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OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITIC STUDIES

IN MEMORY OF

WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITIC STUDIES

IN MEMORY OF

William Rainey Harper

EDITED BY
ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER
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PREFATORY NOTE

1. The editors of these Memorial Volumes wish to express their thanks to their fellow-students who have made contributions to these volumes for their courteous co-operation in every possible manner.

2. The editors also wish to state that no attempt was made to secure absolute uniformity in the matter of typography. In general, the rules of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* were followed. Many concessions, however, were made to the wishes of the contributors.

3. The editors regret that Professors Charles F. Kent of Yale University and James F. McCurdy of the University of Toronto were unable to send their contributions on account of illness. They also regret that the contribution of Professor James Henry Breasted of The University of Chicago, on "A New Temple and Town of Ikhnaton in Nubia," could not be included in these volumes on account of a delay in proofs due to illness. Professor Breasted's contribution will be published in the January or April number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*

4. The editors are gratified to present these volumes on the second anniversary of the death of WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER.

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INTRODUCTION

FRANCIS BROWN

INTRODUCTION

Francis Brown

This collection of papers is an unusual tribute to a strong and unique personality. It is offered by a fellowship of scholars most of whom were the personal friends of President Harper, and many of whom had come under the almost magical influence of his teaching. All are impelled by the desire to honor a fellow-student who has deserved well of learning. All are saddened by the thought that his last contribution has been made to the Old Testament and Semitic studies which he loved so ardently. His public connection with them covered more than twenty-five years, and the circumstances of it appealed to the imagination. He was the representative, and indeed the embodiment, of these studies for a large circle of men and women who were introduced to them, directly and indirectly, through him. Some thus came to an intimate knowledge of them. More reached superficial, though often enthusiastic, acquaintance. Still others merely watched the phenomenon, with keen interest, from without. For all of these he held the middle of the field. He did nothing for display, but everything for efficiency, and from this point of view his life was not only an achievement, it was an astonishing spectacle.

In any case, it would not be time yet to estimate justly Dr. Harper's place in the department of Semitic learning, and the phenomenal quality in his work adds to the difficulty. The enthusiasm of loyal pupils does not promote impartiality nor find it easy to discriminate between the man and the scholar. On the other hand, a purely scholarly judgment may underestimate the worth of a pupil's insight, and lose the large impression in the criticism of details, while the very fact of wide popularity among the uncritical may awaken the scholar's prejudice or suspicion.

Under these circumstances, and with the bias of warm personal friendship, it would be impossible for the present writer, even if he were otherwise competent to do so, to attempt a thoroughly critical estimate of Dr. Harper's work in the Semitic languages, and particularly in biblical scholarship. Nothing more is possible than a rapid review of that work in a spirit of sincere appreciation, which it will be the endeavor not to devitalize and invalidate by undiscriminating eulogy. Flattery is the subtlest form of contempt for the dead as for the living, and Dr. Harper's reputation needs only the respect of perfect truthfulness to insure real fame.

Semitic studies in this country have had an interesting history.[1] They began with the first generation of settlers in New England. The early presidents of Harvard were orientalists of repute. Hebrew was long a required study, because education was essentially religious, and because the larger part of the Bible was in Hebrew. Like studies were fostered at Yale. Hebrew words were engraved on the original seal of Dartmouth College. The Dutch and Scottish settlers of New York and New Jersey brought with them the same insistence on the language of the Old Testament. The study was by degrees limited to students for the ministry, and grew somewhat perfunctory, even for them. A great revival of interest, both linguistic and exegetical, was led by Moses Stuart, a graduate of Yale, who became professor at Andover Theological Seminary in 1810. Hebrew had never died out in the Middle States, and it reached a position of importance at Princeton, under Professor Joseph Addison Alexander and his successor, Professor William Henry Green; but Stuart was a more brilliant pioneer. Stuart had many apt pupils—though none his equal as a teacher. Among the most famous was Edward Robinson, through whom a new center of these studies was established in New York. The newer western institutions were in large part manned by students of these eastern teachers. But not all. Harper was seven years old when Robinson died, but Harper's Semitic genealogy did not originate in that line. His first impulse toward Semitic study was due to an independent strain of Scotch blood. It is to be traced directly back to the zeal for knowledge and the demand for a learned ministry on the part of a people whose love for theology is democratic enough to demand thorough equipment on the part of its religious leaders. If Muskingum College, at New Concord, Ohio—an institution of whose existence many thousands of persons have learned since Dr. Harper's death, from the simple fact that he studied there—had not been founded by Scotchmen, chiefly for the training of ministers, and had not required Hebrew as a part of its course, it is not probable that Stuart and Robinson or their followers would have taken its place, and led Harper into Semitic paths. His precocity was, of course, an element in the case. To have learned enough Hebrew at fourteen to pronounce an oration—of whatever quality—in that language, is to have put behind one its superficial difficulties at an age that gives a long start over most students of it.[2]

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[1] Its details are scattered through various books, pamphlets, and articles, but it was summed up, near the close of the last century, in the two papers by Professor George F. Moore, D.D., of Harvard, in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1888-89 under the title "Alttestamentliche Studien in Amerika."

His teacher at Muskingum was Reverend David Paul, at that time president of the college. The studies of his early boyhood stimulated his taste for language as such, and this led him, at seventeen, to Yale, and a cosmopolitan atmosphere of learning. His life at Yale took the place, for him, of study at a foreign university. Professor William D. Whitney taught him Sanskrit, and sound philological method, and through Professor George E. Day he came into the line of New England Hebraists who looked back to Moses Stuart as their head. Professor Whitney, also, saw the opportunity for Semitic scholarship and influenced him that way, although his thesis for the degree of doctor of philosophy was in the Sanskrit field. This was in 1875, when he was nineteen years of age.

Then followed three and a half years of school administration and teaching, mainly classical; and in January, 1879, he began to teach Hebrew in the Baptist Union Theological Seminary at Morgan Park, a suburb of Chicago. In less than two years his eagerness and his success as a Hebrew teacher were making him a national figure. His summer schools and correspondence school, his textbooks and his periodicals, were all so many ways of bringing his teaching power to bear on increasing classes of students. Still wider scope was given to his activities by his call to Yale as professor of Semitic languages in 1886, and his incumbency of the Woolsey professorship of biblical literature in the same university, in 1889. In 1891 he became president of the new University of Chicago, and although this exacting position lessened the time he could give to Semitic and biblical studies, it greatly increased his general influence even in these particular fields.

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[2] If we smile at the "Hebrew oration," we may remember that this was a usage at the Harvard commencement till 1817—hardly more than fifty years earlier.

Dr. Harper gained a useful degree of acquaintance with other Semitic languages, and gave instruction in several of them at different times. But it is only in the department of Hebrew and the Old Testament that the published materials permit any attempt to estimate his scholarly attainments.

It has already appeared that Dr. Harper's first taste of Hebrew came through a branch of Scotch Presbyterianism, and that the influences set at work by Moses Stuart reached him only in his second stage. All the more attractive is the parallel between these two great teachers of Hebrew and of the Old Testament. Both were enthusiastic students, of acquisitive powers far above the common. Both were drawn to the Semitic field as by magnetic power. Its importance, current neglect of it, its fresh possibilities, largely unknown, enticed and held them. Both were forced by circumstances to depend much on private study, and both diligently used the books of others. Both were effective teachers, and communicated their ardor for study to many pupils. Both thus became the heads of important revival movements in Old Testament science. Both found it necessary to publish textbooks to meet the demand which their own work had created. There were, no doubt, striking differences between them—and not in personal quality alone. Harper was able to create machinery which enlarged his direct influence to an extent quite unthinkable in the staid conditions of Andover Hill. His summer schools and correspondence school multiplied his pupils many fold, and his instinctive appeal to the average man expanded the constituency of these schools quite beyond the limits of a single profession. In the introductory editorial to the first number of *Hebraica*

(March, 1884), he wrote: "Within three years there has been organized and carried into successful operation a school for the study of Hebrew by correspondence. This school, at this writing, includes over six hundred clergymen and students. The members of the school are of every evangelical denomination. They reside in almost every state in the Union, in Canada, in England, in Scotland, in Ireland, in Turkey, in China, in Japan, in India." Stuart had no such effect as this! On the other hand, Harper found much more material ready to his hand, and he enjoyed much greater fellowship and sympathy. The movement begun by Stuart, and carried on by his pupils and theirs, had been reinforced, over and over again, by European learning, and was gaining vigor and effectiveness. Harper had this at his disposal, and he employed it from fresh centers, with a strong increment from his own incisive energy, in spreading knowledge more widely among the people. This applies to his linguistic work, and still more to his work in the study of the Old Testament as literature. Stuart had learned from Gesenius and Seiler the modern method of interpretation by grammar and lexicon, and this method, largely through Stuart, had become thoroughly acclimatized in this country. To Harper it came by inheritance, rather than by discovery. His two years at Yale determined this. If Stuart's American world was smaller, the effect of his teaching, as far as it reached, was intense and productive, and Yale was well within his world. Both had pupils who showed their appreciation of their masters by carrying on advanced studies elsewhere. Here, again, Stuart's men prepared the way for the later generation. It was a more uncommon and venturesome thing for Edward Robinson to study in Göttingen, Halle, and Berlin, than any man can appreciate who has gone to Germany as a student since Harper began to teach. The parallel might run out into unprofitable comparisons, but it is obvious enough on the surface to give point and interest to close inquiry.

To Professor Harper's Hebrew scholarship it was both an advantage and a serious disadvantage that his teaching of it was so successful and so absorbing. We hear that to teach a subject is the best way to learn it, but this aphorism is obviously of limited application. Elementary teaching may secure a firm grasp of the elements, but it may actually preclude, by its demands on time and strength, large strides in the higher ranges of a great subject. Those who teach the multiplication table every day, and twice a day, do not fit themselves thereby to lecture on quaternions.

The ideal authority in any field of scholarship is a man who has mastered his subject in its outlines and its details, who has explored its depths and climbed to its heights, who is full of knowledge, common and recondite both, and whose mind is so adjusted to the possibilities of his field that his judgment decides questions that arise in it by swift instinct, incommunicable but unerring. Men resort to him as to a storehouse of knowledge, and accept his statement of the facts in place of observing them for themselves; men depend upon his judgment of matters related to his specialty with confidence, and build on his opinions great fabrics of conclusion. Doubtless scholars often make mistakes and err in judgment, but this proves no more than that they only approach the ideal and do not in fact reach it. And even the approach to it is by no royal road. The habitual quiet of the study, freedom from distractions, the testings of the laboratory, deliberation in proving conclusions, the slow seasoning of opinions, lack of haste in publishing them, the quickening of the sensitive faculties of the mind which are dulled if they are overtaxed or hurried, all the ripening processes which must supplement the acquisitive powers, to bring the fruits of knowledge to a sound maturity—these things are essential to the scholar, and possible in satisfying degree only for those who add to a love of knowledge, and a deep respect for it—a sense of the worth of absolute devotion to even a small segment of it—the freedom from preoccupation and from distraction about many things which gives devotion to knowledge its opportunity.

In thus describing the exacting life of pure scholarship, it is evident that one leaves out important elements of the exacting life of President Harper, and perhaps includes some things for which that life had little room.

Could a man, occupied as he was occupied, with the many plans which sprang from his fertile brain demanding administrative and executive care—in spite of his great facility in using the services of others—be an absolute devotee of pure scholarship? There is no doubt that pure scholarship was an object of his strong desire—appealing to him with the attractive power of a luxury almost within reach. But the man has been rare indeed, who was capable at once of carrying on such large and varied affairs as fell to Dr. Harper's lot by the very necessity of his gifts, as well as of his circumstances—his gifts shaping his circumstances to a great degree—and at the same time of rising to the very highest heights of technical scholarship.

Far from belittling his scholarly attainments, these conditions make it possible for us to appreciate them at their real value. It is remarkable that, under the conditions of his life, he was able to command as much of Semitic knowledge as he did, and to express such well-considered opinions on Semitic matters. The scholarship of a man like this has peculiar value because it carries so far. It does not become trivial by the fact that there may be other scholarship more prodigious. Not many men know Hebrew as well as Dr. Harper knew it. And what man has made his knowledge more thoroughly effective?

The chief feature of Dr. Harper's intellectual life has been barely hinted at thus far. Here was a highly original man, at the post of a scholar, with a large share of a scholar's attainments, whose originality was directed to practical ends. These were, of course, in no sense material ends. They were practical ways of bringing scholarship to bear effectively on the mental life of the largest numbers. For this he was equipped in a degree quite exceptional. His great faculty of administering affairs appeared in the constitution of his Summer and Correspondence Schools, and—less visible to the multitude, but of equal efficiency—in the organization of the Hebrew and Semitic studies at Morgan Park, at Yale, and at the University of Chicago.

No qualification is needed in speaking of Dr. Harper as a teacher. He had a genius for communicating knowledge. This included—as it must always include—an intuitive perception of the mental attitude and furniture of the average pupil, and the gift of seeing with distinctness what he wished to teach, and of expressing it with precision. These qualities were heightened by training, and were backed by an unwearying patience, by a sturdy insistence on thoroughness, and by an absolute conviction of the worth of the study in which he and his pupils were engaged. Repetition did not grow tedious to him. That a student should master the elements of Hebrew was of more consequence to him than that he himself should have leisure for grammatical or exegetical inquiry. He gave himself ungrudgingly in his teaching work. To a remarkable degree these characteristics appear in his lesson leaves and textbooks. His *Elements of Hebrew* (1881–82), *Hebrew Method and Manual* (1883), *Vocabularies* (1881–82), and *Syntax* (1888) have been used in more than one hundred and fifty institutions, distributed in thirty-two states and territories of this republic as well as several foreign countries. In this way his influence on the teaching of Hebrew has been extraordinary.

The processes of instruction are displayed in these, and not the mere facts of knowledge. Therefore they will always have value for educators quite distinct from their value to research students. It is probable that groups of persons so many and so large have never been so well taught as his Hebrew classes were, in the sense of acquiring exactly what he aimed to impart to them. They gained the ability to read Hebrew with some facility, and, what is more, with some pleasure. The world of the Old Testament took on new life for them. Some of them, after further training, became Old Testament experts, many of them became intelligent and sympathetic students of the Old Testament, to whom the language had ceased to be a barrier or a bugbear, and had become a means of better understanding and of finer appreciation.

It is difficult to overestimate such a service as this. Each man who is affected by it is enriched and enlarged. It was always present to Dr. Harper's mind that in a subject closely related to religion, like the language of the Old Testament, a larger intelligence means new light on religious facts and new agencies for religious influence. But this may, for the moment, be left at one side. From the point of view of special scholarship the widespread results of such teaching raise the general level. They make special studies easier. They provide conditions from which the accomplished scholar more easily springs. They supply him with a responsive constituency. One in twenty of the eager pupils may grow qualified to teach others what he has learned, and so the constituency increases. One in a hundred—or five hundred—may be led to pursue higher studies with the best masters, and so, in time, to become himself a master with authority, and so the science advances. It is a great and good achievement to have made Hebrew and the Old Testament, to say nothing of the kindred languages and their literatures, accessible and delightful to a large company of men and women—good for them and a great thing for the future of Hebrew studies and the scientific study of the Old Testament.

Some dangers are involved. There is the danger, for the teacher, of seeming to countenance low and imperfect standards of scholarship, and, for the pupil, the danger of superficial knowledge and superficial judgment, and the danger of thinking that if so much can be gained so early, even mastery itself cannot require much more. But these dangers are inherent in popular education, and are not half so bad as the dangers of ignorance. The student who knows a little may sometimes be opinionated and impertinent, but on the whole the man who knows nothing is a greater menace. The beginner may not understand how much is beyond him, but he is likely to have a juster idea of it than one who has never begun. And all fresh knowledge gives a freer atmosphere, and tends toward the hospitable mind. Whatever drawbacks attended Dr. Harper's success were far more than outweighed by its permanent value in the general life of the intellect.

