

**Salkinson's  
Pursuit  
of Bringing  
the New Testament  
into the Treasure House  
of Hebrew Literature**

**Herti Dixon  
Master's Thesis in Semitic Languages  
September 18, 2023**

**Supervisor:  
Dr. Anette Månsson, Senior Lecturer  
Department of Linguistics and Philology**



**UPPSALA  
UNIVERSITET**

## Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincere gratitude towards my supervisor, Dr. Anette Månson, for her warm encouragement and competent guidance.

I also would like to express my appreciation for my tutors at the Faculty for Linguistics at Uppsala University, who provided me with the keys for conducting an investigation into the area of Semitic languages. And, last but not least, I want to thank Professor Emeritus Mats Eskhult, who gave me a taste for scientific inquiry.

I also want to thank David van Capelleveen, who generously shared the archive material he had gathered for his thesis 'The Origins of the Salkinson-Ginsburg translation: An inquiry into the Historical Sources.' Without access to these documents my study might have taken another course.

## Abstract

This study deals with the surprising commissioning of a new translation into Hebrew of the New Testament only months after the prestigious translation by the celebrated German Hebraist Prof. Franz Delitzsch had been published, in 1877. An alternative to the professor's version was to be molded by Isaac Salkinson, a renowned Hebrew translator of world classics, like Shakespeare's Othello.

Salkinson, who despite his controversial status as a convert to Christianity, and even as a Presbyterian missionary, was still 'high in demand' by high-profile Haskalah proponents, due to his exceptional knowledge of Hebrew idioms.

As an all-Jewish enterprise, Salkinson's Hebrew NT, edited by the acclaimed Jewish scholar, Christian D. Ginsburg, aroused a storm of criticism among Protestant Hebraists after its publication in 1885. Foremost among the critics was the Oxford professor Samuel R. Driver, co-author of the BDB lexicon, the standard reference for Biblical Hebrew.

Driver publicly declared Salkinson's knowledge of Hebrew to be inadequate. At the same time, Salkinson's language was pronounced a source of delight by a Jewish audience ready to reclaim Hebrew as their national tongue. Even today Salkinson's rich Hebrew is admired by Israeli authors.

The present linguistic study of Salkinson's NT translation has been undertaken to provide insights into these very divergent evaluations of his opus.

*Key words: Haskalah Hebrew, NT translations, Meliṣah, Jewish.*

# Content

|                     |    |
|---------------------|----|
| Introduction        | 5  |
| Earlier research    | 6  |
| Research Materials  | 7  |
| Method              | 8  |
| Key Players         | 10 |
| Transcription Table | 12 |

## Part 1 Background and Reception of Salkinson's Translation

|     |  |    |
|-----|--|----|
| 1.1 | Historical Setting                           | 14 |
| 1.2 | A Haskalah Approach                          | 15 |
| 1.3 | Recognition for Salkinson's Language         | 16 |
| 1.4 | Scholarly rejection - Protestant Ambivalence | 17 |

## Part 2 Conflicting Translation Strategies

|     |   |    |
|-----|---|----|
| 2.1 | Ginsburg's Defense: Why Another Translation?              | 21 |
| 2.2 | Principles Behind Salkinson's Translation                 | 23 |
|     | 2.2.1 Controversies                                       | 25 |
| 2.3 | Creating a New Sacred Idiom – or Relying on the Familiar? | 27 |
| 2.4 | Translation Strategies                                    | 28 |
|     | 2.4.1 'Pure Hebrew'                                       | 28 |
|     | 2.4.2 Meliṣah   | 29 |
|     | 2.4.2.1 Shibbuṣ   | 30 |
|     | 2.4.3 Domestication                                       | 31 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Part 3 Textual Study                                       | 33 |
| 3.1 Salkinson's Haskalah Language                          | 34 |
| 3.1.1 Figures of Speech                                    | 34 |
| 3.1.1.1 Metaphors  | 34 |
| 3.1.1.2 Idioms   | 36 |
| 3.1.1.3 Multiple Word Units                                | 37 |
| 3.1.1.3.1 Comparison Greek NT                              | 38 |
| 3.1.1.3.2 Comparison Delitzsch                             | 39 |
| 3.1.1.4 Metonyms   | 39 |
| 3.1.1.4.1 Comparison Lēv                                   | 40 |
| 3.1.1.4.2 Comparison Neṣpeš                                | 40 |
| 3.1.1.5 Collocations                                       | 42 |
| 3.1.1.6 Circumlocutions                                    | 43 |
| 3.2 Translation or Paraphrase?                             | 44 |
| 3.3 Communicative Features                                 | 45 |
| 3.3.1 Intensifying through Duplication                     | 45 |
| 3.3.2 Questions Rather Than Assertions                     | 46 |
| 3.4 Domestication – Specific Renderings                    | 47 |
| 3.5 Comparisons of Diverging Translations                  | 51 |
| 3.5.1 Salkinson 1885 to Salkinson 1886                     | 51 |
| 3.5.2 Salkinson 1885 to Delitzsch                          | 53 |
| 3.5.3 Delitzsch 1877 to the 1976 Modern Hebrew Translation | 55 |
| Conclusion   | 57 |
| Bibliography   | 59 |

# Introduction

1885 a newly translated Hebrew New Testament came off the printing press of a K & K Hofdruckerei, an 'imperial-royal printing office,' in Vienna. It was the third and last Hebrew translation of the NT undertaken in the 1800s by diverging interpreters in three different countries, and cultural spheres. Vienna, the stage of this last one, was then the heart of the vast Catholic Austrian-Hungarian empire, but also a major cultural center for the Jewish Haskalah movement. Here Hebrew literary salons were flourishing on the threshold of the re-vernacularization of the Hebrew language. Vienna literary circles were frequented by well-known Hebrew authors like Judah Leib Gordon and Abraham Baer Gottlober.<sup>1</sup>

From Vienna the influential Hebrew magazine *Ha-Shaḥar*, The Dawn,<sup>2</sup> was spread, edited by Haskalah profile Peretz Smolenskin, a prominent author of Hebrew prose fiction who had immigrated from a Shtetl in today's Belarus. Vienna was also the scene of the first prestigious translations of Shakespeare's dramas from the original English into Hebrew, by a protegee of Smolenskin, Isaac Salkinson, also from Belarus, a highly lauded Hebrew translator of his day, whose elegant Hebrew style, and rare knowledge of Hebrew idioms intrigued his Jewish audience, even though he was known to be a Christian proselyte. Salkinson had translated Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Christoph August Tiedge's *Urania* among other titles. People were queuing to read anything coming from his pen.<sup>3</sup>

Even the shunned New Testament was no exception. The first edition of Salkinson's *Brit ha-Ḥadashah*, 2000 copies in genuine Haskalah Hebrew, were sold out within a month, unfortunately not to be reprinted again in the original version, due to the massive criticism Salkinson's 'Jewish' gospel was subjected to by Protestant scholars, disinclined to abdicate the field to a 'Jewish upstart.'<sup>4</sup>

Hebrew translations of the New Testament had almost always been undertaken by Christian Hebraists, with the help of Jewish tutors, but still under Christian auspices. Salkinson who had converted some 30 years earlier was seemingly not considered adequate, although he had completed nine years of Christian theological studies and was an ordained minister of the Church of Scotland.<sup>5</sup>

Being thus slighted, he shared the fate of many Jewish believers in Jesus – being treated with suspicion by Christians, shunned as traitors by their Jewish peers.

That Salkinson's Hebrew New Testament nevertheless was so sought after by a Jewish Haskalah audience was due to his literary genius and his sensitive Hebrew, still admired by contemporary Israeli poets. His Shakespeare translations are again published and read by Hebrew speakers of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. When his *Ithziel haKushite* (*Othello*) first appeared in

---

<sup>1</sup> Kahn, L., *The First Hebrew Shakespeare Translations*, London, UCL Press, 2017, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/ha-shaḥar>

<sup>3</sup> Quarterly Records, July 1886, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> See section 1.4, Scholarly rejection - Protestant Ambivalence.

<sup>5</sup> Dunlop, J., *Memoirs of Gospel Triumphs*, London, 1894, p. 373.

Vienna in 1874, it was triumphantly introduced by Smolenskin. In his preface he writes in Hebrew.<sup>6</sup>

נקמות נעשה היום בהבריטאנים, המה לקחו את  
כתבי קדשנו ויעשו בהם כאדם העושה בשל  
העתיקו, פזרום לכל קצות הארץ כמו להם המה  
וגם אנחנו נשלם להם היום פעלתם אל חיקם, כי  
נקח את הספרים היקרים בעיניהם בכתבי הקדש  
את חזיונות שעקספיר ונביאם לאוצר שפת  
קדשנו, ואם לא מתוקה הנקמה הזאת

‘Today we take revenge on the British. We are taking the books which are as precious to them as the Holy Scriptures, the plays of Shakespeare, and we are bringing them into the treasure-house of our holy tongue.’ (Translation: Lily Kahn)

A similar verdict could have been pronounced on Salkinson’s *Brit ha-Ḥadashah*. By his translation he brought the New Testament into the treasure house of Hebrew literature. Judging by the enthusiasm it aroused among leading Jewish Hebrew scholars, even those who by no means endorsed Salkinson’s religious views, it was a masterpiece of a Haskalah translation endeavor.

Today a somewhat modified version of Salkinson’s *Brit ha-Ḥadashah* is still being published, and curiously it is still slighted by ‘pro-Protestant’ scholars.

The aim of this essay is to supply a background to the divergent linguistic evaluations, to comment on why Salkinson’s indigenous Hebrew New Testament did not, after all, find its place among other Hebrew literary translations on the bookshelves of Jewish intellectuals, and to seek an answer to the question asked by many of the players in the late 1800s: Why another Hebrew translation of the New Testament?

This question instigated a major debate in Protestant circles of the era and is arousing interest even today.

## Earlier Research

1. Salkinson’s literary translations have been the focus of several scholarly publications, especially in the last ten years, due to the renewed interest in Haskalah literature.

Among these were the following recent publications:

*Kahn, Lilly, The First Hebrew Shakespeare Translations, UCL Press, London, 2017.*

Kahn discussed the historical and literary background to the first Hebrew Shakespeare translations and Salkinson’s translation style in her commentaries to his Hebrew version of *Othello* and *Romeo and Juliet* alongside her translation of his text into English.

*Weissbrod, Rachel., and Magence, Avishai, ‘Allusions to the Talmud in Salkinson’s Translation of Shakespeare’s Othello, the Moor of Venice, Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature, 2020.* The authors investigated Salkinson’s massive use of Tannaitic sources,

---

<sup>6</sup> Kahn, L., *The First Hebrew Shakespeare Translations*, London, UCL Press, 2017, p. 27.

the Mishna, the Talmud and Midrashim, in ways that contribute to the meaning of the text and therefore cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence.

*Tzelgov*, Eran, The Task of Hebrew Translation (Othello), European Judaism, Vol. 51, Issue 2, 2018. Tzelgov discusses Salkinson's *Ithiel ha-Kushi mi-Vinezya*, in light of Smolenskin's critique of Hebrew literature.

2. Salkinson's language use and translation techniques in his Hebrew New Testament have been the subject of research by theologians since the 1970s, as seen in:

*Lapide*, Pinchas E., Hebräisch in den Kirchen, Forschungen zum jüdisch-christlichen Dialog, Neukirchner Verlag, Neunkirchen-Vluyn, 1976. In his research on Hebrew translations of the New Testament, Lapide investigated Salkinson's, in his eyes, over-biblicizing language use in comparison to Delitzsch.

*Shuali*, Eran, The Use of Biblicizing Techniques in Isaac Salkinson's Hebrew Translations: Hebrew Literature and Christian Mission in European Judaism, A Journal for the New Europe, vol. 51, no. 2, 2018, pp. 74–82. Shuali discusses Salkinson's usage of Biblical Hebrew, and biblicizing techniques in his different literary translations in the light of his missionary activity.

*Van Capelleveen*, David, The Origins of the Salkinson-Ginsburg translation: An inquiry into the historical Sources, 2012, Evangelical Theological Faculty, Leuven.

3. Salkinson's linguistic contribution to the Hebrew Haskalah literary corpus through his New Testament translation has not yet been scientifically evaluated. The rekindled interest in Haskalah literature, specifically Salkinson's Shakespeare translations, has not as yet led to an unbiased discussion of Salkinson's Hebrew prose in his NT translation. Also, the widely divergent versions of Salkinson's biography suggest the need for more thorough research, in particular into the historical background of the controversy surrounding the publication of the Salkinson-Ginsburg translation. Documents still accessible in historical archives should be taken into consideration. To gain further insights into the research question – Why another Hebrew translation of the New Testament at the end of the 1800s? – a thorough investigation into the legal campaign waged against Salkinson during his work on the Hebrew NT would be beneficial. As it is, insinuations, spread by Salkinson's adversaries, are passed on without further investigation.<sup>7</sup>

## Research Materials

1. The corpus chosen for the linguistic survey was the First Edition of the Salkinson-Ginsburg Brit ha-Ḥadashah, Carl Fromme Publishing House, Vienna, 1885, acquired from the National Library in Vienna.

The now circulated versions of the Salkinson-Ginsburg NT build on the 1886 Revised Edition, which due to a change in policy of the publisher does not wholly represent Salkinson's language usage, nor his original intentions.

---

<sup>7</sup> See Kahn, L., *The First Hebrew Shakespeare Translations*, London, UCL Press, 2017, p. 8.



2. For comparison the following versions have been used:
  - a. Brit ha-Ḥadashah, Salkinson, I. E., and Ginsburg, C. D., Society for Distributing Scripture, UK, 2012.
  - b. The Brit ha-Ḥadashah, Prof. Franz Delitzsch, Leipzig, 1877.
  - c. Sefre' ha-Brit ha-Ḥadashah, The Bible Society in Israel, 2010.
3. Historical Sources
  - a. The Quarterly Records of the Trinitarian Society, 1885–1895, London.
  - b. The Jewish Herold, London.
  - c. The Expositor, London.
  - d. John Dunlop, Memories of Gospel Triumphs among the Jews during the Victorian Era, S.W. Partridge, John Snow, London, 1894.
  - e. Landmann, Salcia, Der jüdische Witz, Soziologie und Sammlung, Patmos Verlag, Ostfildern, 2013.
  - f. Delitzsch, Franz, In Self-Defence: Critical Observations on my Hebrew New Testament (with letters from Isaac Salkinson), The Expository Times, February 1889.
  - g. Delitzsch, Franz, Paulus des Apostels Brief an die Römer, Dörfling u. Franke, Leipzig, 1870.
  - h. Salkinson, Isaac E., Mr. W. Carruther and his Client 'Dr.' Joseffy, An Examination of his Narrative and Statement, Carl Fromme Publishing House, 1880.
  - i. Salkinson, Isaak E., The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, translated into Hebrew, Edinburgh, 1855.
4. Data bases used for comparisons with the Greek.
  - a. <https://biblehub.com/interlinear/>

## Method

The study was conducted in two steps, focusing on the one hand on a textual inquiry into the linguistic aspects of the translation, and on the other hand on a survey of the historical setting. With the sweeping research question 'Why another Hebrew translation of the New Testament at the end of the 1800s?', it was essential to take account of a broad range of historical information, as well as the extensive documentation on the translation itself.

To assess the amassed historical material, a qualitative inquiry<sup>8</sup> based on the principles of ethnographic theory<sup>9</sup> was conducted, with the objective of viewing historical facts through the eyes of the Jewish converts of the Haskalah epoch.

To gain an insider's perspective of their specific subculture, the writings of the Jewish converts in Protestant periodicals, like the Quarterly Records of the Trinitarian Society,<sup>10</sup> and the Jewish Herold,<sup>11</sup> were scrutinized, as well as the narratives of Jewish missionaries in the annals

---

<sup>8</sup> 'Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.' Denzin, Norman K., Lincoln, Yvonna S., The SAGE handbook of Qualitative Research, p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> 'Ethnography is a method that seeks to capture and understand the meanings and dynamics in particular cultural settings.' Rampton, Ben, UK Linguistic Ethnography: A discussion paper, 2004, Kings College London.

<sup>10</sup> The Quarterly Records of the Trinitarian Society recorded the discussion of topics related to the Salkinson-Ginsburg NT translation and published the correspondence of Jewish missionaries from different parts of Europe and beyond.

<sup>11</sup> Monthly Periodical of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews, London.

of the Protestant missionary societies, primarily John Dunlop's, *Memoirs of Gospel Triumphs*.<sup>12</sup>

But also, the Haskalah movement was studied. Haskalah periodicals, like *Ha-Shaḥar*<sup>13</sup> and *Ha-Maggid*<sup>14</sup>, and the literary writings of Haskalah authors like Sarah Foner<sup>15</sup> were scrutinized. The 'cultural pulse' of the Eastern Europe Jewish Shtetl was appraised by viewing documentaries as well as by listening to Yiddish folksongs, and by the close reading of Yiddish jokes, presented in the German speaking anthology 'Der jüdische Witz: Soziologie und Sammlung,' by Salcia Landmann. Even photo images linked to Jewish history provided insights into the converts' way of thinking. All these different inroads contributed to a better understanding, and to compiling an ethnographic 'thick description'<sup>16</sup> of their social group.

To establish the authenticity of the historical documentation a source critical perspective was applied, AND original archive material acquired from the Nationalbibliothek in Wien/Vienna, the British Library in London, and the National Library of Scotland, e.g., documentation concerning the assault on Salkinson and Jewish converts in general (see pp.19-20).

A theoretical framework was formulated through extensive reading of scientific literature on a broad range of topics, e.g., on conflicting translation theories (see 2.2), as well as on Diglossia<sup>17</sup> (see 2.4.1).

For the linguistic analysis new research in the field of Hebrew linguistics was sought out and incorporated in the discussions, e.g., on 'the necessity of word-pairs for parallelism' (see 3.1.1.5) and 'unmarked modality and rhetoric questions' in Biblical Hebrew (see 3.3.2).

In a next step the text corpus of the Salkinson-Ginsburg *Brit ha-Ḥadasah* 1885 edition was surveyed, starting with Matthew 1–28, and excerpts of letters, while lastly focusing on Romans 1–5. To assess relevant linguistic features, a comparative linguistic study was conducted. By reviewing Salkinson's language use in relation to the characteristics displayed in the Greek source text, indigenous Hebrew traits, like idiomatic language and communicative features were highlighted. Likewise, Haskalah stylistic conventions displayed in the text were discerned. By comparing text samples from Salkinson's 1885 edition with the revised 1886 edition, as well as with Delitzsch' 1877 edition and the modern IBS Hebrew translation from 1976, language specifics could be clarified.

Subsequently, by employing secondary scientific literature, linguistic features, as Haskalah stylistic traits as well as communicative features typically employed by Salkinson, could be analyzed, and their implications for the research question made transparent.

---

<sup>12</sup> Dunlop, J., *Memoirs of Gospel Triumphs*, S. W. Partridge, London, 1894.

<sup>13</sup> Slutsky, Y. 'Ha-Shaḥar.' In *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., edited by Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, pp. 380-381. Vol. 8. Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007. *Gale eBooks*, accessed 06/12/2023.

<sup>14</sup> Hebrew weekly from 1856-1886 served Jewish communities in both Russia and Western Europe.' Josef Salmon in 'Modern Judaism', 1997, Oxford University Press, pp. 109-192.

<sup>15</sup> First woman to publish a novel in Hebrew, <https://www.fonerbooks.com/translat.htm>, downloaded 05/12/2023.

<sup>16</sup> Geertz, Clifford 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,' *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York: Basic Books, 1973 pp. 3–30.

<sup>17</sup> Ferguson, A., *Diglossia in Language in Culture and Society* edited by Dell Hymes, New York, 1964.

## Key Players

To assess the historical dynamics leading up to the commission of yet another Hebrew translation of the NT, and the controversy surrounding it, it was essential to take account of the key players involved. The following list provides brief introductions of the main characters figuring in the ensuing discussions. Most of these personages of the late 1800s have found their way into today's major encyclopaedias, for their significant accomplishments. Two of them have their portraits in the prestigious National Portrait Gallery in London, alongside the British royalty and nobility: Christian David Ginsburg, the Jewish co-author of Salkinson's *Brit ha-Hadashah*, and the Presbyterian William Carruthers, Salkinson's accuser, the British botanist who successfully defied Charles Darwin.

Likewise renowned in academic circles are Samuel Rolles Driver, the co-author of the widely used BDB Hebrew concordance, and German Hebraist Franz Delitzsch, after whom the renowned *Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum* has been named.

*Salkinson*, Isaac Eliezer (1820–1883), renowned Hebrew translator of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Shakespeare's *Othello*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, from today's Belarus, later an adherent of the Haskalah literary circles in Vienna, where he was stationed as a missionary of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Jews. In his youth Salkinson had excelled in Jewish learning at the Yeshivas in Lithuania. After his conversion he had studied at the British Society's Missionary Training College in London, as well as theology at the University of Edinburgh, leading to his ordination by the Scottish Presbyterian Church.<sup>18</sup>

*Ginsburg*, Christian David (1831–1914), Polish Jewish-Christian Biblical scholar, Salkinson's co-editor, who completed the work after Salkinson's death. Ginsburg served as the British Society's missionary in Liverpool after attending Bible College together with Salkinson and Wilkinson (see below). Later he held positions at the British Museum, and the British Library in London. His main research was on the Masoretic texts written by Jewish scribes in the margins of the Tanakh between 600 and 900 CE. Ginsburg was also on the revision committee for the English version of the Old Testament and participated in an expedition to Moab in 1872, to examine the Moabite Mesha inscription. Shortly after Salkinson's death in 1883, he was asked to evaluate the fragments of a manuscript of Deuteronomy written in the same ancient Canaanite script, the so-called Shapira manuscript. Ginsburg's declaring of the fragments as forgeries attracted much public attention, and he was celebrated as saving the British from financial and scholarly humiliation. Ginsburg portrait is today on display in the National portrait museum in London.<sup>19</sup>

*Smolenskin*, Perez (1840 -1886), Salkinson's friend in Vienna, who encouraged him to translate Shakespeare's plays, was from today's Belarus, like Salkinson and Eliezer Ben Yehuda. Smolenskin was a leading Haskalah proponent, novelist, editor, and publicist, founder of the prestigious monthly magazine *Ha-Shahar* in Vienna, and a leading proponent of the Jewish return to Erez Israel, harboring a passionate loyalty to the Hebrew language which he regarded as the real foundation of Jewish nationalism. To support his family, he worked as the manager

---

<sup>18</sup> Dunlop, J., *Memoirs of Gospel Triumphs*, London, 1894, p. 373.

