FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON ṢĀḎAQ

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The Hebrew word *ṣāḏaq*, in its various forms as used in the Old Testament is a word of considerable interest. Some phases of the subject have already been discussed in this Journal.[1] This presentation will give further study to it from a somewhat different point of view. It is not our sole purpose to show the many and various shades of meaning of *ṣdq*, although we must make reference to them, but we will attempt to show that as one of its meanings, especially in later times, the concept of cleansing became quite prominent in the use of this word, which occurs over five hundred times in the MT. This will lead us to show why the Greek translators rendered נִצְדַּק by the word καθαρισθήσεται in Dan 8: 14, a rendering which appears not only in the LXX, but also in the version of Theodotion.

J. P. Justesen's study on *ṣdq* in this Journal [2] has already made a useful contribution to a better understanding of this interesting word, by pointing out that the rendering of *ṣdq* in Greek tends to reveal that it had several shades of meaning in the period immediately preceding the Christian era. Justesen' paper showed:

(1) That *ṣāḏaq* in the first place is used to represent a number of concepts as the following examples indicate: In 1 Ki 8: 32 it is used synonymously for "judgment," in Is 56: 1 for "salvation," in Ps 36: 10 for "mercy," and in Is 48: 18 for "peace."

(2) That *ṣāḏaq* is virtually equated with several other Hebrew words, among which might be listed *bōr* (Ps 18: 20),

[1] Jerome P. Justesen, "On the Meaning of *Ṣāḏaq*," *AUSS*, II (1964), 53-61.
[2] See note 1.

ṭāhar (Job 4: 17), *nāqî* (Job 22: 19), *tāmîm* (Job 12: 4), *šālôm* (Is 48: 18), *mišpāṭ* (Job 8: 3), and *zākāh* (Job 25: 4).

(3) That in the LXX *ṣādaq* is: (a) translated καθαρός (Job 4: 17) and καθαρίζω (Dan 8: 14); (b) put in parallel to ἀποκαθαρίζω (Job 25: 4) and καθαριότης (Ps 18: 20); (c) either translated by the following words or put in parallel to them: ἄμεμπτος (Job 22: 3), ἀθῶον (Ps 94: 21), νικάω (Ps 51: 4), δίκαιος (Job 12: 4), δικαιοσύνη (Ps 18: 20); (d) and is used virtually as a synonym of κρίνω (Ps 17: 15), κρίσις (Is 51: 7), κρῖμα (Jer 51: 10), ἔλεος (Is 56: 1), ἐλεημοσύνη (Dt 6: 25), and εὐσεβής (Is 26: 7).

These examples demonstrate the wide range of meaning evidently inherent in *ṣādaq*, carrying with it not only concepts ordinarily connected with this word such as righteous, just, to justify, righteousness, etc., but also such other concepts, as to be innocent, blameless, faithful, clean, to cleanse, to purify, etc.

We will now consider a few further parallels not mentioned in Justesen's article:[3]

(1) Ps 37: 6. "And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noonday." Here *ṣedeq* is virtually equated with *mišpāṭ*; in the LXX, δικαιοσύνη with κρῖμα.

(2) Is 61: 10. "He has clothed me with the garments of salvation, he has covered me with the robe of righteousness." In this text *yēšaʿ* and *ṣedeq* are put in parallel; in the LXX σωτήριον and εὐφροσύνη. Εὐφροσύνη seems an unusual rendering of *ṣedeq* for it means gladness and joy, but this example is instructive, for it demonstrates once more the wide range of meaning of *ṣdq*.

(3) Is 41: 26. "He [God] is righteous." Here, the Hebrew *ṣaddîq* is rendered in the LXX ἀληθῆ, a most intriguing translation.

It might be further pointed out that the Greek word καθαρίζω, "to cleanse," which is used in the LXX as one of

[3] See also Job 29: 14; Ps 103: 17; 33: 1; Is 62: 1.

the renderings of *ṣdq*, or is put in parallel to *ṣdq*, seems to have had just as wide a range of meanings as *ṣdq* itself, for it is used in one form or another to translate the following 22 Hebrew words: בַּר, בָּרַר, דְּכָא, זַךְ, זָכָה, זָכַךְ, חָטָא, חָרוּץ, יָקָר, יָשָׁר, כֵּן, כָּפַר, מִכְלוֹל, מַסְלוּל, נָקָה, נָקִי, נִקָּיוֹן, פָּנָה, צָדַק, צָרַף, קָדַשׁ, אֹם, and the Aramaic נְקָא.

Ṣādaq a Synonym of Zākāh

Not only the Greek translations of the OT show that *ṣādaq* was understood to have the meaning of "cleansing," but even more so is this concept found in the Targums, with which we will deal now.