Opinions will differ as to the relative importance of different elements in his method of teaching. Dr. Harper himself ascribed the chief value to its "inductive" feature, by which the pupil is introduced to the facts of language, and led to build up the rules of linguistic usage for himself on the basis of these facts. As far as this means concrete dealing with the actual material at an early stage of study, and is opposed to abstract formula, it is no doubt fundamental. Dr. Harper's way of applying his principle was certainly, in his hands, highly effective. It might be called the method of giving illustrations before stating rules. When combined with the method of applying the rules widely after they have been stated, it is evidently fruitful. It is less adapted to a book of reference than to an elementary textbook. It is perhaps more appropriate to the *Introductory Hebrew Method and Manual* than to the *Elements of Hebrew*, especially since the latter became, in a sense, a book of reference for those using the former. Perhaps the fact that the *Elements* was published first (in 1881; the *Manual* in 1883) may have something to do with the maintenance of this order of the material in the reference volume. However this may be, and while it would be foolish to undervalue a system which has yielded such results in practice, there can be little doubt that Dr. Harper never did justice in his public utterances—and probably he never did in his own mind—to the part played by his unusual powers of selection and clear statement. From the mass of linguistic facts he picked out the essential—i. e., the things essential for a beginner to know—and left the rest unnoticed. The embarrassment of larger knowledge, the burdening sense of exceptions and needed qualifications, which oppresses many gifted teachers and enfeebles their teaching, is not an embarrassment or a burden in these books. He has selected from his available store that which is immediately useful, and that alone. And having selected it, he puts it before his pupils with brevity and in lucid terms. It is impossible to misunderstand what he says, or be confused by it. Without at all belittling the "inductive" method, it is pretty certain that if the choice were forced upon us between having first the facts and then muddled explanations of them, or first transparent statements and then the illustrative facts, the latter would gain a unanimous vote. So that we must recognize once more the preeminent gifts of the man as contributing to the success of his method.

His principle of introducing, at an early stage, some elements of comparative Semitic grammar is worthy of all praise. He could not claim, in 1881, to be a great Semitic philologist. But his mind grasped the relations of things, and he knew, with the teacher's insight, how a bit of philological history lights up the gray waste of linguistic desert in which beginners in Hebrew sometimes seem to themselves to be wandering. Perhaps if his own studies in this history had been larger, he would have been less able to use what he had for the benefit of his pupils. The gift of employing, without loss, all that he had was no small factor in his success.

His *Hebrew Vocabularies* (1881–82), also, were strongly advocated by him, and diligently employed. The plan of grouping words by the frequency of their use is the salient point in his system here, and is certainly correct. His own insistence on the committing to memory of these lists of words carried many students through the drudgery of it. But the general demand for this book has not approached that for his other textbooks, and many teachers have found that a less mechanical, more gradual, not to say insinuating, demand upon the student's memory is workable, and is more natural and even more truly "inductive."

The soil was to some extent prepared for such a crop of interest in Hebrew studies. The great impulse given to them by Stuart, Robinson, Alexander, and the rest had not wholly lost its headway among the ministry. The fresh energy devoted to them in at least one theological seminary of the eastern states, under the vigorous leadership of a strong teacher of unusual gifts, trained by long study abroad, was making itself felt before Harper went to Morgan Park. Modern principles of biblical study were announced in the same quarter. The trial and quasi-condemnation of a brilliant and competent teacher in Scotland, William Robertson Smith, with its accompanying spread of his opinions in attractive form, drew much attention in this country, and turned the thoughts of many into channels to which they had been strangers. During the greater part of Dr. Harper's public service, and side by side with it, movements that in some cases amounted to convulsions were going on in several of the great ecclesiastical bodies over the same biblical questions. There was a general breaking-up of the old ground and a fertilizing of it with new ideas. Others, also, were cultivating it in ways different from his. Large enterprises were undertaken in behalf of Old Testament science, and for the better knowledge of the ancient Semitic world. Dr. Harper was thus not summoned to clear and till a virgin field, nor was he an isolated husbandman. But, when all is said, it was he who saw how large the opportunity was, who perceived the ranges along which it especially lay, who was qualified in a peculiar degree to take it, and who devoted himself without reserve, and at great personal cost, to grasping and improving it to the utmost limits of his power. His service to Semitic studies was great in fostering other branches of them than those to which he more especially gave himself. Hebrew and the Old Testament belonged in a peculiar sense to him, yet he applied himself in private study, and with the eager diligence that characterized him in all things, to Arabic and to Assyrian, and he had classes in these languages at times. He learned something of other Semitic languages. But in none of them did he feel at home to the degree that he did in Hebrew, and in the Old Testament books, where teaching and public lecturing for a long series of years gave him easy familiarity with what he taught. All the more generously did he open the way for others to specialize in the various divisions of the great field. Qualified men were encouraged to devote themselves to these subjects, and opportunities opened to teach them in his various schools. In every case, whether in Hebrew or any other branch, Dr. Harper gave promising scholars the chance to show the best that was in them. The list is a considerable one—at least forty or fifty names—of those who came under his influence for a longer or shorter time, and afterward found positions of usefulness as Semitic and biblical teachers.

His great desire was to see departments of Semitic languages spring up in all colleges and universities. This desire was realized to some extent, if not in its full measure. The attempt has been made in many places. In some it has succeeded. In some the only form of it has been as an attachment to a biblical chair. In few has there been any generous equipment for such a department, and the attempt to provide it has in some instances been withdrawn altogether, and that in quarters where it would least have been expected. On the whole, however, his contagious enthusiasm bore larger fruit in this direction than would have come in many years by the combined efforts of less persistent and effective men. The idea has grown familiar, the need has been presented. Its results thus far commend it, and the preceding era of indifference to Semitic and even to biblical knowledge in courses of general education has passed, we may hope forever. The elective system, which, whatever its defects and drawbacks, has enabled higher institutions to offer hospitality to all branches of human knowledge, will not tolerate, in the long run, a neglect of subjects of such human dignity and such practical significance as these, and, as endowments increase, ampler provision will be made for these studies which Dr. Harper so deeply felt to be a general concern of men.

The breadth and depth of his scholarly interests are shown in two fields of which the past century has taught us the importance—that of periodical literature, and that of discovery by exploration and excavation.

Of his enterprise in the latter field, and its actual yield to Old Testament study, it is too early to say much. Nor is it important to do so, for the present purpose. Dr. Harper did not himself engage in exploration. The expedition to Bismya, under the auspices of the University of Chicago, and Professor Breasted's original work in Egypt and Egyptian sources, were matters in which he took the liveliest interest, and they attested his restless energy in pushing out many lines of search and research for contributions to the subjects which lay near his heart.

In the periodicals, however, he was personally and closely involved from first to last. The periodicals were of two distinct kinds; some had a popular and some a scientific purpose. The *Hebrew Student* (1882) was the first of them all, and represented both types, but the differentiation began with *Hebraica* (1884)—merged later (1895) in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*—and the *Old Testament Student* (1883), with its offspring by direct descent, the *Old and New Testament Student* (1888) and the *Biblical World* (1893). *The American Journal of Theology* (1897) attests his general theological sympathies, but does not, on the whole, belong in this paper.

As to the quality of these periodicals, it is quite within limits to say for the popular division that it has fully met its purpose, and has undoubtedly opened the way in many instances to something beyond itself. It is no small triumph that the more technical journal has been sustained at all, as it could not have been without the self-sacrifice of the editor in its earlier history, and the university backing of the more recent years. There has been a distinct improvement in scholarly value. For some time the available material was quite limited; the number of competent workers was small, and their absorption in pressing tasks was great. Articles of uniform excellence could not be looked for. The average was not always high. But, increasingly, the results of serious and careful work have gone into the journal, contributions have been received from scholars of note, and it has taken its place as a useful repository of the products of original research.

Dr. Harper had, in a marked degree, the editorial instinct. He felt in advance the mind of his public. Their point of view was present to his thought, without effort on his part. He saw with their eyes, and heard with their ears. Their mental equipment, their aptitudes and their prejudices he took into the account almost unconsciously. He estimated the articles he published according to their fitness for the students and thoughtful people who would read them, more than by any abstract standard. He was himself appreciative of the best, and his own robust judgment was prepared to decide questions of criticism and interpretation on their merits, but he had a warm and considerate sympathy for those who needed to be dealt with tenderly. He did not aim to dazzle or to startle: he was anxious not to repel. His earnest purpose, as an editor, was to reach, and hold, and instruct. Others sometimes thought him over-cautious, but he probably knew his constituency better than any one else did, and, on the whole, in view of the progress of the last twenty-five years, his editorial sensitiveness may be fairly said to have justified itself.

His own contributions to these periodicals have been as numerous as one had any right to expect. Here, more clearly than anywhere else, we can see how his interests as a scholar were widening; keeping pace, one may say, with a growing conception of the needs and capacities of his public. The early editorial notes, not merely in the *Hebrew Student* and the *Old Testament Student* but in *Hebraica* as well, are quite naïve in their appeal to the most elementary stages of knowledge. These journals were, at the first, the mere organs of a scheme of elementary teaching of Hebrew. It is evident that theological students, and not well-trained ones, were the object of the editor's chief thought. But in *Hebraica*, after 1886, these editorial notes disappear. His call to Yale, in that year, put broader responsibilities upon him, and he began to consider, more habitually, the range of Semitic languages and their relation to each other as of consequence apart from professional training. There is an advance from the note on "Hebrew in Colleges" (*Hebraica*, Vol. II, p. 250), and that on "A Little Knowledge of Hebrew" (*Hebraica*, Vol. III, p. 50), to the article (given first as a brief address in Philadelphia) on "Semitic Study in the University" (*Hebraica*, Vol. V [1883], pp. 83 f.). It was in 1888 that his *Hebrew Syntax* appeared, and it showed good philological method, but to his journals he made no important contributions in technical philology. His chief articles were in the realm of the literary and historical study of the Bible—mainly the Old Testament. In the popular journals these took the form of "inductive" studies; and here, too, while the pedagogical interest continues to the end, there is great development in the thoroughness with which problems are laid hold of, and the insistence with which they are presented. In the later years there were three such serial treatments of Old Testament subjects in the *Biblical World:* "Constructive Studies in the Priestly Element in the Old Testament" (January to December, 1901), "Constructive Studies in the Literature of Worship in the Old Testament" (February to August, 1902), and "Constructive Studies in the Prophetic Element in the Old Testament" (January, 1904, to January, 1905). Two of these—the *Studies in the Priestly Element* (3d ed., 1905) and the *Prophetic Element* (1905)—have been published separately. With these, as of the same general stamp, although adapted to students of a less special type, and with more stress on practical religious values, may be named such recent correspondence courses as those on "The Work of the Old Testament Priests" (1900), "The Work of the Old Testament Sages" (1904), and "The Foreshadowings of the Christ" (1904).

His most notable contribution to *Hebraica* was the series of articles on "The Pentateuchal Question," extending from October, 1888, to July, 1890. These showed abundant reading and familiarity with the main modern positions. They were prepared to represent the school of historical criticism in a discussion in which Professor William Henry Green, of Princeton, took the conservative side. This opponent was an accomplished debater, and had the advantage of the attacking party and of entire commitment to the positions he himself held. Dr. Harper, on the other hand, avowedly refrained from committing himself to the details of the views he set forth, and thereby lost a part of the strength of a champion. Dr. Green's articles were the more numerous, running on until the number for April–July, 1892. The result was perhaps rather confusing than otherwise to serious students of biblical problems; and while the double series bore witness to Dr. Harper's fairmindedness and genial recognition of opposing schools of thought, it is doubtful whether his maturer judgment would have favored a repetition of this procedure in like conditions.

Dr. Harper's reputation as a productive technical scholar must rest, in the main, on his *Amos and Hosea* (1905) in the *International Critical Commentary*. Preliminary studies appeared from time to time—specifically the *Structure of the Text of the Book of Amos* (1904) and the *Structure of the Text of the Book of Hosea* (1905); with earlier publications in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 1900 and 1904; and the translation of Hosea in the *Biblical World* (January, 1905). But he did not fairly present himself to the world as a pure scholar among scholars until the appearance of the *Commentary* itself, a year before his death. This book is so different from anything else he published that it must be considered quite by itself. His other books represented a selection from abundant materials of that which is needed by a class. Here we have a full—almost unrestricted—exhibition of all the matters connected with the subject. The attitude toward modern criticism elsewhere in his writing is often cautious, apologetic, sometimes non-committal, sometimes hypothetical, governed by consideration for an opposite point of view, or by a delicate pedagogical method. Here, the acceptance of the critical mode of approach and of reasoning is unqualified. The interest in the beginner's needs is not controlling. New emphasis appears, e. g., on textual change and on poetic form. All the features required by an elaborate, modern critical commentary are here—breadth of plan, patient handling of detail, the determination of fact by evidence, constant citation of authorities, careful analysis, registration of the opinions of others, introductions, tables of dates, lists of abbreviations, indices. In this book Dr. Harper took his stand as a serious contributor to the work of Old Testament interpretation, and claimed a respectful hearing from the guild of fellow-workers. Only those who are painfully aware how small the guild of productive workers in this field actually is, and how exacting the terms of admission by their own nature have to be, can quite understand the sorrow with which their welcome to this comrade, hardly spoken, was turned to a farewell. It would be impossible, in the present article, to offer a minute review of the volume. A few remarks of a somewhat general nature must suffice.

Every student must be struck with the aim at completeness. The seventy pages of the Introduction which are devoted to "Pre-prophetism" give a sketch of Israelitish literature and thought till Amos, with especial discussion of the prophetic phenomena in the early generations. The author's critical freedom—used always with sobriety—finds the clearest expression here.

We have in these sections more than the expositor of two books. We have the historian of thought and life in Israel, who has looked steadily, with his own eyes, at the panorama of events, who has caught the true perspective, who sees the past as a living spectacle, full of real men and women with perplexed minds and troubled hearts; we have the student of religion and theology, who has the dominant interest of life always before him. We are aware of a shrewd judgment of individual character and action. We are in the company of a practiced critic, now discussing Moses and his influence with the respect due to one of the great men of the world, now analyzing the Hexateuch, now comparing and weighing the legal documents which grew into the body of Hebrew law. The introduction, designed to give background and setting for the prophets, does this and more than this. It reveals the breadth and the conscientious thoroughness of the author, and enables us to take his measure with added confidence. The treatment of the prophetic guilds, and of the essential difference between the popular and the exceptional prophet deserves especial note.

The contrast is luminously drawn between the conflict of Elijah, Elisha, and Jehu against the Baal of Phoenicia, and the conflict of Hosea with the local Baalim of Canaan, which degraded the worship of Yahweh, but were not regarded as a substitute for Yahweh. It is perhaps a little confusing to find the relationship between these two conflicts dwelt on in another place (pp. lxxxviii ff.), but their essential distinctness is the more important proposition. Other divisions of the Introduction follow usual lines in the main.

The differences between Amos and Hosea—that marvelous illustration of a common faith and common purpose in men of radically divergent types—are brought out clearly and skilfully. No one has seen more plainly that Amos' work had definite marks of an ethical *revival*, and the exaggerations of those who deny all moral quality to the earlier conceptions of Yahweh are rejected. By these and kindred studies the way is prepared for the adequate statement, still awaited, of the precise ethical differentiation of the Yahweh of Amos from the cruder notions held by his predecessors in the same worship, as well as from the beliefs of other peoples, such as the Babylonians, among whom the gods were regarded as guardians of their people's moral life. One is inclined to think, however, that Harper minimizes Amos' aversion to sacrifice (p. cxix), for surely that for which Amos has only words of condemnation cannot have had any importance to him in the sense of pleasing Yahweh or tending to secure his favor.