<sup>19</sup> Ginsburg, Christian David, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2007, pp. 610-611.

of the printing house Carl Fromme that Ginsburg engaged for the printing of Brit ha-Hadashah, and the Masorah.<sup>20</sup>

Wilkinson, John (1826–1907), English Methodist evangelist, associated with Hudson Taylor, C.H. Spurgeon, George Muller. Wilkinson worked for 25 years as a missionary for the British Society. In 1876 he founded the faith based Mildmay Mission to the Jews, in its time the largest mission in the British Isles with a medical mission, a convalescent home, an orphanage, schools, and more. Centers were opened in Liverpool, Birmingham, and overseas in Morocco and Cape Town, and book depots in five Russian cities. Between 1887 and 1901 the Mildmay Mission distributed one million Scriptures, including Salkinson's Brit ha-Hadashah.<sup>21</sup>

Delitzsch, Franz (1813–1890), professor, highly respected 'icon' Protestant Hebraist, who defended the Jewish community against attacks on the Talmud, and against the 'blood libel accusations.' Supporter of the growing Messianic Jewish movement in Moldavia. In 1886 Delitzsch established the *Institutum Judaicum* in Leipzig to train Christian missionaries to the Jews. After Delitzsch's death the institute was renamed Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum, in his honour. Delitzsch's 1877 translation of the New Testament into Mishnaic Hebrew<sup>22</sup> was seen as the standard Hebrew NT.<sup>23</sup>

Bullinger, Ethelbert William, E. W. (1837 -1913), between 1867 and 1913 clerical secretary of the Trinitarian Bible Society that published Salkinson's Hebrew New Testament. Bullinger was a Greek scholar, and a descendent of the Swiss Reformer, Heinrich Bullinger. E. W. was closely associated with what is now called ultra-dispensationalism, at times referred to as 'bullingerism.'<sup>24</sup>

Driver, Samuel Rolles (1846–1914), English Divine (clergy whose theological writings are considered standards for faith, doctrine, worship, and spirituality) and Hebrew Scholar, Regius Professor of Hebrew in Oxford, co-editor of the BDB, the Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew Lexicon of the Old Testament, based upon the work of the 'father of modern Hebrew lexicography,' the German Wilhelm Gesenius. He was also, like Ginsburg, a member of the Old Testament Revision Committee.<sup>25</sup>

Carruthers, William (1830–1922), renowned botanist, keeper of Botany at the British Museum in London from 1871 to 1895, responsible for the Museum's General Library from 1880 until 1883. In 1875, he defended a lawsuit brought on by the King of Portugal for the return of the Welwitsch collection. In 1880 he took on the role of advocate for Salkinson's pronounced adversary, the imposter Joseffy. As a Presbyterian he had studied theology in Edinburgh, possibly together with Salkinson. Carruthers was also on the board of the British Society.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup>Patterson, David. 'Smolenskin, Perez,' *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, edited by Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd ed., vol. 18, Macmillan Reference USA, 2007, pp. 691-694. Gale GVRL&xid=1a355395. Accessed 06/12/2023.

<sup>21</sup> Wilkinson, S.H., *The Life of John Wilkinson, the Jewish Missionary*, Morgan & Scott, London, 1908.

<sup>22</sup> The language of the Mishna was seen as a continuation of Biblical Hebrew by scholars in the 1800s, Kessler-Mesguich, S., *The Study of Mishnaic Hebrew*, *Bulletin du Centre de recherche français à Jérusalem*, 2003, consulté le 14 septembre 2023.

<sup>23</sup> Breuer, M., and Wiese Ch., 'Delitzsch, Franz', in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, edited by Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd ed., vol. 5, Macmillan Reference USA, 2007, pp. 539-540.

<sup>24</sup> Carey, J. S. and Bullinger, E.W.: *A Biography*, Kregel Publications, Grand Rapids, 1988.

<sup>25</sup> Cooke, G. A., Driver, Samuel Rolles, Biblical scholar, and Church of England clergyman. In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

<sup>26</sup> Nordisk familjebok, <http://runeberg.org/nfbd/0674.html>

# Transcription Table

The following principles of transcription have been followed.<sup>27</sup>

## Biblical Hebrew

Biblical quotations are cited with vocalization and accents. Words in Biblical Hebrew that are not direct quotations from a specific verse are given with vocalization only.

The following transcriptions are used for Biblical Hebrew:

### Consonants

|    |          |    |          |
|----|----------|----|----------|
| א  | ʾ        | ל  | l        |
| ב  | b        | מ  | m        |
| בּ | <u>b</u> | נ  | n        |
| ג  | g        | ס  | s        |
| גּ | <u>g</u> | ע  | ʿ        |
| ד  | d        | פ  | p        |
| דּ | <u>d</u> | פּ | <u>p</u> |
| ה  | h        | צ  | ṣ        |
| ו  | w        | ק  | q        |
| ז  | z        | ר  | r        |
| ח  | ḥ        | שׁ | š        |
| ט  | ṭ        | שׂ | ś        |
| י  | y        | ת  | t        |
| כ  | k        | תּ | <u>t</u> |
| כּ | <u>k</u> |    |          |

### Vowels

The transcriptions follow pronunciation rather than orthography of *matres lectionis*.

*qameṣ gadol* = ā

*qameṣ qatan* = ă

*pataḥ* = a

*ṣere* = ē

<sup>27</sup> 'Transcription Tables,' in: Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics, edited by: Geoffrey Khan. Consulted online on 15/09/2023. [http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.its.uu.se/10.1163/2212-4241\\_ehll\\_EHLLTranscriptionTables](http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.its.uu.se/10.1163/2212-4241_ehll_EHLLTranscriptionTables). First published online: 2013. First print edition: 9789004176423, 20130809.

*holem* =  $\bar{o}$

*šureq/qibbuš* =  $\bar{u}$  (when long)

*hireq* =  $\bar{i}$  (when long), *i* (when short)

The vowel *seghol* is transcribed with  $\varepsilon$  in all circumstances, including where it has a mater lectionis: מֶלֶךְ *melek*, חֵזֶה *ḥezeh*, בֹּנֶה *bōneh*, דָּבָר *dāḇār*.

Vocalic *shewa* =  $\partial$

*ḥaṭeph pataḥ* =  $\breve{a}$

*ḥaṭeph seghol* =  $\breve{\varepsilon}$

*ḥaṭeph qameš* =  $\breve{a}$

Sequences of *qameš* and *ḥaṭeph qameš* in words such as צְהַרִים *ṣḥāṛayim*.

This transcription of the quality of the vowels corresponds to the Tiberian reading tradition of Biblical Hebrew, with the exception of the *shewa*. The distribution of vocalic and silent *shewa*, however, follows the Tiberian tradition.

→ Tiberian Reading Tradition, *Shewa*: Pre-Modern Hebrew.

Gemination marked by *dagesh* is represented in the transcription.

Prefixed prepositions, the definite article and *waw* are separated from the following word by a hyphen.

#### *Written forms of Post-Biblical Hebrew (Excluding Modern Hebrew)*

Words cited from written post-biblical sources (e.g., Rabbinic and medieval texts) are given in Hebrew script without vocalization, unless the source (e.g., manuscript) has vocalization, followed by a transcription.

The transcription of the consonants is the same as for Biblical Hebrew, except that only the fricatives *bkp* of the *bgdkpt* set are distinguished with diacritics (*b*, *k*, *p*). Gemination of *dagesh* is represented.

*Qameš—pataḥ* (*a*) and *šere—seghol* (*e*) are not distinguished. No macrons or breves are used, including in the transcription of *ḥaṭeph* vowels (e.g., אָדָמָה *adama*, הֶעֱמִיד *he'emid*, צְהַרִים *ṣohorayim*). Vocalic *Shewa* is transcribed by *e*. Prefixed prepositions, the definite article and *waw* are separated from following word by hyphen.

# 1

## Background and Reception of Salkinson's Translation

### 1.1 Historical Setting

The Haskalah movement, the Jewish enlightenment of the 1800s, opened the gates for Jewish intellectuals to the wider European culture. But their giving up on the shared religious rules, and customs of Eastern Europe also left them, as it were, with a loss of identity. In this void a shared common language was to become an important means of ethnic bonding.<sup>28</sup>

But which common language? By abandoning the sectarian culture of the Shtetl, the adherents of the Haskalah also distanced themselves from their common vernacular, the language of the Shtetl – Yiddish, *Mamme Loschen*. The mainstream adherers of the Haskalah seemingly favored their liturgical language, the *ha-lišon ha-kodeš*, the holy tongue of their forefathers, i.e., Biblical Hebrew. Others, in view of the limited vocabulary of Biblical Hebrew, lobbied for the additional employment of the post-Biblical, Mishnaic Hebrew that had been discarded as 'barbaric' and 'mutilated' by earlier scholars.<sup>29</sup> From 1840 onwards grammars of Mishnaic Hebrew appeared, as the volume 'Studien über die Sprache der Mischna,' published in Vienna 1867 with a German title, but written exclusively in Hebrew!<sup>30</sup>

Still Biblical Hebrew maintained its prestige, the idealization of the ancient being in line with the ideas of romanticism and nationalism that flourished in the 1800s alongside the enthusiasm for the new scientific and technical achievements that aroused people's expectations of a better world. Romanticism was apparent in most of the cultural output of the century, in architecture, music, and even in the search for early human civilizations pursued by archaeologists and anthropologists.

The Jewish intellectuals of the era embarked on a quest of re-empowering their language of antiquity by publishing Hebrew literary magazines and newspapers, by writing secular literature in Biblical Hebrew as well as by translating many of the European classics into Biblical Hebrew.<sup>31</sup>

Among a diversity of literature translated into this 'new-old' Jewish vernacular was also the Christian New Testament. As with the translations of other world classics the ambition was to

---

<sup>28</sup> The French Bible Society commented on the importance of Hebrew as a means of bonding even for the Jewish converts who had left the fold, i.e., the Jewish Catholics: 'The language of their fathers holds a distinct place in the worship of the Jews. It is a symbol and pledge of unity. It is in speaking and writing it that Old Israelites, notwithstanding their dispersion, recover their courage, and affirm and keep their ethnological bond and invincible faith in new and high destinies. Hebrew is the emblem and the seal of Jewish Catholicism.' Quarterly Records, October 1887, p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Kessler-Mesguich, S., The Study of Mishnaic Hebrew, Bulletin du Centre de recherche français à Jérusalem, 2003.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Kahn, Lily, The First Hebrew Shakespeare Translations, UCL Press, London 2017, p. 2.

place the NT in a Jewish cultural context by using Jewish metaphors, and idioms readily understood by the educated Jewry of the 1800s. In the case of the NT this included an adaptation of Greek cultural expressions to the Hebrew linguaculture of the Tanakh that many adherents of the Haskalah had been exposed to by learning to read Hebrew texts from early childhood, as well as by the everyday use of Hebrew terms in Yiddish.

## 1.2 A Haskalah Approach

One of the pillars of Salkinson's translation was to use the original Hebrew in the NT quotes from the Tanakh, instead of re-translating the Septuagint renderings used in the Greek manuscripts. For this he was heavily criticized, and the publisher, the Trinitarian Bible Society in London, was even accused of having departed from its professed principle of always spreading the Gospel in an 'uncorrupted version.' As a consequence, in all editions from 1886 onwards Salkinson's Tanakh quotes were replaced, appearing in the margins only.

Salkinson's translation was from the outset geared towards those 'who had not forgotten to appreciate the Biblical Hebrew,' as he put it in a letter to the German Protestant Hebraist, Prof. Franz Delitzsch, who had published his Hebrew translation of the NT a few years ahead of Salkinson, in 1877 – a more scholarly translation employing Mishnah Hebrew expressions, an approach at odds with the Haskalah language ideals upheld by Salkinson's circles, and in Salkinson's estimation catering to Talmudic students and scholars only, or to those who were already convinced.

The man to whom the gospel has become the power of salvation will prefer a literal translation. But we must remember that our New Testament is intended mainly for our unconverted brethren.<sup>32</sup>

In contrast, Prof Delitzsch had stated that he 'wanted to make the New Testament Greek intelligible for those who employ the post biblical literature,'<sup>33</sup> i.e., Talmudic scholars.

Relegating the Tanakh quotations – in the venerated Biblical Hebrew that the intended target group knew by heart – to the margins conveyed a cultural message contrary to Salkinson's Haskalah vision.<sup>34</sup>

Salkinson based all of his translation work on two linguistic concepts, both aimed at signaling cultural belonging and conveying a sense of familiarity.

1. The usage of a Biblical Hebrew that was known to the intended readers from the reciting of Psalms and the reading of the Tanakh prophets.
  2. The insertion of phrases and passages from the Tanakh that these readers knew by heart.
- Both concepts were typical for Hebrew translations during the Enlightenment period.<sup>35</sup> Even Salkinson's other literary translations had been rich in allusions to the Hebrew Tanakh. An analysis<sup>36</sup> of Salkinson's Shakespeare translations listed original quotes from the Tanakh in addition to a massive use of Tannaitic sources – Mishna, Talmud, and Midrashim – in ways that

---

<sup>32</sup> Delitzsch, Franz, 'In Self-Defence: Critical Observations on my Hebrew New Testament,' with a letter from Isaac Salkinson, *The Expository Times*, February 1889, p. 138.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>34</sup> See section 2.4.1

<sup>35</sup> Kahn, Lily, *The First Hebrew Shakespeare Translations*, UCL Press, London 2017, pp. 2 and 14.

<sup>36</sup> Weissbrod, Rachel, and Magence, Avishai, *Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature*, 2020.



contributed to the meaning of the text. When it came to translating the New Testament, Salkinson was strongly opposed to using post-biblical sources, and idioms. He rather wanted to show the connection between the Tanakh prophets and the NT by using the same 'original' language, and by cultivating – as much as possible – the same literary style. In fact, Salkinson's ambition seems to have been to present the New Testament writings as a homogenous continuation of the Tanakh.

### 1.3 Recognition for Salkinson's Language

Salkinson's literary giftings fitted well with the language ideals propagated in the Haskalah movement. His language use bears witness to his close acquaintance with the language of the Tanakh but also to his appreciation for the sublime poetic language of Europe's literary elite, like Shakespeare, and other illustrious writers. Salkinson was part of the Haskalah literary scene in Vienna, frequenting the literary circles and saloons, and in close contact with Smolenskin, the editor of the renowned Haskalah journal *ha-Shahar* that served as a platform for Ben Yehuda, and other gifted Haskalah writers. This involvement of Salkinson's was in line with the London Society's intention to reach Jewish people through a literary mission. Salkinson's profound knowledge of Hebrew idioms, and his elegant Hebrew style opened the doors for him.

His former college colleague, John Wilkinson, who recommended Salkinson to the Trinitarian Society, wrote: 'The beauty of the Hebrew will attract numbers to read it.'<sup>37</sup>

And so it did, as can be seen in a great number of testimonies from Jewish readers in the Quarterly Records of the Trinitarian Bible Society in the 1880s and 1890s. The 1886 January edition cites a missionary in London.

As a Hebrew Christian, and as a missionary to the Jews, at whose heart the Hebrew language and the Hebrew New Testament are very near, I feel it as a duty to write to you the following concerning Mr. Salkinson's Hebrew New Testament, with the publication of which the Lord honoured your Society...

Since it appeared, I read it twice through, and I cannot express in words how delighted I was with its style and correctness. *It reads as if it was written by one of the prophets!*<sup>38</sup>

The concluding assessment – 'It reads as if it was written by one of the prophets' – was repeatedly given by Jewish readers. A Jewish Missionary in Germany wrote: 'It sounds like the original Hebrew...'

In the same article, an October 1886 letter from Russia was quoted.

The Jews here read it with delight. I read and understand Hebrew like my mother tongue, but I never read such a beautiful classical Hebrew. In a short time, this translation will push off all other translations.<sup>39</sup>

Moreover, the journal quotes a Jew in Austria, introduced as 'one of the finest Hebrew writers of the present day,' who 'objects to much of the Gospels, and cannot be but sorry to see them in so attractive a dress,' but still adds (in a letter in cursive Hebrew):

---

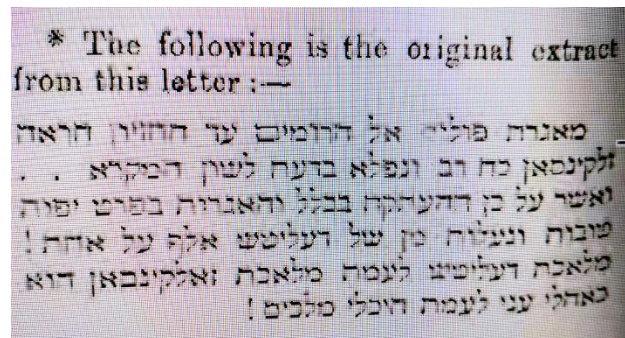
<sup>37</sup> Quarterly Records, April 1886, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Quarterly Records, January 1886, p. 1

<sup>39</sup> Quarterly Records, January 1886, p. 2

From the beginning of Romans to the end of Revelation, Salkinson exhibits great and wonderful power in his mastery of the language of the Old Testament Scriptures. Hence the version as a whole, and the Epistles especially, are beautiful and excellent, and as much more sublime than Delitzsch as 1000 to 1 (אלף על אחת). The work of Delitzsch, compared with the work of Salkinson, is like a miserable tent compared with the palaces of kings.<sup>40</sup>

The translation was given in the magazine, even the rendering of the plural **אהלי עני** tents with the singular 'tent.' The letter in 'cursive Hebrew' is unvocalized as the Hebrew of the Haskalah typically was.



As intended, Salkinson's NT attracted a Jewish readership. The Quarterly Records reported that Jews went out of their way to secure a copy.

The editor of a Hebrew paper read that a Hebrew translation of the NT by Salkinson had appeared. He went from bookseller to bookseller... At last, he came to me, and found what he had sought so long in vain. [...] I could not give him a greater pleasure, for all that flows from the pure pen of the translator of Milton's paradise Lost' we read with joy and pleasure.<sup>41</sup>

A reader wrote:

This translation by the side of the former Hebrew Testaments shows great knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. Happy art thou, O Israel, that broughtest him up, and happy are the people of the Messiah that Salkinson glorified the pillars of the law with the ornament of poetry.

Thousand thanks for your precious gift, the translation of the books of the New Testament, the handwork of the great and learned man, Isaak Salkinson, of blessed memory.<sup>42</sup>

Through the efforts of Wilkinson, who raised funds for the printing and sent out young people with the Hebrew NT to different centers in Europe, in 1895 already 279 000 copies of the Salkinson-Ginsburg Brit ha-Ḥadashah<sup>43</sup> had been distributed, but the demands for a 'Jewish translation' were far greater.<sup>44</sup>

## 1.4 Scholarly rejection – Protestant Ambivalence

As warmly as Salkinson's rendering of the NT was lauded by the Haskalah adherents as well as by Jewish scholars, as fierce was the opposition of influential Protestant Hebraists.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, pp. 2-3.

<sup>41</sup> Quarterly Records, July 1886, p. 27.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> In this study the most common transcription of the Hebrew term for the NT is employed.

<sup>44</sup> Quarterly Records, April 1886, pp. 3-4.

In October 1886 the London-based, highly influential religious newspaper 'The British Weekly'<sup>45</sup> reported under the heading 'Table Talk'<sup>46</sup> on the distribution of 100 000 copies of the Salkinson-Ginsburg Hebrew New Testament, branding it a 'Hebrew Version of the NT that the foremost Hebrew scholars in Europe have unanimously pronounced to be utterly unscholarly and misleading.'<sup>47</sup>

Among these 'foremost Hebrew scholars' was the Cambridge Professor Samuel Rolles Driver, co-editor of the Brown, Driver, Briggs Hebrew Concordance (now commonly known as the BDB) that built on German Hebraist Heinrich Gesenius' lexicographic work. Driver accused Salkinson of intruding on the 'holder of the field,' referring to Delitzsch, whom he had recently assisted with the 7<sup>th</sup> revision of his Hebrew New Testament. Now Driver used his influence to defame Salkinson's version in the English press and likewise to suppress gainsaying articles.<sup>48</sup> This critical onslaught on Salkinson's translation effort was surprising considering the explicitly stated aim of Salkinson to produce his Hebrew NT as a compliment to the study bible created by Delitzsch, that is to provide an 'easy read' for the 'unconverted,' as Salkinson put it in a letter to Delitzsch in June 1877.

I confess to you, too, that the man to whom the gospel has become the power of salvation will prefer a literal translation, just as he would prefer that a love-letter sent to him in an unknown tongue should be rendered to him verbatim. But we must remember that our New Testament is intended chiefly for our unconverted brethren.<sup>49</sup>

In the same letter Salkinson also reminded Delitzsch that he had resolved to let Delitzsch 'go first,' i.e., publish his NT ahead of Salkinson's own.