It is well known that Aramaic became the commonly spoken language of the Hebrews sometime during the Babylonian exile. After their return to Palestine Aramaic seems to have been used at home, in commercial circles, and as a language of diplomacy. However, it had been known by many leaders of Judah long before this, for we find that in the time of Hezekiah the Jewish ministers asked the Assyrian envoy to talk to them in Aramaic (2 Ki 18: 26). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the men who took part in the translation of the LXX in the 3d and 2d cent. B.C. not only knew Hebrew and Greek, but also had a good grounding in Aramaic. This fact needs to be borne in mind in judging why they translated certain Hebrew words as they did.

Another important point to consider is that the Jews, more than two thousand years ago, must have known the meaning of Hebrew and/or Aramaic words better than they are known today after both languages have more or less experienced centuries of hibernation. This reasoning is applicable to *ṣādaq*, for which reason there must have been a justification to render it καθαρίζω in Dan 8: 14. Not only a knowledge of the meaning of *ṣādaq* in a general way led them to this rendering, but even more their specific understanding of the meaning of this word in relation to the sanctuary ritual.

In this connection it is also of interest to note that the Hebrew *ṣāḍaq* is rendered *zākāh* in numerous passages in the Targums. The Hebrew *zākāh* has a basic meaning of "to be pure," "to be clean" in a moral or physical sense. [4] It appears in the same meaning in Phoenician, [5] and in Aramaic in the forms *dkh*, *zk'* or *zkh*, where especially the latter form takes on the meaning "to be innocent," besides having the basic concept "to be clean." [6]

Ṣāḍaq in its various forms is used in the MT about 517 times, but inasmuch as some of these are in Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel, on which there is no Targum,[7] only 504 of the Hebrew references can be examined. Analysis shows that the Targumists used at least eight different words in the Aramaic translation for *ṣāḍaq*, but *zākāh* and *zākā'* were used in no less than 209 of the 504 instances, over 40 per cent.[8]

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[4] See the Hebrew dictionaries.

[5] Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven, Conn., 1936), p. 99.

[6] L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in veteris testamenti libros* (2d ed.; Leiden, 1958), p. 1071; A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 282, 285; G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* (3d ed.; Göttingen, 1938), p. 128; J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (Leipzig, 1866), I, 220, 221; C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden, 1960), 76.

[7] See Talmud Megillah 3a.

[8] *Ṣāḍaq* translated as *zākāh*:

In the Pentateuch: Gn 6: 9; 7: 1; 15: 6; 18: 23, 24 (twice), 25 (twice), 26, 28; 20: 4; 30: 33; 38: 26; 44: 16; Ex 9: 27; 23: 7 (twice); Dt 6: 25; 9: 4, 6; 24: 13; 25: 1 (twice); 32: 4; 33: 21. (25 times)

From Jos to 2 Chr: Jugs 5: 11 (twice); 1 Sa 12: 7; 24: 17; 26: 23; 2 Sa 4: 11; 8: 15; 19: 28; 22: 21, 25; 1 Ki 2: 32; 3: 6; 8: 32 (three times); 10: 9; 2 Ki 10: 9; 2 Chr 6: 23 (three times); 12: 6. (21 times)

In Job and Pr: Job 4: 17; 6: 29; 9:15, 20; 10: 15; 11: 2; 12: 4; 13: 18; 15: 14; 22: 3; 25: 4; 27: 5, 6; 29: 14; 32: 1, 2; 33: 12, 32; 34: 5, 17; 35: 2, 7; 40: 8; Pr 17: 15; 18: 17. (25 times)

In Ps: Ps 7: 8, 9, 11; 9: 4, 8; 11: 3; 18: 20, 24; 19: 9; 50: 6; 51: 4; 72: 3; 106: 31; 111: 3; 112: 3, 6, 9; 116: 5; 119: 7, 75, 106, 137; 129: 4; 132: 9; 143: 2; 145: 17. (25 times)

In Is: Is 5: 7, 16, 23 (three times); 9: 7; 10: 22; 26: 2; 28: 17; 29: 21;

We now list twelve passages to illustrate how *zākāh* and its derivates are used in the Targum as a rendering of *ṣāḏaq*:

1. Gn 6: 9: "Noah was a *just* man."
    MT צַדִּיק LXX δίκαιος Targum זכי

2. Gn 44: 16: "How shall we *clear* ourselves?"
    MT נִּצְטַדָּק LXX δικαιωθῶμεν Targum נזכי

3. Ex 23: 7: "Not *justify* the wicked."
    MT אַצְדִּיק LXX δικαιώσεις Targum אזכי

4. I Ki 8: 32: "*Justifying* the *righteous* ... according to his righteousness."
    MT וּלְהַצְדִּיק צַדִּיק ... כְּצִדְקָתוֹ LXX δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον ...
    δικαιοσύνην Targum ולזכאה זכאה ... כזכותיה