The interpretation of Hosea recognizes secondary elements in chap. 2, but proceeds on the view—antecedently probable, and made more so by the array of difficulties attending the opposite opinion—that chap. 3 is genuine in the main. It is a true exegetical insight which makes the call of Hosea to prophetic service a progressive call, more absorbing and revolutionary as his experience advanced, and gaining its tender and awful significance by the wreck of his own life and the persistence of his own love.

The hypothesis that Hosea was a priest is perhaps not deserving of the prominence given to it (pp. cxlii, clvii).

Completeness is sought, throughout the book, in the presentation of divergent opinions at every important point, and even at points of minor importance. There is a modern tendency—in reaction from scholasticism—to prefer the dashing and brilliant commentator who is borne on by his own force, admits no other interpretation than his own, seems to have reached his positions without aid, and pays little regard to other workers in the field. Of course original genius is always welcome, and the connected exposition of the independent exegete is attractive and stimulating. But there is a healthy demand, by the side of this, for the calmer and more judicial temper, a place for the man who tests all views and desires to learn from them, and who is able and willing to pass in critical review the most brilliant of the exegetical advocates. This is the demand which Harper seeks to meet in his *Commentary*, and this temper it is by all means wise for the student to emulate. The author was notable, beyond some who are cited as Old Testament authorities, in recognizing how indispensable it is to know the literature of one's subject, and what respect is due those who have made real contributions to it. He studied the books of other men assiduously, receptively, and profitably, aided in this by his power of application, of quick apprehension, of easy assimilation. Hence his opinions are not the *obiter dicta* of a bright mind, but have a scholarly backing and coherence. No doubt we see, in his copious citation of opinions, the diligent and accurate hand of Dr. J. M. P. Smith, to whom the Preface makes special acknowledgment, as well as his own. No doubt, also, all opinions, even the eccentric and the casual, should be before the author of such a book. Yet the question arises whether it is really necessary to print them all for general use. Those that are baseless contribute nothing to real exegesis, and those that have had no influence hardly belong to the history of exegetical thought, and are not worth their space. More serious is the frequent lack of definite position with reference to many of the views cited; an extreme case is Amos 5:26, on which he cites thirteen suggestions (pp. 140 f.) differing from his own interpretation without making it clear by argument (even on p. 137) that his own is superior to the rest. One sometimes misses the lucid precision so characteristic of his Hebrew textbooks, a lack partly inherent, no doubt, in the situation of a commentator, threading his way through a labyrinth of possibilities, and determining many points only by a nice balance of probabilities, but sometimes suggesting that even this work of scholarship was done under heavy pressure. In textual criticism there is little to note. The author generally follows good critics, but does not make much contribution of his own to the difficult questions. The introductory remarks on the versions are meager. On the other hand, the treatment of poetic measurements, in which the author's interest has long been known, is an important feature of the book, and not simply in the matter of metrical divisions, but also in strophical groupings. All in all, it is worthy of a place in every scholar's library, as the amplest and best treatment of these two great prophets which has yet been given to the world.

Enough has been said to show that he was not an intruder in the realm of the higher scholarship, but one whose place in it was of right. And yet, unless his circumstances had radically changed, we could not have looked here for the main emphasis of his life. If he had lived a few years longer, we should have had the other volumes that were promised, and they, also, would have been eagerly welcomed and used. But the main emphasis of his life could not have been shifted to technical scholarship. He would always have had too many other things to do to become a critic or an exegete, pure and simple. And it may fairly be said that he had the many things to do because it was, on the whole, more profitable for the world that his great powers should be used in doing them than in the more secluded work of the scholar.

What we have to ask at the end is whether, on the whole, he made to Old Testament and Semitic studies the best contribution which, among the many, he was qualified to make. We may without hesitation answer this question in the affirmative. He aroused in thousands an eagerness for these studies. He introduced men and women to the questions with which such studies now bristle, and showed the lines of solution. By temperament he was fitted to gauge the receptiveness of average people for new ideas, and he did not repel those he dealt with by thrusting them forward too fast. He was content to be elementary for the sake of minds in the elementary stage, and had no contempt for them, or sense of condescension. He led them on to higher ranges as fast as they could go. He devised ingenious machinery for the promotion of learning. He persisted in his linguistic and educational work year after year. Thus he became one of the chief factors in that quiet revolution which, in the thirty years just ending, has brought the Old Testament so distinctly to the front, quickened interest in its languages, and equipped so many people to meet its problems intelligently, to the great advantage of the intellectual and the religious life. His sympathy with high scholarship will long be remembered, his scientific journals will bear witness to his determination to promote sound knowledge of the things he cared for, his *Commentary* will stand as an authority until the larger biblical science of a new generation shall displace it and its contemporary books. It is, no doubt, true that his greater influence will lie in the wider appeal; in the textbooks so carefully adapted to the ends of practical instruction, in the stimulus and teaching skill, living on and on, and to some degree reproducing themselves; in the interpretation of the conclusions of the few original scholars for the many open-minded students; in the long result of all those tireless activities which were sustained by his belief in the general capacity of men for knowledge, and which, while he lived, found their constant reward in the glad response of those he addressed. His greater influence remains as the influence of the teacher, and his school numbers more pupils than he ever saw. It is true, also, that while his lessons are the particular things he taught, they are, besides these, the personal qualities of the man who taught them. The lasting effects of his work for mankind are in knowledge, but not only in knowledge; they are also in character. Yet, although it is right to recall these aspects of his service to the world, it is most appropriate to remember that he was himself a scholar whom scholars are bound to honor, a student of prodigious energy and capacity for students' toil, a fellow-worker with students, who prized their fellowship. He was too modest to anticipate such a memorial as this, but no tribute to his attainments can be thought of which would have gratified him more profoundly. It represents a consensus of the Old Testament and Semitic scholarship of his own time and country. It is not given to every man to call forth such a demonstration. These contributors differ widely in many opinions; more than one angle of vision is represented among them; but they agree in their estimate of the occasion; they unite in rearing a monument to one who loved truth above all things, and spent his life in promoting it. They have tried to make their memorial a worthy one by giving each of his best, in recognition of a noble and lamented comrade.

ON SOME CONCEPTIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT PSALTER

CRAWFORD HOWELL TOY

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Though the poems of the Psalter were edited and collected doubtless for liturgical purposes, both poets and collectors allow themselves considerable freedom in choice of material. The majority of the hymns deal with the experiences, painful or pleasant, of the nation or of individuals. But not a few are merely reflective; and on some fundamental points contradictory opinions are expressed by different writers. This is natural in a community as large as that which produced the psalms, and in a transition period when different men would be affected in different degrees and in different ways by the new ideas that were coming into vogue. Even if the psalmists were all Palestinians (which is probable, though not certain), there would be diversities in their points of view; and, in the absence of any history of the Jewish culture of the later pre-Christian centuries, the Psalter gives welcome hints regarding the ideas of the time.

§ 1

Some points in the attitude of the book toward the sacrificial cult are worthy of notice. In general, as has often been remarked, little prominence is given to this cult. A few times sacrifices are mentioned approvingly as a part of the current worship: 4:6 (men are urged to offer right, that is, ritually correct and ethically pure, sacrifices); 20:4 (hope that Yahweh will remember the king's cereal offerings and holocausts, and grant him victory over his enemies); 26:6 (reference to the ceremonial procession around the altar, in connection with some thanksgiving sacrifice); 27:6 (a service of praise); 51:21 (holocausts promised in joyful recognition of God's goodness in building the walls of Jerusalem); 54:8 (free-will or willing offering with thanks for rescue from enemies); 56:13 (the same); 66:13, 15 (holocausts as thank-offerings); 107:22 (exhortation to men to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving for rescue from danger—possibly here thanksgiving itself is thought of as a sacrifice[1]); 116:13 (apparently some sort of offering is involved, but the expression כוס ישועות is doubtful; it hardly refers to a libation, for which the verb אשא 'lift' is not appropriate; possibly to some late ceremony not mentioned elsewhere, a solemn raising of a cup, in commemoration of deliverances at a sacrificial meal; it is, perhaps, a current expression = "I will make acknowledgment of rescue;" Graetz's נס for כוס is improbable); 116:17 (as in 107:22). Mention of vows occurs in 56:13; 61:6, 9; 65:2; 66:13; 76:12; 116:14, 18 (cf. Eccl. 5:4); the expression of joy in the temple as the special abode of God is found in 27:4; 84; 96:8, 9 (exhortation to all nations to offer homage in the temple); 138:2; with special regard to priests, in 132:9, 16; 134; 135:1, 2; festivals, which were occasions of sacrifice, are spoken of with longing or enthusiasm in 42:5; 81:3 f.,[2] and the pilgrim-psalms attest the devotion of distant Jews to the central spot of their cult. There is, probably, no reference to sacrifice in 22:27, 30,[3] and the text of 118:27 (where Eng. vers. has "bind the sacrifice with cords," etc.) is in disorder.[4] The passages cited above show that there was a general hearty delight in the sacrificial ritual as the symbol of God's presence and protecting care. Nothing is said of an expiatory efficacy in the offerings; the specific sin-offering is mentioned only once (40:7), and then only to be rejected;[5] it appears to be the temple around which the hopes and aspirations of the psalmists cluster—the temple as the locus of divine glory and kindness, the sacrifice being felt to be rather the traditional and necessary accompaniment of worship. On the other hand, we find expressions of indifference or antagonism to the sacrificial ritual. Some of the psalmists appear to live in a religious atmosphere almost completely divorced from priestly ceremonies: in the temple what they think of is God's graciousness (48:10), and the conditions of taking part in the service of Yahweh and sharing its blessedness are purely ethical (15; 24; 101). Besides the passages referred to above (107:22; 116:17; 50:14, 23), in which thanksgiving may be regarded as itself a sacrifice, prayer is identified in 141:2 with incense and the evening oblation. In several passages sacrifice is frankly dismissed as without efficacy or divine authority: 40:7 (God takes no delight in זבח and מנחה, and does not require עלה and חטאה);[6] 50:8–15 (Israel cannot be charged with neglect of the ritual, but God does not desire their bullocks and goats, does not need animal flesh for food, rather asks for thankfulness and the payment of vows);[7] 51:18 f. (God requires not זבח and עלה, but a spirit of humble dependence on him); 69:31 f. (praise and thanksgiving are more acceptable to Yahweh than oxen and bullocks). This unfriendly attitude toward the sacrificial ritual seems at first sight to be identical with that of certain prophetic passages that run from Amos to Jeremiah (Am. 5:21–24; Hos. 6:6; Isa. 1:11–17; Mic. 6:6–8; I Sam. 15:22; Jer. 7:21–23) and are commonly cited in illustration of the psalmists' point of view. And certainly, so far as regards the conviction of the futility of sacrifices in themselves, the two groups of passages are identical, and it is quite possible that the later writers had the earlier in mind. Nevertheless, there is a difference between the conceptions of the two groups. Down to the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans there was no official announcement of the divine authority of the sacrificial ritual—it was the traditional form of worship, and had only the authority of custom, so that Jeremiah could say simply that Yahweh had not commanded it. The prophets, as moralists, were naturally offended by the superficial and non-moral character of the current worship, and in their sweeping, indiscriminating fashion denounced the whole procedure as an insult to the deity, though there is no reason to doubt that there was much simple, honest, though crude, devotion in the sacrificial routine of the people. The intellectual atmosphere of the Psalter is different. In the time of the prophets the popular creed was frankly and naïvely polytheistic, and a part of their indignation came from the foreign coloring of the popular cult; in the psalms monotheism (of an impure form) is the accepted faith; the attitude toward worship of foreign deities is one, not of fierce anger (as in the prophetic writings), but rather of contempt, and hostility to the ritual is not based on the corruption in foreign cults. The divine authority of the ritual is not questioned; the author of Ps. 50 (certainly a late production) speaks of it with good-natured tolerance, while he professes himself indifferent to it. The tone of the psalm passages cited above is one rather of philosophical reflection than of religious indignation. The summary in Mic. 6:6–8 is a passionate ethical protest; the argument of Ps. 50:9–15 is an exposition of the absurdity of supposing that God needed animal food—perhaps a rebuke of an existing opinion, perhaps intended as a *reductio ad absurdum*, as if the writer would say: "the only conceivable ground for animal sacrifice is such an opinion, which is manifestly absurd." The reflective tone, with indifference to the sacrificial ritual, these psalmists have in common with the sages (Proverbs, Ben-Sira, Koheleth, Wisdom of Solomon, *al.*). The decadence of trust in sacrifice, while a deep religious spirit existed, led to the suggestion of substitutes for it. The prophets demanded a moral life, not as a substitute for sacrifice, but as being in itself the essence of loyalty to Yahweh; later writers, not rejecting the ritual, recognized as its equivalents prayer, gratitude, penitence, almsgiving (Ben-Sira 7:9; 35[32]: 1 f.; Dan. 4:27; Tobit 4:7–11; 12:8 f.; cf. Judith 16:16). In seeking for the causes of this movement, the limited range of the Jewish sacrificial system must be borne in mind. It was never a universal atonement—it dealt with inadvertencies and physical impurities; it did not touch the deeper religious experience, and the better thinkers recognized its insufficiency as a means of reconciliation with God. This inadequacy was, of course, not peculiar to the Jewish cult—it attached to all cults, being inherent in the nature of sacrifice, which has its origin in the crude beginnings of religion. In the popular worship it was commercial, selfishly utilitarian, a *quid pro quo* to the deity, and, because of this element of bargaining, was repugnant to finer natures. This repugnance shows itself among the Greeks as well as among the Hebrews; in the four centuries preceding the beginning of our era there was a general movement, in the western world, of protest against sacrifice and of withdrawal from it.[8] While this movement had its roots in human nature, and was therefore a natural Jewish growth, it was doubtless helped by the foreign thought with which the Jews came into contact. In the Psalter the conception of sacrifice is purified into an expression of thankfulness, and its place is largely taken by worship. The commercial feature of worship is not lacking. Yahweh is praised for his intervention in national and individual affairs, or is besought to intervene; the author of Ps. 116 expresses the general attitude of most of the psalmists when he says: "I love Yahweh because he has heard my prayer." This attitude, however, does not exclude a sense of ethical dependence on God and the desire of ethical union with him. The moral standard of the psalms is admittedly good, except in the passionate demand for vengeance on enemies (a result of the excited social relations of the time). The conception of God as the ethical ideal and the aspiration after ethical purity for its own sake appear in certain of the psalms, especially in Pss. 51 and 119.

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[1] And so, perhaps, 50:14, 23.

[2] See note 1, below, p. 7.

[3] See note 2, p. 8.

[4] See note 3, p. 9.

[5] See note 4, p. 12.

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[6] See note 4, p. 12.

[7] See note 5, p. 14.

NOTES

NOTE 1. PSALM 81:4

תקעו בחדש שפר בכסה ליום חגנו. The two feasts here mentioned are variously understood by recent critics. The commoner view is that they are New Moon and Passover; for the second some hesitate between Passover and Sukkot; others take the two to be New Year's Day and Sukkot. This last is probably the correct view. The statement in vs. 6, "he made it a law in Joseph when he went forth over [or, against] the land of Egypt," is supposed (by Graetz and others) to make it certain that the reference is to Passover. But Sept. reads more naturally "from the land of Egypt" (cf. Ps. 114:1), a reading that may include Sukkot as well. The psalm is not a unit: the paragraph vss. 7–17 is an exhortation to Israel based on a review of the exodus history, and has no natural connection with the joyful summons in vss. 2–5. Vs. 6 might belong to either part: to vss. 2–5 as a chronological statement, or to vss. 7–17 as an introduction. But the peculiar phraseology, the use of the name Joseph (יהוסף) instead of Jacob or Israel (as in the rest of the psalm), suggests that it is an editorial insertion to connect the two parts. The third line, שפת לא ידעתי אשמע, is again a gloss to the second line, a parallel to 'Egypt,' describing it as a land of a foreign language (so 114:1); an allusion to a mysterious message from

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[8] See note 6, p. 15.