Out of the high respect and true Christian affection which I cherish for you, I made a self-denying resolution, and determined to let you have the whole field free. When I recently saw a statement to the effect that your work is accomplished and is being published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, I was very glad for your sake and for the sake of your great work and thought. And now has my time come to gratify my old desire.<sup>50</sup>

Delitzsch had started calling Salkinson's competence into question even years before the latter had officially embarked on his *Brit ha-Ḥadashah*. In his 1870 publication 'Paulus des Apostels Brief an die Römer,' Delitzsch remarked patronizingly in a footnote:

---

<sup>45</sup> Published by Hodder & Stoughton, the British Weekly was one of the most successful religious newspapers of its time with a circulation of 100 000. (Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland. Gent: Academia Press, 2009, p. 456.)

<sup>46</sup> 'Table talk' was a term coined by Luther's followers, alluding to the informal teachings Luther gave at his dinner table. Luther's Bible translation principles that are still normative for Protestant Bible translations have been passed on in this manner. (Weimar Ausgabe Tischreden: WATR 5, Tischreden aus den Jahren 1540 - 1544, Sammlungen Heydenreichs, Besolds, Lauterbachs u.a.) <https://www.checkluther.com/source-material/>, accessed on 16/01/2023.

<sup>47</sup> Quarterly Records, January 1887, p. 14.

<sup>48</sup> Quarterly Records, January 1882, p. 12, relates how Driver in an April 1886 review of the Salkinson-Ginsburg NT in the 'Expositor' had suppressed Salkinson's well-known name, and anonymously described him as a 'Jewish Missionary.' Driver had also asserted that that 'no reply had been as much as attempted' to the grave charges that the Salkinson-Ginsburg translation was 'utterly unscholarly and misleading.' But the QR pointed out that all gainsaying replies to Driver's accusations had been repeatedly refused by the publisher of the magazines, in which Driver had spread his critique, thus creating the impression that the condemnation of the translation of the 'no-name missionary' was by common consent.

<sup>49</sup> Letter of Salkinson's in Delitzsch, 'In Self-Defence: Critical Observations on my Hebrew New Testament' in The Expository Times, February 1889, p. 138.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. Also the January 1887 issue of the Quarterly Records, p. 11, states, 'Mr. Salkinson actually delayed the publication of his version in deference to the request addressed to him by Dr. Delitzsch himself.'

Seine Berechtigung, an dem neutestamentlichen Übersetzungswerk zu arbeiten, hat dieser jetzt in Preßburg stationierte wackere Missionar der British Society durch sein schönes Buch ...<sup>51</sup>

(His mandate to engage in New Testament translation work this brave missionary currently stationed in Bratislava draws from his appealing book ...)

Delitzsch' referring to Salkinson as 'missionary', rudely omitting the title 'Reverend' due to him as an ordained Minister of the Presbyterian Church, patronizingly calling him 'brave,' and even drawing attention to Salkinson's location in an insignificant, provincial capital signaled an attitude of superiority in a society in which an individual's station in life defined what he or she was allowed to engage in.

Delitzsch obviously sought to devalue Salkinson's competence despite his fame as a translator and Delitzsch' own appraisal of Salkinson as a 'master of Hebrew style.'<sup>52</sup>

Even Jewish scholars backed Delitzsch' critique of Salkinson's language, as Rabbi Kaufmann of Budapest who commented in the 1890s that Salkinson's Hebrew was far too populist, catering to the taste of a vulgar public.<sup>53</sup>

In the Quarterly Records the Jewish support for Delitzsch' translation was attributed to the important role gentile Hebraists played in defending the Jewish population against anti-Semitic assaults. In the wake of nationalism and racism anti-Semitism had developed into a major political force, and the gentile Hebraists were among the very few actively defending the European Jewry.<sup>54</sup> Of Delitzsch it was said that he was 'empathetically the friend of Jews, defending them against the false charges of the leaders of the anti-Semitic movement in Germany and Austria.'<sup>55</sup> For that reason, the Quarterly Records concluded, Jewish leaders felt indebted to Delitzsch and lauded his translation of the New Testament.<sup>56</sup>

The Protestant scholars, however, were also ambivalent in their attitude towards Jews, even towards converted Jews. Salkinson was to experience this firsthand. Halfway into his NT translation, a colleague of Ginsburg's at the British Museum, a William Carruthers, who was also on the Committee of the British Society and had voted in favor of Salkinson's assignment to translate the NT in 1877, denounced him before the Presbyterian Synod in Edinburgh,

---

<sup>51</sup> Delitzsch, Franz, *Paulus des Apostels Brief an die Römer*, 1870, p. 25.

<sup>52</sup> Delitzsch, Franz, *In Self-Defence: Critical Observations on my Hebrew New Testament (with letters from Isaac Salkinson)*, *The Expository Times*, February 1889.

<sup>53</sup> Kaufmann, David, and Delitzsch, Franz, *Ein Palmblad*, 1890, p. 302: 'Salkinsons Übersetzung hat bei manchem mehr Anklang gefunden (als die delitzsche), denn sie war hebräischer, d.h. in Wahrheit oft unhebräisch, aber dem schlechten Geschmack gerechter, für den der Unfug allein Tugend heißt und Unarten oder Verwilderung als Kennzeichen der echten Sprachgemeinschaft gelten.'

<sup>54</sup> Wiese, Christian, *Challenging Colonial Discourse*, Brill, 2004, p. 110: 'The Gentile Hebraists with their intimate knowledge of the Talmud became exceedingly important for the Jewish population in Europe as nationalistic ideas developed. In the wake of the Jewish emancipation and the partaking of the Jewish middle and upper classes in the social and political life, other nationals felt threatened by the growing number of Jewish professionals and intellectuals and their influence in society, and harshly attacked Jewish interests. One means was the deflecting of the Talmud which was denounced as criminal writings of a criminal people. In this scenario it was the Gentile Hebraists who defended the Jewish community. 'The anti-Semitic agitation increasingly advanced beliefs in 'Talmud lies' and ritual murder. It became significant from the Jewish perspective that Christian theologians who possessed knowledge in the field of Rabbinic literature clearly refuted the slander of the Jewish religion. The accusation that the Talmud and the Shulkhan Arukh allowed discrimination against non-Jews, especially Christians who could also be deceived or killed, fanned the flames of hatred and distrust against the Jewish population and aggravated the social conflict.'

<sup>55</sup> *Quarterly Records*, July 1886, p. 23.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*. 'Delitzsch had in advance secured for his work a favourable reception. Many Jews had helped him out of gratitude.'

appearing as the advocate for another Jewish missionary. The latter, however, was a fraud, a Jewish impostor with a more or less criminal background, who had nestled himself into the same missionary society that employed Salkinson<sup>57</sup> and whitewashed his own lies by accusing Salkinson of neglecting his missionary duties. Salkinson was forced to engage Vienna's most renowned Christian lawyer<sup>58</sup> to unearth facts proving without doubt that the accusations were groundless. That Salkinson felt the need to point out that 'the *facts* were not procured by Jews, but by a distinguished *Christian* lawyer,'<sup>59</sup> gives an insight into the anti-Semitic nature of the accusations. In lengthy publications, booklets and pamphlets released by both Carruthers and Salkinson respectively, possible motives surfaced for scandalizing Salkinson and Ginsburg. Salkinson quotes Carruthers as claiming:

A Society has been formed, which has engaged Mr. Salkinson to prepare Christian literature for the Jews, beginning with the New Testament, of which according to Ginsburg an idiomatic version in classic diction does not as yet exist, but Mr. Salkinson can produce it. [...]

The learned Delitzsch has failed. His twenty years of labour are lost. His New Testament, now in its third edition, is ignored by the promotor of this Society!<sup>60</sup>

Further, to denounce Salkinson before the Presbyterian Synod, Carruthers promulgated the following sweeping charge of his above mentioned fraudulent 'client.'

Salkinson is not fit to translate the New Testament into Hebrew, because he does not possess the Christian spirit requisite for so sacred a work.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> British Society for the Promulgation of the Gospel among the Jews, London.

<sup>58</sup> von Schweidler, Dr. Emil Ritter. Source: Salkinson's booklet 'Mr. W. Carruthers and his Client 'Dr.' Joseffy, An examination of his Narrative and Statement,' Carl Fromme Publishing House, 1880, p. 15.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

## 2

# Conflicting Translation Strategies

## 2.1 Ginsburg's Defense: Why Another Translation?

Shortly after the publication of Professor Delitzsch' Hebrew New Testament, Salkinson sought and obtained permission by his employer, the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews, to complete his NT translation.

At that point Salkinson had been engaged in the project for more than 30 years. In the preface to his Hebrew rendering of the Epistle to the Romans, published in 1855,<sup>62</sup> he defined his scope as wishing to accomplish a 'pure Hebrew version for the Hebrew people,' thus disclosing his adherence to Haskalah ideals. In 1877, arguing for the publication of a complete NT in idiomatic Hebrew, he stated in a letter to the Trinitarian Society: 'It must be borne in mind that the Hebrew tongue is still the national language of the Jews,' and added: 'Hebrew scholars with scholarship alone can never produce an idiomatic version of any book.'<sup>63</sup>

Ginsburg, who took on the task of editing Salkinson's indigenous rendering, reasoned along the same line after Salkinson's unexpected death in 1883. At a gathering of the Trinitarian Society in London he maintained that there had not existed any version *for Jews* before 1885, the publication date of the Salkinson-Ginsburg NT. 'Even the Quran,' Ginsburg argued, 'has been most beautifully translated into Hebrew, better than any existing translation of the New Testament!' He claimed that earlier NT translations *by Jews* had been undertaken with the purpose of mocking the text, and that the ones conducted by Christians constituted linguistically awkward publications that did not interest Jews. Ginsburg pointed out that 'Hebrew is a living language, still spoken by hundreds and thousands of Jews.'<sup>64</sup>

Illustrating his point, Ginsburg related how two foreign scholars had questioned him about the correctness of an English phrase. When he 'made it clear to them,' the foreigners wanted to know why. 'But that is more easily asked than answered,' Ginsburg advised his English audience at the Trinitarian Society. 'Of course, you with the idiom inborn in you, will know. You, with the vernacular, know at once which is right. [...] Those who translated the New Testament into Hebrew [...] were good Hebrew Scholars, but they were foreigners to the language, and being foreigners to the language they have committed blunders.'<sup>65</sup>

One of the blunders cited by Ginsburg was the translation of the parable in Matthew 21:3. Referring to an unspecified Hebrew translation, he said: 'We are told 'at last he sent his son' and then we are told that when they saw the son come 'they ill-treated him, beheaded him

---

<sup>62</sup>The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, Translated into Hebrew from the Original Greek, by Isaac Salkinson, Robert Young, Edinburgh, 1855.

<sup>63</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 4.

<sup>64</sup> Quarterly Records, July 1885, p. 12.

<sup>65</sup> Quarterly Records, July 1885, p. 14.

and sent him away blushing.’ I can assure you,’ Ginsburg continued, ‘that many a Jew has read the New Testament as you read Punch [...] because such verses are exceedingly amusing.’<sup>66</sup>

In his article in the Trinitarian Record Ginsburg does not mention which Hebrew translation provided this ‘amusing rendering.’ But another Christian magazine of the late 1800s, the Expositor, passed on the information – in the essay ‘Two Hebrew Translations,’ written by Samuel Rolles Driver – that it was in fact Professor Delitzsch’s version.<sup>67</sup>

Salkinson himself had pointed out, in his preface to the Epistle to the Romans, that extant Hebrew versions of the NT could hardly be read ‘without being alternately provoked and amused.’<sup>68</sup> His example is even more crude. It will be presented in section 2.2. Salkinson not only wanted to avoid amusing renderings. He was also looking for a version free of ‘lame constructions, or Rabbinical jargon.’ Such a Hebrew New Testament ‘has not as yet appeared,’ he commented 1877, after Delitzsch’s version had been published.<sup>69</sup>

In contrast to Delitzsch and Driver, Salkinson had grown up with Hebrew, and, as he put it, ‘had spent a great part of his time reading its vast literature and writing both prose and poetry in the pure diction of the Old Testament.’<sup>70</sup> Later, when he first started reading the New Testament Salkinson had made an inner vow to use his talent to translate the NT into Hebrew.

I have consecrated it to the Lord. It is my alabaster box of precious ointment which I pour out in honour of my Saviour, that the fragrance of His name may fill the whole house of Israel.<sup>71</sup>

Ginsburg commented on Salkinson’s legacy after editing his manuscript.

My late friend, who was by far the finest writer of Hebrew that Europe in this century has produced, found it laid on him to give his brethren a version of the New Testament worthy of the theme. His translation reads more like an original than a translation!<sup>72</sup>

Ginsburg also lifted up Salkinson’s capacity to appreciate and render the inner meaning of a text.

I can tell you upon the authority of one of our best Shakespearian scholars, Mr. Aldis Wright of Cambridge: Even in his Shakespeare translations many passages are plainer in Hebrew than in English, so thoroughly had he grasped the spirit and so marvelously expressed it in matchless Hebrew.<sup>73</sup>

As shown above, Salkinson’s language, despite Ginsburg’s assessment, was criticized by scholarly authorities like Driver and Delitzsch, and even by Jewish scholars. Still, the January 1887 issue of the Quarterly Records claimed that ‘it could be easily shown that most of the so-called mistakes of grammar etcetera [in Salkinson’s translation] pointed out by the critics, really arise from the insufficiency of their own knowledge of the subject.’<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Quarterly Records, July 1885, p. 12.

<sup>67</sup> Driver refers to Gesenius in his answer, The Expositor, April 1886, pp. 260 seq.

<sup>68</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1887, p. 1.

<sup>69</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1887, p. 9.

<sup>71</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 6.

<sup>72</sup> Quarterly Records, July 1885, p. 14.

<sup>73</sup> Quarterly Records, July 1885, p. 12.

<sup>74</sup> Quarterly Records, January 1887, p. 12.

One Colonel Dr. Althausen, whom the Quarterly Records presented as an excellent Hebrew Scholar, commented in the same issue.

When our critics also communicate their criticism in such fluent and idiomatic Hebrew, they will establish their competency to pass judgement on Salkinson.<sup>75</sup>

To sum up the controversy, a Jewish missionary colleague of Salkinson's, Rev. Friedman in Vilna, the translator of the 'Luther Catechism into pure Hebrew,' wrote in the January 1887 issue of the Quarterly Records:

Certainly, it was not pleasant for the Christians by birth to hear that a baptized Jew excelled Professor Delitzsch. Delitzsch' translation is good enough for the Talmudical Jews. I for my part give only Salkinson's NT into the hands of Jews understanding Hebrew well.<sup>76</sup>

Friedman concluded: 'For what do we have to do with the quarrels of professors? The chief thing is that we finally have the New Testament in pure Hebrew!'<sup>77</sup>

## 2.2 The Principles Behind Salkinson's Translation

When Salkinson was asked by the presumptive publisher, the Trinitarian Bible Society, to clarify the principles upon which he intended to base his NT translation, he informed the board that he would not translate literally, word by word, but rather communicate the 'spirit' of the wording. He also made clear his intention of altogether avoiding Mishnaic Hebrew.<sup>78</sup>

What he did not specifically mention was that he intended to employ Haskalah techniques like the *Shibbus*, possibly because he was aware that his Protestant counterparts were unfamiliar with Jewish Haskalah precepts. He did point out, however, that he wanted to refrain totally from translating OT quotations in the NT from the Greek.<sup>79</sup> How serious this issue was for Salkinson is made clear in his announcement of a forthcoming publication.

I intend to write an article to prove that a version for the Jewish people requires to have the citations therein in conformity with the Hebrew Scriptures.<sup>80</sup>

Salkinson's principles for his New Testament translation are documented both in letters and in the magazine of the Trinitarian Society.

The first principle of translation is that it should be in strict conformity with the sense and the spirit of the original. It must neither add anything to, nor take away anything from it.

Not so with regard to the letter. As each language has its own peculiar phraseology or idiom, to which alone it is accountable, one must not render the words of the original literally.<sup>81</sup>

Salkinson's translation principles can be tentatively summarized as follows:

1. Accurately presenting the inherent meaning of the original text ...

---

<sup>75</sup> Quarterly Records, January 1887, p. 13.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 4, 'The Hebrew New Testament must be free from Rabbinical jargon.'

<sup>79</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 6.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 3.



2. ... without additions, or omissions.
3. No paraphrasing or expanding of the text.
4. Consistently prioritizing the target language, i.e., no literalism.

Salkinson exemplifies his approach with the idiomatic phrase שָׁם נָפְשׁוֹ בְּכַפּוֹ 'sām nap̄sō bə-kaṭpō,' literally meaning 'he put his soul into his palm.'

If you translate this to 'He puts his soul into the hollow of his hand' you have been faithful to the letter, but not to the spirit of the original, since this is idiomatic, expressive, and intelligible Hebrew and you put it into somewhat enigmatical and tasteless English. You must render it 'He hazarded his life,' or the like.<sup>82</sup>

25 years earlier, in the foreword to his rendering of the Epistle to the Romans, Salkinson had already outlined the same approach.

The grammar and lexicon can only serve as a help to the translator; he must be directed by the usage of the language. [...] A Hebrew New Testament must be free from the literal rendering of phrases 'for the letter killeth' – free from slavish, lame construction or Rabbinical jargon.<sup>83</sup>

With 'rabbinical jargon' Salkinson referred to the Mishnaic Hebrew employed by Talmudic scholars. The German Hebraist Franz Delitzsch had intentionally employed post-biblical Hebrew in his Hebrew NT from 1877, to accommodate the language developments around the first century CE. Such a strategy would have been incompatible with Salkinson's Haskalah ideals. (See discussion in 1.2.)

By and large Salkinson's principals coincide with the *Dynamic Equivalent* translation theory of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whose focus lies on rendering the dynamic meaning of a text. In contrast, the *Formal Equivalent* translation theory puts a higher value on transmitting the exact wording and style of the original text, which more or less corresponds to Delitzsch' approach. The terms 'Formal Equivalence,' 'Dynamic Equivalence,' and later 'Functional Equivalence' were coined by American philologist Eugene Nida, whose theories dominated the 20th century Bible translations.<sup>84</sup>

Formal Equivalence is concerned with the formal structures of the original text, making the translation 'transparent' to the original. This means translating indicative verbs as indicative, participles as participles, and trying to use the same English word for the same Greek word, if possible.<sup>85</sup>

In contrast, Dynamic Equivalence, or Functional Equivalent as it was later called, focuses on translating the message of the source language to the closest natural equivalent in the receptor language, translating thought for thought, or function for function, and not word for word. The aim being 'to make the addressee of the translated text respond to it in ways which are similar to those in which the addressee of the source text responded to it.'<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 3.

<sup>83</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1887, p. 9.

<sup>84</sup> Langendoen, D. T., Eugene Albert Nida, *Language*, 89 (1), 2013, pp. 163–169, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23357725>

<sup>85</sup> Mounce, B., *What I Have Learned About Greek and Bible Translation*, Mounce, 2017, p. 10.

<sup>86</sup> Eugene Nida 1966, cited by Rachel Weissbrod in 'The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Philosophy, p. XX. Edited by Piers Rawling and Philip Wilson, 2019 New York.

## 2.2.1 Controversies

Salkinson's strategy of not clinging to the exact wording of the Greek NT sparked a controversy in the Protestant circles of the late 1800s. Not being faithful to the letter was seen as departing from the 'pure word of the Holy Scriptures,' and as spreading a corrupted version of the NT, as the publisher of Salkinson's NT was then actually accused of.<sup>87</sup>

Therefore, both Salkinson and later Ginsburg took pains to explain the difference between correct and incorrect Hebrew translations in different addresses to the Trinitarian Society. They quoted instances of fatal literal renderings in the London Society's translation of the New Testament, wordings that had somehow escaped the translators. The resulting absurd blunders had enticed Jews to read the NT for the puns! To exemplify Salkinson discussed Colossians 1:18: 'And He is the head of the body, the church.'

הִיא גוֹיְתוֹ וְגַם-רֹאשׁ וּבְכוֹר הוּא רֹאשׁ הַגִּוִּי הַקֶּהֱלָה

hī' gōwiyāṭō wə-gam-roš ū-bəḵōr hū' rōš hā-'ēdār 'āšer

The British Society's Hebrew New Testament reads הִיא גוֹיְתוֹ וְגַם-רֹאשׁ הַגִּוִּי הַקֶּהֱלָה hū' rōš ha-gōwiyāṭō haq-qəhillā. The הַקֶּהֱלָה hangs here in the air, so that the reader does not know at all what it is. He supposes it must be a misprint. Then the רֹאשׁ הַגִּוִּי is good Hebrew properly combined, but, unfortunately, never used to denote the head of the body. In the Talmud, Midrash, Cabbalah, and in all Hebrew literature it is always used as a euphemism for the pundenda (female genitals). So, this passage gives occasion for the mockers to mock.<sup>88</sup>

That even Delitzsch' Brit ha-Ḥadashah version was not free of unintentional blunders was mentioned in section 2.1. Employing Mishnaic Hebrew expressions to create the missing Hebrew idioms for his New Testament translation, Delitzsch rendered the term 'mediator' with the Aramaic סרסור 'sarsor' – a term that in Modern colloquial Hebrew denotes 'pimp,' and was used in that sense even in the Talmud.<sup>89</sup>

Delitzsch rendered Hebrews 9:15:

וּבְעִבּוֹר זֹאת הוּא גַם-סָרְסוֹר לְבְרִית הַחֲדָשָׁה

ū-bə'āḇūr zōt hū' gā-m-sarsōr li-brīt ḥăḏāšā

And because of this He is the mediator of the new covenant.

The same term – סרסור 'sarsor' – was used by Delitzsch also in Galatians 3:19-20, 1 Timothy 2:5, Hebrews 8:6, and 12:24.

In contrast, Salkinson used the term מַלְיָן 'meliṣ,' denoting spokesperson, or mediator in classical Hebrew.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1887, p. 10.