5. Job 40: 8: "That thou mayest be *righteous*."
    MT תִּצְדָּק LXX δίκαιος Targum דתזכי

6. Ps. 50: 6: "Declare his [God's] *righteousness*."
    MT צִדְקוֹ LXX δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ Targum זכותיה

7. Pr 17: 15: "He that *justifieth* the wicked."
    MT מַצְדִּיק LXX δίκαιον κρίνει Targum דמזכיה

8. Is 51: 8: "My *righteousness* shall not be abolished."
    MT צִדְקָתִי LXX δικαιοσύνη μου Targum חכותי

9. Jer 12: 1: "*Righteous* art thou, O, Lord."
    MT צַדִּיק LXX δίκαιος Targum זכאי

10. Eze 18: 5: "If a man be *just* and do that which is lawful and *right*."

33: 5, 15; 42: 21; 43: 9, 26; 45: 8 (twice), 21, 23-25 (three times); 46: 12, 13; 48: 1, 18; 50: 8; 51: 5, 7, 8; 53: 11 (twice); 54: 14, 17; 56: 1; 57: 12; 58: 2, 8; 59: 9, 14, 17; 60: 17, 21; 61: 10, 11; 62: 2; 63: 1; 64: 5. (47 times)
    In Jer and Eze: Jer 3: 11; 4: 2; 9: 24; 12: 1; 23: 5, 6; 33: 15, 16; 51: 10; Eze 3: 20 (three times); 13: 22; 14: 14, 20; 16: 51, 52 (twice); 18: 5 (twice), 19-22 (five times), 24, 26, 27; 21: 3, 4; 23: 45; 33: 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19; 45: 9. (45 times)
    In Ec, Lam and Minor Prophets: Ec 3: 16, 17; 7: 15, 20; Lam 1: 18; 4: 13; Hos 10: 12; Joel 2: 23; Amos 2: 6; 5: 7, 12, 24; 6: 12; Mic 6: 5; 7: 9; Zep 3: 5; Zec 8: 8; 9: 9; Mal 3: 3 (three times); 4: 2. (21 times)

MT וּצְדָקָה . . . צַדִּיק LXX δίκαιος, . . . δικαιοσύνη Targum
זכי . . . וכו

11. Zec 9: 9: "Thy King cometh . . . he is *just*."
MT צַדִּיק LXX δίκαιος Targum זכי

12. Mal 4: 2 (in Hebr. 3: 20): "The Sun of *Righteousness*."
MT צְדָקָה LXX δικαιοσύνης Targum דזכו

These illustrations, together with those listed in note 8, indicate, that the scholars who produced the Targums considered the Hebrew *ṣdq* to be in many cases equivalent to the Aramaic *zkh* or *zk'*. Naturally, we do not know what they would have done with regard to Dan 8: 14 had they produced a Targum to Daniel, but in view of the fact that in 209 out of 504 instances, *zkh* or *zk'* was used for *ṣdq*, it is a reasonable assumption that these are the words they would have used.

But there are other things to be borne in mind. In the KJV, there are about 39 definite references to the concept of "cleansing" in relation to the ceremonial services of the Temple and of the Tabernacle. This applied to the altar, and other appurtenances, to the people, also to the priests and Levites. Quite a variety of Hebrew and Greek words are used,[9] but in the Targum, the 35 instances that could be examined (minus Dan, Ezr, and Neh) showed that *zākāh* was the word exclusively used. This would indicate further, that when referring to the ceremonial cleansing related to the sanctuary ritual, it was customary to use *zākāh*. This then would strengthen the assumption mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

Still another thing to be considered is the use of the verbal form of *ṣdq* as compared with the adjective or substantive forms. The verbal form is much more restricted in its range of meaning than the others. But even so, when the translators of the Targum read the verbal form of *ṣdq* and conveyed

[9] כפר, צדק, חטא, טהר, καθαρίζω, ἁγνίζω, ἱλάσκομαι, ἐξιλάσκομαι, etc.