Yahweh, an unknown speech or lip uttering the following words, would be out of keeping with the conditions—the divine utterances were plain to Moses, as later to the prophets. The first of the two feasts is probably the New Moon of the seventh month, which was ushered in with blowing of the trumpet (Lev. 23:24; Num. 29:1); so Targ.: בירחא דתשרי; another reference to the feast, according to Jewish ritual, occurs in Ps. 47:6, and others probably in 98:6; 150:3. If this be the first feast, the second is naturally Sukkot (so the Jewish tradition). The word כֶּסֶה (written כסא in Prov. 7:20, the only other place in the Old Testament in which it occurs) is apparently Aramaic (for the Syriac usage see Payne-Smith); Pesh. uses it for the fifteenth day of the month (I Kings 12:32) and for the twenty-third day (II Chron. 7:10); that is, for the full-moon week. The etymology of the word is uncertain. The derivation from כסה 'to cover' (*Rosh ha-Shanah*, 7*b*, 8*a*) is improbable. The Hebrew Lexicon of Brown-Driver-Briggs compares Assyr. kuse'u = agu 'cap;' the latter word means 'full moon' and also the god Sin (Delitzsch, Muss-Arnolt), but no light is thereby thrown on the etymology, the origin of the sense 'moon' being as obscure in Assyr. as in Heb.; it is hardly probable that the moon should be called kuse'u as being the cap of a god. Compare Arab. كُسْء 'that which follows after, the latter part of anything': كُسْء الشهر 'the latter part of the month.' From this sense the meaning 'full moon' may well have come (cf. the Syr. usage), and the word may thus have been employed as a designation of the Assyrian moon god. Arabic forms from the stem دبر 'to follow' are employed similarly to express the latter part of anything, as, for example, of the month; cf. also the old Arab. name for the fourth day of the week, دُبار, perhaps = 'the latter part of the week.' In II Chron. 7:10 the Arab. Version renders the Heb. "twenty-third day" by نصف الشهر, "the half of the month." Possibly an Aram. stem כשא 'to follow' is to be recognized.

NOTE 2. PSALM 22:27, 30

In vs. 30 many commentators, from Pinsker on, read אךְ לוֹ instead of the unsuitable אכלו of the Mas. text. This אכלו seems to have been copied or imitated by a scribe from the יאכלו of vs. 27. But this latter term also is inappropriate. Vss. 27–32 form a separate psalm, an expectation of triumph for Yahweh and for Israel, with which, the poet declares (according to the Mas. text), the pious shall be satisfied. In vs. 27 the expression "the ענוים shall eat and be satisfied" is commonly explained as a reference to a sacrificial meal, or else as a general expression of complete content. Neither of the explanations is probable. The mention of vows in vs. 26 does not involve a sacrificial meal, and there is no room for such a meal in the psalm; and the choice of the word "eat" in this connection to express pious satisfaction would be strange. The proper reading is suggested in the substantially identical verse 69:33: "the pious will see [Yahweh's gracious intervention] and rejoice;" we should probably read יראו and ישמחו for the יאכלו and ישבעו of 22:27. Further, the דשני in vs. 30 is suspicious: the "fat ones of the earth" may indeed be understood to mean the "flourishing, prosperous," but the parallel line "all that go down to the dust" and the general context suggest a larger expression. Vss. 28, 29, 31, 32 announce the coming universal worship of Yahweh, and a universal statement in vs. 30 is to be expected. Universality may indeed be gained by recognizing in the verse two classes (individuals or nations), the rich (דשני) and the poor (יורדי עפר), or the prosperous and the feeble, or those who are in vigorous life on earth and those who have gone down to Sheol. But the expression יורדי עפר does not mean either "the poor" or "the dead," but rather "those who are in process of going down to the dust of death," that is, mortals (cf. 104:29; Job 7:21; 17:16; Eccles. 3:20). Wellhausen avoids the difficulty by omitting כל יורדי and rendering the second line: "before him bow themselves in the dust." But the form of vss. 27, 28 suggests a separate subject in this line; an appropriate reading is obtained by changing דשני to שכני (so also Brüll), which gives the sense: "Him alone shall worship all the inhabitants of the earth, before Him shall bow down all mortals." The remainder of the verse is a gloss, intended to be an explanation of כל יורדי עפר, which is taken to mean "the poor." In several verses there are third lines that confuse the general couplet arrangement. In vs. 24 "fear him all the folk (זרע) of Israel" is virtually a repetition of the preceding "all the folk of Jacob honor Him"—it might be an original parallel, but is probably a scribal addition. The same thing is true of the unnecessary ending of vs. 25: "when he cried to him he heard." Vs. 27*c*, "may your hearts live forever!" is formally and logically indefensible; it appears to be the exclamation of a reader whose soul was stirred by the psalmist's picture of the happiness of the righteous. In vs. 28 the יזכרו is unnecessary, and the suffix in לפניך must be made third person. The paragraph vss. 27–30 will then read: "The pious will see and rejoice, they will praise Yahweh that seek him. All the earth will turn to Yahweh, all nations will worship him. For the kingdom is Yahweh's, he is ruler of the nations. All dwellers on earth will see and worship, all mortals will bow before him." Vss. 31, 32 seem to be a later addition.

NOTE 3. PSALM 118:27

אֵל יהוה ויָאר לנו אִסרו חג בעבתים עד קרנות המזבח. The antiquity of the text is vouched for by the ancient versions, which all follow it literally. All take חג in the sense of 'festival,' and all except Pesh., Aq., and Hex. Syr. understand עבתים as = 'leafy boughs;' both Syr. versions have 'cords' (or 'chains'), and Aq. has 'fat' (*πιμέλεσιν*), which term is explained by a note in $\mathfrak{S}^{H}$ to the effect that 'cords' here are intestines bound with fat, without dung (an allusion to a sacrifice). The rendering 'festival' for חג yields no satisfactory sense for the second half of the verse. The expression 'bind the feast' is unintelligible, and the Hebrew cannot here mean 'begin the feast;' the phrase אסר מלחמה (I Kings 20:14), cited for the meaning, refers to joining two armies in battle—it supposes two things to be joined, and the verb cannot have a single thing as its object. Wellhausen translates: "bind the festival with ropes," with the remark that the line is "altogether enigmatical." And it is decisive for this interpretation of חג that there is no hint of a festival in the connection. The psalm appears to represent a body of persons (soldiers or others) who, celebrating a recent victory, march to the temple to render thanks, and are received and blessed by the priests (vs. 26); vs. 27*a* is apparently the response of the people, and on this follows vs. 27*b*, which thus does not refer to a festival. A procession there seems to be, and accordingly the sense 'procession' or 'dance' is assigned by some scholars to חג. But this interpretation does not relieve the difficulty: apart from the question whether it is legitimate, it is not clear how a procession or a dance can be said, according to Old Testament usage of terms, to be 'bound.' Those who so render חג generally take עבתים in the sense of 'leafy boughs,' as in Sept. and Lat., but without arriving at a satisfactory sense for the passage. Cheyne (in the first edition of his *Book of Psalms*): "bind the procession [that is, the members of the procession] with branches, (step on) to the altar-horns;" but a 'procession' cannot be bound, and the supposition that the personages of a procession were linked together by branches is purely imaginary; nor does it appear why the procession should advance to the horns of the altar (surely a difficult procedure) rather than to the altar simply. This interpretation is abandoned by Canon Cheyne in his second edition, where he substitutes for the Masoretic text an entirely different verse. The objections to Cheyne's first rendering apply also to Duhm's: "bind [or, twine] the dance with boughs up to the horns of the altar" (if, he adds, the text is correct), and, in part, to Baethgen's suggestion that the meaning is: "bring the branches to the altar-horns and touch them," the supposition being that the sacred branches communicate sacredness to the altar — there is no authority for supposing such a ritual procedure. Luther, "adorn the festival with thick boughs," and Haupt (in *SBOT*), "decorate the route of the procession with garlands," give an unwarranted meaning to the verb אסר. As to the word עבתים it occurs in the Old Testament only in the sense 'cords' and 'clouds' (Ezek. 19:11; 31:3,10,14); but, as there is an adjective עבת 'leafy,' the Sept. rendering may be accepted as possible, the reference being, apparently, to the boughs employed in the Sukkot celebration (Lev. 23:40), though these were used, not for processions or dances, but to build booths as temporary places of abode. With such a sense for עבתים the difficulty remains, however, that the term cannot be brought into intelligible connection with the other words of the verse. The 'sacrifice' of the English Version represents what was up to a few years ago the prevailing rendering of חג in this passage. This rendering is based on the paraphrases of early rabbinical expositors who wished to secure literal exactness in the sacrificial ritual and in biblical references to it. The transitional interpretation appears in Targ. Onkelos on Ex. 23:18 where for Heb. "the fat of my חג" the targumist writes, "the fat of the sacrifice of my פסח," inserting "sacrifice" because the fat was that of the sacrificial animal. The discussion of חג in Hag. 10*b* (with reference to Ex. 12:14; Lev. 23:41; Ex. 23:18) is cited in Levy's *Neuhebr. u. Ch. Wbch.* and Jastrow's *Dict. Talmud* to prove that the word is used in the sense of 'festal offering;' but the context shows that all that is meant is that a חג must be accompanied by offerings, in illustration of which Ex. 10:25 is quoted, where Moses says to Pharaoh: "thou must also give us sacrifices (זבחים) and holocausts." The verb חגג also is used in the Tract Ḥagiga simply in the sense 'keep a feast': Mishna 1:6, "he who does not keep the festival on the first day may keep it on any succeeding day"—it is unnecessary to render, "he who does not sacrifice," etc. The Targum on the psalm passage under consideration follows the method of Onkelos and expands so as to extract a meaning from the text: "bind the lamb for the sacrifice of the festival with chains until ye bring it near and apply its blood to the horns of the altar." The Targum interpretation was followed by Kimḥi and Rashi, and later many Christian commentators took חג in the sense of 'victim' simply—so Schmid, Ainsworth, J. H. Michaelis, Delitzsch, Hitzig, Ewald, Hupfeld, Perowne, and others. It was explained that the animals were bound because they were very numerous, and in order that they might not get away; it was even suggested that they were raised up on to the horns of the altar and sacrificed (though animals were never slain on the altar). In support of the meaning 'victim' for חג recent writers have cited Ex. 23:18 ("the fat of my חג") and Mal. 2:3 ("the dung of your חג's"); but there is no difficulty in regarding the fat and the dung as things pertaining to the festival. There is no reason for rendering חג by 'festal offering' in any passage.[9] Nor is there authority for the senses 'procession' and 'sacred dance' sometimes given it. The author of Ps. 42 associates keeping festival (חוגג) with joy and thanksgiving, and probably alludes to a procession; but these are merely accessories of the חַג. In I Sam. 30:16, where the Amalekites are אֹכְלִים וְשֹׁתִים וְחֹגְגִים, the ח' doubtless means 'having a merry time,' that is, indulging in the merriment that was an ordinary feature of a חַג—there is no ground for particularizing 'dancing.'[10] For the significations 'procession,' 'pilgrim feast,' appeal is made to the Arab. noun حِجّ which, though it is actually used only for pilgrimage to Mecca or Jerusalem, meant originally no doubt a journey or resort to a place (particularly a shrine or other sacred place), and then came naturally to include the ceremonies connected with the cult of the place. Such was probably the early use of the word in Hebrew; but in the Old Testament it means definitely the 'festival' as a whole, not particularly any one detail of the ceremonies. It may, then, be assumed that in the psalm-verse חַג means 'festival;' that the psalm has nothing to do with a festival; that the verb אסר yields no satisfactory sense in the connection; that the expression עד קרני המזבח is unintelligible (except in accounts of the construction of altars, of men seeking asylum, and in Am. 3:14 where it is threatened that the ק' המ' shall be cut off, the horns of the altar are elsewhere mentioned only in connection with the ritual application of blood to them, the preposition being עַל). The first part of the verse may be a gloss, a fragment of the priestly blessing, Num. 6:25f. (יָאֵר יהוה פָּנָיו אֵלֶיךָ, etc.), suggested by vs. 26; how much of the blessing was inserted it is not possible to say—perhaps a couplet. The remainder of the verse seems to be a mechanical combination of fragments of several glosses. A scribe who supposed the psalm to refer to the Sukkot festival (vs. 25 was later used in connection with the festival) may have written חַג and perhaps בעבתים (ע' in the sense of 'boughs'). As a sacrifice was taken for granted (whether in connection with a festival or as a part of a thanksgiving ceremony), another rubric may have referred to the putting of blood עַל קַרְנֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ. The אסרו may possibly be corruption of the ישא of the priestly blessing, or of עשו, the technical term for the celebration of a festival. These rubrics, however they may have arisen, appear to have got into the text in the form of a sentence, which, however, is unintelligible.[11]

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[9] The word פסח is used in the Old Testament not only of the festival, but also of the victim (Ex. 12:21; Deut. 16:2; II Chron. 30:17*ab*; cf. I Cor. 5:7); but this usage holds only for this one feast, and the expression שחטו הפסח suggests that 'animal' or 'victim' may be the original sense of the word.

NOTE 4. PSALM 40:7–9

In regard to the translation of this passage it is to be noted that חטאה (v. 7) must, from the context, be rendered 'sin-offering' and not (as in Sept.) 'sin;' that בָּאתִי בִּמְגִלַּת סֵפֶר (vs. 8) does not mean, "I am come with [or, I bring] the roll of the book" (DeWette, Ewald, Hitzig, Delitzsch), but the בִּמְ' is to be taken with the following כתוב; and כתוב עָלָי means "prescribed to me." The origin of the Sept. reading

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[10] On the doubtful יָחוֹגּוּ Ps. 107:27, see the lexicons and commentaries; in any case the meaning is not 'dance.'

[11] Briggs regards vss. 27 f. as glosses.

σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι for אזנים כרית לי (vs. 7) is not clear; but, whether the *σῶμα* be scribal error for *ὠτία* (which appears in some Sept. MSS, and in the other Greek versions), or the clause be a Sept. paraphrase, or have passed into the Sept. from the Epistle to the Hebrews 10:5 (as Grotius suggests), where it may be held to represent the free messianic interpretation of the writer (not a probable supposition)—whatever its origin—it does not help the interpretation of the psalm passage or call for a change of the Hebrew text. The exegetical difficulties relate to the expressions אזנים כרית לי, אז אמרתי הנה באתי, במגלת ספר כתוב עלי. Apart from the strange and improbable use of the stem כרה in connection with ears (we might substitute פתח, פקח, or גלה), and the אזנים לי instead of אזני, the clause separates the parallel lines of the verse and has no natural connection with the thought of the paragraph; the first difficulty may be avoided by transposing the words, placing them, for example, after "then I said" (so Olshausen), or substituting them for the first line of vs. 8 (Wellhausen, "mine ears hast thou opened by means of the book"). But these changes being made, the difficulty remains that in the Old Testament the opening or uncovering of the ears comes by a divine voice, not by a book; the psalmist lives in a literary period when guidance is received not by prophetic revelation, but by a written word. The allusion in אז אמרתי הנה באתי also is obscure: the point of time of the אז is not indicated, the באתי suggests an unexplained movement, and the אמרתי a preceding unrecorded address. It may be supposed, indeed, that the שאלת of vs. 7 involves an address; but this word is preceded by the negative לא—God has made no demands. The construction in vs. 9*b* is not clear: the natural sense is, "in the book (a duty) is prescribed to me"—a book cannot be prescribed, only a course of conduct (as in II Kings 22:13); and, further, the relation of the remark (concerning a duty prescribed) to the context is not clear. Much must be read into the text to get a satisfactory meaning from it. Various emendations have been proposed. Graetz in vs. 7 writes לך instead of לא, אז שמנים for אזנים, ברותי for כרית, and renders, "if thou desiredst . . . . I would choose fat (beasts), if thou demandedst . . . . , then (vs. 8) I would say," etc.; these changes, however, are too numerous and violent, and the resultant sense does not commend itself. Duhm takes אז אמרתי to be a corrupt variant of אזנים כרת, and translates 7*b* and the rest of 8: "sin-offering thou hast not required—lo, I have read it (בנותי) in a roll of a book written for me," and regards this as a gloss intended to furnish the authority for the seemingly radical statement of 7*a*; here also the changes of text-words are not probable (on the gloss see below). Briggs reads in 7*b* אז ברית לי, and in 8*a* אז אמרת לי, which he connects with the preceding line—changes that are phonetically easy, but still leave the course of the thought vague. It seems clear that 7*b* ("ears thou hast digged to me") cannot stand in its present place (even as parenthesis), since it separates the two lines of the couplet and destroys the rhythmic symmetry (so Olshausen, Wellhausen). Vs. 8 also is interruptive; Duhm's suggestion of a gloss may relieve the difficulty in part, but unity and clearness are secured only by the omission of 7*b* and 8.[12] Vs. 8 is possibly the corrupt form of a marginal protest against 7*a*, *c*: "sacrifice," the glossator may be supposed to say, "is nevertheless prescribed in the law."[13] Vs. 7*b* would still remain a problem; reversing Duhm's conjecture, it might be corrupt doublet of 8*a*. In any case the thought of the passage is contained in vss. 7 and 9; the writer may have had in mind Jer. 7:21 ff., and similar ideas in the prophets; the glossator, on the other hand, would be appealing to the ritual law. This does not show that the original psalmist wrote before the time of Nehemiah, but only that he, like the sages, laid no stress on the sacrificial ritual.