<sup>88</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 5.

<sup>89</sup> It was only in 2003, in a new edition of the Delitzsch Hebrew NT published in Israel, that the term סרסור was suspended. Messianic Jewish Gershon Nerel, Israeli historian and theologian, and the initiator of the revision, still upholds that the original Delitzsch Hebrew New Testament contained no mistranslations. See <http://delitz.fr/doc/flagship.pdf>. However, already in the Jerusalem Talmud dated 450 CE the term סרסור is used denoting 'pimp,' according to <https://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il>, Jerusalem Talmud, Moed Katan, Chapter 3, Subhash 5, accessed 01-03-2023.

<sup>90</sup> According to Clines the term is attested in the Tanakh, in Sirach and in the Qumran scrolls. Strong's Concordance gives the examples וְלִי בְמַלְיָיִ In Genesis 42:23 Joseph talks with his brothers through an interpreter 'meliṣ', or וְלִי בְמַלְיָיִ In Chronicles 32:31 meliṣ signifies ambassador. Later in post-biblical Hebrew the term was used in the context of synagogue worship and still carries a positive connotation.

He rendered Hebrews 9:15:

בַּעֲבוּר זֹת מִלֶּאךְ מִלִּיץ הַלְבְּרִית הַחֲדָשָׁה  
ba'əbūr zōt mal'āk mēlīš hū lab-brīt ha-ḥădāšā

Salkinson's choice of a Biblical Hebrew term used and known from synagogue worship safeguarded his work from being affected by shifts in the language.

On the other hand, Salkinson's translation was heavily criticized for being 'overbiblicizing,'<sup>91</sup> flowery and pompous. These traits, however, were integral to the Haskalah literary style, that Delitzsch slightly called the 'Maggid style,' after the Hebrew propagated by the influential Haskalah periodical Ha-Maggid,<sup>92</sup> the journal that published Ben Yehuda's flaming appeal to revive Hebrew as the Jewish national language in 1880. Delitzsch even criticized Salkinson for taking liberties with the source text, 'as he himself would rather bend the language than use 'elegant' Hebrew phrases.'<sup>93</sup> Also, Salkinson's approach of altogether refraining from translating the Tanakh quotations from the Greek was not shared by Prof. Delitzsch.

As mentioned above, Delitzsch based his own translation work on an altogether different theory, leaning rather towards what is now termed Formal Equivalence. His primary focus was the source language, the Greek manuscript, and the literary style employed by the New Testament writers in the first centuries CE. In the foreword to his 5<sup>th</sup> edition from 1883 Delitzsch writes:

The New Testament writers, St. Paul, and St. John in particular, have their own styles. It was my endeavor not to hide it from the Jewish readers when the form in the original is stiff, monotonous, or unpleasant.<sup>94</sup>

This ambition was not shared by Salkinson who on the contrary worked hard to render the NT in the language of the prophets, a language that was seen, in the Haskalah, as enhancing Jewish national self-esteem.<sup>95</sup> Also, he had for many years worked hard to develop a Hebrew style geared to enhancing the beauty of the text. His passion for poetic translation shines through in a letter to the Trinitarian Bible Society, in which he is commenting on his own translation of 1 Corinthians 13.

The Apostle, you know, has not always used excellency of speech. You find in his writing great power, pathos, tenderness, but not excellency of style. But in this little chapter it seems that love restrained him, and he did come out with excellency in speech – nay he spoke with the tongue of Angels. This chapter is a small but shining star in the Apostle's heaven and I believe that it has not lost its luster in my Hebrew.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Israeli Jewish theologian, Pinchas Lapide, accuses Salkinson of hyperbiblicity 'Hyperbiblizität' in his book 'Hebräisch in den Kirchen,' Neunkirchen 1976, p. 111. His verdict but confirms Salkinson as a Haskalah translator. Researchers dealing with Hebrew translations of the Enlightenment period have pointed out that the main, almost exclusive origin of their language, idioms and allusions was the Bible. Weissbrod, Rachel, and Magence, Avishai, Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature, 2020.

<sup>92</sup> 'The Hebrew weekly Ha-Maggid operated from its base in Eastern Prussia from 1856-1886 and served Jewish communities in both Russia and Western Europe and beyond with news and topics in Hebrew.' Josef Salmon in 'Modern Judaism', 1997, Oxford University Press, pp. 109-192, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1396598>, accessed 14/04/2023.

<sup>93</sup> In the foreword to his 5<sup>th</sup> Hebrew NT edition, Leipzig 1883, Delitzsch writes: 'I admit frankly that I have sacrificed consistency and eloquence to faithfulness in passages where both cannot be achieved together.'

<sup>94</sup> Delitzsch, in the foreword to his 5<sup>th</sup> Hebrew NT edition, Leipzig 1883.

<sup>95</sup> Kahn, Lily, Maskilic Hebrew, Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics, Leiden, 2013.

<sup>96</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 5.

In his many literary translations Salkinson leaned heavily on the Haskalah method of 'domestication,' adopting Jewish names and changing Christian customs into Jewish ones, in order to bring the respective theme home in a Jewish cultural context. When translating the NT, Salkinson pursued the same ambition by employing idiomatic Hebrew expressions familiar to his Jewish target group.

Delitzsch on the other hand had worked for decades to create a hypothetical language that he envisioned was spoken in the first century CE, built on his knowledge of Mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic. His scholarly intuition was later confirmed by the finding of the Qumran scrolls. But as Ginsburg and later Lapid elucidated, Delitzsch' language use felt artificial to an audience that had grown up with the Hebrew of the Tanakh from early childhood.<sup>97</sup>

## 2.3 Creating a New Sacred Idiom – or Relying on the Familiar?

Already in 1838, Delitzsch in his book 'Wissenschaft, Kunst und Judenthum' conveyed the idea of molding a new Hebrew idiom for expressing Christian truths.<sup>98</sup>

Even Salkinson commented on the lack of 'Christian' linguistic references for his Jewish audience. Addressing the Trinitarian Society in 1877 he wrote:

The New Testament is still a foreign book to the Jews, and its phrases are no more familiar to them than the Talmudic to the English. To them, then, the Gospel or the Hebrew New Testament, ought to be offered in a decent and intelligible form, as well as with a faithful text.<sup>99</sup>

But rather than creating a new Christian Hebrew terminology, Salkinson's idea was to communicate New Testament truths through familiar idiomatic expressions found in the Hebrew Tanakh. He obviously thought it possible to explain the New Testament using concepts from the Tanakh. His sentiment, in this regard, was shared by another notable, and highly influential Jewish convert in the 1800s. Ginsburg, who inherited the personal Hebrew New Testament of Alexander Solomon, the first Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, and Jewish by descent and upbringing, relates how the volume was full of explanatory notes, translating alien Christian terms into idiomatic Hebrew!<sup>100</sup>

This idea of clarifying New Testament thought by way of the Jewish Tanakh could very well have been controversial for Protestant scholars, set, as they were, in Luther's school of interpreting Old Testament passages in the light of New Testament doctrine and by no means vice versa, since Jewish learning and Jewish Bible interpretation were shunned by Luther.<sup>101</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> Lapid Pinchas: 'Delitzschs Hebräisch ist eine fast tadellose, jedoch künstliche Konstruktion,' in Hebräisch in den Kirchen, 1976, p. 174.

<sup>98</sup> 'Jewish-Christian literature in Hebrew offers only rare examples of writers adequately prepared either by nature or by training to mold a new Hebrew idiom for the formal expression of newly recognized truths when faced with a lack of any precedent. It is most interesting to observe how the Jewish convert struggles with Christian ideas when writing in Hebrew, and how difficult it is for him to express his faith in Hebrew forms.' (Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum / Schilderungen u. Kritiken von Franz Delitzsch, 1838, pp. 279 ff.

<sup>99</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 4.

<sup>100</sup> Quarterly Records, July 1885, p. 13.

<sup>101</sup> 'Already Luther denounced the Jews authority to interpret the scriptures of the Old Testament. He went very far in delegitimizing Jewish authority, commenting on the so called 'Shemhamphoras' *relief* (depicting a 'Jew's sow' with the Talmud in her anus) in his church in Wittenberg: 'They get their Talmud from the pig's bowls.' Kaufmann, T., Luther's Jews: A Journey into Antisemitism, Oxford University Press, 2017.

Luther's authority in the field of Bible translation was undebatable. To this day, Luther is referred to as the father of Modern German, and his poetic language and translation skills are admired even by Jewish theologian and historian Pinchas Lapide,<sup>102</sup> a leading proponent of the dialogue between Judaism and Christianity after the Holocaust.

## 2.4 Translation Strategies

In summary, Salkinson pursued three basic strategies to reach his long-term goal, the molding of an indigenous Hebrew version of the New Testament for a Jewish audience.

1. He employed a Hebrew language variety that leading Haskalah contemporaries perceived as 'pure.'
2. He cultivated a Hebrew poetic style venerated by the Haskalah, the *Meliṣa*, which included the *Shibbuṣ* tradition of inserting original quotes.
3. He availed himself of Domestication, a familiar translation method used in Hebrew literature to bring a text home in a Jewish cultural context.

In this section these strategies will be discussed in detail.

### 2.4.1 'Pure Hebrew'

The 'pure Hebrew' that Salkinson referred to in his letters was more than a romantic idealization of the language of the prophets, in line with the glorification of ancient cultures in the late 1800s, or with the Jewish dream of national revival. By employing the language of the Tanakh Salkinson adopted the speech convention of diglossic societies,<sup>103</sup> i.e., reserving a High Language for sacral purposes, and using a Low Language for everyday use.<sup>104</sup>

When the NT was written and for another 250 years the Low Language of the Jewish communities had been Aramaic, and Hebrew the High Language for sacral purposes. This is apparent in commentaries by Rabbinical authorities urging the congregation to *pray* in Hebrew only.<sup>105</sup>

Never should a man pray for his needs in the Aramaic language, but only in the sacred tongue.

He who prays for his needs in the Aramaic language fails to have his prayer forwarded (to God) by the angels, since the angels do not understand Aramaic.<sup>106</sup>

Likewise, in Salkinson's epoch Haskalah readers viewed Biblical Hebrew as the High Language. In contrast, a Hebrew interwoven with Aramaic expressions, or grammatically inspired by Yiddish, was considered a Low Language not fit for sacral use. Grammarians of the Haskalah period drew a clear hierarchy between Biblical Hebrew and Rabbinical Hebrew. Only Biblical Hebrew's vocabulary and grammar were considered 'pure' and 'real' Hebrew, appropriate for

---

<sup>102</sup> Lapide, Pinchas, *Ist die Bibel richtig übersetzt?* Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh, 2012, p. 27.

<sup>103</sup> Ferguson, A., *Diglossia in Language in Culture and Society* edited by Dell Hymes, New York, 1964. The term Diglossia refers to a state 'when two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the same speech community, with each having a definite rôle to play.'

<sup>104</sup> In contrast: To translate Shakespeare Salkinson used Mishnaic Hebrew. Weissbrod, R. and Magence, A., *Allusions to the Talmud in Salkinson's Translation of Shakespeare's Othello*, *Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature*, 2020, p. 174.

<sup>105</sup> Lapide, Pinchas, *Insights from Qumran into the Languages of Jesus*, *Revue de Qumrân*, December 1975, pp. 483-501.

<sup>106</sup> Babli, *Sotah* 33 a, Rab Jehuda and Rabbi Johanan admonishing their co-religionists around the year 250 CE.

literary use and poetry. Rabbinical Hebrew, on the other hand, was seen as made up of eclectic vocabulary, of which large parts were not original Hebrew, and with a faulty morphology, permissible in vulgar texts only.<sup>107</sup>

For this reason, both Salkinson and Ginsburg emphatically maintained before the Trinitarian Society in 1877 and later in 1885 that no indigenous Hebrew version as yet existed. To Salkinson, as a Haskalah proponent, any language variety but Biblical Hebrew would have failed to mark the NT as a sacred text.

## 2.4.2 Meliṣah

To achieve his goal of communicating NT concepts by means of the familiar language of the Tanakh, Salkinson apparently availed himself of Meliṣah, a literary technique that Haskalah writers adopted to compose texts in 'pure' Hebrew. The technique had been employed widely in Medieval Hebrew poetry and prose, as well as in Renaissance rhetoric.<sup>108</sup>

Meliṣah is associated with the flowery language that was typical not only for Haskalah Hebrew, but for the language culture of the 1800s in general. Its main stylistic trait was the consistent allusion to venerated literary compositions, the composing of new texts by including older text material, thus creating a mosaic of allusions.<sup>109</sup>

But Meliṣah was more than a literary devise. A 2020 study of Haskalah literary theory discusses the technique as an expression of the philosophy of the Jewish Enlightenment.

[Haskalah adherers] employed melitsa-based theory for defending and upholding ancient Hebrew scriptures as vessels of theological, poetic, and political difference, which they saw as contributing to a critique of dominant Enlightenment ideas.<sup>110</sup>

Salkinson had practiced this technique in almost all his literary translations. When arguing in a letter to the Trinitarian Bible Society in early 1883 that the Jewish public 'looked for a version from the hand of a native Hebrew writer, who has had practice in the art of translation,' he was not only referring to himself as a native Hebrew writer, but also to his experience in the usage of Meliṣah.<sup>111</sup>

According to the Klein lexicon, the feminine noun Meliṣah, מְלִיצָה, signifies satire, mocking poem, enigmatic saying, figure of speech, metaphor, poetical language.<sup>112</sup>

Salkinson who was said to have an exceptional fund of Hebrew idioms,<sup>113</sup> obviously knew how to elegantly employ these metaphors and figures of speech.

---

<sup>107</sup> Judah Leib Ben-Ze'ev, *Talmud Lashon 'Ivri*. Breslau, 1796, cited in Wormser, Yehonatan, Attitudes Towards Rabbinic Hebrew as reflected in Hebrew Grammars during the Jewish Enlightenment, in *New Perspectives in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew*, Aaron D. Hornkohl et Khan Geoffrey, Open Book Publishers, Cambridge, 2021, p. 741-756.

<sup>108</sup> Banbaji, Amir, 2020, Yerushalmi, Y.H., 2019.

<sup>109</sup> Weissbrod, R. and Magence, A., Allusions to the Talmud in Salkinson's Translation of Shakespeare's Othello, the Moor of Venice, *Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature*, 2020, p. 174.

<sup>110</sup> Banbaji A., Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Haskalah Literary theory, *Journal of Jewish Literary History* (Vol. 38, Issue 2), 2020, Indiana University Press.

<sup>111</sup> *Quarterly Records*, Our New Hebrew Testament, October 1886, p. 3-6.

<sup>112</sup> Klein Dictionary, Carta Jerusalem, 1. edition 1987.

<sup>113</sup> 'There was not such a man in the world as Salkinson for Hebrew idiom', *Quarterly Records*, January 1886, p. 2.

Prof. Delitzsch, who called Salkinson ‘a master of style,’ commented on Salkinson’s elegant NT version:

Von der Salkinsonschen Übersetzung wird meine nach wie vor sich dadurch unterscheiden, dass sie darauf verzichtet, den neutestamentlichen Text nach der Art des Jüdischen Mosaik Styls [...] durch allerlei poetische Eleganzen und exquisite Floskeln für jüdische Leser gleichsam zu überzuckern.<sup>114</sup>

My translation will remain distinguishable from Salkinson’s, since it refrains from ‘sugar-coating’ the New Testament text after the fashion of the Jewish Mosaic style with poetic sophistications, and exquisite platitudes for the Jewish reader.

With ‘Jewish Mosaic style’ Delitzsch clearly referred to *Meliṣah*, made up, as it were, of a mosaic of figures of speech and quotations. In Delitzsch’s eyes these devices were employed by Salkinson to sweeten (überzuckern) the New Testament text, but in the eyes of Jewish readers they added vital depth and luster.

A Jewish historian of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Yosef Yerushalmi, explains the fascination of the Haskalah public with the ambiguity of this literary style.

In *melitzah* the sentences compounded out of quotations mean what they say; but below and beyond the surface they reverberate with associations to the original texts, which makes them psychologically so interesting. [...] The original context trails along as an invisible interlinear presence. If the author is successful in his use of *melitzah*, he will arouse in the reader a particular set of images and associations.<sup>115</sup>

Salkinson’s virtuosity in employing the *Meliṣah* technique might explain the superlatives his Hebrew NT was greeted with, as presented in section 1.3. As of the mid-1800s *melitzah*, venerated though it had been in Medieval literature and in the Haskalah, gradually underwent a semantic change in meaning and came to imply bombastic, hollow, and imprecise.<sup>116</sup> Towards the end of the 1800s, it was no longer seen as a literary asset. However, during his lifetime Salkinson’s fame was not affected by this shift in literary fashion.

### 2.4.2.1 Shibbus

A subsection of *Meliṣah* was the *Shibbus* tradition of inserting Tanakh phrases, or phrases from other classical scripts to add value to new literary work. This appealed to an audience that was able to quote long portions of the Tanakh by heart.<sup>117</sup> For a Jewish audience, recognizing one single line of a Davidic psalm sufficed to bring the entire psalm back to mind, and to enhance their appreciation of the text. It would seem that for this audience to connect

---

<sup>114</sup> Delitzsch F., *Das Häbräische Neue Testament*, in *Theol. Literaturblatt* 1889, a.a.O.S.1/, p. 1.

<sup>115</sup> Yerushalmi, Y.H. *Freud’s Moses: Judaism Terminable and Interminable*, New Haven, Yale University Press: 1991

<sup>116</sup> Pelli 1993:99

<sup>117</sup> In Salkinson’s generation and social setting in Eastern Europe this was the norm for males, as illustrated by a Yiddish joke in *Salcia Landmann’s* ‘Der jüdische Witz’, p. 661: A Jew at the ophthalmologist’s: ‘For some time, my vision has been blurred.’ The doctor reaches for an eye chart, but it turns out the Jew only reads Hebrew. The doctor, coincidentally also Jewish, gets his Hebrew prayer book. The patient reads effortlessly. The doctor slowly steps back, holding up the book — he is already three meters away, but the man keeps reciting the text smoothly, and without difficulty. The doctor says, ‘But listen! Your eyesight is incredibly good!’ The Jew asks, ‘What has this got to do with my eyesight? Which Jew wouldn’t know the prayers by heart?’

with NT texts it was important that the Tanakh allusions were accurately identical with the quotations they had memorized.

Salkinson commented in an article later printed in the *Quarterly Record*: 'The reverend regard of the Jews for the Old Testament Scriptures made [literal quotes] necessary in a version intended for their instruction.'<sup>118</sup> In another article airing the same concern, he concluded: 'I hope the friends of Israel will agree with me on that head.'<sup>119</sup>

His hope proved vain. The 'friends of Israel' were indifferent to his plea. Salkinson's objective of exclusively using Hebrew citations to engage his Jewish readership was discarded after the first edition of 2000 printed copies, despite the enthusiastic response of Hebrew Christians to his *Brit ha-Ḥadashah*. The long-time secretary of the Trinitarian Society, Dr. E.W. Bullinger, a Greek scholar, together with the committee of the Protestant Society decided already in early 1886 to abandon Salkinson's quest of creating an 'all Jewish version,' explaining in an article in the *Quarterly Records*:

Those who agree with Salkinson [...] ignore any design which the New Testament writers, under Divine inspiration, may have had in varying the words.<sup>120</sup>

## 2.4.3 Domestication

Applying his third translation strategy, Salkinson converted Christian names of persons and places in the NT into Jewish names found in the Tanakh. In this particular case, though, 'domestication' frequently meant reverting to the original Jewish names and placing the persons in their original Jewish context. One obvious example is found in Acts 10:10. The city of Joppe in Luther's translation referred to the historical Jewish city of Jaffo on the coast of the Mediterranean. By Salkinson's time the harbour of Jaffo was the port of arrival for Jewish immigrants. By calling it by its historical Hebrew name already given in the Tanakh,<sup>121</sup> Salkinson employed a metamessage<sup>122</sup> that signaled Jewishness.

Throughout his entire translation Salkinson used such 'messages within the message,' thus providing cues on how to interpret, or contextualize what was said in the New Testament.

Salkinson chose, with few exceptions, names from the Tanakh. For the first book of his NT he chose the Hebrew name Mattatyahu. Mattatyahu was a Jewish hero, described in the apocryphal books that were still part of the King James Bible during Salkinson's lifetime, until 1885, the year of publication of Salkinson's first edition.

The historical Mattatyahu had been the leader of the Maccabean uprising against the Hellenistic rulership of the Seleucids in 165 BCE and the founder of the Hasmonean dynasty. He was succeeded by Judas Maccabeus, son of Mattatyahu, Jonathan, son of Mattatyahu, Simon, son of Mattatyahu. It is not difficult to imagine why Salkinson towards the end of the 1800s chose a name related to the triumphant reestablishment of Jewish national

---

<sup>118</sup> *Quarterly Records*, October 1887, p. 10.

<sup>119</sup> *Quarterly Records*, October 1886, p. 6.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>121</sup> Joshua 19:46, 2 Chronicles 2:15, Jonah 1:3.

<sup>122</sup> An inexplicit commentary framing the explicit message of a communicative act, typically reflected in the manner of communication and especially in nonverbal cues. *A Dictionary of Media and Communication*, Oxford University Press, 2020.



independence. But in the first revision in 1886 the name was changed to Mattityahu, a name also attested in the Tanakh. Mattityahu was a name still in use in the 1880s, and familiar to Salkinson's and Ginsburg's Haskalah contemporaries.

In the revised edition of 1886, not only the name of the apostle was changed from the 1885 edition, but also the title of the Gospel of Matthew was changed, analogue to Delitzsch' title phrase.

