs in Syriac proportionately more frequently than in Hebrew augments the difference in the number of pronominal elements.

Another structure in which Syriac employs an 'extra' pronominal element involves the verbal object. Frequently where Hebrew has a verb with an object, this is rendered in Syriac as a verb with an object pronoun plus an object phrase, with or without the introductory preposition Δ , as in:⁵³

1Kgs 6:28

ויצף את הכרובים זהב
'and he overlaid them, the cherubim, with pure gold'

ויצף את הכרובים זהב
'and he overlaid the cherubim with gold'

⁵¹ Another example with a pronominal subject is in 1Kgs 14:6; for cases with a nominal subject, see 1Kgs 1:48; 5:21; 8:15, 56. In 1Kgs 8:23; 2Kgs 2:10 the Hebrew has a participle without accompanying pronoun and the Syriac has a participle followed by a pronominal element; in 2Kgs 1:9, where the Hebrew has only a participle, the Syriac has a pronoun followed by a participle.

⁵² Examples occur in 1Kgs 10:25; 12:16; 2Kgs 8:5; 17:34, 40. This construction is prevalent in the citation formula 'they are written', see chapter 12, section 2.

⁵³ Also to be found with Δ in: 1Kgs 7:37, 39; 8:34, 36; 18:20, 32, 40; 19:1; 22:11, 20; 2Kgs 2:8; 5:24; 10:7; and without Δ in: 2Kgs 10:25; 13:25; 20:13.

The described function of pronominal elements in Syriac syntax alerts us to deviance from normal usage in the following text where the Peshitta by following the word sequence of the Hebrew closely, differs significantly from the source text:

2 Kgs 3:7

ܣܠܡ ܕܢܗܝܐ ܕܥܡܟܝ ܡܚܒܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ

'I am going up (ptc + pron) as you, and my people are as your people'

ܐܥܠܗ ܕܥܡܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ

'I will go up (ipf); I am as you; my people are as your people'

In the Peshitta, the first pronoun, 'I', occurs immediately after the verb, a participle. The pronoun thus logically is read as belonging to the preceding participle: 'I am going up as you', instead of 'I will go up; I am as you are', as in the Masoretic text.

In summary, we can only conclude that the additional pronominal elements in the Peshitta are related to various aspects of Syriac language structure as a whole, all of which deserve a thorough treatment.

1.4.2. *In Verbless Clauses*

In the Masoretic text of Kings, verbless clauses most frequently have a subject, which can be a pronoun, and a predicate complement, without an overt copular element. The Peshitta renders such structures most often with an additional pronominal element, as in:⁵⁴

1 Kgs 19:7

ܕܥܡܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ

'because greater (is) she than you, the journey'

ܕܥܡܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ

'for greater than you (is) the journey'

Both of these are unmarked structures in the languages concerned. Hebrew has another structure, attested in other languages as well,⁵⁵ in which a

⁵⁴ Other examples of the unmarked nominal clause construction in both languages, in which Hebrew has a subject plus predicate construction and Syriac has an additional pronominal element, can be found with noun phrase subjects in: 1 Kgs 1:20, 29, 41; 2:24; 3:22 (2 ×); 12:28; 17:1, 12; 18:10, 15, 21 (2 ×); 19:7; 20:23, 28; 22:3, 14; 2 Kgs 2:2 (2 ×), 4 (2 ×), 6 (2 ×); 3:12, 14, 23; 4:30 (2 ×); 5:16, 20; 9:37; 18:21; 19:3; 22:13; with pronominal subjects in: 1 Kgs 3:4, 7, 18; 6:1, 38; 8:1, 2; 9:22, 23; 13:14, 18; 14:2; 18:7, 17, 36, 37; 20:13, 28; 2 Kgs 5:7; 8:5 (2 ×); 18:9, 10; 19:19; 25:8; and in interrogative nominal clauses in: 1 Kgs 1:41; 9:13; 2 Kgs 1:7; 5:26; 9:22; 18:19; 19:13; 20:8; 23:17.

⁵⁵ In the following treatment insights are applied from Li—Thompson, 'A Mechanism

constituent occurs at the beginning of a clause without its own predication, and is repeated later in the clause by a resumptive pronoun.⁵⁶ This construction with pausal intonation is a marked structure with emphasis or focus on the constituent occurring in fronted position. Often a pronoun occurs as the resumptive element:

1Kgs 8:60

כי יהוה הוא האלהים
'for YHWH, he (is) God'

This marked structure with 'pronominal support' occurs in Hebrew in contrast to the unmarked structure with merely a subject and a predicate. The construction with the resumptive element is also used to express meanings which are pragmatically not marked, but which would be syntactically ambiguous without the extra pronoun, for example, clauses with a long complex subject, such as in:

1Kgs 5:19

בנך אשר אתן תחתיד על כסאך הוא יבנה הבית לשמי
'your son whom I place in your stead upon your throne, he shall build the house for my name'

1Kgs 18:24

האלהים אשר יענה באש הוא האלהים
'the god who shall answer with fire, he (is) the god'

One could argue that the first example in itself is a marked structure due to the explicit subject being placed at the beginning, and certainly there is emphasis involved in the second example where the context is that of the titanic confrontation between the prophets of Baal and Elijah over who was the true God. Be that as it may, the resumptive pronoun in these cases bridges the syntactic distance between the onset of the subject and the actual predicate.

The resumptive pronoun could also be used in clauses where, without the pronoun, the whole could appear as one term instead of a complete sentence, such as:

for the Development of Copula Morphemes', 419–444, and Junger, 'Copula Constructions in Modern Hebrew', 117–134, as explained in Dyk, *Participles in Context*, 120–122.

⁵⁶ This construction is variously called 'casus pendens construction' (Gesenius—Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, §§ 116 w, 143, 159 i), 'dislocated construction' (Van der Merwe—Naudé—Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, 247, 249, 339), 'nominative absolute construction' (Waltke—O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §§ 4.7, 8.4, 16.3.3), to mention a few.

2 Kgs 4:9

וְנִבֵּן וְאֵלֹהִים מִיָּגֵם מֵ
 'that the prophet of God is holy'

כִּי אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים קָדוֹשׁ הוּא
 'for the man of God is holy'

Without the added pronoun, the Hebrew text could read either 'a holy man of god' or 'a man of a holy god'.

Due to frequent usage, a marked structure can become unmarked. It has been observed that during the process of language change the construction with the resumptive pronoun (subject—pronoun—predicate) gradually becomes less marked, so that two unmarked structures are available: one without the pronoun and one with the pronoun, but without pausal intonation.

Once the construction with the pronoun has lost its marked character, a new marked construction is needed. This then develops by using an additional pronominal element, this time with an demonstrative pronoun in addition to the resumptive pronoun.⁵⁷

In the Peshitta of Kings such use of the demonstrative pronoun can be found in:

1 Kgs 3:27

מֵ, מֵ, אִמּוֹ 'she is his mother'
 (lit.: 'that [deictic—fem sg]⁵⁸ she his mother')

הִיא אִמּוֹ 'she is his mother'

1 Kgs 18:24

וְאֵימֵן אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר יַעֲנֶה בְּאֵשׁ מִיָּגֵם מֵ
 'and whichever god that answers with fire, he is god'
 (lit.: 'and whichever ..., that [deictic—masc sg]⁵⁹ he god')

הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר יַעֲנֶה בְּאֵשׁ הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
 'the god who shall answer with fire, he (is) the god'

The Hebrew structure in 1 Kgs 3:27 is not syntactically marked, but the narrative context provides sufficient basis for the emphatic rendering in

⁵⁷ The process described has been documented for Chinese by Li—Thompson, 'A Mechanism for the Development of Copula Morphemes', and for Hebrew by Junger, 'Copula Constructions in Modern Hebrew'. An example given by Junger for Modern Hebrew is: יוֹסֵף וְדָן אֵלֶּיךָ הֵם אֶחָיו, 'Joseph and Dan *they* are my brothers' (lit.: 'Joseph and Dan these they my brothers').

⁵⁸ Thus pointed in the Mosul edition.

⁵⁹ Thus pointed in the Mosul edition.

Syriac, namely, the context of Solomon's well-known verdict as to who was the mother of the living child.⁶⁰ In 1Kgs 18:24 Hebrew uses the marked structure.

In another case, the Masoretic text has the marked construction and the Peshitta matches the Hebrew by using the demonstrative pronoun to catch this markedness:

1Kgs 18:17

ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܗܝ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܠ

'you are (or: are you?⁶¹) the disturber of Israel'

(lit.: 'you he this, Israel's disturber')

ܗܐܬܬ ܙܗ ܥܒܪ ܝܫܪܐܝܠ

'art thou he that troubleth Israel' (lit.: 'you this, Israel's taboo?')

One could argue that deictic elements are in themselves emphatic, drawing special attention to a participant in the narrative. However, other occurrences of the demonstrative pronouns within verbless clauses are not distinctively marked: Syriac adds the additional pronominal element, as is common in verbless clauses, but otherwise renders the Hebrew without additional syntactic emphasis.⁶²

2Kgs 3:23

ܗܝ ܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ 'this is blood' (lit.: 'blood he this')

ܕܡ ܙܗ 'this is blood' (lit.: 'blood this')

With these considerations in mind, we draw attention to a number of cases where the Masoretic text uses the marked construction and the Peshitta renders it literally, thereby employing an unmarked syntactic construction in Syriac. We return the example with which we began this discussion:⁶³

1Kgs 8:60

ܗܘܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ 'that the Lord is God'

ܕܡ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܝܡ 'that YHWH, he is God'

⁶⁰ See also 1Kgs 1:45; 2:22. In other comparable contexts in 1Kgs 18:36, 37; 20:13, 28 (not in 9a1), P does not use an extra demonstrative pronoun to create a marked construction, but renders the Hebrew unmarked construction (without resumptive pronoun) by an unmarked Syriac construction using the additional pronominal element.

⁶¹ For the difference caused by the lack of a question marker in Syriac, see chapter 12, section 2.

⁶² See also 1Kgs 9:23; 2Kgs 6:33; 8:5 (2×); 9:37.

⁶³ For other examples, see also 1Kgs 18:7, 39 (2×); 20:3 (2×); 2Kgs 4:9; 7:9; 19:15.

Because it uses the syntax most commonly used for a nominal clause, the Peshitta here appears not to have rendered the emphasis present in the marked Hebrew construction.

There are also other occurrences of a marked construction in the Masoretic text which are rendered as an unmarked construction in the Peshitta, such as:⁶⁴

1 Kgs 15:13

וְהָיָה לַמַּלְכָּה אִמּוֹתָיו וְהָיָה לְהַרְמוֹתָיו

‘and also the queen, his mother, he removed her from her grandeur’

וְגַם אֶת מַעֲכָה אִמּוֹ וְיִסְרָהּ מִגְּבוּרָהּ

‘and even Maachah, his mother, and he removed her from being lady’

1 Kgs 5:19

וְהָיָה וְהָאֲמִנְתָּה עַל־בְּנוֹתָי וְהָיָה לְבַיְתִי

‘that your son whom I have raised up in your stead upon your throne, he shall build a house for my name’

בְּנִי אֲשֶׁר אֶתֵּן תַּחְתֶּיךָ עַל־כִּסֵּאֲךָ הוּא יִבְנֶה בַּיִת לְשִׁמִּי

‘your son whom I place in your stead upon your throne, *he* shall build the house for my name’

In the absence of intonation, one can never be certain whether a construction was spoken with pausal intonation or not; however, the proportionately higher frequency of pronominal elements in the Syriac version of Kings within such constructions points to a systematic difference in the use of the pronoun between Hebrew and Syriac. This suggests that the structure with pronominal support was a fairly common, unmarked construction. There is also evidence of the use of an extra demonstrative pronoun to create a marked syntactic structure. The lower frequency of pronominal elements in the Masoretic text points to a different use of the pronoun somewhat closer to the stage in which the original marked structure was in use, while the Peshitta appears to be closer to the other end of the scale, where the subject—pronoun—predicate construction is the usual and unmarked form. Since the process of losing markedness is gradual, the construction could be ambiguous as to markedness at a certain stage.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Other examples include 1 Kgs 12:17; 20:31; 2 Kgs 6:5; 17:36; 25:22.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of various views on the function of the additional pronominal element as copula (Khan), pronoun (Goldenberg), or emphatic particle (Muraoka), see Van Peursen, ‘Three Approaches to the Tripartite Nominal Clause in Syriac’, 157–173, and the discussions following the article in the same volume, 175–204.

From the overall distribution of the two possibilities described, we can assume that the Hebrew represented in Kings was at a different stage in this process of syntactic shift than was the Syriac as reflected in the rendering. Therefore, it is highly possible that in a number of cases, by rendering the Hebrew word for word, the Syriac translator missed the emphasis present in the Hebrew construction.

1.5. *Summary*

When it comes to the larger classes of content words (verbs, nouns, and proper nouns), the Peshitta employs a more limited vocabulary than the Masoretic text does. This conclusion is in keeping with our findings in chapter 5, where we focused on the use of words within particular semantic fields.

The number of verbal forms and proper nouns in the Peshitta can be ascribed to various factors involving syntax and text composition. Though most verbal forms have a morphological correspondence in the two languages, it is clear that Syriac and Hebrew make a different use of the verbal system. The higher number of pronominal elements is related to systematic differences between Hebrew and Syriac in the use of pronouns, in both verbal and verbless clauses. There are several examples where the Syriac follows the words of the Hebrew closely, but in doing so reflects a meaning different from the Hebrew.

2. PRESENCE OF ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

Though there is not a significant amount of deviation in the total number of lexical items recorded in the electronic translation concordance (Masoretic text: 38,305; Peshitta: 39,040), the gap between the two texts becomes more pronounced when it is realized that in the Masoretic text there are 2,923 occurrences of the definite article for which Syriac has no separate lexical entry. The difference is further augmented by the tendency of the Peshitta to skip over some of the apparently repetitive information in the Masoretic text (see section 3, below). There must, therefore, be a substantial amount of additional material in the Peshitta to result in the relatively small difference between the total number of lexical items recorded in the two texts.