NOTE 5. VOWS IN THE PSALTER

There are a number of references in the Psalter to vows, all approving or sympathetic; the most relate to a favor received, and the vows were probably conditional: 22:26, the vows are to be paid because Yahweh has heard the cry of his servants; 50:14, the payment of vows is in connection with a thank-offering;[14] 56:13 f., the writer recognizes his obligation to pay his vows and make offerings because he has been rescued from death; 61:6, 9, God has heard vows and bestowed a blessing, and the psalmist sings praise day by day in order to pay his vows; 65:2 f., praise and payment of vows is due to God who is a hearer of prayer; 66:13 f., 19, the psalmist will pay vows uttered when he was in distress, for God heard his prayer; 76:12, vow and pay, for God is terrible; 116:12–18, for benefits conferred a thank-offering is to be made and vows are to be paid; 132:2, reference to a vow said to have been made by David, to prepare an abode for Yahweh, that is, for the ark (there is no mention of this vow in our historical books—the reference rests, doubtless, on a current tradition). In all these cases (the last are, probably, not excepted) there was, it seems, the promise of an offering provided a certain request were granted. But, though the *quid pro quo* is of the essence of the vow, it is not necessary to suppose that the psalmists' feeling was baldly commercial; it is probable that, along with the belief that success depended on divine intervention, the vow expressed a simple, devout thankfulness. Vow-making continued among the Jews into the talmudic period (Acts 18:18; 21:23, and the Tract Nedarim), but with diminishing significance.

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[12] Vs. 8 is thrown out by Stade in his paper on Ps. 40 in *Oriental. Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, pp. 632 f.

[13] Possibly: "But I say, sin-offering [חטאת for הנה באתי] is prescribed," etc.

[14] In vs. 23 Wellhausen's שלם נדריך, for שם דרך, seems probable.

In Prov. 31:2 the vow, with prayer that a son be given, is of the simplest sort; the naïve, non-moral popular usage is described in Prov. 7:14; the text of Prov. 20:25 is in disorder, but the reference seems to be the effort to avoid payment. Eccles. 5:3 f. is contemptuous of those who delay payment; the business-like mode of conducting the affair is indicated by the fact that a messenger is sent to collect the amount due. In Ben-Sira there is no mention of vows — the sages took little interest in them. And though legislation and comment on the practice was continued by Jewish scholars till a late period (Maimonides, *Yad*, and the *Šulḥan 'Aruk*), there are indications (as in Ned. 20*a*, 22*a*) that it was disliked and discouraged by some rabbis. It is a survival from an early low stage of religion, and tended to fall into disuse in proportion as religion became ethically and intellectually clear.

NOTE 6. PROTEST AGAINST SACRIFICE

That there was a Jewish movement of indifference to sacrifice down to the fall of Jerusalem is clear from the history. It is only necessary to recall, in addition to the passages cited above, the broad thought of Dan., chap. 9, the failure of the Onias temple to attract the worship of the Egyptian Jews (though the superior dignity of the Jerusalem temple doubtless contributed to this result), the strict ethical tone of the sages mentioned in the Pirke Abot, particularly Antigonos of Soko (whose Greek name and his expression "let the fear of Heaven be on you" [cf. Dan. 4:23] suggest foreign influence), the attitude of the Essenes, and the tone of the greater part of the New Testament, particularly the Sermon on the Mount and such spiritualizing conceptions of sacrifice as those of Rom. 12:1; Phil. 2:17. The Jewish movement was part of a general western movement that included Greece and Rome, Egypt, and western Asia. The recoil from the naïve, non-moral popular worship, visible as early as Plato, took the form of the establishment of mysteries and new cults like those of Isis and Serapis. There was a succession of great moralists, Greek and Roman Platonists and Stoics, and a long line of men of noble moral character. In Plato, Cleanthes, Seneca, Plutarch and many others there are indications of desire for individual religious independence and individual union with God. The period, one of extraordinary religious excitement and activity and of religious creative power, was marked by moral exaltation and by a corresponding elevation of the conception of God. It was in this world that the great body of the psalmists lived, and it is natural to suppose that they were affected by its tone and its ideas. The Jewish movement was, doubtless, as is remarked above, in part native, but it was probably stimulated, heightened, and colored by the outside influences. The Jews were far from being intellectually isolated. They mixed freely, as the narratives of Josephus and I Maccabees show, with Persians, Greeks, and Romans; and the intellectual and religious influence thence resulting is visible in such books as Proverbs, Koheleth, Wisdom of Solomon, Tobit, and Enoch, as well as in Philo and the New Testament. There was then a meeting and partial amalgamation of all the elements of the western world.

§ 2

The Jews formulated a noteworthy conception of law—not of natural law, but of social and religious law, supernaturally given, infallible and eternal. In contrast with the theory of a world governed by immutable natural or physical forces, they conceived a society resting on rules that supplied all the material of life. This view is expressed more or less distinctly in a number of passages in the Psalter: 12:7; 19:8 ff.; 25:4 ff.; 26:3; 37:31; 94:10, 12; 111:7 f.; 119. The striking characteristic of this law, as the psalmists and other Jews thought of it, is that it is external to man, given from without and imposed on life by non-human authority. It is true, of course, that the details of the code were the product of Jewish experience; but they were held to have been given directly by God, and in that fact lay their special value to pious Jews. The law took the place of the old spontaneous utterances of the prophets, and, to a great extent, of the sacrificial ritual; in Ps. 119 it is almost personified, and appears to take the place of God himself in the affection and reverence of the writer. This change in the religious attitude rested on a justifiable instinct. The prophets were not seldom creatures of impulse, and their utterances were sometimes called forth by ill-understood circumstances. The sacrificial ritual was a ceremony that did not take hold of the daily life of man. Society, to be well ordered, required an organic law, dictated by wisdom, fixed once for all, competent to guide men in the doubtful and dangerous experiences of life. All civil or social law is in a certain sense based on external authority; the peculiarity of the Jewish view was that the authority was regarded as divine. The law was external, not only in its source, but also in its material: it dealt with the visible actions only, not concerning itself with motives and feelings; the command of the Decalogue against coveting refers not to mere desire, but to desire that it is intended to realize in action.

In the Psalter this conception of externality in its double sense, is modified and in part neutralized by the distinct attribution of moral purity to the law (as in Ps. 19) and by the appeal to man's own sense of its perfection. A pivotal term in Ps. 119 is "knowledge." Knowledge is said to be necessary in order that the law may be comprehended, and it is the law that is represented as giving insight. The psalmist turns unconsciously from the outward authority to the inward, and becomes himself the judge of the excellence of the law; his "knowledge" is substantially identical with the "wisdom" of Proverbs, though it is not formally applied, like the "wisdom" of Proverbs, to all the affairs of life; it rather represents the beginning of the movement that culminated in the Hokma literature. This movement stands isolated in the Jewish development—it is equally remote from the early life of public worship and ceremonial obedience and from the later rabbinical science. After the first century B. C. it passes out of existence—the current of Jewish thought went in a different direction. The exaltation of knowledge was not a pure Jewish product—it must be referred in part to foreign influence, perhaps Persian,[15] but probably mainly Greek. It is not surprising that some of the writers of our psalms should be affected by the Persian and Greek worlds in which they lived. The reason for the reception of such a production as Ps. 119 into the collection of psalms is probably to be found, not in the supposition that it was written for synagogue worship, but in its national tone. It glorifies the national law, and it alludes to experiences of trial and rescue, which, if individual, befell the man as a member of the nation. Of the services in the synagogues of the pre-Christian time we have no information except what is suggested by the name *προσευχή* given to an Egyptian synagogue in a Greek inscription of the second century B. C.[16] From this and from Luke 4:16 ff. it may be inferred that the exercises consisted in prayer and reading from the Scriptures, that is, the Tora and the Prophets; the poetical books were certainly not canonized before the second century B. C. (probably not before the first century), and it is not likely that singing or chanting hymns formed part of the exercises in a *προσευχή*.

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[15] See note 7, p. 19.

[16] See Grenfell, Hunt and Smyly, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, I, No. 86, ll. 18, 29.

While there was no scientific recognition of natural law among the Jews of the pre-Christian period, there are traces in the Psalter of a half-scientific curiosity respecting the physical world and the life of beasts and men. Without laying undue stress on the description in Pss. 19 (the sun traversing the sky, like a bridegroom issuing from his chamber or a strong man joyously entering on a race), 29 (the passage of a thunder-storm over Palestine),[17] 104 (the habits of terrestrial and marine beasts), 107:23–30 (the experiences of mariners), we may feel that the writers, in their framework in praise to God, yet lose themselves in admiration of the phenomena described. A comparison of Ps. 8:4–9 with Gen. 1:28 and Job 7:17 f. (cf. IV Ezr. 8:34) is instructive. The passage in Genesis is the mere statement of a fact of experience—man's dominion over the lower animals; Job asks with bitter or scornful skepticism, why the supreme deity should occupy himself with so insignificant a being as man; the psalmist, reflecting on man's twofold position—his smallness and weakness in comparison with the great heavenly bodies, and his lordship over all other terrestrial creatures—appears to have in mind a problem; he is neither scornful nor a mere chronicler, but seeks to understand the significance of man's place in the universe.[18] Ps. 139, in addition to its noteworthy formulation of the conception of God's omnipresence and his acquaintance with men's thoughts, shows a peculiar interest in the formation of the human body in the womb (vss. 13–16)—a physiological inquiry similar to that of Job 10:8–11 and more detailed than that of Eccles. 11:5. The Hebrew text is unfortunately in bad condition, so that the whole thought of the passage cannot be recovered, but the writer's approach to scientific curiosity is apparent.[19] Such reflections as appear in these psalms (8 and 139), though their application is religious, betray a mundane interest in man, and suggest that more lay in the minds of the writers than is visible in the text. They may be referred to the general progress of Jewish thought at a time when their world was full of intellectual excitement. In

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[17] See note 8, p. 20.

[18] See note 9, p. 21.

[19] See note 10, p. 22.

Ecclesiastes the allusion to the embryo is intended to illustrate human ignorance—in the psalm it is made the occasion of devout wonder, and thus acquires liturgical value.

NOTES

NOTE 7. PERSIAN RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

The traces of Persian influence in the later Jewish angelology and demonology, and also in the formulation of the doctrine of resurrection, are unmistakable. For the earlier period (the fifth, fourth, and third centuries B. C.) the fact of such influence is less certain. It is not quite clear what the Persian religious thought of that time was. But, assuming that the ideas now found in the Gathas were then current, it is obvious that there are noteworthy resemblances between them and certain ideas of the Old Testament Psalter. Thus, the Gathas have the contrast of righteous and wicked (Yasna 31:17; *al.*), and the righteous body appears substantially as a church, which is spoken of in the reverent and affectionate tone that is common in the Psalter. Both works portray national struggle, and deplore national suffering: the yasnas represent a conflict between an agricultural population and a nomadic, and lament the loss of kine; the psalms speak less definitely of deprivations and oppressions. In both the human qualities insisted on are piety and obedience, and these are held to bring happiness. In both it is sometimes hard to distinguish a moral element in the lamentations; in many cases the "righteousness" of the Gathas seems to be wholly or partly ritual. Ahura Mazda guides and blesses by his righteousness, goodness, and power, and by his spirit; his religion is called the Truth, as against the Lie of the enemy. The "wisdom" of the Gathas is enlightenment that guides men in the affairs of life (Yasna 31:22; 32:9; 48:3, 5, 11; *al.*)—it is based on and directed by the divine law, and so far corresponds to the "understanding" of certain psalms, especially Ps. 119, and to the "wisdom" of Prov., chaps. 1–7, etc. There is no trace in the Gathas of the personified cosmogonic Wisdom—no one of the Amesha Spentas has such a rôle. It would seem, therefore, that the conception of wisdom in Prov. 8:22–31 and Wisdom of Solomon cannot have come from Persian sources, and this fact throws doubt on the existence of specific Persian influence in the earlier conception of wisdom in the Psalter. Probably the most that can be said is that the Jewish idea grew up naturally in the Persian-Greek intellectual atmosphere in which the Jews lived. It may be added that the ameretāt of the Gathas, supposing it to signify ethical immortality, marks an important difference between them and the psalms—in the latter there is no statement of immortality. The passages commonly relied on in Ps. 49 and 73 to prove the existence of this idea are not decisive. In Ps. 49:16, if the verse be genuine (by some it is rejected as a gloss), the expressions אלהים יפדה נפשי and מיד שאול כי יקחני do not signify in the Psalter life after death; see Pss. 18:5 ff.; 30:4; 33:18 f.; 86:13; 88:4, 7 (cf. Prov. 23:14), where similar terms are used to express rescue from physical death on earth, and this interpretation of 49:16 accords with the context. So also the course of thought in Ps. 73 points to such rescue in vs. 24: בעצתך תנחני ואחר כבוד תקחני —the psalm is an exposition of the precariousness of the earthly life and ambitions of the wicked, and of the folly of envying these persons—for himself the psalmist expects a different lot on earth (vss. 25–28). The first clause of vs. 24 is explained by the preceding verse: ואני תמיד עמך אחזת ביד ימיני, where the reference is to this life. The second clause, according to the poetic usage, naturally has a similar reference, but the text is in disorder. The כבוד cannot well mean glory on earth or glory in heaven. Graetz and Wellhausen propose ואחריך ביד תקחני (Graetz: perhaps תחזקני), to which an objection is that the resultant sense is the same as that of vs. 23*b*, and the expression "takest me after thee" is strange. Duhm thinks that לקח is a technical term for the translation of a man to heaven or to paradise (Gen. 5:24; II Kings 2:9 f.); it is employed, however, in Ps. 18:17 to express rescue from deadly peril. The כלה שארי ולבבי of vs. 26 does not necessarily signify death—it may mean only great distress; cf. Pss. 31:11; 39:11; 90:7; 119:81. The parallelism of 73:23–26 with 16:7–11 is obvious: both begin with a reference to divine guidance in earthly life, and end with expressions of the conviction that God will not abandon his servants to death (that is, premature or unhappy earthly death); the בעצתך תנחני of 73:24 corresponds to the יהוה . . יעצני of 16:7; vs. 24*b*, ואחר כבוד תקחני, may be a corrupt fusion of two readings ואחזת ביד and ביד תקחני, both taken from vs. 23*b*. The omission of vs. 24 would not impair the thought of the passage, would rather make it clearer: "I am always with thee—thou holdest my hand; I have no helper but thee in heaven or on earth—though I be reduced to extremity, God is my strength always; those that are far from thee perish, but I draw near to thee."