הבשרה אשר למתתיהו

1885: ha-bəsorāh 'ašer ləmaṭatyahū

הבְּשׂוּרָה עַל-פִּי מַתִּיתְיָהוּ

1886: hā-bəsōrā 'al-pī matityāhū

The names chosen for the apostle still differed. The name opted for by Delitzsch as well as by the 1976 IBS NT, Matai, was derived from the Greek Matheos. It is a name that fits in well with German intonation, is easily pronounced by German speakers, but not attested in Classical Hebrew, according to Clines.<sup>123</sup> Paradoxically, Matai is the name used today in the Messianic congregations in Israel, whereas Mattityahu is viewed as 'overbiblicizing'.<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> Clines, David J. A., Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, Sheffield, Academic Press, 1993.

<sup>124</sup> Lapide, who accuses Salkinson of 'overbiblicizing' in his translation, explicitly mentions his choice of Mattityahu for Matthew as a negative example, in Lapide P., Hebräisch in den Kirchen, Neunkirchner Verlag, 1976, p. 110.

# 3

## Textual Study

The aim of this study is to weigh the findings in Parts 1 and 2 against the textual evidence in Salkinson's Hebrew NT, in particular to investigate the application of the features highlighted in the Part 2 discussion on translation strategies.

As corpus for the study, Romans 1-5 was chosen. Romans 1-5 were the chapters Salkinson sent to his presumptive publisher, the Trinitarian Society, in 1877. The choice of this particular portion of the NT text he had motivated even earlier: 'It is only in the Epistles that the difficulties of a Hebrew translation present themselves.'<sup>125</sup>

The Epistle to the Romans was the very first New Testament text that Salkinson tried his translation skills on. His rendering was published shortly after his conversion, when he had mastered enough Greek to make his way through the text. In his foreword to his 1855 edition of the epistle, Salkinson writes:

The following is a new version of the Epistle to the Romans rendered from the original Greek. It is published as a specimen and is designed to show the possibility of translating the New Testament into pure and almost idiomatic Hebrew, capable of being read with ease either by literati or by common reader.<sup>126</sup>

To assess this 'pure and almost idiomatic Hebrew' an inventory of figures of speech and linguistic features as well as of specific wordings used in Romans 1-5 in Salkinson's 1885 edition was undertaken. A photocopy of the original text was ordered from the National Library in Vienna and printed out in large format for close reading. A glossary for chapters 1-5 was created and used in the analysis of the text. Recurring word combinations with, e.g., concrete words like body parts, were marked and compared with lexical information found in encyclopaedias of the Hebrew language. Publications on Hebrew idioms and on Hebrew grammatical features were scrutinized for information on word combinations.

The discerned figures of speech were categorized according to type and contrasted with the equivalent Greek phrases. Further, text samples of this edition were contrasted to other translations.

In the collected material the predominant usage of *Biblical Hebrew* in the translation was apparent, as was Salkinson's adherence to the *Meliṣa* style of the Haskalah poets, with circumlocutions and figures of speech. This became even more evident in the comparison of Salkinson's translation to the original Greek. Salkinson's text exhibits a far larger number of figures of speech than the Greek, as will be illustrated.

The application of the *Shibbuṣ* practice will be shown in a sample comparing the 1885 edition with the 1886 revised edition. Salkinson's *Domestication* strategies will be highlighted in his choice of specific wordings. By these wordings as well as by *Communicative Features* exhibited in the text, Salkinson's *Cultural Affiliation* will be established.

---

<sup>125</sup> Quarterly Records, Oct 1887, p. 9.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

A dynamic translation, focusing on the receptor language, requires a high level of identification with the target group's way of thinking, and the taking on of the role of a cultural ambassador mediating between two cultures. A formal translation requires no such interaction with the target group. The interaction of the translator is with the text only. Not even the identification with the culture from which the source text emerged is sought after or considered relevant.

This 'detached' way of dealing with the text is quite the opposite of Salkinson's translation strategy. Salkinson was consistently looking to establish bridges between the culture of the Tanakh, which he perceived as the source culture of the text, and the culture of his Jewish contemporaries.

## 3.1 Salkinson's Haskalah Language

The following analysis is based on the above specified inventory, presenting selected excerpts of the figures of speech, metaphors, idioms, metonyms, collocations, and circumlocutions employed by Salkinson when translating Romans 1–5. Further, communicative features displayed in Salkinson's interpretation of the same chapters are brought to attention.

### 3.1.1 Figures of Speech

In using metaphorical language and figures of speech, Salkinson was employing a literary device already discussed in the Talmud<sup>127</sup> and classified as 'human language' because of the abundance of seemingly 'superfluous words.'<sup>128</sup> Maimonides in his 'Guide to the Perplexed'<sup>129</sup> had argued that 'to communicate with human beings, the Torah must use human language.'<sup>130</sup> Salkinson was familiar with this reasoning from his studies at Jewish Centers of Learning, and presumably sought to employ metaphors for the same reason. Just as this 'human language' was an integral part of the Torah, it was to be an integral part of the Hebrew NT. In his letter from 1877 Salkinson argued that he felt driven to use more words.<sup>131</sup> These words were, however, not intended to be 'unnecessary ornaments,' as Delitzsch perceived them to be,<sup>132</sup> but were seen as crucial for communicating the NT message to his targeted readers.

#### 3.1.1.1 Metaphors

A metaphor is classified as 'a word picture; presenting a semantic association that requires deciphering.'<sup>133</sup> Using pictures, painted with words instead of colours, a metaphor triggers a

---

<sup>127</sup> Talmud, an old scholastic term of the Tannaim is a noun formed from the verb 'limmed' = 'to teach.' The name serves as a generic designation for an entire body of literature, marking the culmination of the writings of Jewish tradition. Prof. Wilhelm Bacher, Jewish Theological Seminary, Budapest, JewishEncyclopedia.com, 2002-2021.

<sup>128</sup> Ibn Ezra, Halevi and Maimonides each discuss the ramifications of using likenesses to describe the unknowable divine.

<sup>129</sup> Maimonides, Moses, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. Shlomo Pines, Introduction, The University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 11.

<sup>130</sup> Maimonides, *Guide*, I:26.

<sup>131</sup> Salkinson's booklet 'Mr. W. Carruther and his Client 'Dr.' Joseffy, An examination of his Narrative and Statement,' Carl Fromme Publishing House, 1880, pp. 31-32.

<sup>132</sup> Delitzsch F., *Das Häbräische Neue Testament*, a.a.O.S.1/p. 1, in *Theol. Literaturblatt* 1889.

<sup>133</sup> Roberts-Zauderer, D.L., *Human Language: Classifying Metaphor in Jewish Sources*. In: *Metaphor and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Thought*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

chain of verbal associations, promoting a deeper, spontaneous understanding. Salkinson's Romans 1-5 exhibits a number of such word pictures.

A. In Rom 4:18 Salkinson, uses the suggestive image of a door, symbolizing 'the way out.'

וְאֵלֶּיךָ כִּי לֹא נִרְאָה פֶּתַח תִּקְוָה הַחַיִּיק בְּתִקְוָתוֹ

wə-ʔaḇ kī lō nir'ā pētaḥ tiqwāḥ heḥēzīq bə-tiqwātō

And despite not perceiving the door of hope he held on to his hope.

The Greek text does not employ metaphorical language but relies solely on the abstract term *elpida* 'hope.'

ὁς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐπίστευσεν

who against hope believed in hope

Possibly Salkinson found the abstract construction 'hope in hope' less persuasive than the tangible metaphor of a 'door of hope.' Certainly, however, he was aware that by alluding to a Torah phrase and to Torah imagery he provided his readership with a point of identification, a mental bridge between the NT passage and the Torah. The door-metaphor is found in Hosea 2:17.

וְנָתַתִּי לָהּ אֶת־עֵמֶק עֲבוֹר לְפֶתַח תִּקְוָה

wə-nāṭattī lāḥ ʔet-ʿēmēq ʿākōr lə-peṭaḥ tiqwā

And I will give her the valley of Achor for a door of hope.

B. Another word picture in need of deciphering is Salkinson's translation of the Greek term 'between one another' (μεταξύ ἀλλήλων *allílon*) as in Romans 2:15. Salkinson renders this concept of 'one another' by using a Hebrew metaphor literally meaning 'woman to her sister.'

וְעִשְׂתָּנוֹתֵהֶם חֲלִיפוֹת שְׁטָנוֹת אוֹ מִזְכוֹת אִשָּׁה אֶת־אֲחוּתָהּ

wə-ʿestənōtēhem ḥālīpōṭ šṭənōṭ ʔō məzakkōṭ ʔiššā ʔet-ʾāḥōtāḥ

And their thoughts alternatively denounce and acquit one another (**a woman to her sister**).

The same metaphor with a slight alteration<sup>134</sup> is found in Ezekiel 1:9: 'Their wings were joined to one another.'

חִבְרַת אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחוּתָהּ כְּנָפֵיהֶם

ḥōḇarōṭ ʔiššāḥ ʔel ʾāḥōtāḥ kanpēhem

joining a woman to her sister their wings

Interesting to observe is the feminine gender employed in the metaphor, instead of the common masculine as in אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ ʔiš el rēʿēhū 'a man to another' found in Judges 6:29.

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ

way-yōmrū ʔiš el rēʿe

and they said one to another

C. A likewise tangible metaphor reoccurring in Romans 1-5 involves a body part of an animal. In Romans 5:2 Salkinson translates the Greek 'We boast in the hope of the glory of God' Καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ with 'In God's strength we lift our horns.'

<sup>134</sup> Salkinson's use of אֶת ʔet instead of אֶל ʔel of does not change the meaning of the metaphor.

וְבָעַז יְהוָה נִרְיָם קֶרֶן -

ū-bəʕoz YHWH nārīm qeren

In God's strength we lift our horn

The similar image of an 'uplifted horn' with the connotation 'pride' appears in Psalm 75: 4, 5, 6 and 11. Verse 6 says:

אַל תִּרְיִמוּ לַמָּרוֹם קַרְנְכֶם

ʾal-tārīmū lam-mārōm qarnəḵem

Literally, the expression translates: 'Do not lift your horn up high.' The meaning, here, is 'do not be proud,' as seen in the parallel line in the same verse.<sup>135</sup>

תִּדְבְּרוּ בְצוֹאָר עֵתֶק

təḏabbru bə-šaw-wāʾr ʿāṭāq

Do not speak with an insolent neck.

The JPS Hebrew English Tanakh translates verse 6 with 'Do not lift your horn up high in **vainglorious bluster**' placing the literal rendering 'with arrogant neck you speak' in the margins. The JPS's rendering might explain Salkinson's choice of metaphor in translating Romans 5:2 'We boast in the hope of the glory of God', the term 'bluster' being a synonym to 'boasting.' In verse 11 the metaphor reappears, being translated literally only.

וְכָל-קַרְנֵי רָשָׁעִים אֶגְדַּע תְּרוֹמֶמְנָה קַרְנוֹת צַדִּיק

wə-ḵōl-qarnē rəšāʿīm ʾāḡadēa tərōmaməṇā qarnōt šaddīq

All the horns of the wicked will I cut; but the horns of the righteous shall be lifted up.

The Septuagint renders the same verse in Psalm 75:10:

And I will break all the horns of sinners; but the horns of the righteous one shall be exalted.

καὶ πάντα τὰ κέρατα τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν συνθλάσω, καὶ ὑψωθήσεται τὰ κέρατα τοῦ  
δικαίου.<sup>136</sup>

It is noteworthy that neither the JPS Hebrew English Tanakh, nor the Septuagint provide any further interpretation of the metaphor.

### 3.1.1.2 Idioms

In the late 1800s, when Salkinson worked on his translation, there were no relevant publications on Hebrew idioms available. The existing lexica did not even mention their existence.<sup>137</sup>

Since idioms, defined as 'conventionalized phrases, with meanings which cannot be directly derived from the meaning of their parts,' are opaque per definition,<sup>138</sup> the lack of lexical information had significant consequences. With the exception of Salkinson's opus, the NT

<sup>135</sup> Warren-Rothlin, A., Biblical Hebrew Idioms, Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics, edited by Geoffrey Khan, Leiden, 2013.

<sup>136</sup> <https://www.elopos.net/elpenor/greek-texts/septuagint/chapter.asp?book=24&page=74>

<sup>137</sup> Semitist Prof. J C Lùbbe writes in 'Idioms in the Old Testament': 'It is somewhat surprising that none of the commonly used lexica of Brown, Driver and Briggs (BOB), Koehler Baumgartner (KB), The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon (HAL), and Holladay make any mention of idioms in their introduction, nor do they list the word 'idiom' in their lists of abbreviations of common and technical terms.' Journal for Semitics, vol. 11/1, 2002, p. 56.

<sup>138</sup> Van den Heever, C. M., Doctoral thesis on Biblical Hebrew idioms, Stellenbosch University, 2013, p. 116.

translations were carried out by Protestant theologians aiming at literalism, and unfamiliar with some of the Hebrew idioms that Jewish converts spontaneously understood.

Salkinson had discussed this himself in a letter published in the Quarterly Records, pointing out that a literal translation may very well obscure the actual meaning of a phrase. He exemplified with the Hebrew idiomatic phrase:

לָקַח לוֹ אִשָּׁה

lāqah lō 'iššah

He took himself a woman.

Salkinson commented:

If you translate this Hebrew phrase 'He bought a wife for himself,' you have been faithful to the letter, but not to the spirit of the original, since the phrase is good Hebrew and you put it into strange English. You must render it: 'He married a woman.'<sup>139</sup>

Another idiomatic phrase that cannot be translated literally is found in Romans 2:11.

אֵין-מִשׁוֹא פָּנִים

'ēn-māśśō' pānīm

There is no lifting of the face.

The idiomatic meaning is 'There is no *partiality*,' which corresponds to the Greek wording.

οὐ ἐστὶν προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ

not is partiality with God

The same Hebrew idiom, signifying 'partiality,' is used in 2 Chronicles 19:7.

כִּי-אֵין עִם-יְהוָה מִשָּׂא פָּנִים

kī-'ēn 'im-YHWH maśśō' pānīm

For with the Lord there is no partiality.

**Literally:** For with God there is no *lifting of the face*.

### 3.1.1.3 Multiple Word Units

To create idioms various word combinations are used. Frequently a stative verb is combined with a noun carrying the metaphorical meaning.<sup>140</sup> But also noun-plus-noun combinations are employed. In Salkinson's rendering of Romans 1-5 noun-plus-noun combinations are common like רַגְלֵי הַחַטָּא 'the feet of sin' in Romans 5:12.

הַמָּוֶת בָּא לְרַגְלֵי הַחַטָּא

Ham-māwet bā lə-raḡlē ha-ḥēṭ'

and death came **on the feet** of sin

**Greek NT:** εἰσῆλθεν διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος  
entered through sin death

<sup>139</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 3.

<sup>140</sup> Warren-Rothlin, A., Biblical Hebrew Idioms, Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics, edited by Geoffrey Khan, Leiden, 2013.

### 3.1.1.3.1 Comparison Salkinson – Greek NT

To illustrate how Salkinson enhanced the literary expressiveness by inserting multiple word units, two comparisons will be offered in the following section – to the Greek original, and to Delitzsch' translation from 1877.

The chart below shows the most frequent multiple word units in Romans 1–5 that Salkinson employed to explain solitary Greek terms, as seen in the comparison to the Greek original.

| Ba'al   | Derek  | Bēn   |
|---|--|---|
| <p><b>4:14</b> Salkinson<br/>בְּעֲלֵי הַתּוֹרָה<br/>ba'ālê hattōrā<br/>owners of the Torah</p> <p><b>4:14</b> Greek NT<br/>those of the law<br/>οἱ ἐκ νόμου</p> | <p><b>1:27</b> Salkinson<br/>כְּדֶרֶךְ כָּל-הָאָרֶץ<br/>kəḏerek kōl-hā'āreṣ<br/>like the way of all the world</p> <p><b>1:27</b> Greek NT<br/>natural use<br/>τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν</p> | <p><b>1:14</b> Salkinson<br/>בְּנֵי עַם לֵוִי<br/>bnē 'am lō'ēz<br/>Sons of a people with a foreign language</p> <p><b>1:14</b> Greek NT<br/>Barbarians<br/>Βαρβάρους</p>                     |
| <p><b>1:14</b> Salkinson<br/>בַּעַל חֵב<br/>ba'al hōb<br/>owner of debt</p> <p><b>1:14</b> Greek NT<br/>a debtor<br/>ὀφειλέτης</p>                              | <p><b>3:5</b> Salkinson<br/>כְּדֶרֶךְ בְּנֵי-אָדָם<br/>kəḏerek bnē-'āḏām<br/>as the way of humans</p> <p><b>3:5</b> Greek NT<br/>according to man<br/>κατὰ ἄνθρωπον</p>              | <p><b>1:32</b> Salkinson<br/>בְּנֵי-מָוֶת<br/>bnē-māwēṭ<br/>sons of death</p> <p><b>1:32</b> Greek NT<br/>worthy of death<br/>ἄξιοι θανάτου εἶσιν</p>   |
|   | <p><b>5:2</b> Salkinson<br/>בְּדֶרֶךְ אֱמוּנָה<br/>bə-derek 'ēmūnā<br/>by way of faith</p> <p><b>5:2</b> Greek NT<br/>by the faith<br/>τῇ πίστει</p>                                 | <p><b>2:8</b> Salkinson<br/>בְּנֵי מֶרִי<br/>bnē merī<br/>sons of rebellion</p> <p><b>2:8</b> Greek NT<br/>those self-interested, disobeying the truth<br/>ἐριθείας, ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ</p> |
|   |  | <p><b>3:22</b> Salkinson<br/>בְּנֵי אֱמוּנִים<br/>bnē 'ēmūnīm<br/>sons of faith</p> <p><b>3:22</b> Greek NT<br/>those believing<br/>τοὺς πιστεύοντας</p>                                      |

As seen in Romans 4:14, ‘those of the law’ become ‘the owners of the Torah’ in Salkinson’s translation.

A word unit with **בְּדֶרֶךְ** *kə-derek* is used to denote ‘by way’ or ‘according to’. In Romans 1:27 Delitzsch uses the similar **בְּדֶרֶכָּהּ** *kə-darkā* combined with **הָאִשָּׁה** *hā-’iššāh* ‘the woman’s way.’ In Salkinson’s text ‘*bēn*’ is employed as a stand-in for ‘person.’ A very common combination is *bnē adam*, signifying ‘humans.’ But *adam* also appears in combination with **כֹּל** ‘kol’ as in Romans 3:4 or **אֶת-הָ** ‘*et hā*,’ in Romans 4:6, or standing on its own as in Romans 4:8.

**אֲשֶׁר־אָדָם לֹא-יַחְשֹׁב יְהוָה לֹ עוֹן**

*’ašrē ’ādām lō-yahšob YHWH lo ’āwōn*

Happy is the man against whom the Lord will not reckon sin.

μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ οὐ μὴ λογίσῃται Κύριος ἁμαρτίαν

In his text Salkinson does not distinguish between *’ādām* and *ben-’ādām*. Nor does *ben-’ādām* carry the distinct connotation ascribed to it in the Greek, singling out the Messiah with ‘Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,’ ‘Son of man’ as a title.

### 3.1.1.3.2 Comparison Salkinson – Delitzsch

Comparing Salkinson’s renderings of the listed multiple word units to Delitzsch’s translation, it becomes plain that even Delitzsch for the most part uses several words to render solitary Greek terms. In Romans 1:32, 2:8, and 3:5 he employs the identical phrases, **בְּנֵי-מָוֶת** *bnē-māwēṭ*, sons of death, **בְּנֵי מֶרִי** *bnē merī*, sons of rebellion, and **בְּנֵי-אָדָם** *kədereḱ bnē-’ādām*, as ‘in the way of humans.’

In Romans 4:14 he has **בְּנֵי-הַתּוֹרָה** *bnē ha-tōrā*, ‘the sons of the Torah’ instead of Salkinson’s **בְּעֵלֵי הַתּוֹרָה** *ba’ālē- ha-tōrā*, ‘owners of the Torah.’

The Greek **Βαρβάρους** in Romans 1:14 he does not translate with **בְּנֵי עַם לֵעָז** *bnē ’am lō’ēz*, ‘sons of a people of foreign language,’ but still uses multiple words in **אֲשֶׁר אֵינָם יוֹנִים** *’āšer ’ēnām yəwānīm*, ‘those who are not Greek.’

In Romans 1:14 he uses the singular term **מַחֲבִיב** *məḥuyyāb* instead of **בְּעַל חֹב** *ba’āl ḥōb*, ‘owner of debt.’

Romans 3:22 he renders **אֲשֶׁר הֵאֱמִינוּ בּוֹ** *’āšer he’ēmīnū bō*, ‘thos who believed in him,’ instead of Salkinson’s construction **בְּנֵי אֱמוּנִים** *bnē ’ēmūnīm*, ‘sons of faith.’

Romans 5:2 he renders **בְּאֱמוּנָה** *bā’ēmūnā*, ‘by faith,’ without the multiple word construction used by Salkinson **בְּדֶרֶךְ אֱמוּנָה** *bə-dereḱ ’ēmūnā*, ‘by way of faith.’

### 3.1.1.4 Metonyms

Similarly fundamental to Salkinson’s text is the usage of metonyms. Metonymy is the act of referring to something using a word that describes one of its qualities, or features.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>141</sup> <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/metonymy>, accessed 06/07/2023.



The metonyms most prominent in Salkinson's Romans 1-5 are לֵב *lēv* 'heart' and נַפְשׁ *neṣeš* 'soul.' *Lēv*, in Biblical Hebrew, is the seat of understanding. *Neṣeš*, literally 'throat',<sup>142</sup> is used in Romans 1–5 not to denote 'breath' or 'life' but, in Salkinson's rendering, the 'the individual' or 'the self.'