In the Peshitta pluses vary from single words to whole sentences. They can be exegetical and explanatory in nature, such as the word ܠܘܫܢܐ, 'rightly', in:

1Kgs 2:15⁶⁶

וְגַם וְנִמְשָׁה מִיְמֵי מְלָכֵינוּ אֵל

'for the kingdom rightly belonged to me'

כִּי לִי הָיְתָה הַמְּלוּכָה

'for the kingdom belonged to me'

Some additions harmonize the text with other passages which need not be in the immediate vicinity:⁶⁷

1Kgs 8:34

וְסַלַחְתָּ לְעַבְדֶיךָ וְלְעַבְדֵי מַלְכוּתְךָ וְלְעַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל

'and forgive the sins of your servants and of your people Israel'

וְסַלַחְתָּ לְחַטַּאת עַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל

'and forgive the sin of your people Israel'

1Kgs 8:36

וְסַלַחְתָּ לְעַבְדֶיךָ וְלְעַבְדֵי מַלְכוּתְךָ וְלְעַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל

'and forgive the sins of your servants and of your people Israel'

וְסַלַחְתָּ לְחַטַּאת עַבְדֶיךָ וְעַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל

'and forgive the sin of your servants and of your people Israel'

The additional material can be a repetition of material already mentioned. The tendency to harmonize may involve an expansion of the text, thus neutralizing or even outweighing the tendency to avoid repetition as discussed below in section 3.

In some cases, the extra material in the Peshitta seems to have a different source than the presumed Hebrew Vorlage. In 1Kgs 18:29 the Peshitta runs parallel to the Masoretic text in the first part of the verse, whereas it deviates from the Septuagint here; however, the second part of the verse in the Peshitta involves an extensive plus vis-à-vis the Masoretic text, a plus which it shares with the Septuagint. The form of v. 29 in the Peshitta is unique among the ancient versions. The inclusion of the passage from the Septuaginta probably derives from a later redactor.⁶⁸

In 2Kgs 23:29 the Peshitta has a plus vis-à-vis the Masoretic text which is a paraphrase of elements from 2 Chr 35:20–22. Influences from Isaiah and Jeremiah, occasionally involving minor additions, occur in sections of Kings

⁶⁶ See chapter 2, section 2.2.1.7.

⁶⁷ For other examples see 1Kgs 13:24, 25, 28; 16:5, 27; 19:7, 8; 21:8, 11; 2Kgs 1:18.

⁶⁸ For a more detailed argumentation, see Van Keulen, 'Nature et contexte', 280–281, 285.

for which these books offer parallel material. Their influence is especially strong in the BTR.⁶⁹

Due to additional material, the Syriac text can appear to be more logical, or to run more smoothly than does the Masoretic text:

2 Kgs 18:25

9a1 ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܪ ܠܒܢ ܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܢ ܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܢ ܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܢ ܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܢ ܗܝ

‘And now, have I come up without the Lord against this land to destroy it? The Lord, he told me, “Come up to this land and destroy it.”’

BTR ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܪ ܠܒܢ ܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܢ ܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܢ ܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܢ ܗܝ

‘And now, lest you suppose that I came up to this land without the Lord to destroy it—the Lord, he told me, “Come up to this land and destroy it.”’

עתה המבלעדי יהוה עליתי על המקום הזה להשחיתו

יהוה אמר אלי עלה על ארץ הזאת והשחיתיה

‘Now, have I come up without YHWH against this place to destroy it? YHWH told me, “Come up to this land and destroy it.”’

The Hebrew question is rhetorical.⁷⁰ The answer, however, is given by Rab Shaqeh himself. Whereas the original Syriac rendering, as attested by 9a1, follows the Hebrew text, the BTR alters the rhetorical question into an explanation of Rab Shaqeh’s motive for declaring that he is acting on YHWH’s orders. Thus, by expanding the text, the BTR has made the logical connection between the two sentences more explicit.

In another instance, the Peshitta articulates certain steps in the narrative progress that are implicit in the Hebrew text:

2 Kgs 6:8

ܕܡܠܟܐ ܦܠܝ ܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܦܠܝ ܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܦܠܝ ܗܝ

‘in a certain place, lie in wait and conceal yourselves’

אל מקום פלני אלמני תחנתי

‘in such and such a place is my camp’

The Peshitta makes explicit what is suggested by the subsequent verse.⁷¹ This type of adjustment in the rendering can involve single words, phrases, or even larger portions of text.⁷²

⁶⁹ See Walter, ‘The Use of Sources’, *passim*.

⁷⁰ For a treatment of the rendering of the Hebrew question marker, see chapter 12, section 2.

⁷¹ Thus also Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 76.

⁷² Other examples may be found in 2 Kgs 9:26 (BTR), 27, and throughout 1 Kings 1 and 2 (cf. chapter 2).

Though Hebrew narrative seems to assume an alternation of participants as the story progresses, it is not always clear who is doing or saying what. In such cases, the Peshitta may add material to disambiguate what is ambiguous in the Hebrew text.⁷³

2 Kgs 8:12

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלִישָׁא לְאִיזָבֶד
‘and Elisha said to him’
וַיֹּאמֶר ‘and he said’

The statement *וְאַתָּה לֹא אֹכֵל לֶחֶם*, ‘and you are not eating bread’, in 1 Kgs 21:5 is augmented to the smoother *לֹא כָּרַעְתָּ לְאֹכַל לֶחֶם*, ‘you are not wanting to eat bread’.⁷⁴

As in all translations, the idiomatic rendering of certain expressions sometimes requires more words, as when the standard rendering for *קָטַר*, ‘burn incense’, is *שָׂמַר חֲפָצִים*, ‘place incense’ (15×).

In the story of the fall of Jerusalem, the Masoretic text is rather in telegram style, while the Peshitta fills it out somewhat, deriving the additions from parallel texts in Jer 39:4 or 52:7.⁷⁵

2 Kgs 25:4

9a1 אַחֲרָיִם כָּל־הַבְּרָכָה מִן־הַיָּמִים
מִפְּנֵי כָּל־הַבְּרָכָה וְהַיָּמִים

BTR אַחֲרָיִם כָּל־הַבְּרָכָה מִן־הַיָּמִים
מִפְּנֵי כָּל־הַבְּרָכָה וְהַיָּמִים
‘and all the warlike men fled and went out (BTR + of town) by night, by way of the gate which is between the walls’

וְכָל־אֲנָשֵׁי־הַמִּלְחָמָה הִלִּיחַ דֶּרֶךְ שַׁעַר בֵּין־הַחֲמָתִים
‘and all the men of war by night by way of the gate between two walls’

Though some of the additional material is motivated by linguistic issues, the majority of it has to do with translational and literary-exegetical principles, such as harmonization, exegetical adjustment, explanatory addition, and possibly the use of additional sources.

⁷³ This tendency has been mentioned in section 1.3, above. See also 1 Kgs 18:9 (Obadiah), 18 (Elijah); 19:3 (Elijah); 22:17, 19 (Micaiah); 2 Kgs 3:7 (Jehoshaphat); 4:6 (her son), 43 (Elisha); 5:16 (Elisha); 8:14 (Hazeal; his master), 15 (Hazeal); 9:17 (watchman), 20 (messenger), 22 (Jehu), 25 (Jehu); 11:14 (queen); 13:23 (the Lord); 17:23 (the Lord); 18:23 (Hezekiah); 20:2 (Hezekiah), 11 (sun); 23:17 (king); 25:7 (king of Babylon). The opposite tendency is also observed; see section 3, below.

⁷⁴ See 2 Kgs 9:15 for a comparable use of the verb *כָּרַע* to render an existential participle in Hebrew.

⁷⁵ Walter, ‘Use of Sources’, 198–199.

3. AVOIDANCE OF REPETITION

Quite contrary to the tendency described in the previous section, material present in the Masoretic text is not infrequently left unrendered. At least two motivations can be given for this: structural differences between the two languages, and the avoidance of repetition. Where the Hebrew text repeats information within a relatively short span, the Peshitta sometimes reduces this. Single words, but also phrases, clauses, or even more can be left out.

3.1. *Single Words*

When repeated within a relatively short range, single words are sometimes skipped, as in:

1Kgs 8:30

וּשְׁמַעְתָּ ... וְשָׁמַעְתָּ ... וְשָׁמַעְתָּ

'and hear (imp) ... you shall hear (ipf) ... and forgive (ipf)'

וּשְׁמַעְתָּ וְשָׁמַעְתָּ ... תִּשְׁמַע ... וְשָׁמַעְתָּ

'and hear (pf consec) ... you shall hear (ipf) ... and you shall hear (pf consec)
and forgive (pf consec)'

The Peshitta reproduces only two of the three forms of שָׁמַע in the Masoretic text. It leaves וְשָׁמַעְתָּ unrendered, maybe to bring the text into line with v. 34 where a similar entreaty occurs.

In 2Kgs 15:3, the verb עָשָׂה is repeated while the Peshitta conveys the same information with a single עָשָׂה. In v. 34 of the same chapter, there are three occurrences of עָשָׂה, of which two are rendered as עָשָׂה.

In narratives, Hebrew can use a series of different verbs to express actions. In many such cases, Syriac employs fewer verbs without omitting crucial information:⁷⁶

2Kgs 1:13

וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיֵּלֶךְ 'and he went up'

וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיָּבֹא 'and he went up and came'

As presented in table 13.14, this tendency is more pronounced with verbs of movement than with other verbs except the copula, 'be', and אָמַר / אָמַר, 'say'. Where Hebrew employs more than one verb to describe a single act of

⁷⁶ Similarly, 1Kgs 20:27 (where four verbs in MT are rendered by two in P); 2Kgs 2:11; 9:19; 10:30.

movement by the same participant, Syriac frequently reduces the number (see table 13.17).⁷⁷

Table 13.17: Reduction in the rendering of verbs of movement

	MT	P
1Kgs 10:29	עלה ... יצא	עלם
1Kgs 13:17 ⁷⁸	שוב ... הלך ... הלך	ספח ... ארעא
1Kgs 13:29	שוב ... בוא Hiphil	ארעא Aphel
1Kgs 19:4	הלך ... בוא ... ישב	סלף ... טעב
2Kgs 1:13	שוב ... שלח	עזו
2Kgs 1:13	עלה ... בוא	עלם
2Kgs 3:7 ⁷⁹	הלך ... שלח	עזו
2Kgs 4:25	הלך ... בוא	ארעא
2Kgs 4:37	בוא ... נפל	נפל
2Kgs 9:19	שלח ... בוא	עזו

In these series the order of the presentation of the verbs does not appear to influence which verb gets rendered and which skipped, rather it seems that the least specific type of movement is skipped: בוא loses out in all cases; הלך is skipped except when together with בוא; in the rendering of 1Kgs 10:29 עלה takes precedence over יצא. Considering the fact that there are constructions where the Peshitta adds an extra verb,⁸⁰ it would be worthwhile to research whether other factors are involved in the rendering of a series of verbs. In one case, the motivation for the omission of the second verb is less obvious, since both verbs represent separate directions of movement:

2Kgs 4:22

אנךא בוגרא לבסח וארמא

'I would arrive at the prophet of God'

וארוצה עד איש האלהים ואשובה

'I shall hasten to the man of God and I shall return'

In Walter's opinion, 'ואשובה, 'and I shall return', was left unrendered because the translator considered it superfluous;⁸¹ nonetheless, 'arrive at' seems to be quite a deviation from 'hasten to ... and return'.

⁷⁷ Because the semantics of the verb is in focus and not its verbal form, the verb is presented in the table in the form of its lexical entry.

⁷⁸ Only BTR. MS 9a1 agrees with MT.

⁷⁹ Only BTR. MS 9a1 agrees with MT.

⁸⁰ See chapter 12, section 3.1.1, especially table 12.5.

⁸¹ Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 59.

When introducing speech, the Hebrew text tends to repeat the verbs דבר, נגד, and אמר. In many cases the Peshitta reduces the series:⁸²

1Kgs 20:28

וַיֹּאמֶר לְמַלְכֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה

'and he said to him: thus says the Lord'

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה

'and he said to the king of Israel, and said: thus says YHWH'

Although the Hebrew the infinitive of אמר introducing direct speech is sometimes rendered in Syriac as the infinitive or as the perfect, 'he said', it is frequently omitted.⁸³

In stretches of narration the subject and complement of a verb can be understood without being explicitly stated. Where the Hebrew text repeats this information within a short space, the Peshitta sometimes leaves it out, as in:⁸⁴

1Kgs 18:17 (BTR)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל אֶחָב וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל אֶחָב

'and when Ahab saw him, Elijah, he said to him'

וַיְהִי כִּרְאוֹת אֶחָב אֶת אֵלֵיהֶו וַיֹּאמֶר אֶחָב אֵלָיו

'and it came to pass when Ahab saw Elijah, Ahab said to him'

It should be noted, however, that in 9a1 this statement is even more explicit than in the Masoretic text:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל אֶחָב וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל אֶחָב

'and when Ahab saw him, Elijah, Ahab said to him, Elijah'

Here, and in some examples mentioned in table 13.17, 9a1 has retained material omitted in the BTR. Thus at least part of the omissions were made by scribes during the stage of textual transmission, rather than by translator.

Words can also be skipped due to parablepsis during the transmission of the text. Thus in 1Kgs 14:26, where the Masoretic text contains the verb לקח three times, the second occurrence נטב was omitted in the BTR (but

⁸² See also 1Kgs 20:14; 21:4, 6, 19 (where in total 2× דבר plus 4× אמר are rendered by 3× אָמַר in P); 2Kgs 1:6; 3:16; 4:13; 5:13; 7:17 (where דבר occurs twice, rendered by one אָמַר); 18:28.