NOTE 8. PSALM 29

The description of the thunderstorm is contained in vss. 2–10 (or, as some hold, in vss. 2–9). Vss. 1 and 2 are a liturgical formula (cf. 96:7 f.) and vs. 11 is liturgical ending. With Briggs I omit 3*b* (as a gloss explaining that the voice of Yahweh is thunder, and as destroying the couplet symmetry) and, with many critics, insert קול before יהוה in 3*c*. In vs. 5*b* I omit יהוה as a rhythmically undesirable scribal explicitum. In vs. 6, with all recent critics, the suffix is to be omitted, and the first half of the verse made to end with לבנון. Vs. 7 is defective (so Olshausen, *al.*); most commentators complete it by adding a noun in the first half and a verb in the second half. Briggs omits it as interrupting the thought, but it is not probable that a scribe would insert an independent sentence that is not of the nature of an explanatory gloss. The יהוה of 8*b* is better omitted, in accordance with the norm of the couplets, as explicitum. It seems necessary in vs. 9*a*, in order to maintain the reference to inanimate nature, to point אֵילות instead of איָלות (so Lowth, Cheyne, Duhm, Briggs, *al.*) and in 9*b*, with Briggs, to substitute קול יהוה for ךָ, for the sake of the meter. Vs. 9*c* stands isolated—it has no natural connection with the preceding or the following context; the כלו has no antecedent—it cannot well refer to the objects just enumerated, and the היכל must mean the celestial palace of Yahweh. It may be a misplaced gloss on vss. 1, 2, and is here better omitted (so Briggs). The מבול of vs. 10 has defied all attempts at explanation; an allusion to Noah's flood is out of the question, since it would be here irrelevant, and the picture of Yahweh sitting on the celestial ocean (if מבול could be so used, which is improbable, if not impossible) would be contrary to Old Testament usage and somewhat grotesque; nor can the מבול mean the storm just described, in which there is wind, thunder, and lightning, but no flood. The text appears to be corrupt, and Ps. 9:5 suggests the reading יהוה על כסאו ישב; in the second half יהוה may be omitted. It is a question whether the verse should be assigned to the body of the psalm or to the liturgical ending; but, as it lacks the ejaculatory and petitionary tone proper to such ending, it seems better to make it part of the description; the poet may be supposed to conclude his picture of Yahweh's power with the general statement that he sits on his throne as king forever. The psalm proper will then consist of eight couplets, to which an ascription of praise has been prefixed and a liturgical sentence appended.

Note 9. Psalm 8

The original psalm consists of vss. 4–9. Vss. 2 and 10 are current expressions, liturgical introduction and conclusion. Vs. 3 bears no relation to the thought of the psalm (which is reflection on the manifestation of Yahweh's power in the heavenly bodies, and on man's remarkable position in the world), is rhythmically loose, almost prose, and interrupts the rhythmical structure of the psalm. It is an allusion to national fortunes that might be appropriate in Ps. 44, where the expression מפני אויב ומתנקם occurs (vs. 17), but is here out of place. The allusion in the first clause is obscure to us: the עוללים and יונקים may be meant figuratively—there is, perhaps, a reference to some historical fact (military or similar occurrence), not mentioned elsewhere, when a great salvation was wrought by feeble means. The verse appears to have been inserted by an editor or a scribe who thought that the psalm should not be left without a national coloring.

NOTE 10. PSALM 139:13–16

The text of this paragraph is in such condition that it is impossible to recover its full meaning, but some emendations may be suggested. On account of the initial כי of vs. 13 it seems better to follow Hitzig in transposing 13 and 14 (so Duhm, *al.*). In vs. 14 the נוראות נפליתי appears to be a gloss in explanation of the following נפלאים; the form נפליתי is suspicious ($\mathfrak{G}^B$ omits the final י). Vs. 15 has three clauses, of which the third seems to be a gloss on the second. The expression רקמתי בתחתיות ארץ has received several explanations, none of which is satisfactory. A reference to the pre-existence of souls is excluded by the fact that it is not the soul but the body that is here spoken of; cf. Wisd. Sol. 8:20, where it is said that the pre-existent soul came into a body fitted to receive it. The supposition that the secret workshop in which the body is constructed (the womb) is here figuratively called Sheol, the dark and mysterious depths of the earth (Perowne, Cheyne, with references to Aesch., *Eumen.* 665, ἐν σκότοισι νηδύος τεθραμμένη, and Koran 39:8, "he created you . . . . in the wombs of your mothers . . . . in three darknesses") hardly does justice to the words—there is no suggestion of a figure here, and the fact that the womb is described as dark would not account for the definite statement of the text. Nor does it seem allowable to suppose an allusion to the earth, out of which Adam was formed, as the mother and womb of man; and the reference here is not to the "earth," but to the "depths of the earth," which elsewhere in the Old Testament means "Sheol" (Ezek. 26:20; 31:14, 16, 18; 32:18, 24; Isa. 44:23; Ps. 63:10, cf. Deut. 32:22; Ps. 86:13; 88:7). Evidence that the womb is imaginatively identified with the earth or with Sheol is supposed to be found in Job 1:21: "naked I came forth from my mother's womb and naked I shall return thither." But it is doubtful whether the two passages are parallel. Job 1:21 is admittedly obscure and difficult. On the face of it the "thither" refers to the "mother's womb." If this last expression be taken literally, such a reference in the "thither" is impossible. If it be held to mean "mother earth," then the "thither" refers to the earth and not to Sheol (and therefore does not explain the psalm passage in question); if "thither" refers to Sheol (as, from the usage of the Book of Job, it must do), then, since "womb" cannot be Sheol, there must be a leap of imagination between the beginning of the sentence and its end—the "mother's womb" is most naturally to be taken in its literal sense. Job may use the word "thither" loosely, not so much to describe a condition similar to that which preceded life (Davidson) as to point to the future abode of all men (Budde); he would say: "Naked I was born, naked I shall return to where all men rest after death"—the curtness of the expression being intelligible in an epigrammatic utterance like his.[20] In the psalm, on the other hand, in a quasi-scientific account of the formation of the embryo, it is explicitly stated that it was shaped in Sheol—an impossible conception. Nor is much gained by inserting כ and reading "as [=as it were] in Sheol" (Perowne, Duhm), for the naturalness of the comparison in this connection is not obvious. The clause is best treated as a scribal insertion, and an explanation of how the insertion came to be made may be found in Isa. 45:19, where the expression "in secret" is parallel to "in the land of darkness," that is, "in Sheol;" a scribe familiar with this passage or with this sense of the words "in secret" may have written on the margin of the psalm-verse what he thought to be its synonym. As is remarked above, the psalm formulates distinctly for the first time in the Old Testament the ideas of Yahweh's absolute omnipresence (including his control of the dwellers in Sheol) and his immediate knowledge of men's thoughts. In earlier Old Testament writings Yahweh's special abode is his temple; he is not thought of as being in Sheol (Isa. 38:18—44:23 is hardly an exception); and he deals with deeds, infers motives from acts (Gen. 6:5), and communicates his will by words, or changes men's spirits (Ezek. 36:26), sometimes by the infusion of his own spirit (Ps. 51:12*b*). The reason for the complete absence of relations between Yahweh and Sheol in the greater part of the Old Testament is not clear. With a few exceptions, Sheol is mentioned only as the abode of the dead. Yahweh may cause the earth to open and swallow men up (Num. 16:30)—these then go down to Sheol, but he has nothing more to do with them. His anger may kindle a fire that will burn to the subterranean Sheol and set on fire the foundations of the mountains (Deut. 32:22), but he himself does not enter the underworld. To ransom one from the hand of Sheol (Hos. 13:14, *al.*) is to rescue him from earthly death. Even when Sheol shouts for joy, along with the heavens and the earth, at the redemption of Israel (Isa. 44:23), Yahweh is not concerned with the life below, though here we must recognize a step toward the larger view. According to Am. 9:2, Yahweh's power reaches to Sheol—he is able to take men thence; this statement occurs in a passage that is probably late, since the next verse makes mention of the mythical marine dragon, and these mythical figures appear only in late parts of the Old Testament (see note 12). The first hint of a friendly social interest in Sheol on Yahweh's part is given in Job 14:13, where, however, it is put as a bare possibility: "Oh that thou wouldest hide me in Sheol . . . . wouldest appoint me a set time and remember me!" Ps. 139 goes beyond all other Old Testament utterances in its distinct statement that Yahweh is in Sheol as he is in heaven. The constantly broadening conception of his rule forced this psalmist to the conclusion that he was as really in the underworld as he was on earth; and this conclusion was doubtless a preparation for the introduction of a moral element into the future life such as appears in Enoch and Wisdom of Solomon. The absence of Yahweh from Sheol in the earlier Hebrew literature leaves the lower world without a divine head. The presence of a well-defined god in the Babylonian underworld might suggest that the Hebrew cosmological scheme once included such a deity, and that he has been effaced from the existing records by the late monotheistic editors. It is in favor of this view that, not to mention Hindus, Greeks, and Romans, even barbarous and half-civilized peoples, such as the Fijians and the Maoris, when they have constructed a tolerably well-organized hades, provide it with a divine ruler, as, indeed, it seems natural that a people possessed of gods should have a god for every place. On the other hand, we know too little of the early theological history of the Semitic Canaanites and North Arabians to hazard an opinion on their attitude toward the life after death and their conception of hades; and it seems unlikely that, if there had been a Hebrew god of the underworld, there should not have survived some mention of him or allusion to him in the Old Testament. There is no such mention or allusion: the proposed identification of the בליעל of Ps. 18:5 (parallel to מות and שאול) with the Babylonian Belili, or Belilitum, a goddess of the underworld, is precarious and unnecessary; בליעל, as = 'ruin,' gives a good sense, and in any case it must mean 'Sheol' and not 'the god of Sheol.'

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[20] Cf. Ben-Sira 40:1, where the antithesis "mother's womb" and "mother of all things" is expressed clearly.

§ 3

The view, held by the psalmists in common with the prophets, that the world was governed in the interests of the Israelite people, might seem to make a rational system of ethics impossible—it is not only unscientifically narrow, it also makes the divine governor of the world unjust. Nor is it the whole Jewish nation that the Psalter regards as the center of the world—it is only a part of it, called "righteous" in distinction from another part called "wicked;" the term "wicked," it is true, sometimes refers to non-Jews, but in a number of passages it designates those Israelites who are held by the writer to be disloyal to the national faith. The terms צדיק, חסיד, רשע are often simply party-names, and therefore they have in themselves no moral content. A חסיד or צדיק, maintaining his allegiance to the national law, may be ethically bad; a רשע, sympathizing with foreign thought, or a personal enemy of the psalmist, may be ethically good. The accounts that we have of the "wicked" come chiefly from the opposing party, and must be taken cautiously.[21] Nor is the optimism of the Psalter in itself ethical. It is ultimately a healthy and frank, though narrow, confidence in the national destiny; as the prophets regarded their convictions of right as the voice of God speaking in them, so prophets and psalmists regarded their confidence in the national future as a divine promise. This was healthy in so far as confidence in self is an element of success; it becomes a misfortune when it engenders fatuous hope and supineness, but into this pit the psalmists and Jewish people generally did not fall—they never ceased to struggle. Their trust in God tended to give them calmness and happiness, and had the important ethical result that suffering was interpreted as disciplinary. If the ethical theory of the Psalter is thus somewhat confused, there is visible in the book, on the other hand, the feeling that human destiny is determined by conduct (so in all confessions of sin, individual and national), and this remains as a fundamental ethical principle, though its particular applications are sometimes marred by narrow nationalism and party feeling. At the bottom of lamentations and rejoicings lies an unformulated conviction that the constitution and course of things is on the side of virtue; that is, in the language of religion, that God favors and maintains what is right and good; and this belief has ethical value (since it holds up the right as an ideal) apart from the question whether the conception of the good is always pure. If the question be asked whether a psalmist conceives of God as a good being, a distinction must be made between his acceptance of his idea of good as a necessary quality of the supreme deity, and his definition of good. As to the first point, there is no hint (none, for example, in 51:6) that God is regarded in the Psalter otherwise than as perfectly just and good—there is no such skepticism as appears in Job and Koheleth. The thought of the book (as is natural in a liturgical collection) lies outside of that spirit of philosophical inquiry that existed in the Jewish world for several centuries. To the psalmists Yahweh is sometimes hard to understand, but there is no doubt of his ethical perfection. As to the second point, the moral code of the Psalter is in general the current one of the time. Omitting its hatred of enemies (to which attention is called in Matt. 5:43), it recognizes the ordinary social virtues (as in Pss. 15, 24). There is perhaps a hint of a finer feeling in 35:13 f. (sympathy with persons who afterward proved to be enemies), but the situation alluded to is not clear. There is no injunction to be kind to enemies, such as is found in Prov. 24:17; 25:21 f., nor any prohibition of retaliation like that in Prov. 24:29; Tobit 4:15; the commands to rescue an enemy's ox or ass (Ex. 23:4 f.) and to love one's fellow-countryman as one's self (Lev. 19:18) are doubtless taken for granted. The non-moral side of sacrifice is rejected. Man is assumed to be a free agent, but there is no recognition of temptation and moral struggle; he stands in direct relation with God—Satan is not mentioned, and there is no intermediary between God and man.

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[21] See note 11, p. 27.

The question whether the doctrine of original sin and total depravity is found in the Psalter is of no great importance for its ethical attitude. Only one passage (51:7) has been supposed to contain this idea, and it, standing alone, does not affect the general position; it is immaterial whether the speaker in the psalm is an individual or the nation, but the phraseology of vs. 7 points naturally to an individual. The majority of modern scholars hold properly that the verse does not contain the notion of innate sinfulness, but merely (like 58:4; Jer. 17:9, and the story in Gen., chap. 3) regards man (every individual or the nation) as weak and liable to go astray. The view that generation is sinful is not Hebraic (Gen. 1:28; Pss. 127, 128); the law of Lev., chap. 12, is the survival of a tabu custom of savage times (in which birth is regarded as something mysterious and dangerous), and the prescription of a sin-offering treats the woman as the sanctuary and the altar are treated in Ezek. 45:18 f.; Lev. 16:16, 18. The יצר of the Old Testament, described as רע, is simply bad thought, regarded as leading to bad action; there is no trace of the half-personification of Ben-Sira 37:3 and the later Judaism. Nor is it clear that the conception of inherited qualities is to be found in Ps. 51:7 or elsewhere in the Old Testament. It is probable rather that the phenomena of life were observed every one for itself, without any attempt to construct a theory of derivation and perpetuation through birth; of such a theory there is no trace. Nor is predestination to be found in 51:6: "against thee, thee only, have I sinned." The words express the speaker's conviction (be he Israel or an individual) that he has been blameless toward man, but has sinned against God; the nature of his sin is not indicated, but probably it was somehow connected with the non-observance of the national law, that is, with disloyalty to the national God.[22] The verse is therefore regarded by Olshausen and others as pointing to Israel as the speaker; this interpretation is possible, and gives a good sense, yet the words and those of vs. 15 ("I will teach transgressors thy ways") may well have been uttered by an individual who shared the experiences and the ideals of the nation. The antithesis of natural and supernatural is not peculiar to the Psalter—it is found throughout the Old Testament and in all religions except Buddhism; its bearing on the creation of a rational system of ethics cannot be discussed here, but it may be remarked that, though it may dim the conception of the natural moral life, it does not in the Psalter wholly destroy it; cf. 15; 24:4; 50:18–20; 119, and also 144:12–15.