Comparing Salkinson's text to the Greek original, it is interesting to observe that none of the Hebrew constructions with 'heart' or 'soul' are found in the Greek, except in instances when the text explicitly concerns the 'heart,' as in Romans 1:24, 2:5, 2:29, and 5:5. The term 'soul' signifying 'person' or 'selfhood' does not occur even once.

### 3.1.1.4.1 Comparison Lēv

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>1:13</b> Greek NT<br><br>Προεθέμην<br>I purposed   | <b>1:13</b> Salkinson<br>נָתַתִּי אֶת־לְבִי לְבּוֹא אֲלֵיכֶם<br>nātattī <i>et-libbī</i><br>I gave my heart to  |
| <b>1:28</b> Greek NT<br><br>ἀδόκιμον νοῦν ποιεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα<br>a depraved mind to do things not being proper | <b>1:28</b> Salkinson<br>לְמַשׁוּבַת לִבָּם לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת אֲשֶׁר־לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה<br>li-məšūbat libbām la-‘āšōt ‘ēt ‘āšer-lō ye‘āše<br>to do that which one should not do in the mischief of their heart |
| <b>2:19</b> Greek NT<br><br>πέποιθάς τε σεαυτὸν<br>are confident then yourself                                    | <b>2:19</b> Salkinson<br>לִבָּךְ בָּטוּחַ<br>libbəkā bāṭūaḥ<br>your heart is certain   |
| <b>4:17</b> Greek NT<br><br>οὗ ἐπίστευσεν<br>whom he believed   | <b>4:17</b> Salkinson<br>בָּטַח בּוֹ לְבּוֹ<br>bāṭaḥ bō libbō<br>his heart trusted in him  |

As seen in the translations of the different passages, Salkinson explains the metaphorical meaning of the heart with 'determination,' 'inner strength,' and 'confidence.'

### 3.1.1.4.2 Comparison Neṣeš

In Biblical Hebrew the metonym *neṣeš* is employed to refer to a range of connotations. Some of these become apparent in Salkinson's Romans 1–5, when comparing his text to the Greek original, as in the chart below. *Neṣeš* in Romans 1:13, with the literal meaning 'my soul,' apparently denotes the 'I,' the 'self.' The usage of *neṣeš* in Romans 5:7 suggests the wider connotation 'life.' The medieval philosophical conception of soul, in the definition of a person

<sup>142</sup> Warren-Rothlin, Andy, "Idioms: Biblical Hebrew", in: *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, Edited by: Geoffrey Khan. Consulted online on 11/09/2023.

as body, mind and soul, is not found in the Tanakh, the principal frame of reference for Salkinson's translation.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p><b>1:13</b> Greek NT</p> <p>Οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν ἀδελφοί<br/> <i>I do not want you to be ignorant brothers.</i></p>                                     | <p><b>1:13</b> Salkinson</p> <p><b>וְאִין־נַפְשִׁי לְהַעֲלִים מִכֶּם אָחִי</b><br/> wə-ʿēn-<b>naṗšī</b> lə-haʿālīm mikkem ʾaḥay<br/> My <b>soul</b> is not to hide from you, my brothers.</p>  |
| <p><b>1:24</b> Greek NT</p> <p>ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς<br/> to dishonor the bodies of them between themselves</p>                               | <p><b>1:24</b> Salkinson</p> <p><b>וּלְהַלֵּל בְּשָׂרָם בֵּין נַפְשֹׁתָם</b><br/> ū-ləḥallēl bəšārām bēn <b>naṗšōtām</b><br/> and to desecrate their flesh between their <b>souls</b></p>  |
| <p><b>2:29</b> Greek NT</p> <p>ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ<br/> he who (is) on the inward</p>  | <p><b>2:29</b> Salkinson</p> <p><b>אֲשֶׁר בְּקֶרֶב הַנֶּפֶשׁ פְּנִימָה</b><br/> ʾāšer bə-qereḇ <b>ha-neṗeš</b> pnīmā<br/> who inside his inward <b>soul</b></p>  |
| <p><b>4:21</b> Greek NT</p> <p>καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς<br/> having been fully assured</p>   | <p><b>4:21</b> Salkinson</p> <p><b>וּנְפִשׁוֹ יָדַעַת מְאֹד</b><br/> wə-naṗšō yōdaʿat məʾod<br/> and his <b>soul</b> knew much</p>   |
| <p><b>5:7</b> Greek NT</p> <p>ὕπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τάχα τις καὶ τολμᾷ<br/> ἀποθανεῖν<br/> On behalf of the good man perhaps someone even would dare to die</p> | <p><b>5:7</b> Salkinson</p> <p><b>לָתֵת אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ פְּדִיּוֹן נַפְשׁ רֵעֵהוּ הַיָּשָׁר</b><br/> lātēt <b>et-naṗšō</b> pidyōn <b>neṗeš</b> rēʿehū <b>ha-yāšār</b><br/> to give <b>his soul</b> as a ransom for the <b>soul</b> of his neighbor who is righteous</p> |
| <p><b>5:4</b> Greek NT</p> <p>δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα<br/> character hope</p>   | <p><b>5:4</b> Salkinson</p> <p><b>אֶת־תְּקוּת נֶפֶשׁ<sup>143</sup></b><br/> <b>et-tiqwat neṗeš</b><br/> the <b>soul's</b> hope</p>   |

But **neṗeš** is not the only metonym used by Salkinson to denote 'person.' Equally frequent are constructions with *ben* 'son,' as shown above. Like in Romans 1:14:

**לְבָנֵי הַיִּוֹנִים וְגַם לְבָנֵי עַם לֵעָז לְבָנֵי בִינָה וְלְבָנֵי בְלִי-בִינָה**  
Li-ḥnē hay-yəwānīm wə-ḡam-li-ḥnē ʿam loʿēz li-ḥnē bīnā wə-li-ḥnē blī-binā  
Sons of the Greek, and also sons of peoples with foreign tongues, sons with wisdom and sons without wisdom.

<sup>143</sup> The expression **תְּקוּת נֶפֶשׁ** is not evident in the Tanakh, according to Strong's Concordance.

**Greek NT:** Both to Greeks and to barbarians, both to (the) wise and to (the) foolish.

Ἑλλησὶν τε καὶ Βαρβάρους, σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις

### 3.1.1.5 Collocations

Another type of figurative language found in Salkinson's text, contributing to the distinctness of his language, are collocations.<sup>144</sup> The term denotes the fixed co-occurrence of lexemes in 'word pairs,' but differ from idioms in that their components retain their original meaning.<sup>145</sup>

Some of these 'word pairs' are repetitive in nature, repeating the identical words, like **אִישׁ אִישׁ** 'every man,' employed by Salkinson in Romans 1:12 and 2:6. Some collocations are composed by similar words, or words similar in sound, like in Romans 1:12 in the table below.

Even the Greek NT displays word pairs, however for Biblical Hebrew poetry, with its main poetic feature 'parallelism,' word-pairs are essential. According to Hebrew linguists, there can be no parallelism without word-pairs.<sup>146</sup>

In his use of collocations in Romans 1–5 even Salkinson resorted to Mishnaic Hebrew, for his idiomatic Hebrew version! The collocation in Romans 1:12 has a parallel in 1 Kings 22:4.

**מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּמוֹכִי כְּמוֹךְ בְּעַמִּי**

melek yisra'el kāmōnī kāmōkā kə-ʿam-mī

NKJV: King of Israel, I am as you are, my people.

But **אִין אָפֶס** ēṗes wə-ʾayin in Romau8ns 3:9 – possibly corresponding to the German expression 'null und nichtig' – is neither attested in modern Hebrew<sup>147</sup> nor in the Tanakh. The Academy of the Hebrew Language<sup>148</sup> records the expression under the heading **פיוט ותפילה** piyyūt u-tṗillā from 400-600 CE onwards – indicating its Mishnaic Hebrew origin.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p><b>Rom. 1:12</b></p> <p><b>כְּמוֹכֶם כְּמוֹכִי</b><br/>kāmōkēm kāmōnī<br/>Like you (plural) like me</p> <p>Greek NT<br/>Among you ... among one another<br/>ἐν ὑμῖν ... ἐν ἀλλήλοις</p> | <p><b>Rom. 2:9</b></p> <p><b>וְצָרָה צָרָה</b><br/>šārā wəšūqā<br/>distress and trouble</p> <p>Greek NT<br/>tribulation and distress<br/>θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία</p> |
| <p><b>Rom. 3:9</b></p> <p><b>אִין אָפֶס</b><br/>ʾēṗes wə-ʾayin<br/>Null and naught</p> <p>Greek NT<br/>Not at all<br/>οὐ πάντως</p>  | <p><b>Rom. 3:16</b></p> <p><b>וְשָׁבַר שָׁבָר</b><br/>šōḇ wā-šəḇer<br/>robbery and wreckage</p> <p>Greek NT<br/>Ruin and misery<br/>Σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία</p>   |

<sup>144</sup> Forbes, A. Dean, 'Collocation: Biblical Hebrew,' Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics, edited by Geoffrey Khan. Consulted online on 30/06/2023.

<sup>145</sup> Shvitiel, Avihai, 'Collocation', Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics, edited by Geoffrey Khan. Consulted online 30/06/2023.

<sup>146</sup> Berlin, Adele, Grammatical Aspects of Biblical Parallelism, Hebrew Union College Annual, Vol. 50, Hebrew Union College Press, 1979, p. 18.

<sup>147</sup> <https://www.morfix.co.il> gives instead the alternative translation for 'Null and naught' **בְּטָל וּמְבַטֵּל** bəṭāʾel u-məḇuṭāl.

<sup>148</sup> <https://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il>

### 3.1.1.6 Circumlocutions

Given that the Haskalah current headed by Smolenskin and others understood their quest for uncorrupted Hebrew to mean abstaining from Mishnaic Hebrew terms and grammar, from Aramaisms, and from Hebrew expressions, whose meaning had changed when incorporated into Yiddish,<sup>149</sup> Salkinson, like other Haskalah wordsmiths, not only inserted metaphorical constructions to compose indigenous texts, but also resorted to circumlocutions,<sup>150</sup> and to the use of hapax legomena<sup>151</sup> to make up for the de facto shortage in Biblical Hebrew expressions.

Circumlocutions are common in Salkinson's Romans 1–5. His usage of several words to convey a concise Greek expression is evidenced in a phrase from Romans 1:27 that shows how Salkinson avoided social embarrassment by resorting to an indirect wording.

חָדְלוּ מִבּוֹא אֶל-הַנָּשִׁים כְּדֶרֶךְ כָּל-הָאָרֶץ

ḥāḏilū mib-bō' el-hanāšīm kə-derek kāl-hā-'āreṣ

they ceased to come to women like the way of all the world

**Greek NT:** having left the natural use the female

ἀφέντες τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας

The expression used by Salkinson בּוֹא אֶל-הַנָּשִׁים 'come to the women' is a circumlocution for the 'natural use of the female' already attested in the Tanakh, Ruth 4:13.

וַתְּהִי-לּוֹ לְאִשָּׁה וַיָּבֹא אֵלֶיהָ וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה לָהּ הָרִיוּן וַתֵּלֶד בֵּן

wa-təhi-lō lə-'iššā way-yābō' 'ēlehā way-yitēn YHWH lāh hērāyyōn wa-tēled bēn

In contrast Delitzsch renders Romans 1:27 with the term תַּשְׁמִישׁ tašmīš employed for sexual intercourse in Yoma 8 in the Mishnah.<sup>152</sup>

עָזְבוּ אֶת-תַּשְׁמִישׁ הָאִשָּׁה כְּדָרְכָהּ

'āzbū 'et-tašmīš hā'iššā kəḏarkāh

they left the usual intercourse with a woman

Delitzsch' wordsmithing might have appeared somewhat blunt in the eyes of Salkinson's Jewish readership.

As already anticipated by Salkinson in a letter to Delitzsch,<sup>153</sup> even circumlocution would not suffice. Despite his commitment to refrain from non-Biblical Hebrew expressions even Salkinson had to avail himself of Aramaisms. A possible example could be the frequently occurring אַךְ עַל פִּי 'al pī 'although'.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>149</sup> A Yiddish-speaking Hebrew author could easily draw from thousands of Hebrew words that were used in Yiddish. Frieden Ken, *Innovation by Translation, Yiddish and Hasidic Hebrew in Literary History*, p. 421, Syracuse University, 2008.

<sup>150</sup> An indirect way of saying something, especially something unpleasant. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org>, accessed 08/05/2023.

<sup>151</sup> Words or forms of words that occur once only in the Hebrew Tanakh. Of the about 1,500 attested occurrences only 400 are, strictly speaking, hapax legomena, in that they cannot be derived in their formation or in their specific meaning from other occurring stems. <https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7236-hapax-legomena>, accessed 08/05/2023.

<sup>152</sup> Jastrow, M, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, Luzac & Co., London, New York, 1903.

<sup>153</sup> Salkinson's letter to Delitzsch 1877: 'I hope to be able to make a tolerable pure Hebrew version, there will of course be exceptions [...] but they will not affect the whole.' Delitzsch, Franz, *In Self-Defence: Critical Observations on my Hebrew New Testament (with letters from Isaac Salkinson)*, p. 138, The Expository Times, February 1889.

<sup>154</sup> Shitrit, Talya, "Aramaic Loanwords and Borrowing", in: *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, Edited by: Geoffrey Khan, Brill, Leiden 2013.

## 3.2 Translation or Paraphrase?

Given the large number of idiomatic constructions, Salkinson's himself raised the question if his Hebrew NT version should not, after all, be considered a paraphrase rather than a dynamic translation. He voiced his uncertainty in this matter in a letter to his employer, the London Society that in 1877 had started a new branch of its missionary operations focusing on producing Christian literature.

I felt myself frequently driven to employ several words in the translation for one word in the original and even to resort to almost what might be called a paraphrase.<sup>155</sup>

The answer he received in October of 1877 stated that the publisher was ...

... quite willing, that he should act on the rule, when a Greek word had no equivalent in biblical Hebrew, he should instead of using a word of later age, or worse still Hebraising a Greek one, employ such a combination of words in the classical language, as shall most precisely convey the required sense to one, who is very familiar with the diction of the Old Testament.

But do it sparingly so that no one shall have reason to say, that your work is an elegant paraphrase rather than a faithful translation.<sup>156</sup>

Salkinson's opponents reacted quite differently to his usage of idiomatic constructions. Samuel Rolles Driver commented in his article 'Two Hebrew Translations' on Salkinson's work: 'It is throughout sadly disfigured by unidiomatic constructions and ungrammatical forms.'<sup>157</sup>

Driver's verdict on these 'unidiomatic constructions' was not endorsed by contemporary Jewish scholars, who – as pointed out in section 2.1 – claimed that Christian Hebraists lacked sufficient knowledge of Hebrew idioms and their usage.<sup>158</sup>

By 'lacking' in knowledge they referred to the fact that the Hebraists were unfamiliar with the idiomatic, spontaneous vernacular already spoken in 1886. Or rather, still spoken. Ginsburg maintained that Hebrew was the *Lingua Franca*, spoken by Jews outside of Europe in the 1800s.<sup>159</sup>

Neither Driver nor Gesenius were able to fully interpret this idiomatic vernacular, as the lack of references to Hebrew idioms in their publications demonstrates.<sup>160</sup>

Comprehensive studies on Biblical Hebrew Style were not undertaken until the 1900s. As late as 1999 Jean-Marc Babut states in his 'Idiomatic expression of the Hebrew Bible' that to his knowledge 'there have been no in-depth studies devoted to idiomatic expressions in Biblical Hebrew' and that his study 'explores practically virgin territory.'<sup>161</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup> Salkinson, Isaac E., Mr. W. Carruthers and his Client 'Dr.' Joseffy, An examination of his Narrative and Statement,' Carl Fromme, 1880, p. 31-32.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>157</sup> Expositor, April 1886, pp. 260-275.

<sup>158</sup> Quarterly Records, July 1886, p. 25.

<sup>159</sup> Quarterly Records, July 1885, p. 12, Quarterly Records, October 1887, p. 17.

<sup>160</sup> Lübke, J.C., in 'Idioms in the Old Testament': 'It is somewhat surprising that none of the commonly used lexica of Brown, Driver and Briggs (BOB), Koehler Baumgartner (KB), The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon (HAL), and Holladay make any mention of idioms in their introduction, nor do they list the word 'idiom' in their lists of abbreviations of common and technical terms.' Journal for Semitics, Vol. 11/1, 2002, p. 56.

<sup>161</sup> Lübke, J.C., citing Jean-Marc Babut 1999:3 and 1999:10, Journal for Semitics, vol. 11/1, 2002, p. 88.

### 3.3 Communicative Features

Salkinson not only availed himself of figures of speech and a translation style the Jewish public had been acquainted with for centuries, like *Domestication* and *Meliṣa*, but also resorted to underlying *Communicative Features* that had followed his people from their ancestral home before *diaspora* times.<sup>162</sup> Some of the features that Salkinson's audience found attractive were related to speech habits and modes of expression typical for Semitic languages, in contrast to the predominant languages in the central European cultures.

These traits seem to be more prominent in Salkinson's translation than in the IBS NT 1976. In the 1800s features like the high frequency of rhetorical questions<sup>163</sup> provided cultural cues appealing to a Jewish readership pursuing cultural affirmation. Thence, Salkinson was accused of being populist, thriving on the poor taste of the public.<sup>164</sup>

#### 3.3.1 Intensifying through Duplication

Biblical Hebrew employs *Duplication*, the repetition of a word, or its root, to reinforce the significance of the word, or to apply some kind of stress.<sup>165</sup> It is referred to as the strongest means of emphasis available in Biblical Hebrew.<sup>166</sup> An entry in 'A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar' states:

When a speaker has used this construction, a listener would not be able to claim at a later date that the [speaker] had not expressed [himself] clearly enough.<sup>167</sup>

But this communicative feature is not readily accessible outside its own language sphere, a dilemma evident already in the Septuagint. The translators had difficulties rendering the correct meaning of *infinitive absolutes* appearing together with *cognate verbs* and therefore resorted to a literalistic translation in unidiomatic Koine Greek. This practice Salkinson sought to counter in his indigenous version of the NT using a form typical for Biblical Hebrew but missing in Modern Hebrew. His version of Romans 1–5 gives proof of this, as seen in Romans 1:11.

נִכְסֹף נִכְסַפְתִּי לִרְאֹתְכֶם

niksōṭ-ṇiksap̄tī lir'ōṭkēm

longing I longed to see you

Greek NT: ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς

I long to see you.

In Salkinson's rendering Shaul expressed his unwavering determination to come, with a culturally sensitive circumlocution 'longing I longed' to see you.

<sup>162</sup> In the Tanakh Communicative Features from the 2nd millennium BCE are documented as in Gen. 23:15 אֲדֹנִי שְׁמַעְנִי אָרְךָ : '400 Shekel, what is this between you and me?' The speaker, instead stating that the price is 400 Shekels, formulates a question. Or as in Judges 4:9 וְתֹאמַר הָלֶךְ אִלַּי עִמָּךְ 'And I will surely go with you,' a duplication is employed to intensify the assertion.

<sup>163</sup> Laith Hassan Mohamed, Figurative Interrogative in Semitic languages - A comparative study, Lark Journal for Philosophy, Linguistics and Social Science, Vol.2, Iraq 2022, 2, p.1054.

<sup>164</sup> Kaufmann, R. David, Delitzsch, Franz, Ein Palmbiad, 1890, p. 302.

<sup>165</sup> Callahan, Scott N., Modality and the Biblical Hebrew Infinitive Absolute, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2010.

<sup>166</sup> Ewald, G.H., Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament, trans. James Kennedy, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1879, p. 162.

<sup>167</sup> Christo H. J. Van der Merwe, Jackie A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze, A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar, BLH 3, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Richard S. Hess, Sheffield Academic Press, 1999, p. 158.

Another example is found in Romans 3:3.

וְמָה אֵיפָא אִם-מִקְצָתָם לֹא הֶאֱמִינוּ הֶהָפֵר יִפִּיר חֹסֶר אֱמוּנָתָם אֶת-אֱמוּנַת אֱלֹהִים  
U-māh 'ēpō' im-miqṣāṭām lō he'ēmīnū **hehāpēr yāpīr** ḥosēr 'ēmūnāṭām et-'ēmūnat  
'ēlohīm?

What if a few did not believe, does their lack of faith **'to violate' violate** the faithfulness of God?

**Greek NT:** τί γάρ εἰ ἡπίσθησάν τινες μὴ ἡ ἀπιστία αὐτῶν τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ καταργήσῃ

What if some disbelieved? Their unbelief will not nullify the faithfulness of God.

Romans 1–5 displays the usage of duplication only sparingly, indicating that Salkinson deliberately singled out passages not out of stylistic considerations only, but rather to pass on a 'message within the message' to his own Speech Community.<sup>168</sup> By duplicating the verb in verse 3, he inserted a statement about the incorruptibility of his message.

### 3.3.2 Questions Rather Than Assertions

A typical trait for the Jewish speech community appears to be the prominence of rhetorical questions.<sup>169</sup> The overall frequency of questions in Hebrew literature is noticeable both in the Hebrew Tanakh and in the Talmud, and even in the emerging Haskalah Hebrew and Yiddish fiction of the 1800s.<sup>170</sup>

Besides overt questions, the Tanakh incorporates numerous *unmarked* questions 'that are largely unrecognized,' as a 2018 study points out, demonstrating that a change of modality marked by cues may indicate that a phrase should be translated as a question rather than as a statement. Or, when appropriate, that a simple question should be rendered as a *rhetorical* question. Such cues include a change in word order, or a specific response to an assertion, indicating that it was, in actual fact, a question. Even the insertion of particles primarily not associated with the interrogative modality, as the particles **נָא** na' and **אָף כִּי** 'aḥ kī, can evidence the occurrence of a question.<sup>171</sup>

A. An example highlighting the usage of **אָף כִּי** 'aḥ kī in the Tanakh is found in Genesis 3:1.<sup>172</sup>

**אָף כִּי אָמַר אֱלֹהִים לֹא תִכְלוּ מִכָּל עֵץ הָגֶן:**

'aḥ kī 'āmar 'ēlohīm lō ṭoklū mik-kol 'ēṣ ha-gān?