⁸³ Of the 130 occurrences of the inf of אמר in MT Kings, only 15 are rendered by an inf of אָמַר in P: 61 are rendered by the pf, 4 by the ipf, 11 by a ptc (including one pass ptc of אָמַר instead of a form of אָמַר—an *ad sensum* rendering since in 2Kgs 5:6 the contents of a letter are being quoted), and 39 are not rendered in P.

⁸⁴ See also 1Kgs 17:24; 18:22; 22:4. The opposite tendency was noted in section 2, above.

not in 9a1) probably due to *homoioleuton* with subsequent אֵינְכֵם, which also caused the omission of a repetition of the object אֵינְכֵם, ‘all things, everything’.

When the verb רָאָה, ‘see’, occurs in the Masoretic text in close proximity to the interjection הִנֵּה, ‘behold’, the Peshitta sometimes translates the verb and omits the interjection, as in:⁸⁵

2 Kgs 13:21

וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת הַבַּדָּה ‘they saw a band’
וְהִנֵּה רָאוּ אֶת הַבַּדָּה ‘and see, they saw the band’

The interjection ‘behold!’ is used more extensively in Hebrew than in Syriac, not only in combination with the verb ‘see’.⁸⁶ Nonetheless, the two elements can occur together in Syriac. There are even cases where the Masoretic text has only הִנֵּה, and the Peshitta has הִנֵּה וַיִּרְאֵהוּ, ‘he saw and behold’.⁸⁷ In some cases where the interjection has a subject suffix followed by the participle of רָאָה, the Peshitta renders all elements.⁸⁸

Twice where the introductory interjections הִנֵּה and עֵתָה occur together, the Peshitta reproduces the second particle—in 2 Kgs 5:22, הִנֵּה עֵתָה is rendered הִנֵּה and in 2 Kgs 18:21, הִנֵּה עֵתָה is rendered הִנֵּה. In 2 Kgs 6:33 where עוֹד is followed by הִנֵּה, but separated by intervening material syntactically dependent on עוֹד, the Peshitta renders the first particle by הִנֵּה, but not the second particle. Similarly, in 1 Kgs 1:14, 22 where הִנֵּה is immediately followed by עוֹד, only the second is rendered in the Peshitta (הִנֵּה).⁸⁹ On the contrary, הִנֵּה עֵתָה can be rendered fully as הִנֵּה וַיִּרְאֵהוּ (1 Kgs 1:18; 22:23). We draw attention to the fact that the more literal renderings more often occur in 1 Kings and the adaptations in 2 Kings.

⁸⁵ See also 2 Kgs 6:30; 11:14.

⁸⁶ In 18 cases, the interjection הִנֵּה in MT Kings has no correspondence at word level in P. It is rendered 77× by the particle הִנֵּה, 8× by the verb רָאָה, and 7× by other elements.

⁸⁷ 1 Kgs 18:44; 2 Kgs 4:32. According to Williams (*Studies*, 179–182, esp. 180), P tends to restrict the use of הִנֵּה to situations where it is appropriate to the addressee’s perception. Williams argues that since in 1 Kgs 18:44 only the subject, and not the addressee, is able to see, P carefully related the ‘behold’ only to the subject’s experience by adding וַיִּרְאֵהוּ, ‘I saw’. A similar explanation may be proposed for 2 Kgs 4:32 where the subject is the only one seeing. Williams’ hypothesis also holds in 2 Kgs 6:30; 11:14; 13:21 (see above), where P may not have rendered הִנֵּה for want of an addressee.

⁸⁸ 1 Kgs 22:25; 2 Kgs 7:2, 19.

⁸⁹ See also chapter 2, section 2.1.1.4.

3.2. *Phrases*

Phrases which repeat information are at times omitted in the Peshitta. Thus in 1Kgs 4:13 the Masoretic text contains the phrase ‘in Gilead’ twice, while the BTR, but not 9a1, leaves out one occurrence. In 1Kgs 7:28, 29, the Masoretic text repeats a phrase about ‘the borders between the ledges’, with a slight expansion in the second occurrence: ‘and on the borders that were between the ledges’. The Peshitta reproduces the phrase only in v. 29. In 2Kgs 9:4 in the Masoretic text, the subject of the sentence is: ‘the young man, the young man, the prophet’. This is reduced in the Peshitta to ‘the young man, the prophet’.

Repetition is sometimes used as a literary device to achieve a certain effect in the narrative. By omitting redundant phrases, in some cases the Peshitta misses this effect:

2Kgs 9:12

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו ‘thus he said to me’
 כַּזֹּאת וְכַזֹּאת אָמַר אֵלָי ‘like thus and like so he said to me’

In this text, the Hebrew is not merely repetitive: Jehu’s reply at first did not divulge anything at all. The particle *וַיֹּאמֶר*, ‘thus’, in the Peshitta has considerable declarative force. By avoiding the repetition, the Peshitta fails to render the evasiveness of Jehu’s reply.

Further on in the same chapter, during the dramatic confrontation between Jehu and Jezebel, Jehu cries out:

2Kgs 9:32

מִי עִמָּי ‘Who is with me?’
 מִי אֵתִי מִי ‘Who is with me? Who?’

The Peshitta skips the repetition, but by doing so fails to render the urgency of Jehu’s request.

In the following case the repeated adverb in the Hebrew text is not rendered in Syriac. Though this does not cause a loss of information, the emphasis contained in the repeated adverb is lost in the rendering:

2Kgs 10:4 (9a1)

וַיִּירָאוּ מְאֹד מְאֹד ‘and they were very afraid’
 וַיִּירָאוּ מְאֹד מְאֹד ‘and they feared exceedingly greatly’

Thus, while skipping some repetitious phrases makes the rendering of the Peshitta smoother and sometimes even more logical, the narrative effect of some of the functional repetitions in the Hebrew text is lost in the Peshitta when these apparently were judged to be merely redundant.

3.3. *Clauses*

Clauses with repeated information are sometimes skipped in the Peshitta. In 1Kgs 8:37 in the summation of the various plagues which could befall the country, the Masoretic text uses the clause 'when it shall be' thrice; the Peshitta reduces this to twice. In 1Kgs 16:27, at the end of Omri's life a summary of his deeds is given: the Masoretic text contains the subordinated clause 'which he did' twice; this is presented but once in the Peshitta.⁹⁰ That reduction is not obligatory can be seen in 1Kgs 12:32, 33, where the same subordinated clause occurs three times in both the Masoretic text and the Peshitta.

In the Masoretic text the clause giving the name of Rehoboam's mother occurs in 1Kgs 14:21, 31. The Peshitta presents this information only in v. 21. In 1Kgs 15:6 the Masoretic text states that there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam, and in v. 7 it states that there was war between Abijam (the son of Rehoboam) and Jeroboam. Since the death of Rehoboam was already reported in the previous chapter, the Peshitta corrects the first mention to read 'between Abijam, the son of Rehoboam, and Jeroboam'. In the BTR the second mention of this fact in v. 7 is skipped, probably in order to avoid repetition.⁹¹ In this we observe a combination of the tendency to make the rendering more logical and the tendency to avoid repetition.

In 1Kgs 21:14, 15 in the report to Jezebel of Naboth's stoning and death and in her response to this report, the Masoretic text repeats the cause and the result: 'Naboth is stoned and he is dead ... when Jezebel heard that Naboth was stoned and was dead'. In the BTR, but not in 9a1, the second part is reduced to 'when Jezebel heard that Naboth was dead'. In 2Kgs 7:13 the clause 'they are as the whole multitude of Israel' is repeated in the Masoretic text; the Peshitta renders it only the second time, and reformulates it so that the problematic Hebrew text is simplified.⁹²

In some narratives, the Masoretic text quotes a command being given and repeats the information in the report of the execution of the command. In such cases, the Peshitta may skip the repetition, presenting either the command or its execution.⁹³

⁹⁰ See also 1Kgs 16:19, 27.

⁹¹ For an extensive treatment of this passage, see chapter 6, section 5.3.1.

⁹² Thus also Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 87.

⁹³ See 2Kgs 7:14 (only BTR; 9a1 agrees with MT in fully presenting the command); 10:22 (6h18 6ph2 7h10 8a1* 9a1 agree with MT in presenting the execution); 20:7. In 2Kgs 9:26, the BTR deviates from MT and 9a1 in offering an addition which reports the execution of the

In 1Kgs 10:21, after emphasizing that all of Solomon's vessels were of gold, the text reads:

1Kgs 10:21

וְכֶסֶף לֹא נִחְשַׁב מְאֹד בְּיָמֵי שְׁלֹמֹה וְעֵלְיָאֵשׁ מִגִּיד

'and silver was not reckoned anything in the days of Solomon'

אִין כֶּסֶף לֹא נַחֲשַׁב בְּיָמֵי שְׁלֹמָה לְמֵאוֹמָה

'there was no silver; it was not considered anything in the days of Solomon'

The Peshitta smooths out the syntax by omitting the first negative in the Masoretic text, which in combination with the following word forms the clause 'there was no silver'.

More than one consecutive clause can be skipped. In the Hebrew text of 1Kgs 18:25, Elijah repeats the instructions of v. 23; in the Peshitta part of the instructions are not reproduced in v. 25. The BTR of 2Kgs 7:13, 14, where various phrases with repetitive content are skipped, can also be mentioned here since several consecutive clauses are involved in which six Hebrew verbs are reduced to two verbs in the Peshitta. In 2Kgs 8:11 ('and he settled his countenance and set [it] until he was ashamed, and the man of God wept'), the Peshitta skips the first three clauses of the Masoretic text and renders only the last one ('and the man of God wept'), thus smoothing out an awkward text.

In the Masoretic text of 2Kgs 2:13, 14, several events are stated twice:

2Kgs 2:14

9a1

P

BTR

וַיִּקַּח אֶת אֲדָרְתוֹ אֲשֶׁר נָפְלָה מֵעַלְיוֹ וַיִּכֶּה אֶת הַמַּיִם וַיֹּאמֶר

'and he took the mantle of Elijah
which had fallen from him'

וַיִּכֶּה אֶת הַמַּיִם

'and he struck the waters'

וַיִּקְרָא לַיהוָה

'and he cried to the Lord'

וַיֹּאמֶר

'and said'

וַיִּקַּח אֶת אֲדָרְתוֹ אֲשֶׁר נָפְלָה מֵעַלְיוֹ וַיִּכֶּה אֶת הַמַּיִם וַיֹּאמֶר

'and he took the mantle of Elijah which had fallen from him and he smote the
waters and said'

The text of 9a1 is in complete agreement with the Masoretic text. Perhaps to improve the narrative progress, in v. 14 the BTR replaced the material

command. In 2Kgs 9:27, however, another addition which states the execution of a command is represented by 9a1 and the BTR alike.

repeated from v. 13 with: 'And he cried to the Lord'. The form of the final word, ܠܗܘܐ, resembles ܠܗܘܐ in the original Syriac text, but this may be coincidental.⁹⁴

In 2 Kgs 22:5 the repetitive Hebrew text, 'and let them deliver it into the hand of the workmen, that have the oversight of the house of YHWH: and let them give it to the workmen in the house of YHWH', is reduced in the BTR, but not in 9a1, to 'and let them deliver it to those who do the work who are in the house of the Lord'.

The longest stretch of text skipped within the Peshitta of Kings occurs in 1 Kings 3 in the story of King Solomon and the two women quarrelling over whose child was alive and whose was dead. In v. 23 of the Masoretic text Solomon recapitulates the case of the two women standing before him, and in doing so repeats most of the content of the previous verse. The Peshitta skips v. 23 entirely. Though it could be argued that the information in v. 23 is already known and, therefore, redundant, in a court setting it is not uncommon to have a case recapitulated so as to confirm its details. By skipping this recapitulation, the Peshitta treats the verse merely as information already known from the narrative, and fails to transmit the function of repetition within the context of a court scene.⁹⁵

4. WORD IMAGE PRESERVED BUT DIFFERENT SYNTACTIC BOUNDARIES

The tendency of the Syriac translator to retain the graphic form of the source text has been dealt with in chapter 8 and mentioned in other contexts where appropriate. In a number of cases this tendency leads to defining different syntactic boundaries, sometimes even different verse boundaries. As a result, the meaning of the Syriac text can deviate significantly from that of the Masoretic text. Differences contained within a verse are presented first, followed by cases which cross over verse boundaries.

⁹⁴ 'And he cried to the Lord' may be an allusion to 1 Kgs 17:20, 21, where Elijah's prayers to YHWH are introduced by the formula 'and he cried to the Lord and said'. In the BTR of 2 Kgs 2:14, Elisha's first recorded prayer to God is introduced by the same formula as were Elijah's prayers. The addition in v. 14 could have been intended to make Elisha follow in Elijah's footsteps (see also Van Keulen, 'Distinctive Features', forthcoming).

⁹⁵ The possibility cannot be ruled out that the omission occurred inadvertently, due to *homoioarcton* with v. 24. See Van Keulen, 'Nature et contexte', 266–267.

4.1. *Contained within Verse Boundaries*

In the following verse, by rendering the interjection הנה, 'behold!', as the verb רָאָה, 'see', the Peshitta changes the syntactic functions of the elements within the clause:

1Kgs 17:10

וַיַּרְא אֵת הַיְּתוּמָה שָׁם אֵת אִשָּׁה יְתוּמָה
וְהִנֵּה שָׁם אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה 'and he saw there a widow woman'
'and see, there was a widow woman'

Though the words match and the narrative appears to be preserved, the syntactic functions shift significantly. Such a shift might have far-reaching consequences for the narrative which are not visible at first sight in this clause alone. In 1Kings 17, the protagonists are Elijah, the word of YHWH, and the woman, all introduced and continuing to occur as explicit subjects within the story. The verse above is the first mention of the widow as a character in the narrative. The Hebrew text gives due attention to the fact by using the interjection, 'Behold', and introducing the woman as the explicit subject with an extra expansion, 'a widow'. This narrative strategy in Hebrew is lost in the Syriac rendering where the new, significant character enters the story merely as the direct object of 'see'. In this case, where והנה refers to the protagonist's perception, the translation with רָאָה goes contrary to the narrative strategy of the Hebrew text.⁹⁶ What appears to be an acceptable rendering at word level results in a significant disruption of the presentation of the participants in the narrative.