NOTES

NOTE 11. רשעים ,חסידים ,צדיקים

While many psalms reveal a conflict between the צדיקים and the רשעים, and the antagonism may be partly one of ideas, there is not satisfactory evidence in the Psalter that the רשעים stand for specific Greek skeptical and theosophical opinions and practices. Friedländer goes beyond the record in discovering in the Psalter a polemic against literal atheism and cosmogonic mysteries;[23] the collision between the "pious" and the "wicked," he says, was a struggle of the national particularistic piety against the new spirit that was forcing its way in and threatened to do away with the traditional simple piety, to gentilize the masses, and to destroy the Jewish nationality—a struggle of the piety of humility against the intellectual arrogance that dared to philosophize about God and his ways. Now, it is true that at the time of the Maccabean uprising, and before and after that time, there was a hellenizing movement among the Jews: Greek customs were widely adopted, and certain Greek ideas were accepted. But, according to our records, the modification of religious doctrine did not go beyond a certain point. Job and Koheleth doubt whether there is a moral government of the world, and advance toward a naturalistic conception of life, but both maintain the theistic point of view and are silent respecting esoteric religious teachings; and Agur's sarcasm (Prov. 30:2–4) is directed, not against a theistic belief, but against those theologians (not mystagogues, but practical Jewish teachers) who professed to be intimately acquainted with God's designs and methods of procedure. It is conceivable, of course, that speculative atheism and gnosticism existed among the Jews as early as the second century B.C.; but, if so, the circle holding such views appears to have been too small to call forth a protest from the orthodox leaders.[24] The atheism referred to in the Psalter is a quasi-Epicurean feeling that God does not concern himself with human affairs —it is allied to the skepticism of Job and Koheleth, though ethically different from it: the רשע of Ps. 10 who says to himself that there is no God (vs: 4) says also that God has forgotten to look into his deeds (vs. 11); the נבל of Ps. 14 (and 53) is a man who acts as if there were no God to call him to account; these persons are like those of Mal. 3:14 who thought there was no profit in being good. Nor does the polemic in the Psalter against the "proud" refer to the arrogance of philosophical speculation. The insolence that speaks "great things" (Ps. 12:4) shows itself in oppression of the poor (vs. 6); the arrogant of Ps. 75:4–7 are those who fancy that their power resides in themselves without regard to man or God; and whatever the גדלות and נפלאות with which the author of Ps. 131 declines to occupy himself, the concluding exhortation, "Oh Israel, hope in Yahweh," points rather to social and political than to philosophical difficulties. The Job passages cited by Friedländer are to be understood in a similar way: the רשע of 15:20–35 who stretches out his hand against God and defies the Almighty (vs. 25) is an עריץ who conceives mischief and brings forth iniquity; the picture in Job, chap. 21 and 22:13–17 is like that in Ps. 10, of prosperous and unscrupulous wicked men, and their bidding adieu to God with the conviction that there is no profit in serving him (21:14 f.; 22:17) is moral recklessness and not speculative atheism. Friedländer finds the key to all these passages in Ben-Sira 3:17–25, in which men are warned not to seek things too high and too hard for them, not to occupy themselves with mysteries. In vs. 19 (found in א$^{c. a.}$, but not in B) the Greek has *μυστήρια*, and the Heb. לענוים יגלה סודו ; in vs. 22: *οὐ γάρ ἐστίν σοι χρεία τῶν κρυπτῶν*; ואין לך עסק בנסתרות. The meaning of these Hebrew terms is fixed in Old Testament usage (which Ben-Sira, as a rule, follows): סוד , used of God, in his intimate, friendly association, which involves his favor

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[22] The expression הרע בעיניך עשיתי makes it less possible that the sin referred to is one inadvertence or merely the cherishing of pride or other sinful feeling.

[23] In his *Griechische Philosophie im Alten Testament*, pp. 40–50.

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[24] A reference in the Psalter to the Essenes is not probable; for, whatever their creed, they were not atheistical, and were in general loyal to the Jewish faith.

(Job 29:4 f.; Ps. 25:14; Prov. 3:32); נסתרות are his secret designs as contrasted with his announced commands (Deut. 29:28; cf. Prov. 25:2). His "secret" is revealed to the pious (vs. 19); as to the hidden things not revealed by God, it is well not to concern one's self with them, but (vs. 22) to do what is commanded. The author appears to be dealing with conduct, not with creed—he concludes the paragraph with a reference to the sorrows of a stubborn spirit. Since these verses inculcate humble obedience, the adjoining verses are probably to be interpreted in accordance with this sense. Vss. 23 f.: "do not concern yourself with what is beyond you—you have been shown what is too great for you [or what is above human understanding, or (Friedländer) too many matters of human wisdom]—many men are led astray by their own vain opinions," may, certainly, be supposed to refer to some sort of non-Jewish theosophic doctrine; but it is equally possible (as also the context suggests) to see in them a reference to an emancipated point of view that led a Jew to discard his national customs and adopt foreign ways and ideas. Among these (as was the case in the Greek period) may well have been some philosophical notions concerning the divine—not atheistic or esoteric—but freer than Jewish orthodoxy permitted, and also customs repugnant to Jewish conservative ideas of decency. But, whatever foreign conceptions may be alluded to in this passage, it is not permissible to deduce from it a definition of the רשע in general, and particularly it is not permissible to carry over such a definition into the Psalter in the face of the evidence in the psalms themselves. There the רשעים are regarded simply as the social or political enemies of the true Jewish people or of individual חסידים.

§ 4

The well-accredited native Israelite myths of the Old Testament (excluding the demons, deities, and heroes of the popular faith) are all genealogical, and are regarded by the Old Testament writers as representing real historical persons and events. Jacob and his sons are as real to the psalmist as Moses and David, and belong to the current construction of the national history. The same thing is true of the foreign myths in Gen., chaps. 1–11; these were sanctioned by long-established opinion, and have become thoroughly Hebraized. The case may be supposed to be different with the dragon figures Rahab and Leviathan that appear in Job and Isaiah and in the Psalter (74:13 f.; 89:11, and possibly 104:26). These came in comparatively late (they do not appear before the sixth century[25]) and differ from the native mythical figures in being cosmogonic. It is, perhaps, not possible to determine whether or not they are regarded by the psalmists as historically real. It is possible that they are employed in the way of literary allusion, as Ezek. 32:2 may perhaps be understood. Yet the way in which they are introduced makes on the reader the impression that they are considered as historical. In Ps. 74, for example (where the context shows that the reference is not to the exodus but to a cosmogonic event), the crushing of dragons (and leviathan) is spoken of along with the establishment of day and night and the seasons as the work of God, and in 89:11 the breaking-up of Rahab is put in the same category with the creation of heaven and earth. Nor is there anything in the Hebrew thought of the time to make a realistic conception of such events by the psalmists improbable. The mysterious remote past offered room for strange beings and histories, no natural history of creation was known, and the best current view of Yahweh did not exclude other powers in the extra-human world. Probably the psalmists held the cosmogonic dragons to be a part of the history of the beginning of things, and wove them into their conception of the activity of the God of Israel. They are introduced simply to illustrate his power: they were his enemies and he destroyed them. No moral quality is ascribed to them, and there is no symbolic interpretation of the stories nor any recognition of their poetical character. They are treated baldly as historical facts, and have no moral or religious or poetic value. In Ps. 91:6 (and possibly in vs. 5) there seems to be reference to demons of darkness and noon; it is not clear whether these are native, but, native or foreign, they belong to the lower stratum of religious conceptions, and have nothing to do with the essential thought of the psalm. The same thing is true of the reference, in 121:6, to the hurtful power of the moon; or the writer may have in mind, not demons, but merely a supposed fact of hygienic experience. In 19:5, where the sun is compared to a bridegroom and an athlete, it is hardly necessary to see an allusion to the sun-god; the comparison may well be a bit of poetical imagery.

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[25] See note 12, p. 33.

Foreign deities are recognized in the Psalter as existing, and are variously treated. So far as regards idols (עצבים), these are ridiculed (115:4–8; 135:15–18) in the vein of Isa. 40:18 f.; 41:6 f.; 44:9–17 (cf. the different tone in Hab. 2:18 f.). The gods also in a couple of passages (96:5; 97:7) are contemptuously dismissed as worthless (אלילים), incapable of helping their worshipers; in 97:7, while the parallelism appears to identify the אלילים with פסל, they seem also to be spoken of as אלהים.[26] In general in the Psalter, as in the prophets, a distinction is made between gods and their images; the latter are treated as obviously absurd, the former are regarded as beings to be reckoned with. Part of the glory ascribed to Yahweh is his superiority to other deities (86:8; 95:3; 96:4; 97:9; 136:2, and probably 113:4 by emending גוים into אלהים—the emendation is suggested by the context: "his glory is above the heavens," and "who [that is, among the gods] is like to Yahweh?" as well as by the similarity in form to 97:7—probably an editor thought it desirable to bring the idea down to the sphere of visible and practical relations, as in 96:7 משפחות עמים has been substituted for the בני אלים of 29:1). The same conception of Yahweh's superiority to other gods is found in Ex. 15:11; Mic. 7:18; Isa. 41:21–24; 43:9; in these passages his superiority is demonstrated by his great deeds, in the psalms it is taken for granted. The gods, however, are believed to exist and to form part of a great extra-human society. They are exhorted or declared to worship Yahweh (97:7, if the text be correct)—a noteworthy conception of governmental unity in the divine world, to be compared with the prediction (Isa. 24:21 ff.) that Yahweh will punish the hostile heavenly Powers, and with the references, cited above, to his dealing with the great dragon beings. This demand for unity in the universe is a step toward monotheism, and 97:7 seems even to contain the idea of unity of thought, a conversion of the gods to right religious practice, a sort of ἀποκατάστασις on the largest scale. Elsewhere in the Psalter foreign gods appear to be brought into intimate social relations with men. In 58:2 (reading אלִם for the אֶלם[27] of the

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[26] Cf. Sab. אלאל referred to in the BDB lexicon, and Professor A. T. Clay's suggestion (*American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXIII, 269 ff.) that the Hebrew word may be the Babylonian אליל (אנליל), the name of the god of Nippur.

[27] The word is by some deleted, but the metre calls for a word here. Others point אָלם (Sept. ἄρα), but such an adversative term seems not in place here. On the other hand, the

Masoretic text) they are unjust judges of men, dealing out violence on the earth. Psalm 82 gives a definite picture of a heavenly assembly—a judicial inquiry into the administration of human affairs. God (that is, the God of Israel) presides—around or before him stand the inferior deities, each of whom has his function as divine head of some non-Jewish people (so it may be inferred from vs. 8). These are charged with injustice, and are to be punished—though they are in truth אלהים, בני עליון, they must die like men. This picture of the government of the world—"divine" judges who are to be put to death by the Supreme Judge—has given rise to doubts as to the text and the meaning. It is proposed to read בני אלהים (cf. בני עליון, 82:7) instead of אלהים and אלים; but in that case the expression must be understood in a sense different from that of the earlier books, and the beings referred to must be identifiable with the gentile deities who were supposed to be subject to death (82:8).[28] It is held by some scholars that the title אלהים is sometimes given in the Old Testament in a serious sense to men, but the passages cited for this view do not support it: in Ex. 21:6 the context shows that it is the household god to whose image or shrine the slave is brought (Sept.: *πρὸς τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ*); in Ex. 22:7, 8, two cases are mentioned in which, the ordinary judges not being able to decide (and to them other cases are tacitly referred in the code), the matter is left to God (to be settled by oath or by the sacred lot or in some similar way—cf. Num. 5:21, I Sam. 2:25); Ex. 22:27 distinguishes between אלהים (Sept. *θεοὺς*) and the human נשיא (cursing a god was not uncommon, see I Sam. 3:13, Sept., I Kings 21:10, Isa. 8:21, Job 1:5; 2:9, Lev. 24:15); the text of Judg. 5:8 is doubtful, and in any case there is no good ground for rendering אלהים 'judges;' the Sept. in Ps. 138:1 has *ἀγγέλων*, which is an incorrect translation, but shows that the translators did not think of men in the connection (so in Ps. 8:6 *ἀγγέλους* for אלהים). It may be assumed that there is no authority from usage for taking אלהים (or אלים) in a serious sense as 'judges' or 'rulers,' whether native or foreign. Some critics, however,

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reading אֵלִים, = 'gods,' is favored by the apparent contrast with the בני אדם at the end of the verse; and the rendering 'mighty ones' (= rulers) is less probable.

[28] See note 13, p. 34.

suppose that the title may be given to men sarcastically. Ewald (followed by Olshausen) thinks the reference in Pss. 58, 82 is to gentile judges whom the poet calls "gods" after the gentile fashion, but in his own sarcastic sense; Duhm sees in the passages an attack on the proud Hasmonean priest-princes whom their hellenizing flatterers may have affected to consider divine. The objection to this interpretation (in addition to what is said above) is that the text gives no hint of sarcasm—the tone of 58 and 82 is serious (82 is so taken in John 10:34 f.), and the expression, "I say, ye are gods," can hardly be understood to be employed derisively. However strange this recognition of foreign deities may appear, the Old Testament usage seems decisive for the interpretation of the אלהים and אלים of the two psalms in question as gentile gods, treated as unjust (because their people are suffering) and as mortal. The conception that every people has its own god to whom it looks for protection, appears in the older books (Judg. 11:24; cf. I Sam. 26:19) in crude form; in the psalms above cited the gods belong to an organized body, and take part in human life in a modern human way. The variety of views expressed in the Psalter respecting gentile deities indicates that the Jews of the later period were much exercised about these beings; it was impossible to deny their existence, and the only course left for pious thought was to weave them into the recognized scheme of the divine government of the world, under the headship of Yahweh. The same method had already been adopted in the treatment of the old divine beings who appear in the Old Testament as angels, seraphs, cherubs, and sons of the Elohim. To the psalmists, as to Socrates, the conception of the co-existence of the supreme God and the subordinate gods seems not to have been a difficult one; and while it rendered their monotheism theoretically impure, left it practically intact.

NOTES

Note 12. Old Testament Dragons

The earliest definite mentions in the Old Testament of the mythical dragon are found in Isa. 51:9; 27:1; Am. 9:3; Job 7:12; the reference in Ezek. 29:3; 32:2 (where read תַּנִּין) is doubtful, but the context rather points to the crocodile, a sacred and distinctive animal, which the prophet names as the symbol of Egypt. As the cosmogonic figures are doubtless of Babylonian origin, and taken from the Babylonian cosmogonic poems or current beliefs, it seems probable that the history of creation therein contained was accepted by certain Israelite writers so far as was compatible with their conception of Yahweh as creator and supreme ruler. If so, these figures represent the earliest form of the Jewish idea of intermediate agencies between God and the world—an idea destined to be developed in a very fruitful way. The intermediate agency in this case would be hostile, and the conception of its activity would be crude, but it would contain the notion that other powers besides Yahweh were concerned in the formation of the world. Such a conception would not impair seriously the practical Jewish monocratic faith (which never was absolute monotheism), but it would give a certain richness to the idea of God.

Note 13. The בני אלהים

It appears from Ben-Sira 17:17 and Dan. 10:20 f. that in the second century B. C. the opinion existed among the Jews that beings of the בני אלהים class presided over gentile peoples. According to the Sept. text of Deut. 32:8, the Most High assigned the nations their territories *κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ*, the Heb. being למספר בני ישראל (Sept. read בני אל). Ben-Sira, citing Deut. 32:8, writes *ἑκάστῳ ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον* (unfortunately the Heb. of this verse of Ben-Sira has not yet been found), apparently interpreting the Sept. expression in a general way in the sense that appears in Daniel where the שר of Israel (Michael) is in the same category with the שרים of Persia and Greece. The two passages, however, differ greatly. The שרים of Daniel are neither angels nor demons in the ordinary senses of these terms—they are celestial princes who manage the affairs of the world, each in the interest of his nation, Yahweh apparently leaving things in their hands; the struggle is between Michael and Gabriel on the one side, and the princes of Persia and Greece on the other. These latter figures appear to be developments of the Satan of Zech., chap. 3, the adversary of Israel, under the influence of the Persian dualistic scheme, and Michael and Gabriel are individuals formed on the model of the בני אלהים. Ben-Sira has nothing of this elaborate organization of the celestial world, only a simple *ἡγούμενος* for each nation. The אלהים of Ps. 82 are very different figures from the שרים of Daniel: they are not celestial magnates conducting international affairs, but quiet divine rulers whose function it is to attend each to the well-being of his own people. The difference between them and the figures of Gen., chap. 6, Isa., chap. 6, and Job, chap. 1, is obvious. The psalmist's conception of the realness but inferiority of foreign gods appears to be expressed in Dan. 3:18, and a similar view is ascribed to the king (3:28 f.). The persistence of such opinions centuries later (I Cor. 10:19 ff.) makes the representations in the Psalter intelligible.