Has God indeed said, you shall not eat of every tree of the garden?

B. The particle **'aḥ kī** appears frequently in Salkinson's translation of Romans 1–5. In 4:18, 5:9, 5:10, 5:14, 5:17 **'aḥ kī** is in fact used to initiate a question. For the most part this coincides with questions being used in the Greek, but not so in 3:11 or 5:9. In these verses

<sup>168</sup> Speech communities are groups that share values and attitudes about language use, varieties and practices. These communities develop through prolonged interaction among those who operate within these shared and recognized beliefs and value systems regarding forms and styles of communication. Oxford Reference, accessed 24/02/2023.

<sup>169</sup> A rhetorical question is a question that serves as a pragmatic assertion, implying its own answer. J. Schmidt-Radefeldt, 'On So-called 'Rhetorical' Questions,' *Journal of Pragmatics* 1, 1977, p. 375.

<sup>170</sup> Mendele Moykher Sforim, in his 1864 Yiddish publication *Dos Kleine Menshele*, portrays the centrality of questioning to Jewish speech. 'Jews lead with questions, and questions are followed by more questions.' Kraemer D., *Talmud Talk and Jewish Talk*, *A Journal of Yiddish Studies*, June 2020, p. 5.

<sup>171</sup> Robar, Elisabeth, *Unmarked Modality and Rhetorical Questions in Biblical Hebrew*, *Semitic Linguistics and Manuscripts: A Liber Discipulorum in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Khan*, Uppsala University, 2018.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

Salkinson, for the sake of ‘communicating naturally,’ converts an assertion in the Greek text into a rhetorical question in the Hebrew.

Salkinson renders Romans 5:9:

אָפּ נִי-עַתָּה אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר נִצְדָּקְנוּ בְּדַמּוֹתוֹשֶׁע לָנוּ יְדוּ לְהַמְלִיט מִחֶרֶם-אָפּ:

ʾap̄ kī-ʿatā ʾahārē ʾāšer nišdaqnū bə-ḏāmo tōšaʿ lā-nu yāḏō lə-himālēt mē-ḥārōn-ʾāp̄

If now after vi have been justified through his blood, **should not** his hand save us to escape the heat of his anger?

**Greek NT:** Πολλῷ οὖν μᾶλλον δικαιωθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ σωθησόμεθα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς

Much therefore more having been justified now by the blood of Him, we will be saved of Him from the wrath.

C. In Romans 3:11 Salkinson, by inserting הַיֵּשׁ ḥă-yēš, introduces the interrogative modality.

הַיֵּשׁ מְשַׁכֵּיל דֹרֵשׁ אֶת-אֱלֹהִים

ḥă-yēš maškīl dōrēš ʾet-ʾēlohīm?

Is there someone with understanding, who seeks God?

In the 1886 edition Salkinson’s rendering was revised:

אֵין מְשַׁכֵּיל אֵין דֹרֵשׁ אֶת-אֱלֹהִים

ʾēn maškīl ʾēn dorēš ʾet-ʾēlohīm

There is none who is understanding, there is none seeking God.

**Corresponding to the Greek:** οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν Θεόν

The example shows plainly that the switch from indigenous Hebrew to literally translated Greek, replacing a question with an assertion, affects the meta message of the text.

### 3.4 Domestication – Specific Renderings

Not only by giving NT persons and places names from the Tanakh, but also by employing well-known Tanakh expressions wherever possible, Salkinson subtly applied the technique of *Domestication* he had so skillfully practiced in his Shakespeare translations.<sup>173</sup> By his choice of specific renderings, Salkinson made clear in which cultural fold he wanted to position his Hebrew NT. To illustrate how individual expressions influenced the cultural message of the text, two examples from Salkinson’s translation of Romans 1–5 will be given and contrasted to Delitzsch’ renderings.

A. One of the terms showing Salkinson’s preference for Tanakh Hebrew is his choice of להקִיץ ‘to waken’ for ‘to resurrect.’ In the Tanakh the term is attested in connection with death, which is often referred to as sleep. Sleep as a metonym for death is found in Daniel 12:2.

רַבִּים מִיִּשְׁנֵי אֲדָמַת-עָפָר יִקְיָצוּ

wə-rabbīm mī-y-yašēnē ʾadmat-ʿāpār yāqīṣū.

And many of those who sleep in dust of the earth will **awaken**.

<sup>173</sup> Recent research of his translation of Othello and Romeo and Juliet has shown that the quotations from the Hebrew Tanakh and the Talmud were not applied randomly but fitted the occasion. In his Brit HaHadashah Salkinson only employed allusions to the Tanakh. Weissbrod, Rachel, and Magence, Avishai, Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature, 2020.



Therefore, it is not surprising that in Romans 1:14 Salkinson translates the Greek phrase ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν ‘by resurrection [from the] dead’ with:

בְּהִקְיָצוֹ מִיַּד הַמֵּתִים  
ba-hāqīṣō min-ham-mēṭīm

in waking him from the dead

Delitzsch on the other hand employed a term from the Targum<sup>174</sup> תְּחִיָּה ṭəḥiy-yā which denotes to revive, to live again. Romans 1:14 according to Delitzsch:

בְּתִחְיָתוֹ מִבֵּין הַמֵּתִים  
bi-ṭəḥiy-yāto mib-bēyn ham-mēṭīm  
In the resurrection from (among) the dead

According to Strong’s Concordance, Delitzsch’s expression is not attested in the Tanakh. But Jastrow’s 1903 Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature, displays several entries with תְּחִיָּה ṭəḥiy-yā, documenting Delitzsch’s professed preference for Mishnaic Hebrew and the language of those who employed the post-biblical literature, the Talmudic scholars.

B. Another term, employed by Salkinson in line with his ambition to position the NT in the cultural context of the Tanakh, is his use of אָרֶץ ʾereṣ, signifying ‘earth’ or ‘land,’ instead of עֲלָם ʿōlām, used by Delitzsch, for the Greek ‘world,’ κόσμος *cosmos*.

Salkinson’s classification of עֲלָם ʿōlām ‘in the sense of cosmos’ as ‘Hebrew-Aramaic’ in his letter to the Trinitarian Society,<sup>175</sup> discussing his translation principles, reflects the semantic shift the lexeme underwent in its transition from Biblical Hebrew to Mishnaic Hebrew. In the Tanakh עֲלָם ʿōlām denotes time unending, ‘eternity,’ as seen in Jer. 20:17 or 1 Chron. 16:36.

מִן־הָעוֹלָם וְעַד הָעוֹלָם  
min-hā-ʿōlām wə-ʿad hā-ʿōlām

JPS: from eternity to eternity

‘Cosmos’ in the sense of ‘universe’ Salkinson translates with the Biblical Hebrew אָרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם ʾereṣ wə-šāmayim, ‘earth and heaven.’ Accordingly, Salkinson translates ‘from the creation of the world,’ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, in Romans 1:20:

מִיּוֹם בְּרָא אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם  
miy-yōm bārā ʾereṣ wə-šāmayim  
from the day he created earth and heaven

In contrast, Delitzsch renders ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου in Romans 1:20:

מֵעֵת בְּרָא הָעוֹלָם  
mē-ʿet nibrā hā-ʿōlām  
from the time **the universe** was created

In line with his intention to employ post-biblical Hebrew, Delitzsch translated Romans 4:13 τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου ‘that Abraham should be the heir of the world:’

הַבְּטָחָה לְאַבְרָהָם אִו לְזָרְעוֹ לִהְיוֹת יִרְשׁ הָעוֹלָם  
ha-habṭāḥā la-ʾabrāhām ʾō la-zarʿō lih-yōt yōrēš hā-ʿōlām  
the promise to Abraham or his seed to be heir of **the world**

<sup>174</sup> Jastrow M., A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature, 1903.

<sup>175</sup> Quarterly Records, October 1886, p. 5.

Salkinson, on the other hand, does not render κόσμου 'world' in Romans 4:13 with נַשְׁמַיִם אָרֶץ but rather with **hā-ʿāreṣ**.

הַבְּטָחָה לְאַבְרָהָם לְהִיט יוֹרֵשׁ הָאָרֶץ הוּא וְזָרְעוֹ אַחֲרָיו  
ha-habṭāḥā lə-ʾavrāḥām lihyōt yōrēš **hā-ʿāreṣ** hūʾ wə-zarʿō ʾaḥārāw  
the promise to Abraham to be the heir of **the land**, he and his seed after him

His rendering is in line with the wording of Genesis 15:7.

לָתֶת לְךָ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְרִשְׁתָּהּ  
lāṭet lə-kā et-**hā-ʿāreṣ haz-zoʾt** lə-rišṭā  
to give you **this land** as inheritance

Since in Genesis 15:7 **hā-ʿāreṣ haz-zoʾt** clearly does not refer to the earth in general but to a specific stretch of land that Abraham would inherit after leaving the land of the Chaldeans, Salkinson seemingly interpreted Romans 4:13 in the light of Genesis 15:7.

This example seems to indicate that Salkinson viewed the Hebrew Tanakh as the reliable, authoritative text source, contrary to Luther's explicit policy of always interpreting difficult passages in the Tanakh on the basis of the NT wording. In this context it is noteworthy that even the Greek translation of the Tanakh, the Septuagint,<sup>176</sup> conducted by Hellenistic Jews in the 3rd century BCE, was given the status of 'authoritative source text' by Christian theologians, for example in the Orthodox Church.<sup>177</sup> The text of the Septuagint differs in numerous passages from the Hebrew Tanakh. It was therefore generally not embraced by the Jewish audience that Salkinson targeted. On the contrary, the Septuagint had come to be associated with the Christian New Testament that, as it were, follows the text of the Septuagint translation rather than the original Hebrew Tanakh.

When Salkinson ruled out translating the Greek Tanakh quotations in the NT into Hebrew, he, in effect, ruled out the employment of the Greek Septuagint translation.

Two examples from Romans 1–5, relating to this issue, will be discussed.

Firstly, Rom. 3:14 in the Greek NT:

ὅν τὸ στόμα ἀρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει  
of whom the mouth is full of cursing and **bitterness**

Salkinson renders Rom. 3:14:

אֱלֹהֵי פִי־הוּ מָלֵא וּמְרִמּוֹת  
pīhū mālēʾ **ūmirmōt**  
his mouth is full of **deceit**

Salkinson's rendering literally follows Psalm 10:7. The Septuagint, however, renders Ps. 10:7 (found in Ps. 9:28, since the Septuagint follows an older tradition of numbering than in the Masoretic text):

πικρίας καὶ δόλου ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ  
and **bitterness** and **treachery** under his tongue

Both adjectives, 'bitter' employed in the Greek NT and 'deceit' in the Hebrew Tanakh are accounted for in the Septuagint. Viewing the Septuagint as the authoritative source for the

<sup>176</sup> The central literary work of Hellenistic Judaism and early Christianity.

<sup>177</sup> C.B.Cranfield, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Volume 1, T&T Clark LTD, Edinburgh, 1975, pp. 170-71.

NT translation would allow for either adjective. But for Salkinson, who did not embrace the idea of a Greek source text, replacing **deceitful** with **bitter** was apparently no option.

It is therefore surprising that even Salkinson's 1885 edition displays a forthright Septuagint quotation. In Rom. 2:24 Salkinson follows the Septuagint rendering of Isaiah 52:5, not the Hebrew Tanakh.

The Septuagint version of Is. 52:5:

δι' ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται (βλασφημεῖται) ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν  
Through you, through all, my name is blasphemed in the nation.

Salkinson renders Rom. 2:24:

בגללכם שם אלהים מְחָלָל בְּגוֹיִם  
biglalkem šēm hā'ēlohīm məḥūllāl baggōyīm  
Because of you the name of the Lord was blasphemed in the nations.

In spite of Salkinson's professed principles this rendering does not follow the Hebrew text of Is. 52:5 in the Tanakh.

לָקַח עַמִּי חַנָּם מִשְׁלוֹ יְהִילִילוּ נָאִם יְהוָה וְתַמִּיד כָּל־הַיּוֹם שְׁמִי מִנָּחָץ  
lūqqah 'amī ḥinam mōšəlōw yəhēlīlū num YHVH wəṭāmīd kōl-hay-yōm šmī minnō'āš  
My people were taken away for nothing, his suppressors howl, word of the Lord,  
unceasingly all day long my name is being defamed.

In the verse, neither the words 'through you' nor 'among the nations' occur, nor is any mention made of the people of Israel being responsible for the defamation of God's name among the nations. The Septuagint adds this element of blame shifting, making Salkinson's choice, as it were, unexpected.

One may speculate that the Septuagint phrase was not part of Salkinson's original translation from 1885 but rather inserted by his editor, Ginsburg. But it seems more likely that Salkinson chose to follow the Septuagint version because of its link to yet another Tanakh passage that speaks of the desecration of God's holy name, Ezekiel 36:20 ff.

#### Ez. 36:20

וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־בָּאוּ שָׁם וַיַּחֲלִלוּ אֶת־שֵׁם קְדֹשִׁי בְּאֶמֶר לָהֶם עַם־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי וּמֵאֲרָצוֹ יֵצְאוּ  
way-yābō el-hag-gōyim 'ašer-bā'ū šām wa-yəḥalləlū 'et-šēm qāḏšī be'emōr lāhem 'am YHVH  
'ēlle ū-mē-'aršō yāš'ū

And when they came to the nations wherever they came to, my holy name was profaned when it was said that they are the people of the Lord and they had to leave His land.

#### Ez 36:21

וְאֶחָמַל עַל־שֵׁם קְדֹשִׁי אֲשֶׁר חָלְלֵהוּ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּגוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־בָּאוּ שָׁמָּה  
wā'-eḥmol 'al-šēm qāḏšī 'ašer ḥilləlūhū bēt yiśrā'el bag-gōyim 'ašer-bā'ū šāmma  
But I had concern for my holy name, which the house of Israel had profaned among the nations.

Apparently Shaul (Paul), to bring home his point in his argumentation in Romans, made use of the Septuagint rendering to combine Is. 52:2 with Ez. 36:20 ff. This suggestion was put

forward in a commentary,<sup>178</sup> published in Edinburgh a hundred years after Salkinson graduated from theology studies in the same city. Judging from his translation of Rom 2:24, Salkinson seems to have thought along the same lines.

## 3.5 Comparisons of Diverging Translations

Having examined a variety of individual features in Romans 1-5, the following section will attempt to give a more systematic overview by presenting charts with one text sequence in different translations. The versions will be compared as follows:

1. Salkinson 1885 to Salkinson 1886
2. Salkinson 1885 to Delitzsch 1877
3. Delitzsch 1877 to the Modern Hebrew Translation from 1976

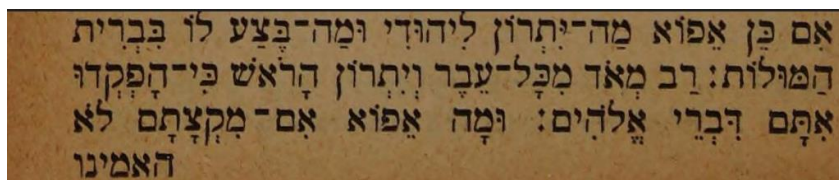
The text portion chosen is Romans 3:1-11. The features sought after in the comparison are Haskalah Hebrew stylistic traits, as *Meliša*, *Shibbuš*, Duplication, Mishnaic Hebrew influences, Communicative as well as other linguistic traits discussed in the survey.

### 3.5.1 Salkinson 1885 to Salkinson 1886

The first chart on display shows the Revised Edition from 1886 that all subsequent versions are based upon, including the version that is currently circulated.

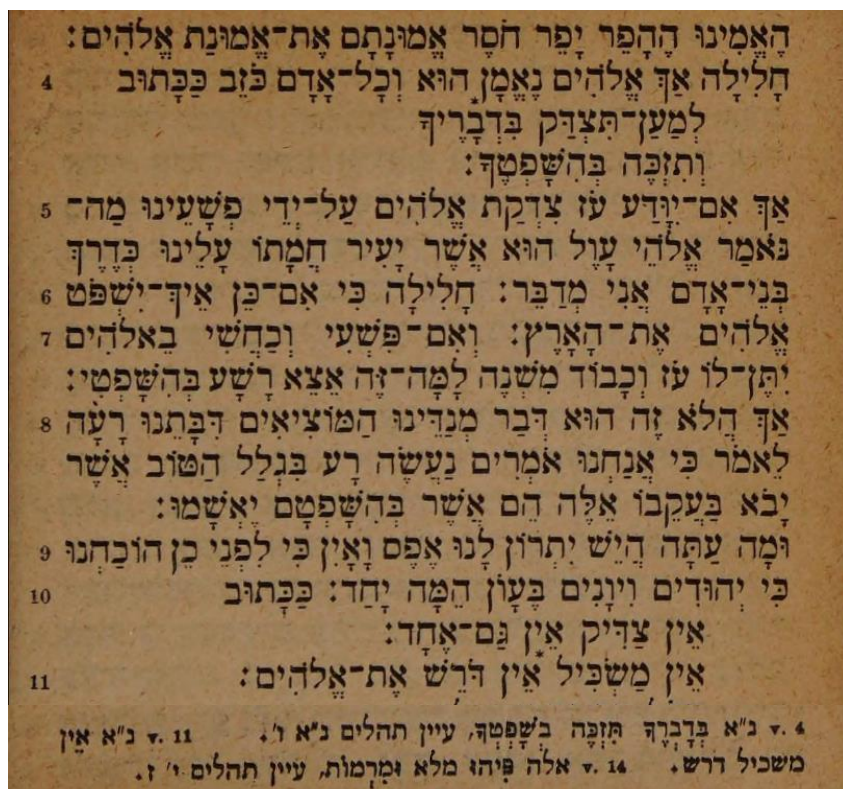
The 1886 edition was subjected to a major revision only months after the printing of the first edition. As described in 2.4.2.1, the publishers had distanced themselves from Salkinson's policy of only employing original Hebrew quotations.

To visualize the change the revision affected, a photocopy of Romans 3:1-11 is presented. As shown, the original quotations from the Tanakh are no longer included, nor are the translated Greek quotes homogeneously inserted as in the Hebrew *Shibbuš* tradition. The ensuing loss of subtlety can best be illustrated by an example from one of Salkinson's Shakespeare translations. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Salkinson translates the English 'She speaks, yet she says nothing' with a Hebrew phrase equivalent to 'Her lips are moving like one who speaks, but her voice is not heard,' thus inserting a phrase from 1 Samuel, and creating a link to Hanah's heartfelt prayer. The biblical reference was instantly recognizable to readers of the Hebrew text.<sup>179</sup>



<sup>178</sup> C. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Volume 1, T&T Clark LTD, Edinburgh, 1975, pp. 170-71.

<sup>179</sup> Kahn, L., 'Judaisation in the First Hebrew Translation of *Romeo and Juliet*', University College London, 2017, p. 25.



In the following chart of Salkinson 1885 the passages marked in bold are renderings that differ from the 1886 revised version. The translation is mine.

| Romans 3:1-11  | אגרת פולוס השליח אל־הרומים ג   |
|--|--|
| 1 If so, then what is the advantage for the Jew and what is the gain for him in the ritual of circumcision?  | אם בן אפוא מה־יתרון ליהודי ומה־בצע לו בברית המולות   |
| 2 Much indeed from all points of view and the advantage is major because with them God's words have been deposited.  | רב מאד מכל־עבר ויתרון הראש כי־הפקדו אתם דברי אלהים   |
| 3 And what then, if a few do not believe, does their lack in faith breach the faithfulness of God?   | ומה אפוא אם־מקצתם לא האמינו ההפך יפר חסר אמונתם את־אמונת אלהים   |
| 4 Far be it from me! God, he is truthful, but every man is false, as it is written, so that you will be righteous in your words and will be acquitted in your judgments.     | חללה אף אלהים נאמן הוא וכל־אדם כזב ככתוב למען־תצדק בדבריך ותזכה בשפטך                                  |
| 5 But if the power of God's righteousness is made known through our transgressions, what shall we say? Is God unjust who arouses his anger against us? I speak like a human. | אף אם־יודע עז צדקת אלהים על־ידי פשעינו מה־נאמר אלהי עול הוא אשר יעיר חמתו ועלינו כדרך בני־אדם אני מדבר |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 6 Far be it from me! For if this is so, how could God judge the earth?  | חללה כי אם-כן אר-ישפט אלהים את-הארץ   |
| 7 However, if my transgression and my fraudulence against God give him might and honour, why is it that I appear as a criminal when I am judged?  | ואולם אם-פשעי וכחשי באלהים יתן-לו עז וכבוד משנה למה-זה אצא רשע בהשפטי   |
| 8 So is this not a matter of making ourselves impure, causing evil slander, to say let us do evil because of the good that shall come on its heels, those who do this will be pronounced guilty when they are judged. | אף הלא זה הוא דבר מנדינו המוציאים דבתנו רעה לאמר כי אנחנו אמרים נעשה רע בגלל הטוב אשר יבא בעקבו אלה הם אשר בהשפטם יאשמו |
| 9 And what now, then, is there a gain for us? None at all, for we confirm that as upon the Jews so upon the Greeks, upon all are their iniquities.  | ומה עתה איפא היש יתרון לנו אפס ואין כי הוכחנו כי ביהודים כיונים כלם עונותם עליהם  |
| 10 As it is written that there is no one who righteous, not even one.   | ככתוב כי אין צדיק אין גם-אחד  |
| 11 <b>Is there anyone with wits</b> who seeks God?  | היש משכיל דרש את-אלהים  |

A significant textual change is evident in verse 11, demonstrating not only the publisher's adherence to the Septuagint renderings, but also the impact of the 1886 revision on Hebrew language culture and patterns of communication, by turning the question into a statement. See discussion in 3.3.2

### 3.5.2 Salkinson 1885 to Delitzsch

In the comparison of Salkinson's original text from 1885 to Delitzsch 1877 more of the characteristics discussed in this study will become apparent. The following chart displays Delitzsch 1877 translation of Romans 3:1-11.