There are some cases in which the Peshitta appears to adjust the manner of address when speaking to the king to a more direct form than what is found in the Masoretic text: Hebrew often maintains a third person form of address, while Syriac uses the second person. Beside the difference in person, there may be other syntactic adjustments, as in:⁹⁷

1Kgs 22:15

וַיִּבְרַח אֲדָמִי מִבְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיִּפְּצוּ אֶת-רֵגְלָיו
'and the Lord will deliver them into your hand, oh King'
וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה בְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ
'and YHWH will deliver into the hand of the king'

The deference reflected in the Hebrew use of the third person when addressing one of high estate could reflect cultural attitudes towards those in high

⁹⁶ Williams, *Studies*, 179–180.

⁹⁷ See also 1Kgs 1:17, 36, 51; 2:38; 22:6, 12. In 1Kgs 8:44 the same can be found with reference to 'the Lord'.

places. While Hebrew tends to avoid direct address, Syriac has no difficulty with it. This matter could be researched further by a comparison with other texts where high-placed individuals are addressed.⁹⁸

The very opposite appears to be true when the Lord is being addressed. In the following Hebrew text, Elisha, having lost his mentor Elijah, challenges the Lord directly to prove His presence to him. This is toned down in the Peshitta:⁹⁹

2 Kgs 2:14

ga1 אֵם אַלְמַת גַּמְדִּי, אֵלֶּהָ אֵם מַעַבְרָ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל
 “Oh, Lord God of my master Elijah!”
 He, too, smote the waters’

BTR אֵם אַלְמַת גַּמְדִּי, אֵלֶּהָ אֵם מַעַבְרָ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל
 “Oh, Lord God of my master Elijah!”
 And he, too, smote the waters’

אֵיהּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֵלִיָּהוּ אֵף הוּא וִיכָה אֶת הַמַּיִם
 “Where is YHWH, the God of Elijah, even He?”
 And he smote the waters’

At word level the differences are minimal, and even in the adaptation of אֵיהּ, ‘where’, to the exclamatory imploring אֵם, ‘oh’, the word image is partially preserved. By ignoring the clause boundary indicated by the conjunction in the Hebrew (‘and he smote’), the phrase ‘even he’ or ‘he, too’ in Syriac is joined to the following clause instead of to the preceding one. The BTR strengthens this reading by placing ‘and’ before ‘he, too’. The seemingly small shifts take the sting out of the challenging cry of Elisha.

In the following example, Elisha tells the king of Israel to go to the gods of his father and his mother. The king’s answer in the Masoretic text fits well into the narrative:

2 Kgs 3:13

חַל מִגִּדָּה חַר מִזָּה מַגִּידָה לְלֵלֵהָ אֵם תִּלְחַמֵּן מֵלֵךְ
 ‘Because of this verily the Lord called these three kings (that he might deliver them into the hand of Moab)’

אֵל כִּי קִרְאָה יְהוָה לְשִׁלְשֵׁת הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה
 ‘No! For YHWH has called these three kings (to give them into the hand of Moab)’

⁹⁸ See chapter 2, section 2.5.1.

⁹⁹ This toning down of a direct confrontation with the deity can also be observed in 2 Kgs 18:25. See also 2 Kgs 24:2, 3, treated in section 4.2, below, and Van Keulen, ‘Points of Agreement’, 228–233.

In the Peshitta, instead of the emphatic, 'No!', the king complains to the prophet that the Lord called the three kings only to deliver them into the hand of Moab. A nearly identical complaint occurs in v. 10:

2 Kgs 3:10

אמס חל מוא חר מוא וזכר להללם ויחלם סלם

'Alas! For this indeed the Lord called these three kings (that he might deliver them into the hand of Moab)'

אהה כי קרא יהוה לשלשת המלכים האלה

'Alas! For YHWH called these three kings (to give them into the hand of Moab)'

It is remarkable that the translator of 2 Kgs 3:13 did not render the Hebrew אל, 'no'. Did he skip this element because he wished to bring the exclamation in v. 13 into conformity with that of v. 10? Or did he consider אל graphically represented by חל? The initial Hebrew 'no' and the Syriac 'upon' (in 'upon this', that is, 'because') differ only in the initial Aleph being rendered as 'E, an adjustment which can be observed more often.¹⁰⁰ Whatever the case may be, the Peshitta has adjusted the syntactic structure of the Hebrew.¹⁰¹

In 2 Kgs 23:35 the Peshitta combines a variety of devices to attain a simpler, more transparent presentation of narrative materials.

2 Kgs 23:35

סכספא סגמסכא נסח סמסנן לפא ח

סנן סכספא סגמסכא סנן חל סנן

חל חלל סמסנן ופא ח

אנן אקט ונסנן נסח סמסא סכספא סגמסכא סן סכא וסנן

חל חלל סמסנן ופא ח סכספא

'And silver and gold Jehoiakim gave to Pharaoh;

however, the silver and the gold he placed upon the land

on account of the word of the mouth of Pharaoh.

Each according to his portion would bring silver and gold, from the people of the land,

on account of the word of the mouth of Pharaoh the Lame.'

והכסף והזהב נתן יהויקים לפרעה

אך העריך את הארץ לתת את הכסף על פי פרעה

איש כערכו נגש את הכסף ואת הזהב את עם הארץ לתת לפרעה נכה

'And the silver and the gold Jehoiakim gave to Pharaoh,

but he taxed the land to give the silver according to the command of Pharaoh.

He exacted the silver and the gold of the people of the land, from everyone according to his assessment, to give it to Pharaoh Neco.'

¹⁰⁰ See chapter 3, section 1.1.2, and chapter 6, section 1.1.4.3.

¹⁰¹ For discussion of ח, 'verily, indeed', as rendering of כ, 'that, for', see chapter 8, section 1.18.

The Peshitta translates 'but he taxed the land to give the silver' freely as 'however the silver and the gold he placed upon the land', leaving לֹתַת unrendered (here as well as in the second half of the verse) and supplementing 'and the gold' in accordance with the previous statement that Jehoiakim gave to Pharaoh silver and gold. The expression *ܘܡܫܟܘܢ ܘܟܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܗܘܘܟܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܗܘܘܟܘܢ* is related to *ܘܡܫܟܘܢ ܘܟܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܗܘܘܟܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܗܘܘܟܘܢ*, 'he placed a tribute on the land', which in 2 Kgs 23:33 is used to render *ויתן עניש על הארץ* *בגלג*, 'word', was added *ad sensum* to render *על פי פרעה* as *ܘܡܫܟܘܢ ܘܟܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܗܘܘܟܘܢ*.

Whereas the Masoretes interpreted *נגש* as the verb *נגש*, 'oppress, exact', the Syriac rendering *ܘܡܫܟܘܢ* suggests that the translator derived the verb form from *נגש*, 'approach'. It should be remembered that the Syriac translator worked from an unvocalized source text in which *ܫ* [F] and *ܫ* [C] were not distinguished. However, the Syriac text does not reflect an exact rendering of the Hebrew verb identified as *נגש*, since the Aphel participle *ܘܡܫܟܘܢ*, 'make approach, bring', corresponds to *הגיש* (Hiphil). The interpretation of *נגש* as *נגש* Qal is patently impossible within the syntactic context of the clause. It is unclear whether the translator resorted to this interpretation because he was not familiar with the verb *נגש*, or whether he consciously departed from the Hebrew text. It is in any case clear that the deviation from the Hebrew is related to other changes within the clause, which together produce a coherent text that fits well into the narrative:

- The implied subject of *ܘܡܫܟܘܢ* is no longer Jehoiakim, as in the Masoretic text, but *ܕܘܢܘܟܘܢ*, 'each'.
- *ܕܘܢܘܟܘܢ*, 'according to his portion', is a contextual adjustment to the changed subject. Whereas in *ܕܘܢܘܟܘܢ*, 'according to his assessment', the suffix refers to Jehoiakim, in *ܕܘܢܘܟܘܢ* it refers to 'each'.
- the preposition *ܕܘܢܘܟܘܢ* in *ܕܘܢܘܟܘܢ ܕܘܢܘܟܘܢ*, involving a deviation from the object marker *את* in *את עם הארץ*, is employed to connect 'each' to 'the people of the land'.
- *ܘܡܫܟܘܢ ܘܟܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܗܘܘܟܘܢ* is not rendered but rather replaced by *ܘܡܫܟܘܢ ܘܟܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܗܘܘܟܘܢ*.

Due to the aforementioned changes, the Peshitta achieves correspondence between the report of Jehoiakim's action (imposing taxes), and the report of the people's reaction (paying taxes). Both reports are concluded by the same phrase: 'on account of the word of the mouth of Pharaoh'.

In sum, the Peshitta appears to have rearranged the verse in order to improve the narrative presentation.

4.2. *Extending over Verse Boundaries*

The type of adaptation described above sometimes involves making different syntactic connections over verse boundaries. In 1Kgs 3:4, 5 the Peshitta takes a locative phrase from the beginning of v. 5 and attaches it instead to the phrase at the end of v. 4:

1Kgs 3:4, 5

BTR אֱלֹהִים חָלַף וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן
 * וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן
 'A thousand burnt offerings Solomon sacrificed upon this altar (5) which was in Gibeon. Then the Lord revealed himself to Solomon'

9a1 אֱלֹהִים חָלַף וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן
 * וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן
 'A thousand burnt offerings Solomon raised up upon this altar (5) which was in Gibeon. And the Lord revealed himself to Solomon'

LXX χιλίαν ὀλοκαύτωσιν ἀνήνεγκεν Σαλωμών ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον (Ant. + τὸ) ἐν Γαββαῶν.
 καὶ ὤφθη Κύριος τῷ Σαλωμών
 'A thousand burnt offerings Solomon raised up upon the altar in Gibeon. (5) And the Lord revealed himself to Solomon'
 אֱלֹהִים חָלַף וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן
 * וַתִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר־בְּגִבְעוֹן
 'A thousand burnt offerings Solomon offered upon that altar. (5) In Gibeon YHWH appeared to Solomon'

VG TJ = MT

While preserving the words, the connections between the words and between the phrases have been altered, resulting in a significant difference in the translation. The motive for the syntactic shift in the Peshitta does not seem to lie in the locative phrase at the beginning of the sentence.¹⁰² A text-historical background is more likely in this case. It should be noted that the Syriac text—in particular that of 9a1 which is anterior to the BTR here—closely agrees with the Greek of the Septuagint, and even more so with that of Antiochene text. It is probable that the Peshitta adopted the clause division of the Greek versions here. Direct influence from these witnesses on the Peshitta is also detectable elsewhere in Kings.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Though locative phrases most often occur towards the end of a clause, in both Hebrew and Syriac they can occur at the beginning (see 1Kgs 2:11; 7:46; 21:19; 2Kgs 21:7) and pre-verbally following a conjunction (see 2Kgs 6:9; 9:36).

¹⁰³ Thus see Van Keulen, 'Nature et contexte', 279–281, 285.

A verse boundary is shifted in the following case as well:

1Kgs 13:23, 24

- v. 23 אִזְכַּנְתָּ לֹם חַל עַבְדֵיךָ לְבִנְיָם וְיִלְדָם
 'they placed him, the prophet of God, upon the ass'
- v. 24 וּמָפַי אִזְכַּנְתָּ
 'and he turned and went'
- v. 23 וַיַּחְבֵּשׁ לוֹ הַחֲמוֹר לְנְבִיא אֲשֶׁר הֵשִׁיבוּ
 'and he saddled for him the ass, for the prophet whom he had brought back'
- v. 24 וַיֵּלֶךְ
 'and he went'

While the word order and content are closely followed, by rendering a subordinating conjunction **אֲשֶׁר**, 'whom', at the end of v. 23 as a coordinating conjunction,¹⁰⁴ the Peshitta changes a relative clause specifying the old prophet to a main clause with as subject the prophet from Judah. Thus, in the Syriac rendering two verbs of motion follow upon each other at the beginning of v. 24: 'and he returned and went'.

In the following example, the syntactic connections in the Syriac text do not coincide with the verse boundaries, as they do in the Masoretic text:

2Kgs 24:2, 3

- v. 2 אֲדָבָר פִּי עַבְדֵיךָ וְנִבְיֵיךָ וְנִבְיֵיךָ
 'according to the word of the Lord which he had spoken by the hand of his servants, the prophets'
- v. 3 מִפִּי הַיְהוָה (BTR + וְנִבְיֵיךָ) וְנִבְיֵיךָ (v. 3b) וְנִבְיֵיךָ
 'from the mouth of the Lord, (v. 3b) and (BTR + great) wrath was upon Judah'
- v. 2 כְּדִבְרֵי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר בְּיַד עַבְדָּיו הַנְּבִיאִים
 'according to the word of YHWH, which he spoke by the hand of his servants the prophets.'
- v. 3 אֲדָבָר עַל פִּי יְהוָה הִתְּחַל בְּיְהוּדָה
 'Only upon the mouth of YHWH it was in Judah.'

The Hebrew text in v. 3 is crystal clear as to the source of what befell Judah: God's direct command brought it about. The Peshitta circumvents this by making 'the mouth of the Lord' a further expansion of the preceding phrase in v. 2 referring to the prophets by whom God's message was transmitted.

¹⁰⁴ Of the 699 occurrences of **אֲשֶׁר** in Kings, only nine are rendered by the coordinating conjunction in P.