הד מהב אגנוב וסמשרק וסשאב אעני אשמל והגדרל עד צבא

ושמים ותפל ארצה מן הצבא ומן הכוכבים ותרמסה הס

נלת לי נגוס וסמא התי אוקעת עלי אארץ מן אנגום וסכואכב

דאסתהא ועד שרה הצבא הגדיל וממנו הרים התמיד והשלך

מכון מקדשו ודי רייס אנגום עלת התי רפע מנה לשי לראיב

טרה מהייא מקרסה ורבא תנתן עד התמיד בפשע ותשלך

אמת ארצה ועשתה וה צליחה ורגעת אנגום בסבב שעי לראיס

די גרם אנהא קד טרחת סחק לי אארץ פעמרת עמרהא ואנגחת

פיה עאגלהא ואשמעה אחר קדוש מדבר ויאמר אחד קדוש

לפלמוני המדבר עד מתי החזון התמיד והפשע שומם תת וקדש

צבא מרמס תם סמעת צות ואחדרא מן למראיבה יתכרס סל

מלך אזכר לסופלאני למתכברם לי מתי לרויא לראים ולרב וחשה

תגער ולקרס ובישה רוסא ויאמר אלי עד ערב בקר אלפים ושרש

מאות ונצדיק קדש פקד לי לי טפין ותלאהת מאיה ליר ונהאר יזכו

לקרס ופלג ויהי בראתי אני רניאל אתהחזון ואבקשה בינה

הנה עמד לנגדי במראה אהגבר תלמי רעית אנחא רני הרי לרוא

ולבת אן אתפהם פאדי בעבן קים חראאי כמנצר לגל ואשמע

קול אדם בן אולי ויאמר גבריאל הבן להלז את המראה

רניאל

Figure 2. British Museum MS Or. 1476, p. 70 r. An Arabic version of Daniel in Hebrew characters Yemenite hand of the 15th to 16 century A.D. The passage discussed in this study is in lines 8 and 9.

what they considered to be its comparable meaning in the
passages which they translated, they used zāḵāh in 35 of the
38 instances involved.[10] For the three remaining passages
two were rendered by ṣāḏaq (Ps 82: 3; Pr 17: 15), the other
by qšṭ (Job 9: 2). It should be pointed out, in this connection,
that in Dan 8: 14 a verbal form of ṣdq is found in the MT.
What might have been done, if a Targum of Daniel had
materialized, seems therefore obvious.

There is yet one more question to be considered, and that is:
How was Dan 8: 14 translated in other Semitic languages,
such as Arabic?

In the early centuries of the Christian era a wealth of
Jewish literature was translated into Arabic, in addition to
the Holy Scriptures. Several of these MSS are extant, and
can be found in the British Museum Library, the Bodleian
Library in Oxford, the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris,
and elsewhere.

Among several such manuscripts in the British Museum
Library in London there are at least two which contain the
entire book of Daniel, Nos. 1476 and 2377, in Arabic, but
written in Hebrew square characters.[11] Ms. Or. 2377 is
written according to G. Margoliouth in a Yemenite hand of
the 14th century, while Or. 1476 is written in a Yemenite
hand of the 15th to 16th century. On examining Dan 8: 14,
one finds יזכן אלקדם for וצדק קדש (see Figures 1 and 2). Since
Arabic زكا has also the meaning "to be clean," this trans-
lation is of more than passing interest in the light of the
Targum evidence. This Arabic translation was probably
made by Saadia (sometimes confused with Saadia Gaon),

[10] Gn 38: 26; 44: 16; Ex 23: 7; Dt 25: 1; 2 Sa 15: 4; 1 Ki 8: 32;
2 Chr 6: 23; Job 4: 17; 9: 2, 15, 20; 10: 15; 11: 2; 13: 18; 15: 14;
22: 3; 25: 4; 27: 5; 32: 2; 33: 12, 32; 34: 5; 35: 7; 40: 8; Ps 19: 9;
51: 6; 82: 3; 143: 2; Is 5: 23; 43: 9, 26; 45: 25; 50: 8; 53: 11; Pr
17: 15; Jer 3: 11; Eze 16: 52 (twice).
[11] Both of them are described by G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the
Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Part I
(London, 1899), pp. 109, 110, 114.

who lived during the 12th century. Of him M. Seligsohn says, "In his commentary [on Daniel] Saadia displayed a profound knowledge of both the Talmudim and of the Targum, which latter he often quotes and explains." [12]

Saadia then, translating as he did into Arabic and expressing it thus in Hebrew characters, and being so well acquainted with the Targums, undoubtedly reflected the thinking, not only of his day, but of the earlier days when the Targums were produced. If that be conceded, it seems highly probable that an Aramaic Targum of Daniel would have used either the word *zkh* or *zk'* in Dan 8: 14.[13]

[12] M. Seligsohn, "Saadia," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, X, 578.

[13] In this connection it is of interest to note that Frank Zimmermann, in his study on Dan 8-12, made on the basis of different premises, came to the conclusion: "The translation therefore should have been here 'And the temple shall be cleansed.' And so the LXX, feeling the need for some such exegesis, translated ingeniously καὶ καθαρισθήσεται τὸ ἅγιον." *JBL*, LVII (1938), p. 262. Zimmermann's arguments and conclusions were endorsed by H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (New York, 1948), pp. 41-61; on Dan 8: 14 see especially p. 52.