The 1877 version constitutes Delitzsch' first unrevised edition (to be followed by ten revisions conducted by Delitzsch himself). He related that seeing Salkinson's first edition in 1885 had been an 'eye opener.' Delitzsch also mentioned that he had made good use of some of Salkinson's renderings, 'happy hits,' as he called them, implying that Salkinson's work depended on luck rather than competence. These alterations were not yet included in the 1877 version presented here.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Romans 3:1-11  | אגרת פולוס השליח אל הרומיים ג                |
| 1 And now what is the Jews' benefit and what is the advantage of the circumcision? | ועתה מה-הוא יתרון היהודי ומה-היא תועלת המילה |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| 2 Much from all point of views from the beginning for by them God's word was administered.   | <b>הַרְבֵּה מִכָּל-פְּנִים בְּרֹאשׁוֹן כִּי-הִפְקִדוּ בְיָדָם דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים</b>   |
| 3 For what does it matter if a few of them did not believe, does the absence of their faith annul God' faithfulness?   | <b>כִּי מֵה-הוּא אִם-מִקְצָתָם<br/>לֹא הָאֱמִינִי הִיבְטֵל חֲסֵרוֹן אֱמוּנָתָם אֶת-אֱמוּנַת אֱלֹהִים</b>  |
| 4 Heaven forbid but it is so that God he is true but all men are false, as it is written, so that will be righteous in your words and will be acquitted in your judgments. | <b>חֲלִילָה אֲבָל יְהִי-כֵן כִּי הָאֵל הוּא הַנָּאֶמֶן וְכָל-הָאָדָם כֹּזֵב<br/>כַּכְּתוּב לְמַעַן תִּצְדַּק בְּדִבְרֶךָ תִּזְכֶּה בְּשִׁפְטֶךָ</b>                                 |
| 5 And if so, he whose transgression exalts God's righteousness, what shall we say, is injustice in God when he sends out his fury. I am talking like human.                | <b>וְאִם-כֵּן הוּא אֲשֶׁר עוֹלָתָנוּ תְּרִימָם אֶת-צְדָקַת הָאֱלֹהִים<br/>מֵה-נֹאמַר הִישָׁ-עוֹל בְּאֱלֹהִים בְּשַׁלַּח אֶת-קֶצֶפוֹ בְּדֶרֶךְ<br/>בְּנֵי-אָדָם אֲנֹכִי מַדְבֵּר</b> |
| 6 Heaven forbid, if so how could God judge the world?  | <b>חֲלִילָה שָׂאֵם-כֵּן אִיר-יִשְׁפֹּט הָאֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָעֹלָם</b>   |
| 7 For if by falsehood God's truth is made bigger and erupts into his praise, why is that I still will be judged as a transgressor?   | <b>כִּי אִם-עַל-יְדֵי כֹזֵבִי אֲמַת אֱלֹהִים תִּרְבֶּה וּתִפְרָץ<br/>לְתַהֲלֹתוֹ לָמָּה זֶה גַם-אֲשַׁפֵּט עוֹד כַּחוּטָא</b>  |
| 8 And why not do so, there is a curse on him who says, let us do bad so that good will result. Their judgement will come upon them justifiably.                            | <b>וּמַדּוּעַ לֹא נַעֲשֶׂה כְּאֲשֶׁר יֵשׁ מִחֲרָפִים אֲתָנוּ<br/>לֵאמֹר אֲמַרִים הֵם נַעֲשֶׂה הָרַע לְמַעַן יֵצֵא הַטוֹב אֲשֶׁר<br/>דִּינָם יָבֹא עֲלֵיהֶם בְּצֶדֶק</b>             |
| 9 And now what is it, is there for us an advantage? Not at all, as we already proved for as the Jews so the Greeks, all are under the sin.                                 | <b>וְעַתָּה מֵה-הוּא הִישָׁ-לָנוּ יִתְרוֹן לֹא-בִשּׁוּם דְּבַר בְּאֲשֶׁר<br/>כָּבָר הוֹכַחְנוּ לְמַעַלָּה כִּי גַם-הַיְּהוּדִים גַּם הַיּוֹנִים כֻּלָּם הֵם<br/>תַּחַת הַחַטָּא</b> |
| 10 As it is written there is no one who is righteous, not even one.  | <b>בַּכְּתוּב אֵין צְדִיק אֵין גַּם-אֶחָד</b>   |





retained because of the status of Delitzsch' NT. Messianic Jewish theologian Gershon Nerel calls it a 'Hebrew King James.'<sup>181</sup>

Today Delitzsch' Hebrew New Testament is published by the Trinitarian Bible Society together with the Ginsburg edition of the Bomberg/ben Chayyim Masoretic Old Testament in a single volume, called the Hebrew Bible.<sup>182</sup> This may appear surprising, considering Ginsburg's stance on Delitzsch' Hebrew. Since then, the Hebrew language has developed considerably and features much more Mishnaic Hebrew than Salkinson and his Haskalah contemporaries envisioned. Still, the question remains whether today's Hebrew NT, influenced, as it were, by Delitzsch' wordsmithing, despite its theological merits could be perceived as theoretical and 'outlandish' by the 'unconvinced,' as Salkinson put it when arguing for an 'indigenous' version in 1877.

In the following sample words occurring both in Delitzsch' first edition and in the Israeli Bible Society's Modern Hebrew NT from 1976 are marked in bold.

**IBS NT 1976, Romans 3:1–11**

- 1 **אם כן מהו יתרונו של היהודים או מה התועלת אשר במילה?**
- 2 **הרבה מכל הבחינות. ראשית כל בידיהם הפקדו דברי אלהים.**
- 3 **ואם יש שלא האמינו. אזי מה? האם יבטל חסר אמונתם את נאמנותו של אלהים?**
- 4 **חלילה. צריך שיכיר כי האלהים נאמן וכל אדם כוזב. ככתוב למען תצדק בדברך. תזכה בשפטך.**
- 5 **אבל אם רשעתנו מפגינה את הצדק של אלהים. מה נאמר? האם יש עול באלהים השופך את זעמו ואני מדבר מנקדת מבטו של האדם**
- 6 **הס וחלילה. שאם כן איר. ישפט אלהים את העולם ?**
- 7 **אך אם בגלל מרמתי משגשגת אמת האלהים לתהלתו מדוע עוד אשפט כתוטא?**
- 8 **ומדוע לא נעשה את הרע כדי שיצא טוב. כפי שמעלילים עלינו וטוענים כי כך אנו אומרים ? אכן משפט צדק נחרץ עליהם.**
- 9 **ובכן הטובים אנו מאחרים? לא כלל וכלל לא. שהרי כבר הוכחנו לעיל כי היהודים והגוים כאחד משעבדים כלם לחטא**
- 10 **ככתוב אין צדיק אין גם אחד.**
- 11 **אין משכיל אין דרש את-אלהים.**

<sup>181</sup> Nerel, Gershon, who initiated a new revised edition of Delitzsch' NT in 2003, referred to as the 'Sinai edition,' states in his article 'The Flagship of Hebrew New Testaments: A Recent Revision by Israeli Messianic Jews:' 'The authoritative status of the Franz Delitzsch Hebrew New Testament can be compared to the English Authorized Version, known popularly as the King James Bible.' *Mishkan* 41, 2004, pp. 49-56.

<sup>182</sup> The Ginsburg-Delitzsch Hebrew Bible: Ginsburg edition of the Bomberg/ben Chayyim Masoretic Old Testament and the Delitzsch translation of the New Testament, Trinitarian Bible Society, London, 1989.

## Conclusion

The aim of this survey was to investigate the background and motivation for the undertaking of a new translation of the New Testament into Hebrew in 1877, shortly after the publication of a Hebrew NT version by the acclaimed German Hebraist Prof. Franz Delitzsch.

The reason given by the proponents, Jewish translator Isaac Salkinson and his editor-to-be Christian D. Ginsburg, a renowned Jewish scholar, was the need for an idiomatic, indigenous translation for a Jewish audience. Salkinson and Ginsburg both perceived Hebrew as a living language and were dissatisfied with what they considered to be an artificially 'constructed' Hebrew in Delitzsch's version. Salkinson's vision was to reach his own Jewish subculture by employing its shared speech conventions, and by availing himself of the favoured literary trends of his generation.

In the survey Salkinson's translation style and idiomatic language usage was scrutinized and compared with the Greek original, and to some extent with Delitzsch's wordings – to assess to what degree the anticipated vision was realized. Salkinson's NT was shown to apply the language pursued in the Haskalah – the *Melishah* literary style, a richness of idioms and figurative language, all based on Biblical Hebrew. As presented, it was subsequently received with great enthusiasm by the intended Jewish target group.

But Salkinson's translation also provoked severe criticism by the Protestant supporters of the Christian mission to the Jews. The textual study showed that the second edition, published just one year after the first, was already heavily revised by the publisher. Salkinson's principle of basing his translation on the Biblical Hebrew of the Tanakh, including presenting all Old Testament quotes in the NT in the original Tanakh wording, rather than re-translating the exact Septuagint renderings, was 'relegated' to the margins.

Further, the linguistic study supported Salkinson's claim that the earlier translations were conducted in less-than-idiomatic Hebrew. Scientific literature on Hebrew idioms was scarce in the 1800s. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this field of research was still said to be a 'practically virgin territory.'

The study also suggests that the shifting perception of the Haskalah *Melishah* style towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, might have contributed to the diverging reception of the Salkinson-Ginsburg Hebrew New Testament.

In addition to these linguistic aspects divergences in the translation theories underlying Salkinson's and Delitzsch's translations were discerned, justifying two alternative Hebrew translations. Delitzsch's ambition had been to stay as close as possible to the Greek original, rendering it in the post-biblical Hebrew that in his view was spoken by the early disciples. Salkinson's approach was to prioritize the target language, and to appeal to his Haskalah readership by employing the venerated high language, Biblical Hebrew.

To summarize,

the reasons for the publishing of an alternative, idiomatic Hebrew translation of the New Testament could be shown as relating to

A. divergent translation theories: 'Dynamic Equivalence' rather than 'Formal Equivalence.'

B. divergent languages: Biblical Hebrew, rather than the Mishnaic Hebrew, the by the target group perceived low language.

C. divergent styles: the Meliṣah style of the Haskalah rather than soberness and literalism.

The relevance of the alternative translation for a Jewish public could be verified by the enthusiastic reception and rapid spread of the Salkinson-Ginsburg Brit ha-Ḥadashah.

# Bibliography

## *Primary Sources*

Salkinson-Ginsburg, Brit HaHadashah, Carl Fromme, Vienna, 1885.

Salkinson-Ginsburg, Brit HaHadashah, Carl Fromme, Vienna, 1886.

Greek NT Interlinear Bible Hub

Delitzsch, Franz, Brit HaHadashah, Leipzig, 1877.

Quarterly Records of the Trinitarian Society, London, 1885 to 1895.

## *Secondary Sources*

Brown, Keith, The Encyclopedia of Linguistics, Elsevier, 2005

Breuer, Mordechai, and Christian Wiese. 'Delitzsch, Franz,' *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, editors Michael Berenbaum, Fred Skolnik, 2nd ed., vol. 7, Macmillan Reference, USA, 2007.

Caird, G.B., The Language and Imagery of the Bible, Duckworth &Co., London, 1980.

Callaham, Scott N., Modality and the Biblical Hebrew Infinitive Absolute, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2010.

Clines, David J.A., The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, Sheffield Phoenix Press, Sheffield, 2009.

Cutter, Martha J., Editor's Introduction: Thick Historical and Cultural Contexts for the Study of Multi-Ethnic Literary Texts. MELUS: Multi-Ethnic Literature of the USA, vol. 39 no. 3, 2014, pp. 1-7. Project MUSE, [muse.jhu.edu/article/550252](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/550252).

Cranfield, C.B., A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Volume 1, T&T Clark LTD, Edinburgh, 1975, pp. 170 -71

Delitzsch, Franz, Paulus des Apostels Brief an die Römer: aus dem griechischen Urtext auf Grund des Sinai-Codex, ins Hebräische übersetzt und aus Talmud und Midrasch erläutert, Dörfling und Franke, Leipzig, 1870.

Delitzsch Franz, Christentum und Jüdische Presse, Deichert, Erlangen, 1882.

Delitzsch, Franz, Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum / Schilderungen u. Kritiken, 1838, <https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/content/titleinfo/1113245>.

Dunlop, John, Memories of Gospel Triumphs among the Jews during the Victorian Era, Partridge &Co., London, 1894.

Ewald, G.H., Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament, trans. James Kennedy T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1879.

Freeman, Melissa, The Hermeneutical Aesthetics of Thick Description, Qualitative Inquiry, 2014

Frey, Thoma, Evangelium Matthaei translatum a Thoma Fry et Gulielmo B. Collyer. Biblia hebraice, Londini: Goakman, 1813

Frieden, Ken, Innovation by Translation, Yiddish and Hasidic Hebrew in Literary History, Syracuse University, 2008.

Forbes, A. Dean, 'Collocation: Biblical Hebrew,' Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics, edited by: Geoffrey Khan, Leiden, 2013

Geertz, Clifford, The Interpretation of Cultures, Basic Books, New York, 1973.

Ginsburg, Christian, <https://archive.org/details/IntroductionToTheMasoretic-criticalEditionOfTheHebrewBible01/page/n121/mode/2up>

- Harvey, Richard S., *Luther and the Jews: Putting Right the Lies*, Wipf and Stock Publishers, Oregon, 2017.
- Herzl, Theodor, *Der Judenstaat*, Reproduktion des Originals, Outlook Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 2020.
- Howard, George, *The Gospel of Mathew according to a primitive Hebrew text*, Mercer University Press, Georgia, 1987.
- Jastrow, Marcus, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, Luzac & Co., London, New York, 1903.
- Khan, Geoffrey, *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, volume 2, Brill, Leiden, 2013.
- Kahn, Lily, *The First Hebrew Shakespeare Translations*, UCL Press, London, 2017.
- Kahn, Lily, *Maskilic Hebrew*, *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, edited by: Geoffrey Khan, Leiden 2013
- Kahn, Lily, *Judaisation in the First Hebrew Translation of Romeo and Juliet*, University College London, 2017
- Kaufman Shirley, Hasan-Rokem Galit, Hess Tamar S., *The Defiant Muse*, Feminist Press, City University New York, 1999.
- Kaufmann, Thomas, *Luther's Jews*, Oxford University Press, 2017. (Originally published in German as *Luthers Juden*, Philip Reclam jun., 2014.)
- Klein, Ernest, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English*, The Beatrice & Arthur Minden Foundation & The University of Haifa, 1987.
- Klier, John D., *German Antisemitism and Russian Judeophobia in the 1880's: Brothers and Strangers*. *Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 37, no. 4, 1989, pp. 524–40. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41052622>.
- Kraemer D., *Talmud Talk and Jewish Talk*, *A Journal of Yiddish Studies*, June 2020.
- Kessler-Mesguich, Sophie, *The Study of Mishnaic Hebrew*, *Bulletin du Centre de recherche français à Jérusalem*, 12 | 2003, 136-152.
- Landmann, Salcia, *Der jüdische Witz*, *Soziologie und Sammlung*, Patmos Verlag, Ostfildern 2013
- Lapide, Pinchas E., *Hebräisch in den Kirchen*, *Forschungen zum jüdisch-christlichen Dialog*, Neukirchner Verlag, Neunkirchen-Vluyn, 1976.
- Lapide, Pinchas E., *Hebrew in the Church: The Foundations of Jewish-Christian Dialogue*, Eerdmans Publishing Company, Michigan, 1984.
- Lapide, Pinchas E., *Ist die Bibel richtig übersetzt?*, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh, 2012.
- Lapide, Pinchas E., *Hebräisch im Evangelium*, in *Judaica* Band 33, pp. 7-29, Zürcher Institut für interreligiösen Dialog, 1977. ETH Zürich, [www.e-periodica.ch](http://www.e-periodica.ch), <https://dx.doi.org/10.5169/seals-960876>
- Lapide, Pinchas E., *Insights from Qumran into the Language of Jesus*, *Revue de Qumrân*, Dec. 1975, Vol. 8, No. 4 (32), pp.483-501, Peeters Publishers, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24606950>
- Luther, Martin, <https://www.checkluther.com/source-material/>
- Lübbe, J.C., *Idioms in the Old Testament*, *Journal for Semitics*, vol. 11/1, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 2002.
- Maagarim, Hebrew-Academy, <https://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il/Pages/PMain.aspx>  
[https://isaw.nyu.edu/publications/awol-index/html/maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il/Pages-PMain.aspx.html](https://isaw.nyu.edu/publications/awol-index/html/maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il/Pages/PMain.aspx.html)
- Magence, Avishai & Weissbrod, Rachel, *Allusions to the Mishna and Talmud in Salkinson's translation of Othello*, *Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature*, 2020.

Massing, Paul W., *Rehearsal for destruction*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1949,

Moshavi A., Rhetorical Question or Assertion? The Pragmatics of הלא in Biblical Hebrew, *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 32, 2011.

Rampton, Ben, *UK Linguistic Ethnography: A discussion paper* 2004, Kings College London, 2004

Robar, Elisabeth, *Unmarked Modality and Rhetorical Questions in Biblical Hebrew*, *Semitic Linguistics and Manuscripts: A Liber Discipulorum in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Khan*, Uppsala University, 2018.

Roberts-Zauderer, Dianna Lynn, *Human Language: Classifying Metaphor in Jewish Sources*. In: *Metaphor and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Thought*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Salkinson, I.E., *Accusation, Mr. W. Carruther and his Client 'Dr.' Joseffy, An examination of His Narrative and Statement by I.E. Salkinson*, Carl Fromme, Vienna 1880

Salkinson, Isaak E., *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans*, translated into Hebrew, Edinburgh, 1855

Salmon, Josef, David Gordon and Ha-Maggid: *Changing Attitudes toward Jewish Nationalism, 1860-1882*, *Modern Judaism*, Oxford University Press, 1997

Schinker, Ellie R., *Confessions of the Shtetl: Converts from Judaism in Imperial Russia, 1817-1906*, e-book, Stanford University, California, 2019.

Schmidt-Radefeldt, J., *On So-called Rhetorical Questions*, *Journal of Pragmatics* 1, 1977.

Shivtiel, Avihai, *Collocation*, *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, edited by: Geoffrey Khan, Leiden, 2013.

Shuali, Eran, *The Use of Biblicizing Techniques in Isaac Salkinson's Hebrew Translations: Hebrew Literature and Christian Mission*, *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe*, Vol. 51, no. 2, 2018.

Shuali, Eran, *Why Was the New Testament Translated into Hebrew? An Introduction to the History of Hebrew Translations of the New Testament*, *Open theology*, 2016, Vol.2 (1).

Slutsky, Yehuda. 'Ha-Shaḥar,' In *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., edited by Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, Vol. 8. Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007.

Strong's Concordance, accessed via biblehub.com.

Tzelgov, Eran, *The Task of Hebrew translation (Othello)*, *European Judaism*, Vol. 51, Issue 2, 2018.

Van Capelleveen, David, *The Origin of the Salkinson-Ginsburg translation: An inquiry into the historical Sources*, *Evangelical Faculty*, Leuven 2012.

Van den Heever, Cornelius Martin, *Idioms in Biblical Hebrew, Towards Their Identification and Classification with Special Reference to 1 and 2 Samuel*, *Doctoral Thesis*, Stellenbosch University, 2013.

Van der Merwe, Christo H. J., Naudé, Jackie A., and Kroeze, Jan H., *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, ed. Porter, Stanley E., and Hess, Richard S., Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

Vidro Nadia, Vollandt Ronny, Wagner and Esther-Miriam, Olszowy-Schlanger Judith, *Studies in Semitic Linguistics and Manuscripts: A Liber Discipulorum in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Khan*, Uppsala Universitet, 2018.

Waldstein, Abraham Salomon, *Critical essay*, pp. 57-66, originally published in *The Evolution of Modern Hebrew Literature, 1850-1912*, Columbia, University Press, 1916.

Weimar Ausgabe Tischreden: WATR 5, *Tischreden aus den Jahren 1540 – 1544*, *Sammlungen Heydenreichs*, Besolds, Lauterbachs u.a. <https://www.checkluther.com/source-material/>. Accessed 16/01/2023.

Wiese, Christian, *Challenging Colonial Discourse Jewish Studies and Protestant Theology in Wilhelmine Germany*, Brill Leiden Boston, 2005.

Wilkinson, Samuel Hinds., *The Life of John Wilkinson, the Jewish Missionary*, Morgan & Scott, London 1908

Wormser, Yehonatan, *Hebrew Grammar in Contact with German Grammar during the Jewish Enlightenment: Pronouns as Case Study*, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, pp. 10-20, Vol. 111, , University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021.

Wormser, Yehonatan, *Attitudes Towards Rabbinic Hebrew as Reflected in Hebrew Grammars during the Jewish Enlightenment*, in *New Perspectives in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew*, Aaron D. Hornkohl et Khan Geoffrey, Open Book Publishers, Cambridge, 2021.