In this text, the translator used his source text rather freely. The particle אֵל in v. 3 was left untranslated and עַל פִּי יְהוָה was rendered as $\text{גַּחַר פְּאַמְט גּוֹזֵר}$. The Syriac of v. 3b reflects $\text{בִּיהוּדָה הִיְתָה}$ of the Masoretic text; the reference to wrath in this verse could have been derived from thematically similar verses in 2 Kgs 23:26; 24:20. In particular, v. 3b approximates the Syriac text of 2 Kgs 24:20: $\text{אִם אָמַס זֶה לַאֲדָמָה גַּחַר גּוֹזֵר חַל בְּמַסְגָּרָה חַל אִסְרַעֲלַב}$, ‘And the wrath of the Lord came upon Judah and upon Jerusalem’.¹⁰⁵ Possibly, the Syriac text of v. 3 also reflects influence from the Antiochene text: $\text{πλὴν θυμὸς Κυρίου ἦν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδα}$, ‘Moreover the wrath of the Lord came upon Judah’ (implying אֵל יְהוָה instead of עַל פִּי יְהוָה of the Masoretic text).¹⁰⁶ כִּי in the BTR represents a secondary addition based on 2 Kgs 23:26: ‘Nevertheless the great wrath of the Lord ($\text{אִם אָמַס זֶה לַאֲדָמָה גַּחַר}$) with which he was angry against Judah ... was not turned aside’.

There are more such examples of seemingly small adjustments in the Peshitta of Kings which have far-reaching effects and for which there could be various possible motivations.

5. DIFFERENT NARRATIVE PRESENTATION

In several instances where the Syriac text strongly deviates from the Masoretic text, the (proto-)Masoretic text can still be recognized as the translator’s source text.

In 1 Kgs 14:10, a simile in the Masoretic text is replaced by a different one which, however, has the same purport:

1Kgs 14:10

9a1 $\text{אִתִּי וְגַחַרְכִּי לְעֵפֶן חַסְרָה וְגַחַר}$
 ‘(and I will glean after the house of Jeroboam) as the vines of the vineyard which is finished are gleaned’

BTR $\text{אִתִּי וְגַחַרְכִּי לְעֵפֶן חַסְרָה וְגַחַר מְלַפֵּס}$
 ‘(and I will glean after the house of Jeroboam) as the vines of the vineyard are gleaned when the ingathering is finished’

$\text{כְּאִשֶּׁר יְבַעַר הַגִּלְל עַד תָּמוּ}$

‘(and I will sweep away the house of Jeroboam) as one clears away dung until it be finished’

¹⁰⁵ Thus Walter, *Peshitta of II Kings*, 225–226.

¹⁰⁶ It seems unwarranted to suppose that the Syriac rendering in v. 3 involves a conflation of two Hebrew readings: עַל פִּי יְהוָה of MT and אֵל יְהוָה of LXX and Ant. (cf. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* I, 422).

The Peshitta follows the Masoretic text in resuming in the simile the main verb of the preceding clause, that is, בער / حى.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, it reproduces roughly the syntactic structure of the simile in which the main clause is followed by a relative clause. As to semantics, the relative clause ܘܥܠܘܢ (which in BTR was expanded to ܘܥܠܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܢ)¹⁰⁸ corresponds to עַד תִּמְּו. The similarities do not alter the fact that the imagery of the Syriac simile is quite different from that of the Hebrew. We can only guess at why the translator substituted one simile for another. The Hebrew imagery is clear enough, nor is it likely that the simile was considered imprudent, for the unshrouded designation of males earlier in the verse ('who pisses against the wall') is retained in the Peshitta.

In 2 Kgs 21:13 the Peshitta replaces a simile with plain language, possibly for fear that the Syriac audience might not understand it. There, too, the link between the Syriac text and its Hebrew basis is firm.¹⁰⁹

Marked differences in content or purport between the Peshitta and the Masoretic text may also occur where the translator interpreted the same consonantal text in his Vorlage differently, or made intentional changes to the text. One example of the latter category will be presented here.¹¹⁰

In the Peshitta, more particularly in the BTR, of 2 Kgs 17:24–41, certain modifications cause the structure and import of the entire section to be markedly different from that in the Masoretic text.¹¹¹

Masoretic text	BTR	9a1
24–31 <i>Samaria resettled; the religion of the new inhabitants</i>	24–31 <i>Samaria resettled; the religion of the new inhabitants</i>	24–31 <i>Samaria resettled; the religion of the new inhabitants</i>
32 They feared the Lord and they made themselves from their number priests of the high places and they officiated for them in the house of the high places.	32 They feared the Lord and they made themselves from among them priests of the high places and they served for them in the house of the high places.	32 They feared the Lord and they made themselves from among them priests of the high places and they served for them in the house of the high places.

¹⁰⁷ For a discussion of these two verbs, see chapter 7, section 3.

¹⁰⁸ In all probability the expansion is modelled after P Isa 24:13, where an identical Syriac text occurs as a faithful translation of MT. Thus Berlinger, *Könige*, 34.

¹⁰⁹ See chapter 5, section 2.1.3.2.

¹¹⁰ Other examples are 1 Kgs 11:26–27 (see chapter 12, section 5.1); 16:34 (see chapter 6, section 3.4; Van Keulen, 'Points of Agreement', 214–215); 2 Kgs 2:13–14; 5:13–14.

¹¹¹ This case is also discussed in Van Keulen, 'Nature et contexte', 275–278, 284. Unfortunately, the text of 9a1 is not presented correctly in that publication.

Masoretic text	BTR	9a1
33 They feared the Lord and they served their gods after the regulation of the nations from among whom they had taken them into exile.	33a They feared the Lord and they served their gods after the law of the nations. 33b And they took the Israelites into exile from their land	33 They feared the Lord and they served their gods after the law of the nations from among whom they took them into exile
34 Until this day they do according to the former regulations: they do not fear the Lord and they do not act according to their statutes and according to their regulation and according to the law and according to the commandment which YHWH commanded the sons of Jacob whom he named Israel	34 until this day, because they forsook the Lord and they did according to the law of the nations and they did not fear the Lord and they did not act according to the covenant and according to the regulation and according to the law and according to the commandment which the Lord commanded the sons of Jacob whom he named Israel.	34 until this day and they did according to their former laws. They did not fear the Lord and they did not act according to the covenant and according to the regulation and according to the law and according to the commandment which the Lord commanded the sons of Jacob whom he named Israel.
35–39 <i>retrospective of YHWH's covenant with Israel</i>	35–39 <i>retrospective of the Lord's covenant with Israel</i>	35–39 <i>retrospective of the Lord's covenant with Israel</i>
40 But they would not listen; rather they do according to their former regulation.	40 But they would not listen; rather they did according to their former law.	40 But they would not listen; rather they did according to their former law.
41 So these nations feared YHWH and served their graven images, also their sons and the sons of their sons; as their fathers did, so do they, unto this day.	41 Also these nations who lived in Samaria feared the Lord and served their idols, also their sons; also the sons of their sons; as their fathers did so did they, they too, unto this day.	41 Also these nations who lived in Samaria feared the Lord and served their idols, also their sons; also the sons of their sons. And as their fathers did so did they, unto this day.

In the Masoretic text, 2Kgs 17:24–41 recounts the origin of the Samaritans and their religion. This is preceded in vv. 7–23 by a theological reflection on the causes of the fall of the northern kingdom. The redactional history of the whole chapter is extremely complex and widely disputed among literary

critics. As regards the section in vv. 24–41, two phenomena in particular suggest that it does not comprise an original literary unity in the Hebrew text.

First, v. 33 states that the peoples who resettled in the territory of the former northern Kingdom 'feared YHWH'. V. 34, however, continues: 'Until this day they do according to the former regulations: they do not fear YHWH'. Though these verses differentiate between two generations, they refer to the same group of Samaritans; both the expression 'until this day' and the unspecified third masc pl subject indicate continuity. Thus, the above statements are in direct conflict with one another.

A second indication that the section does not make up a literary unity is the unclarity regarding the identity of the subject 'they' in v. 40. V. 34 says that the Samaritans did not follow the commandment which YHWH commanded 'the sons of Jacob', that is, the people of Israel. Vv. 35–39, which elaborate on this commandment to Israel, are followed in v. 40 by the statement 'they would not listen'. Since v. 40 does not specify a new subject, the verse seems to refer to Israel. However, when v. 41 is considered, a different conclusion may present itself. V. 41 speaks of 'these nations' who feared YHWH and at the same time served their graven images. The natural conclusion is that 'these nations' refer back to the third masc pl subject in v. 40. Thus, viewed from the perspective of v. 41, v. 40 seems to identify the foreign nations as the (later) Samaritans. The presence of the expression 'their former regulation' in v. 40 lends support to this assumption, because a similar expression, that is, 'the former regulations', in v. 34 is clearly associated with the foreign nations. Thus, the Masoretic text seems to offer conflicting indications as to the identity of the subject of v. 40.

The ambiguities and incongruities mentioned above indicate that the Hebrew text of 2 Kings 17 is the result of a complex redactional history. It is the more significant, then, that such difficulties do not arise in the version of the BTR. This is due to the introduction of various modifications in the verses which caused problems in the Masoretic text, vv. 33–34 and vv. 40–41.

Vv. 33–34. The BTR completely rephrases v. 33, turning the relative clause '(the nations) from among whom they had taken them into exile' into the independent clause 'and they took the Israelites into exile from their land' (v. 33b). But to whom does the indefinite subject 'they' refer? By no means can it refer to the resettlers that are the subject of the preceding passage, because it does not make sense to say that these settlers, who had been brought to Samaria by the Assyrians, took the Israelites into exile. The context indicates that the subject of v. 33b refers to the Assyrians themselves who took the Israelites into exile. Thus, in v. 33b quite abruptly the focus is shifted from the foreign settlers of Samaria to the Israelites. In v. 34, the BTR

has an addition: 'because they forsook the Lord', which causes the Syriac sentence structure to be markedly different from the Hebrew. Whereas in the Hebrew text 'until this day' introduces a new sentence, in the BTR this time indication links up with the preceding clause in v. 33b. Against the background of v. 33b, the subject in 'because they forsook the Lord' can only refer to the Israelites. As a consequence, the subject of the rest of v. 34 also refers to the Israelites. This is in contrast to the Masoretic text, where v. 33b and v. 34 speak about the foreign settlers. It is to be noted that one witness of the BTR, manuscript 7a1, has a paragraph sign (✱) at the end of v. 33a where a shift in the identity of the implicit subject 'they' is supposed. As a result of the different sentence structure in the BTR, there is no discrepancy between the statements 'they feared the Lord' in v. 33a and 'they do not fear the Lord' in v. 34a: the former statement refers to the foreign settlers, and the latter refers to the Israelites.

Vv. 40–41. In v. 41, the BTR (here joined by 9a1) has the addition 'who lived in Samaria', by which 'these nations' are specified as the immigrants living in Samaria. The addition precludes that 'these nations' be taken to refer back to the third masc pl subject of v. 40 and previous verses. The subject of v. 40, then, probably is meant to be understood as the Israelites who were addressed in vv. 35–39. In v. 40 they are accused of not listening to YHWH's admonition to keep the covenant (vv. 35–39), and of following their former law. In the context of 2 Kings 17, this accusation parallels v. 14 and following verses; in spite of YHWH's warnings, Israel adhered to its idolatrous practices, that is, 'their former law'.

As a result of the modifications in vv. 33–34 and v. 41, vv. 33b–39 form a continuous section devoted to Israel. The BTR is free from the inconsistencies and ambiguities that characterize vv. 33–34 and v. 40 in the Masoretic text. Though the modifications reflect a certain measure of creativity, they can hardly be termed free inventions. V. 33b in the BTR is clearly modelled on v. 23, which says: 'And He (the Lord) took Israel into exile from its land to Ashur until this day' (cf. also v. 6). It is noteworthy that the expression 'until this day' in v. 34 has the same position at the end of the sentence as in v. 23. The addition 'because they forsook the Lord' (ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܥܘܕ ܠܗܘܐ) in v. 34 repeats a typically deuteronomistic expression found in 1 Kgs 9:9, 'because they (the Israelites) forsook the Lord their God' (ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܥܘܕ ܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܥܘܕ ܠܗܘܐ), 11:33, 'because he (Solomon) forsook me (the Lord)' (ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܥܘܕ ܠܗܘܐ), and 2 Kgs 22:17, 'because they (the Jerusalemites) forsook me (the Lord)' (ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܥܘܕ ܠܗܘܐ). Moreover, the verb ܘܥܘܕ occurs in 2 Kgs 17:16, 'they abandoned all the commandments of the Lord their God'. Thus, the scribes responsible for the addition took care to use a phrase known from similar deuteronomistic

contexts elsewhere in Kings.

The modifications in vv. 33–34 and v. 41 were not made simultaneously, however. Manuscript 9a1 differs from the BTR in lacking the modification in v. 33 and the addition in v. 34. As a consequence, 9a1 is closer to the Masoretic text, and for that reason probably represents a textual stage prior to that of the BTR. This means that the incongruities of the Hebrew text were not at once solved in the Syriac translation, but that the text was gradually improved in one or two stages.

The modifications in vv. 33–34 of the BTR, however, did more than just solve the inconsistencies in the earlier Syriac text. As it is now, vv. 33b–39 of the BTR constitute a reflection on Israel's fall that parallels an earlier reflection in 2 Kgs 17:7–23. It is mainly the rephrasing of v. 33b (in conjunction with the addition of 'the Israelites' as a subject) that has brought about the parallel with vv. 7–23. Therefore, it may be assumed that the scribes responsible for the BTR version also meant to reshape vv. 33–39 roughly into a parallel to the treatise on Israel's fall in vv. 7–23.

Where multiple textual differences of diverse nature are responsible for the disposition and presentation of the narrative in the Peshitta, it is a challenge to reconstruct exactly how the Syriac text came about, as is illustrated by the following case:

1 Kgs 20:33

9a1

והאנשים ינחשו וימהרו ויחלטו ממנו
והאנשים ינחשו וימהרו ויחלטו ממנו
והאנשים ינחשו וימהרו ויחלטו ממנו

BTR

והאנשים ינחשו וימהרו ויחלטו ממנו
והאנשים ינחשו וימהרו ויחלטו ממנו
והאנשים ינחשו וימהרו ויחלטו ממנו

BTR 'Now Barhadad was a man of divination.

And the men moved slowly and hastened and they delivered him from him.'

9a1 'And the men moved slowly and hastened and delivered him from him.'

והאנשים ינחשו וימהרו ויחלטו ממנו

'And the men were looking for an omen, and they hastened and delivered that which was before him.'¹¹²

In the Hebrew text, the Israelite king is pursuing the king of Aram, who has fled to the city of Aphek. When driven into a corner, Barhadad's servants approach the king of Israel and beg him to have mercy on Barhadad. The

¹¹² Translation adopted from Williams, *Studies*, 101. Redivision of ויחלטו ויחלטו as ויחלטו ויחלטו ממנו is indicated by Q^{re} in western lists and reflected in P. It is not clear, however, what the 3 fem sg suffix in ויחלטו refers to. LXX and VG paraphrase.

Israelite king replies: 'Is he yet alive? He is my brother' (v. 32b). The men, who were looking for an omen (ינחשו),¹¹³ are eager to take the words of the king of Israel as a good sign. Though the meaning of the phrase ויחלטו הממנו is obscure,¹¹⁴ its import is roughly clear from the context, since Barhadad servants bring him out of his hiding place (v. 33).

In the Syriac text represented by g_{ai}, the reference to divination is gone. In the position corresponding to ינחשו the Syriac offers ܘܢܫܘܢܝܘܢ, 'they moved slowly'. Given the graphic similarity between ܢܫܘܢܝܘܢ and ܢܫܘܢܝܘܢ (which is the equivalent of נחש in 2 Kgs 17:17; 21:6), ܘܢܫܘܢܝܘܢ is likely the result of a scribal error. The subsequent phrase, they 'hastened and delivered him from him', may be taken to mean that Barhadad's servants saved him from being killed by the king of Israel. The translator seems to have interpreted חלט in the sense of the Syriac-Aramaic ܦܠܬ, 'rescue'.

At the beginning of v. 33, the BTR presents additional text: 'Now Barhadad was a man of divination'. This addition seems to imply that Barhadad practised divination to find out whether the words of the Israelite king (v. 32b) were favourable to him. According to Ishodad of Merw the men crept in order not to disturb Barhadad until he informed them of his will.¹¹⁵ This might be a correct interpretation of what is implied in the BTR of v. 33.

Both in the BTR and g_{ai}, the narrative in v. 33 is far from transparent and raises several questions. Except for the plus in the BTR, which raises as many questions as it solves, textual adjustments and expansions to achieve narrative clarity are notably lacking.

The text-historical analysis of the deviations from the Masoretic text is as follows: ܘܢܫܘܢܝܘܢ, 'and the men moved slowly', and ܘܦܠܘܢܝܘܢ, 'and they delivered him', are deviations found in all ancient manuscripts. The former reading is an inner-Syriac corruption of ܘܢܫܘܢܝܘܢ, 'and the men divined'. Since the corruption is witnessed both by the BTR and g_{ai}, it certainly dates back to an early stage in the transmission of the Peshitta of Kings. The

¹¹³ We concur with Williams, *Studies*, 101, that the temporal reference of the ipf ינחשו is different from that of the subsequent ipf consec ויחלטו וימהרו. ינחשו indicates what the men had been doing so for some time.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Cogan, *1 Kings*, 468; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 379, 382; Montgomery—Gehman, *Kings*, 329; Thenius, *Könige*, 239–240.

¹¹⁵ See Van Den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv*, 147: 'Les mots: Les hommes rampèrent, savoir: Ils marchèrent doucement comme le reptile don't on ne perçoit pas le bruit que fait sa marche, et ils évitèrent de lui (faire entendre) le (bruit de leurs pas), jusqu'à ce qu'ils fussent informés de la volonté du roi.'

original reading, however, must have survived in at least one manuscript, possibly as a marginal gloss, for it underlies the plus $\text{וַיִּזְעַק אֶל־בָּרְחַדָּד בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל}$, 'and Barhadad was a man of divination', in the BTR. It is conceivable that a scribe, coming across the 'original reading' in one manuscript, decided to enter it into the text immediately preceding $\text{וַיִּזְעַק אֶל־בָּרְחַדָּד}$. This procedure resulted in the somewhat peculiar sequence $\text{וַיִּזְעַק אֶל־בָּרְחַדָּד וַיִּזְעַק אֶל־בָּרְחַדָּד}$, 'and the men divined and the men moved slowly'. Subsequently, $\text{וַיִּזְעַק אֶל־בָּרְחַדָּד}$ was altered to $\text{וַיִּזְעַק אֶל־בָּרְחַדָּד בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל}$, 'and Barhadad was a man of divination', to make better sense. In doing so, BTR's version of v. 33 presents a double reading.

6. SUMMARY

The number of unique lexical items occurring in the versions under consideration shows that a diminished vocabulary was implemented in the Peshitta as compared to the Masoretic text. Thus various names, nouns, and verbs were rendered by fewer items in the Peshitta.

The differences in the use of the verbal forms indicates that, though morphologically similar, the various forms in the two languages cannot be taken to correspond to one another in tense or aspect.

The Peshitta persists in following the Hebrew text closely at word level. This results in some cases in the rendering diverging significantly from the original due to a difference in the two language systems.

Both the tendency to add explanatory comments and the tendency to do away with repetition are present in the Peshitta. These serve to smooth out the text and to make it more understandable to the reader.

When omitting material, the Peshitta sometimes obliterates functional repetition present in the Masoretic text, thus missing nuances in the Hebrew narrative.

These types of adjustments can affect the phrase, the clause, or even the verse boundaries.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

This study deals with a selection of the differences between the Syriac translation of the books of Kings and the earliest fully preserved Hebrew version of these books, the Masoretic text. The majority of these can be categorized as obligatory changes made during the translation to meet the requirements of the target language. Besides these, the translated text diverges from the source text in having explicitation, simplification, normalization, and leveling out—all of which are documented in the research on translations in general. Other differences, however, cannot be explained satisfactorily as part of the translation process. The present study gives special attention to those differences whose nature is not clear at first glance. For this group, explanations in terms of exegesis or textual history as well as in terms of linguistic characteristics have been considered. The creation and implementation of an electronic database proved to be essential in examining those differences which surface in unusual correspondences between the Hebrew and Syriac texts at word level and in incomplete or unusual correspondences at phrase and clause level.

Although the linguistic and text-historical approaches differ in method and focus, research into ancient Bible translations must take both into account. The text-historian and exegete could mistake obligatory transformations or general tendencies in translated texts for exegetical or text-historical particularities, while the linguist could assume that a shift is linguistically motivated in cases where text-historical or exegetical aspects are involved. From the perspective of a linguist, many text-historical or exegetical differences could be considered to be 'static' which hampers and clouds the comparison of the source text and the translation; however, the linguist can only be certain that a difference is linguistically motivated after explanations in terms of exegetic intervention or textual provenance are excluded. Actually, each of the two approaches would be benefitted were the results of the other already available so that one could work with a 'clean' set of cases. This, however, is not possible, for the nature of each item must be established by the interaction of the two approaches. We have found again and again that the two approaches complement and supplement each other, and that the two-fold analysis provides a broader perspective for viewing

textual phenomena in translations. This, however, does not mean that we could establish the nature of each difference. In the end, a number of differences remained ambiguous: alternative explanations on the basis of the two approaches could not be excluded.

The focus of this study is on differences at word level, but in the preparation of the data, higher levels in the linguistic hierarchy have also been examined. In Part One we introduced the text-historical and the linguistic approaches to the data. The problem of how to determine the nature of a difference, as articulated in chapter 1, section 1, is demonstrated in chapter 2 by an overview of semantic differences in 1 Kings 1–2 analysed from a text-historical and exegetical perspective. While dealing with textual phenomena that can be considered exemplary for all of the Peshitta of Kings, this chapter demonstrates that independent linguistic analysis cannot be dispensed with when it comes to a proper assessment of (potentially) semantic differences. Chapter 3 presents the linguistic treatment of the data, indicating which categories play a role at the various levels—below the word, word, phrase, clause, and above the clause. Chapter 4 presents Hebrew and Syriac linguistic data at various levels using statistical information to achieve an overall view of how the Masoretic text and the Peshitta compare in their use of linguistic categories. In Part Two, comprising chapters 5 through 13, the two approaches are combined to determine the nature of selected differences at the various syntactic levels.

As mentioned above, arriving at a decision as to the most suitable explanation for a difference involves interaction between the two approaches. Nonetheless, it is necessary to present the results in some order. Here we choose to begin with the more general principles and progress to more specific explanations based on particular cases. We thus first present a summary of those characteristics of the Peshitta of Kings which can be explained on the basis of a shift from one language system to another (section 1). Second, an overview of differences for which an explanation in terms of obligatory transformations is deemed unlikely (section 2). Such differences include those which reflect the tendencies observed in translations in general.

1. LINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS

Hebrew and Syriac are both Northwest Semitic languages and share a number of features of language system and vocabulary. The similarities and differences between the two languages are apparent at all linguistic levels.

1.1. Below Word Level

The phonetic characteristics of sound correspondences between cognate words have been analysed and implemented in a computer program. This was applied to the lists of translation correspondences in the electronic translation concordance to discover the proportional distribution of forms identical, cognate, or non-identical in their spelling. The various parts of speech score differently in the proportion of similarity in spelling between corresponding words: proper nouns, which tend to be transliterated, score the highest, and particles the lowest. Interestingly, the correspondence in phonetic or graphic characteristics plays a role in a number of unusual renderings.

These two Northwest Semitic languages showed the following tendencies relating to similarities in spelling in corresponding forms per part of speech.

- In comparison to the overall average, verbs have relatively fewer forms which are identical in spelling or which manifest systematic spelling differences and relatively few such forms which tend to occur frequently. There are also relatively few forms without correspondence in the other version. In other words, verbs tend to be translated.
- Nominal forms (nouns, proper nouns, pronouns, and adjectives) manifest more identically spelled forms and forms with systematic spelling differences than verbs do, somewhat closer to the overall average. There is a higher number of frequently occurring, identically spelled items. In contrast to verbs, the nominal forms do have a fair number of items without correspondence in the other version.
- Pronouns rate considerably higher in identically spelled forms than the nominal forms as a group. A small number of identically spelled forms occur frequently in the texts. Pronouns manifest a fairly high proportion of forms rendered in only one of the versions. This reflects different strategies of the two languages when it comes to pronominal reference.
- Of all of the parts of speech, proper nouns have the most forms related to one another by means of systematic spelling variation, a logical result of the tendency to transliterate proper nouns. There are also relatively few forms without correspondence in the other version. In other words, proper nouns tend to be translated.
- Prepositions manifest relatively few cognate forms, but there are a few identically spelled forms which occur frequently in the two texts. Like pronouns, prepositions have a fairly large number of forms which

have no corresponding item in the other version, reflecting the more language-specific function of prepositions in the syntax.

- The high proportion of identically spelled conjunctions is due to a small number frequently occurring items. A significant proportion of conjunctions lack a corresponding item in the other version, reflecting the more language-specific function of conjunctions in connecting various levels in the syntactic hierarchy.

It would be interesting to have information on the comparison of other translations between related languages to see whether the parts of speech generally tend to behave in the manner described above for these two Northwest Semitic languages. Possibly, the phenomena noted above reflect a more universal tendency in translated texts involving related languages.

1.2. *Word Level*

The electronic translation concordance provides a survey of how individual words have been rendered. Because it can be sorted either by the Hebrew or by the Syriac entry, it allows the user to trace the most preferred correspondences in both directions, the distribution of synonyms. The concordance also reveals which renderings stand out in their uniqueness and thus may involve exegetical or text-historical issues. Numerous examples are treated in chapters 5–9.¹

1.3. *Phrase Level*

The systematic differences between Hebrew and Syriac phrase structure account for many of the elements which at word level have no correspondence in the other version. Hebrew syntax manifests a more extensive range of government both for nominal forms in construct state and for prepositions. In the Syriac rendering the range of government is maintained by means of repeated conjunctions, prepositions, and personal suffixes. In cases where Hebrew syntax is followed slavishly in the Peshitta without the extra particles, it is possible that the resulting phrase in Syriac diverges in meaning from the Hebrew original (see chapter 11, section 3).

In a few cases it appears that there may have been some confusion between particles with more than one function, such as the Hebrew אַתְּ

¹ The electronic translation concordance is freely available for scholarly consultation. For more information contact the authors at j.w.dyk@vu.nl or psfvankeulen@gmail.com

(object marker and preposition ‘with’), ל (preposition ‘to, for’), and Δ (preposition ‘to, for’, also used as object marker) (see chapter 11, section 1.2).

1.4. *Clause Level*

A limited selection of phenomena is discussed to illustrate how differences between the Peshitta and the Masoretic text at times are related to clause-level syntax. These include the range of government of negative particles, the rendering of the Hebrew question marker, the rendering of complex Hebrew verbal valence patterns, differences in the use of the copula, and selected cases involving correspondence at word level but difference in syntactic boundaries and constituent functions within the clause.

The most noteworthy difference in the occurrence of negatives is that Syriac needs to repeat a negative in a series more often than Hebrew does. This indicates a shorter range of government of the negative particle in Syriac (see chapter 12, section 1).

Since Syriac lacks a separate question marker, it is interesting to observe what occurs in the Syriac text where the corresponding text contains the Hebrew question marker. In the majority of cases, it is merely skipped in the rendering. In 1 Kings this is true of 91% of the cases. The tendency to compensate syntactically in one way or another for the Hebrew question marker is more strongly present in 2 Kings where the proportion of cases in which the question marker is merely skipped is significantly lower (65%) (see chapter 12, section 2).

Regarding the valence patterns of the Hebrew verbs שׂים and נשא, it appears that both exhibit more patterns and have a more extensive range of syntactic government than do their Syriac counterparts. The translation compensates for the more extensive set of valence patterns by employing various verbs to render a single Hebrew item. The more extensive range of government of Hebrew verbs is often compensated for by the use of several verbs in Syriac (see chapter 12, section 3).

The lack of correspondence between the Masoretic text and the Peshitta in the occurrences of the copula reveals systematic differences between these languages. The macro-syntactic narrative marker ויהי, ‘and it came to pass’, is often not rendered in the Peshitta, particularly when it introduces the circumstances in which a following action takes place. On the other hand, Syriac employs the copula frequently in rendering Hebrew nominal (verbless) clauses. Furthermore, the copula occurs together with other verbal forms—particularly the participle—as the main predication much more prevalently in Syriac than in Hebrew (see chapter 12, section 4).

In our study we observed cases with a close resemblance between the Masoretic text and the Peshitta at word level, but with a difference in syntactic structure and in clause-constituent functions of the elements (see chapter 12, section 5).

In general, the differences between the two language systems compel the Syriac to compensate for certain syntactic features of the Hebrew. Where compensation is absent the question arises whether the translation is a faithful rendering of the original. Where the translator adheres closely to formal elements of the source text, the Syriac and Hebrew texts sometimes appear to have divergent meanings.

1.5. *Above Clause Level*

Since the database was built up on the basis of a clause-level synopsis of the texts, a number of aspects affecting clause level have been discussed in chapter 13. These include the proportionate distribution of the various parts of speech (section 1), the presence of additional material (section 2), the avoidance of repetition (section 3), cases where the word image is preserved but the sentence boundaries are different (section 4), cases where the sentences are rendered differently but the narrative as a whole is compatible with the Masoretic text (section 5).

Generally speaking, the number of unique lexical items occurring in the two versions under consideration shows that a diminished vocabulary was implemented in the Peshitta as compared to the Masoretic text. Diverse names, nouns, and verbs were rendered by fewer unique items in the Peshitta.

Though the Peshitta persists in following the Hebrew text closely at word level, in some cases the rendering diverges significantly from the original due to a difference in the two language systems.

Both the tendency to add explanatory comments and the tendency to do away with repetition are present in the Peshitta. These both serve to smooth out the text and make it more understandable to the reader.

1.6. *Translation Universals*

1.6.1. *Tendencies of Translations in General*

Studies on the universal nature of translations provide a broader context in which observations on translations can be placed. In one Finnish study, texts translated from two different languages—Russian and English—were compared both with non-translated source-language texts and with each other:

The findings based on such comparable corpora indicated that translated texts deviated clearly from the original, untranslated texts, and on the whole, translations bore a closer affinity to each other than to untranslated texts. At the same time, different source languages ... showed individual profiles of deviation. The results suggest that the source language is influential in shaping translations, but it cannot be the sole cause, because the translations resembled each other.²

The fact that translated texts resemble each other more than they resemble their source texts appears to us to reflect general tendencies of the human brain when simultaneously dealing with two encoding systems.

In comparison to the source text, translations tend to share a number of characteristics: they tend to increase the overall length, to add explicitation, to reduce the lexical density, to simplify and to level out.³

- Translated texts tend to be longer than the source text due to the tendency towards explicitation.
- Explicitation involves adding material in the translated text that is taken to be implicit in the source text. This may assume the form of lexical, syntactic, or semantic additions, expansions, or substitutions, and results in a lower lexical density.
- Lexical density is the proportion of content words to function words which have little lexical meaning but which serve to express grammatical relationships. The rationale behind this is that translations tend to add material to disambiguate elements in the source text, to make explicit syntactic and grammatical relationships which are taken to be implied in the source text, and to supply elided material. Much of this is done by the addition of function words. In spite of the fact that the added material also contains content words, translated texts still tend to have a lower lexical density.
- Simplification may have an effect opposite to that of explicitation: more general terms can replace specific ones, various short sentences can replace a long one, and modifying phrases and words can be omitted. Other types of simplification include the reduction or omission of repetition, a narrower range of vocabulary (lower type/token ratio).⁴ The latter issues are related to the tendency in translated texts 'to

² Mauranen, 'Corpora, universals and interference', 79.

³ See Lind, 'Translation Universals?', 2–4.

⁴ That is, the number of unique lexical items in translated texts is lower in relation to the total number of words.

gravitate toward the centre of the continuum'.⁵ There is a 'relatively higher level of homogeneity of translated texts with regard to their own scores on given measures of universal features' in contrast to non-translated texts which are more idiosyncratic with a higher level of variance.⁶

- Furthermore, it has been noted that a translation may attempt to retain formal aspects of the source text; this tendency tends to be present in particular in translations of holy texts.⁷

Much of what can be observed in the Syriac translation reflects the so-called translation universals. It is, however, important to realize that the Syriac text shared by the oldest manuscripts, that is, the text common to the BTR and 9a1, is still several centuries younger than the original translation. Not only the translators, but also the scribes could have felt the need to simplify and clarify the received text. We must therefore allow for the possibility that at least part of the changes characteristic of translation universals arose during the extensive period of textual transmission. A considerable number of the deviations peculiar to the BTR exhibit the characteristics of translation universals. Since the BTR represents a later inner-Syriac development, these 'translation universals' could actually be secondary modifications. It is, therefore, not to be ruled out that part of the translation universals shared by 9a1 and the BTR likewise do not derive from the original translator, but from a later editor.

We cannot but conclude from our observations that the tendencies observed between translations in general have to do with the mental strategies involved in processing two encoding systems and that these are also observable during the transmission process involving texts within a single language.

1.6.2. *Examples of Translation Universals in the Peshitta of Kings*

Examples of the translation universals are provided in the following sections, or reference is made where the illustration is discussed in this volume.

⁵ Baker, 'Corpus-based Translation Studies: The Challenges That Lie Ahead', 184.

⁶ Laviosa, *Corpus-based Translation Studies: Theory, Findings, Applications*, 73.

⁷ Cf. Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi*, 395: 'Translations of sacred texts must be literal, word-for word (because even the word order of the original is a holy mystery and the translator cannot risk heresy)', as quoted in A. Chesterman, 'Beyond the particular', 35; see also S. Lind, 'Translation Universals?', 5: '... translators ... will allow the interference of the source text (through literal translation, for example) when that is where the rewards lie (in the case of a high status source text such as the Bible, for example).'

1.6.2.1. *Overall Length*

When those lexical items which are not written in isolation (certain prepositions and pronominal elements) are counted as separate items, the Peshitta of Kings is 1.5% longer than the Masoretic text. Particularly adjectives, prepositions, and pronouns occur significantly more frequently in the Peshitta. The disproportionate frequencies of occurrence of various parts of speech in the two versions and a discussion of a selection of these can be found in chapter 13, section 1.

1.6.2.2. *Explicitation*

Due to additional material in the translation which makes explicit that which is assumed to be implicit in the source text, the Syriac text at times appears to be more logical or to run more smoothly than the Masoretic text—ambiguous cases are disambiguated, the progression of the narrative is clarified, and information is provided to fill in information gaps in the source text. In chapter 13, section 2, selected examples of additional material are discussed.

1.6.2.3. *Lexical Density*

The proportion of the total number of verbs and nominal forms (nouns, proper nouns, and adjectives) as compared to the rest of the forms gives the lexical density of a particular text. As is true of translations in general, in the Peshitta of Kings the proportion of content words to function words is lower in the translation in comparison to the source text. The lexical density of the two texts is compared and discussed in chapter 4, section 2.2.

1.6.2.4. *Simplification and Levelling Out*

The Peshitta of Kings reduces some of the repetition present in the Masoretic text and employs fewer unique lexical items. The avoidance of repetition—even when the repetition has a special function in the source text—can involve single words, but also phrases or clauses, and in one case a whole verse. This has been dealt with in chapter 13, section 3. The reduction in the number of unique vocabulary items in the translated text has been treated in chapter 13, section 1, where verbs, nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns have been discussed separately. Also included in this category are the tendencies to reduce spelling variation in names (chapter 6, section 3.3) and to render different names by a single item (chapter 6, section 3.4).

1.6.2.5. *Preservation of Formal Characteristics of the Source Text*

Some correspondences between the two versions of Kings compared in this study can only be explained by an attempt to preserve formal characteristics of the source text in the translation. At word level, this has been amply

demonstrated in chapters 8 and 9. In chapters 11 through 13 examples are given of Syriac renderings which deviate from the more common Syriac use of syntactic patterns to follow the Hebrew text closely. In such cases it can be questioned whether the resulting translation is a faithful rendering of the Hebrew.

1.6.3. *A Tendencies Found in the Peshitta of Kings but Not Mentioned Elsewhere as a Translation Universal*

In chapter four, a comparison of the ratio of tokens and types per part of speech revealed that proper nouns and verbs have the highest rate of being rendered in the translation. It would seem logical that this tendency might be found to be generally true in translations, but we have not encountered this as yet in the literature.

Although it might seem too obvious to mention, proper nouns have the highest chance of being transliterated or transcribed. Only certain parts of composite names are translated in names, usually elements like reference to functions ('chief of', 'servant of') or relationships ('son of', 'sister of').

2. INTENTIONAL CHANGE AND TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT

In the course of this study, it has become clear that the semantic deviations from the Masoretic text in the Peshitta of Kings were in part consciously introduced, and in part arose inadvertently in the course of translation and textual development. In this section we review the various types of semantic differences we have encountered and put these in a historical framework.

Intentional semantic differences, which by nature are exegetical, can be divided into two categories: differences recognizable as 'translation universals' (treated in section 1.6.2) and differences going beyond that category (section 2.1). Unintentional differences include those reflecting divergent interpretations of the Hebrew by translator and Masoretes, and those due to faulty copying during the transmission process. Because to a certain degree the nature of a particular semantic difference indicates the textual stage at which it arose, these differences provide important text-historical information, which allows sketching a schematic history of the early text.

2.1. *Other Intentional Differences*

Many of the differences between the Peshitta of Kings and the Masoretic text can be plausibly analysed as deliberate deviations from the source text.

These deviations, of which examples have been discussed in the previous chapters, include:

- forms of harmonization to a biblical text outside of Kings
- semantic deviations from the Hebrew which maintain some sort of connection to the source language by reproducing (part of) its word image or by translanguistic association
- replacement of imagery by plain language
- substitution of one name by another referring to a different person or entity
- deviations similar to readings in Targum Jonathan, apparently reflecting a common exegetical tradition
- adoption of variant readings extant in ancient versions
- content-related changes brought about by a combination of minor deviations

2.2. Unintentional Differences

There are other differences between the Masoretic text and the Peshitta of Kings which are hard to explain as conscious deviations from the Vorlage by either translator or scribe. These differences may have arisen inadvertently, provided a simple explanation of their origin and development is possible. The nature of an unintentional difference is indicative of the textual stage in which it arose: the transmission of the Hebrew text; the translation; the transmission of the Syriac text.

1. Where the Peshitta and other ancient versions agree in offering a reading which does not match the Masoretic consonantal text, they may have had a different Hebrew source. In our materials, this proved to be a real option for only a few instances.⁸
2. The translator construed the same Hebrew consonants differently than the later Masoretes did. Since the Masoretic interpretation came much later, deviations as reflected in the Syriac rendering are by nature unintentional. The differences not only involve the identification of lexemes (chapter 7), but also the interpretation of Hebrew syntax (chapter 8 and elsewhere). In a few cases where the syntactic interpretation reflected in the Syriac text does not exactly fit the consonants of the Masoretic text, the translator might have overlooked certain elements in the Hebrew source, but he might also have consciously

⁸ See chapter 2, section 3.2.1; chapter 5, sections 2.1.2.5 and 2.2.2.6; chapter 9, section 6.

ignored these elements in order to impose his own interpretation onto the text.⁹ In the latter case, the difference is intentional.

3. Scribes committed errors while copying the Syriac text.
 - Corruptions shared by all manuscripts are identifiable on intrinsic grounds: the Syriac resembles but is not identical to that what may be expected on the basis of the Masoretic text. A few of these corruptions are more plausibly explained in terms of aural errors than in terms of visual or writing errors. This suggests that somewhere during the process of transmission, the Syriac text was dictated to a copyist.¹⁰
 - Corruptions attested in one tradition only (BTR or 9a1) can be recognized by comparing variant readings. The reading in agreement with the Masoretic text is taken to represent the original translation. Both 9a1 and the BTR contain a number of these unique corruptions.¹¹

2.3. *The Text-Historical Setting of Differences*

By their nature and provenance, deviations from the Masoretic text can be linked to a certain degree to a particular stage in the formative history of the Syriac text, and are thus a source of information on the development of the Peshitta. In this section we present the most significant findings of the preceding chapters within the historical framework of the main stages in the development of the early Syriac text: source text, translation, transmission. The transmission stage falls into two phases, a later phase for which variant readings are attested and an earlier phase lacking variant readings. Our review starts with the former phase, as it is the only one which supplies direct evidence for textual development.

2.3.1. *The Identity of the Source Text*

Since both the original source text and the original Syriac translation have been lost, we are unsure what they were like. Still we can be fairly certain that the translator used a Hebrew source and that this source was almost identical to the consonantal framework of the later Masoretic text, the so-called proto-Masoretic text.

⁹ An example of this can be found in 1Kgs 19:11 (chapter 8, section 1.12).

¹⁰ See, for example, chapter 6, sections 1.1.4-3 and 5.5; chapter 8, section 2.3.

¹¹ See, for example, chapter 2, section 3.1.

There are strong indications that the translation was made from a Hebrew source rather than from a Greek or Aramaic one. In the Septuagint, 3 and 4 Kingdoms exhibit major differences to the Masoretic text in sequence. Where these versions diverge, the Peshitta appears to agree with the Masoretic text in the overwhelming majority of instances. Thus it is clear that the Septuagint, the only truly alternative text type of Kings in circulation in the second century CE, was not the basis used by the translator. Though the Targum of Kings exhibits an order that is much more in agreement with the Masoretic text, it is improbable that the translator worked from an Aramaic ancestor of the Targum text. One indication is provided by the homographs treated in chapter 8, several of which show an exclusive relation to the Hebrew.

After 70 AD, the received text of the Hebrew Bible became stabilized in a way that precluded significant changes.¹² This stabilized text was the proto-Masoretic text. In the second century, it was accepted by most Jewish communities as being authoritative; the Peshitta of Kings does not lead us to assume that the translation was made from a non-Masoretic text type. Only occasionally does the translator seem to have read slightly different consonants than those of the Masoretic text.¹³

In view of this state of affairs, the Masoretic text may be confidently used as an Archimedean point for the linguistic and text-historical assessment of the Peshitta.

2.3.2. *Changes Attested by Variants Unique to the BTR or 9a1*

The use of the Masoretic text as a model of the Hebrew source provides a criterion for the assessment of the Syriac variant readings. As was explained in chapter 1 (section 2.2), the reading that is in keeping with the consonants of the Masoretic text is likely to represent the original translation. The two major text forms attested in the Syriac manuscripts, the BTR and the text of manuscript 9a1, each share unique readings in relation to the Masoretic text, though the rate of agreement is much higher for the latter than for the former. The deviations from the Masoretic text that are not shared by both the BTR and 9a1 arose after the text tradition had split into separate branches. Part of these deviations are due to corruption, especially in 9a1, but another part results from deliberate textual intervention. The BTR in

¹² Williamson, 'Do We Need a New Bible?', 158.

¹³ Instances discussed in this study occur in 1Kgs 1:9 (chapter 2, section 2.2.1.1.), 18 (chapter 2, section 3.2.1); 2Kgs 11:6 (chapter 9, section 6).

particular contains many of these exegetical modifications. Their high frequency in comparison to 9a1 raises the question of their origin. Were they gradually added to the text leading up to the BTR or were they all introduced in the context of a single revision? The latter view is taken by Walter, who claims that 'the non-9a1 text shared by other manuscripts represents a conscious intentional revision [indicated as ED] contemporary with some pre-sixth century source of 9a1'.¹⁴

Since variations had developed among ed mss by the sixth century (compare 6h18 with 6ph2), this consensus must have been achieved earlier and in some way enforced, i.e. made universal (except for 9a1).¹⁵

Walter's view essentially draws on two arguments:

1. Many readings involve a considerable reworking of the text, which for that reason cannot have been made by a mere copyist.¹⁶
2. The number of variants which all ED manuscripts share, but which 9a1 lacks (ca. 550), indicates that a standardization of the text had occurred.

Walter believes that ED was prepared at a prominent monastery with sufficient prestige to enforce the spread and use of the copies made from ED. The high number of new readings in ED would suggest that at least two or three manuscripts were consulted and that deviations found useful for recitation and storytelling (explicitation, harmonization) were adopted into it.

This hypothesis invites comment. First, the notion that the BTR is the product of conscious edition fits in with the view, advanced by Karel van der Toorn regarding the Hebrew Bible, that scribes were averse to textual interventions while copying from a mother text.¹⁷ Expansions and adaptations like those in the BTR were probably not introduced gradually during textual transmission, but simultaneously in the context of a planned revision.

Seen in this light, the assumption that new readings from two or three manuscripts were brought together in ED may be questioned. If these new readings did not evolve in a process of gradual textual growth, they must be products of editorial activity. The ancient manuscripts, however, do not support the notion of multiple editions by individual scribes. The stability of the textual fund shared by the manuscripts attesting the BTR and 9a1 rather suggests that editorial activities were strictly controlled. The revisionary

¹⁴ Walter, *Studies*, 125.

¹⁵ Walter, *Studies*, 126.

¹⁶ Walter, *Studies*, 125.

¹⁷ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 124–125.

activity resulting in ED, then, probably did not involve the collection of 'various storytelling expansions found now in this ms and now in that',¹⁸ but rather the very creation of these storytelling elements.

Second, it is tempting to assume that the ED was made with a view to creating and distributing a standard text of the Syriac Bible, perhaps in an attempt to stop the proliferation of slightly variant texts. For the new ED to be accepted as authoritative among religious communities, it would have had to be promulgated from a leading religious centre, probably a prestigious monastery, as Walter argues.

In contrast to the BTR, 9a1 contains few unique readings that may be interpreted as exegetical changes. If the text tradition leading up to 9a1 went through a separate stage of revision, that was modest in comparison to the BTR.¹⁹ On the other hand, the manuscript contains more unique, unambiguous corruptions than the BTR.²⁰ Here one should, however, not overlook the fact that this comparison is between the text of a single manuscript and the average text of several manuscripts, in which corruptions of individual manuscripts are not taken into account.

Walter proposes that the corruptions unique to 9a1 were made when the text was copied from a badly worn manuscript, or from a manuscript using a script that was easily misinterpreted.²¹ Whatever the cause, the text of 9a1 reflects an eventful transmission history.

2.3.3. *Changes Attested by Both 9a1 and the BTR*

By comparing attested variants with one another and with the Masoretic text one can determine the readings that are likely to represent the original translation. Yet, the text resulting from this procedure may still be far removed from the original translation. At the very least, the text represented by all ancient manuscripts still exhibits a considerable number of differences to the Masoretic text. Since the Hebrew source is thought to have contained similar consonants as those of the Masoretic text, these differences were created either by the translator or by one or more later scribes.

¹⁸ Walter, *Studies*, 126.

¹⁹ A probable case of revision occurs in 1Kgs 2:22 (treated in chapter 2, section 3.2.6).

²⁰ Examples of corruptions in 9a1 discussed in this study occur in: 1Kgs 1:34 (chapter 2, section 3.1.3), 42 (chapter 2, section 3.1.4); 2:5 (chapter 2, sections 2.2.2.5 and 2.2.2.6). Other examples occur in 1Kgs 8:39, 44; 9:9; 12:33; 15:20; 18:5; 22:39; 2Kgs 18:8. Examples of corruptions in the BTR discussed in this study occur in: 1Kgs 1:27 (chapter 2, section 3.1.2); 2Kgs 6:15 (chapter 9, section 4). Further examples may be found in 2Kgs 6:1; 20:13.

²¹ Walter, *Studies*, 127–128.

2.3.3.1. *Changes Deriving from the Translator or a Reviser*

There can be no doubt that many semantic and content-related differences are the translator's work. Where he construed or interpreted the Hebrew source text differently than the later Masoretes did, such differences arose inadvertently. The translator, however, also deviated deliberately from his source. The Peshitta of Kings contains several complex semantic and syntactic differences which produce a meaningful text while preserving part of the word image of the Hebrew. These cannot but derive from the translator.²² Where the Syriac rendering suggests that the Hebrew was interpreted in an Aramaic sense,²³ the connection with the Hebrew is obvious as well.

Exegetical changes having a parallel in the Targum were probably also introduced by the translator. In all likelihood, the Peshitta and the Targum drew directly but independently from a fund of pre-existing exegetical traditions.²⁴ A Jewish translator may have had easier access to these traditions than a later, probably Christian, scribe would have.²⁵

Since the aforementioned changes clearly show that the translator did not abstain from exegetical intervention, other types of intentional change may be attributed to him as well. Being a learned scribe, the Jewish translator may be expected to have engaged in various types of exegesis while preparing his translation.²⁶ The question, however, arises how far the translator's exegetical interference with the biblical text actually extended.

Many cases of intentional change attested by the BTR and 9a1 alike do not provide clear indications as to their origin. They could have been introduced to the text by the translator himself as well as by later scribes. It would be wrong to conclude that they derive from the translator on the grounds that there is no evidence to the contrary, for instance, by the presence of variant

²² The possibility that these deviations were introduced by a later scribe is remote. As they do not represent translations of the Hebrew, they were not introduced during a revision meant to bring the Syriac text into closer agreement with the Hebrew. Nor are they likely to represent secondary exegetical modifications inspired by the Hebrew text, since a Syriac scribe has no obvious reason to alter the Syriac text on the basis of the graphic or phonetic shape of Hebrew words only. In this respect, the position of the scribe differs from that of the original translator: the latter has an interest in expressing the relationship with the Hebrew even where he consciously departs from its meaning.

²³ For instance, in 2 Kgs 15:10 (chapter 8, section 1.31).

²⁴ Weitzman, *Introduction*, 101–102; Van Keulen, 'Points of Agreement', 233–234.

²⁵ Weitzman (*Introduction*, 237–258) has persuasively argued that the Peshitta originated in the second half of the second century CE in circles of non-Pharisaic Jews who converted to Christianity soon after the translation was completed.

²⁶ On this see Van der Kooij, 'Zur Frage der Exegese'.

readings. It is significant that the alterations observable in the text shared by the BTR and 9a1 are not dissimilar to alterations exclusively attested by the BTR. The latter only appears to continue the use of forms of textual intervention already applied in an earlier textual stage, like harmonization, clarification, agreement with the Greek and with parallel texts in other biblical books.²⁷ Similar motives and causes may have been at work during more than one stage. If differences unique to the BTR are attributed to revision, comparable differences in the text shared by the BTR and 9a1 may result from revision as well. Considering the fact that translation universals are among the latter, we must reckon with the possibility that even the translation universals shared by 9a1 and the BTR do not originate with the translation, but with a later revision. As posited above, the general tendencies documented in translations are also apparent as a result of the process of transmission.

Actually, there are a few intentional changes which are more likely to derive from a reviser than from the original translator. In 1Kgs 18:29 the Peshitta has a plus deriving from the Septuagint, which is poorly integrated into the context and which exhibits unusual vocabulary, suggesting that it is not original to the translation.²⁸

Where the Syriac text deviates from the Masoretic text but exclusively agrees with the Greek of the Antiochene text, revision may be considered.²⁹ Influences from the Antiochene text on the Peshitta indicate revision, since the original Syriac translation is earlier than the formation of the Antiochene text.

The presence of double renderings also hints at the activity of revising, since these are likely to result from a conflation of two Syriac readings.³⁰

In view of the above, we are bound to conclude that the question of the provenance of most of the intentional changes shared by 9a1 and the BTR cannot be solved.

²⁷ On the tendency to bring the Syriac text of Kings into closer conformity to parallels in other biblical books, notably Isaiah and Jeremiah, see Walter, 'Use of Sources'.

²⁸ See chapter 13, section 2; Van Keulen, 'Nature et Contexte', 280–281, 285; idem, 'Distinctive Features' (forthcoming).

²⁹ Examples can be found in 1Kgs 12:15; 22:2; 2Kgs 5:18, 20; 6:8, 9; 8:12, 14; 16:14; 17:29.

³⁰ Double renderings were detected in 2Kgs 3:10, 13 (chapter 8, section 1.18); 2Kgs 14:20 (chapter 8, section 1.30); 1Kgs 20:33 (chapter 13, section 5).

2.3.3.2. *Corruptions*

Few differences in the text represented by both *gai* and the *BTR* can be unambiguously interpreted as corruptions.³¹ Among the differences which are probably due to corruption, names figure prominently.³² Particularly interesting are a few cases which seem to reflect an error in hearing,³³ suggesting cooperation of a reader and a copyist, perhaps within the setting of a scriptorium.

3. THE TWO APPROACHES

We began this project with the question:

Which deviations from the Masoretic text in the Peshitta are related to the requirements of the Syriac language, which are related to the translation process, and which are related to the transmission history of the translated text?

Concentrating on differences involving semantic or content-related aspects, we found that analysing them from two different viewpoints, a linguistic and a 'philological' one, helped us arrive at a more balanced assessment of the nature and provenance of the deviations considered. Though these disciplines work with the same textual data, their approaches are radically different.

The difference in focus and strategy of each discipline colours the explanation provided for the divergence between a translation and the text believed to be the closest approximation to its source, both of which show traces of age-long transmission processes.

Linguistic argumentation bases its explanation on the distribution of patterns within larger amounts of data and is concerned with explaining differences which result from the change of language system during the translation process. Exegesis and textual history consider all changes of the text which affect its meaning. In chapter 2 we concluded that a final assessment of such deviations in 1Kings 1 and 2 is impossible without a linguistic analysis of the relevant data.

³¹ Instances discussed in this study include 1Kgs 1:8; 2Kgs 7:8 (chapter 9, section 5); 19:32 (chapter 8, section 2.4).

³² See chapter 6.

³³ For instance 2Kgs 9:33 (chapter 8, section 2.3). A corruption in the *BTR* of 2Kgs 18:17 also appears to be due to an aural error (chapter 8, note 85).

In collecting all relevant linguistic data within a corpus, the computer played an essential role. Being able to collect data comparable to a particular case from the complete corpus provided a broader basis for observations on a specific instance, as demonstrated in the sections on the use of the question marker, the range of prepositional government, the use of the copula in the two versions, and the occurrence of verbal valence patterns.

Interestingly, the linguist is able to place many of our findings concerning the differences between the Peshitta and the Masoretic text within the context of what has been observed in translations in general. The text-historical scholar, however, points out that some of these characteristics are demonstrably not present in the earlier Syriac versions, and thus not a product of the initial translation process, but of a later transmission phase. In other words, the processes at work in translating a text also affect the copyist and scribe who transmits the text.

This is an example of how the double approach toward the deviations worked as supplementation: the data provided by each discipline combined into an unambiguous appraisal of the case at hand.

Occasionally, the data supplied by one discipline precluded an explanation of a deviation in terms of the other discipline.

There were also cases where both disciplines claimed to be able to explain a particular case. In the end our conclusion is that where text-historical or exegetical data are not able to preclude a linguistic explanation, the latter is to be preferred. However, where alternative, or mutually exclusive explanations are possible, it is not always possible, or even desirable, to determine which explanation is to have precedence over the other: both could in their own way provide a rationale for the observed deviation.

The implementation of the computer to develop a linguistically analysed database from morpheme up through clause level has made a vast amount of data available. As repeatedly mentioned in this volume, only a limited selection of topics has been addressed. Even at word level, which received the most attention, we have dealt with only a limited number of cases.

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5:12	265n380	17:31	266n388
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2:22	93	14:2	266n385
2:28	95	14:7	265n382
18:5	311	15:25	288
22:38	315	16:6	265n381
		17:31	266n388
4 Regum		23:10	266n387
3:25	281	23:36	265n383
4:42	284n537	24:14	331n73
5:12	265n380	24:18	266n384

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