THEOPHOROUS PROPER NAMES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH

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The object of the present paper is to register the traces of Semitic polytheism found in the proper names of the Old Testament. The various treatises on Hebrew proper names published within the last thirty[1] years seem not to have considered all the phenomena. They all recognize, indeed, the fact that the Hebrews, like other peoples, used the names of their divinities in proper names of men and places. So far as the use of the names of Israel's God is concerned, the fact can hardly escape the notice of even the casual reader. But that the names of other divinities were so used is not generally admitted. Gray finds "no satisfactory proof that other gods shared with Yahweh the feelings of gratitude and devotion which so frequently guided a Hebrew parent in the choice of his children's names," and Baethgen denies that Hebrew personal names contain the name of other divinities than Israel's own God.[2] If this were so, it would be very strange, for monotheism did not prevail in Israel before the fall of Jerusalem in 586. Of this we are assured by Jeremiah, who tells us that the gods of Judah were in his day as many as the cities. This testimony is confirmed by Ezekiel, who in an impressive passage describes the idolatry which was carried on in the temple itself and by the leading men of the nation.

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[1] Nestle, *Die israelitischen Eigennamen.* Haarlem, 1876.

De Jong, *Over de met Ab, Ach enz. zamengestelde Hebreeuwsche Eigennamen.* (Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.) Amsterdam, 1881.

Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte.* Berlin, 1888.

Grunwald, *Die Eigennamen des Alten Testamentes in ihre Bedeutung für die Kenntniss des hebräischen Volksglaubens.* Breslau, 1895.

Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names.* London, 1896.

Kerber, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der hebräischen Eigennamen des Alten Testamentes.* Freiburg, 1897.

Ulmer, *Die semitischen Eigennamen im Alten Testament.* Leipzig, 1901.

For the Phoenician and Aramaic parallels I have relied on the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, and on Cook, *Handbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions.*

[2] Gray, p. 148; Baethgen, p. 140.

Moreover, we are now tolerably sure that the Israel of historic times was largely made up of Canaanitish elements; and one of the most persistent charges brought by the Old Testament writers against their own people is that they have repeatedly been led away into the worship of Canaanitish divinities. Specifications are indeed lacking; beyond the general statement that they went after the Baals and the Astartes we find no names of these gods recorded by the historians. These men, looking back on a time of defection, as they regarded it, took no pleasure in dwelling upon facts abhorrent to them. So far as was possible, they ignored the uncomfortable details. It is only incidentally that we learn of Teraphim in the house of David; and it is only because a late author is obliged to prohibit the worship of the desert demons that he mentions them at all. By a curious survival in the ritual we learn that one of these divinities was named Azazel, but he is the only one known to us by direct assertion. The meagerness of direct evidence makes us scrutinize the indirect evidence with all the greater care.

The precarious nature of much of the evidence with which we have to deal is acknowledged at the start. The majority of the proper names contained in the Old Testament are recorded by late documents—the Priest Code and Chronicles. It seems that the tendency to preserve genealogies became strong after the exile, and there is too much ground for the suspicion that where genuine lists had not been preserved the lack was made up by invention. The information which these authors profess to give concerning the pre-exilic period is always to be viewed with caution, and this is as true of their genealogies as of any part of their work. On the other hand, it is probable that in some cases they drew upon a genuine tradition, and even where they invented lists they probably made them up from names which were in circulation in their own time. But these names may have represented ancient and forgotten beliefs. The tenacity of proper names is well attested. The Christian of the sixth century of our era who bore the name Dusarios thereby witnessed to the ancestral worship of Dusares, though he himself had left the heathen community; and the Numidian bishop Asmunius in the same way bore testimony to

Eshmun, though his ancestors for generations may have been followers of Christ.[3] Because of this tenacity of tradition we have a right to examine all these proper names in the hope that they have preserved traces of older beliefs.

A further difficulty is made by the faulty transmission of the texts. Carelessness in the handling of proper names is one of the besetting sins of copyists. Where the text consists of long series of names we can hardly be surprised that the average scribe does not take his task very seriously. The confusion which is likely to result is made visible to us by the Greek version—or versions—of the Old Testament, where each group of manuscripts seems to go its own way. For example, in Josh. 15:30 our Hebrew text has the name כסיל. The Greek copies give us no less than eight equivalents: Βαιθηλ, Χασειρ, Ειλ, Χειλ, Χασειδ, Χεηλ, Σειελ, and Βεχθηλ; not counting minor variations. Again, the name Ahilud, which occurs five times in the Bible, is represented by no less than fifteen Greek equivalents. Our perplexity is increased by the doubt how far the printed Greek editions accurately reproduce the manuscript readings. It is evident that we are far from a final solution of all the problems thus presented to us, but with caution it is yet possible to make provisional use even of the Greek version.

It was not only the carelessness of the scribes which disfigured their copies; they shared the prejudice of the original authors against all that savored of heathenism. This prejudice induced them sometimes to mutilate their text by the excision of a name which had escaped the zeal of the original writer. The classic example is the name of Saul's son, Ishbaal. The second part of the name is that of a heathen divinity, and the copyist hesitated to write it, as the public reader did to pronounce it. The name was therefore changed to Ishbosheth ('Man-of-shame'), or in one passage to Ishyo ('Man-of-Yahweh'). Parallel is the substitution of Elyada for Baalyada in II Sam. 5:16 compared with I Chron. 14:7. These familiar cases illustrate the two ways in which an offensive name might be treated; either Yahweh or one of its equivalents was substituted for that of the heathen divinity, or

[3] Baethgen, pp. 92, 141.

else the heathen element was replaced by something meaningless or opprobrious. So far as this process went on before the Greek version was made, we have no means of recovering the original. We have reason to suspect that it did go on for some time, for we have a number of proper names which are meaningless, and which are, moreover, un-Hebraic in structure. While we might expect occasionally to meet an unfamiliar root in a proper name, the cases of un-Hebraic forms always arouse suspicion. Conjecture as a method of restoring mutilated names is always unsatisfactory; we can only note the difficulty and pass on. Where the name of Yahweh, or its synonym El, has taken the place of another and less orthodox one, we cannot even detect that mutilation has taken place.

A few examples showing how mutilation was going on at the time the Greek version was made may here be given: Βεελσιμος for בשלם; Αβδοδομ, עבדון; Αδωνειραμ, הדרם or אדרם; Αβααζερ, נבהז; Βαιθσουρ, בת אל; Ιασβηλ, יחצאל; Ισβααλ, ישבאב; Μελχολ, מיכל; Αβεισουρ, אביהוא; Αχιεζερ, איעזר; Αβεισαμας, אבישוע; Ελιαβ, אליאל; Βααλ for עדיאל (I Chron. 9:39). In this list 𝔊 seems to have preserved the original reading. In the following the advantage is on the side of the Hebrew: בעליה, Βαδαια; אביעזר, Ιεζει; אביהיל, Βαιαν; ביתדגן, Βαγαδιηλ; בעל, Ιωηλ (I Chron. 5:5); אליעם, Ουελιαφ. Without support from the Greek, but certain from internal evidence, is the curious instance where Dan has been exscinded from the text (I Chron. 7:12).

Observation of these facts convinces us that only a small proportion of the theophorous names which once existed in the Hebrew writings have come down to us. It is rather remarkable that any escaped mutilation. That some did escape is due to two facts; for one thing the scribes did not always recognize a heathen name when they saw it, and for another the offensive meaning could be interpreted away. The name of the divinity Melek appears in some early names. But melek is the Hebrew word for king, and the proper name Ahimelek, for example, which originally meant (perhaps) 'Brother-of-Melek,' could be interpreted 'Brother-of-the-king,' and so pass muster. Even names in which the god was recognized might have a new meaning put into the other element, and so be considered innocuous. Jerubbaal, one of the early heroes, had a name compounded with that of Baal. It was allowed to pass because, whatever the original meaning, it could be interpreted as "Fighter-against-Baal." These considerations make it intelligible that our text has reconciled itself to some names which a consistent Judaism could hardly approve if it understood them in their original sense.

Hebrew names, so far as we can understand them at all, fall into three classes; they are single nouns (substantive, adjective, or participial), or a combination of two nouns, or a combination of noun and verb. The few cases where we find a verb alone are probably abbreviated from longer forms containing a verb and a noun. The class easiest to understand is the one in which a verb and a noun are combined. They are intended to utter a declaration, prayer, or prophecy concerning the individual who receives the name. The declaration may affirm the divine protection already afforded the child in the perils of the birth-process, or it may express the parent's gratitude at having the gift of a child. In this case the perfect tense of the verb is the one naturally used; Nethaniah is the one whom 'Yahweh-has-given' to the parents, and the name is equivalent to the nominal phrase Mattaniah ('Gift-of-Yahweh'). Where a prayer is expressed the verb is in the other tense; for example, Ezekiel meaning 'May-El-strengthen-him.' In the most of these names the verb precedes the noun, though the order is sometimes reversed.

The subject in these sentences is usually the name of a divinity. As has already been intimated, the great majority of them show us the name of Israel's God—either his proper name, Yahweh, or El, which was regarded as an appellative practically equivalent to Yahweh. Curiously, the word Elohim—the common word for 'God' in Hebrew—does not appear in proper names. What now concerns us is that, if we find another noun than El or Yahweh (in its shortened forms Yahu or Yah) the subject in one of these proper names, all the probabilities are in favor of its being the name of a divinity. Notice the exactness of the parallel in the following cases: Elyadaʿ and Baalyadaʿ, Hashabyah and Hashabdan; פדהאל , פדיה , and פדהצור ; נתנאל , נתניה , and נתנמלך ;

ישביה and ישבעם ; ישביה and ישבאב ; אליסף and אביסף ; יהויקים and עזריקם ; אליקים and אדניקם .

It would be hasty to conclude on the grounds of these analogies that we have discovered the names of seven members of the Hebrew pantheon, to wit: Dan, Çur, Am, Baal, Ezer, Adon, and Ab. Yet there would be prima facie evidence in their favor; and if we can discover other phenomena which point in the same direction, we shall make out as strong a case as the nature of the inquiry admits. The first thing we shall have to consider is the assertion, which will undoubtedly be made, to the effect that none of these are proper names, but that all are appellatives; Ab and Am designate kinsmen; Melek, Adon, and Baal mean 'ruler;' and the others also are known to us. The question, however, is not whether the names had a meaning, but whether in the minds of those who used them they were not nevertheless personified as divinities. All divine names had a meaning when first applied to personal use, and Semitic divinities certainly form no exception to the rule. Adon admittedly meant 'lord,' and was used in Hebrew with this meaning throughout the history of the language, but it passed to the Greeks as the name of a particular divinity, and we naturally suppose that it was so used by the Phoenicians.

So it was also in the case of Baal, another name meaning 'master' or 'possessor,' which could be applied to any of the local divinities in Palestine. In some cases it was doubtless used for Yahweh himself. But in the early days the identification was not complete. The assumption that when used in the families of Saul and David it must be construed as one of the names of Yahweh is based on the belief that these kings were exclusive worshipers of Yahweh, Israel's one God. But this belief is based on the views of later times. There seems to be no sufficient reason why we should not judge the Hebrew Baalyadaʿ just as we should judge the similar forms Baalshillek and Baalshaphat which we find among the Phoenicians. All the others in our list, except Dan, may be paralleled from the Phoenician or Aramaic: Ab in אבשלח ; Ezer in בדעזר ; Melek in מלכיתן ; Çur in ברצר ; Am in אלעם . No one would have the hardihood to deny that to the Phoenicians these were the names of so many separate divinities. And if they were separate outside of Israel, they were originally separate within Israel. Of Melek we are quite sure that he had altars and sacrifices in Judah down to a comparatively late period.

Ab and Am undoubtedly present some difficulties whichever way we look at them. It is clear that in all the languages we are now studying a child may receive a name describing him as servant, dependent, or kinsman of the god. Compounds with עבד ('servant') are not very frequent in the Old Testament, and גר ('client') occurs in only one or two cases, and they not certain. All the more conspicuous are those which denote a kinsman. Ahijah, for example, makes the bearer of the name a brother of his god, and this whether we translate 'Yahweh-is-my-brother' or 'Brother-of-Yahweh.' If we must choose between the two, the latter seems more probable, for what we look for in a name is something which will describe the man or child—a label. A profession of faith or a declaration concerning the nature of the divinity is not the most natural thing to put into a proper name, at least in the earlier stages of religion. Ahijah, then, meaning 'Brother-of-Yahweh,' is quite comprehensible. But names with Ab ('father') are not so easily disposed of. The wide sense in which the word 'father' is used among the Semites is well known, but with all possible allowance for this it hardly seems that a child could be named 'Father-of-Yahweh' or 'Father-of-Baal.' Yet the names Abijah and Abibaal occur, one among the Hebrews, the other among the Phoenicians. The difficulty is increased when we discover that the Phoenician name is that of a woman, and in connection with this we are at once reminded that names of this type were given to women among the Hebrews also—Abigail, Abishag, and others. In view of these names, and also in view of the names in which Ab appears as the subject of a verb—אבשלה in Phoenician, אביאסף, אביתר, ישבאב in Hebrew—we are driven to the hypothesis already intimated—the hypothesis that Ab was an ancient Semitic divinity.[4]

To understand how this may be, we need only to remind ourselves of the ease with which gods come into existence in the belief of a polytheistic society. In Babylonia, we are told, the abstractions kettu, 'right,' and mešaru, 'righteousness,' became divinities. In Phoenicia the 'Face-of-Baal' was separated from Baal himself and was identified with another deity. Adar the Glorious, Aziz the Mighty, became personalities. Baal, Adon, and Melek, to which allusion has already been made, are further examples. It cannot surprise us, therefore, that names originally designating kinsmen early became personalized as so many gods. In clan-society the god is member of the clan—father or brother of all its human members. To designate him by the name 'Father' was all that was necessary to identify him as the particular person with whom the clan had most intimate relations. Among the Midianites we find Abyadaʿ, just as among the Hebrews we have Baalyadaʿ or Elyadaʿ, and among the Phoenicians Eshmunyadaʿ. Abyadaʿ and Yadaʿ-Ab are also found in South Arabia. The names must all be judged alike.

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[4] This has already been pointed out by Barton (*JBL*, XV, 182) and by others.

If Ab is a divine name, it relieves us of the difficulty under which we have been laboring. Abbaal is neither 'Father-of-Baal' nor 'Baal-is-my-father;' it is simply Ab-Baal, one of the many compound names of divinities found among the Semites. How it came to be applied to a human being is part of a larger question which we shall have to consider. For the present we note that Ab was in the minds of those who gave these names a personality like the other gods. And what is true of Ab is also true of Am (originally uncle or kinsman in the broad sense). The case of Aḫ is not so clear.[5]

We return now to the puzzling fact that a girl received the name of a male divinity. It becomes less puzzling when we bring it into the general class of divine names given to human beings. That there is such a class is obvious—however startling to modern ideas. To ancient religious thinking it probably was not startling at all. The name was designed to put the child under the protection of a divinity. What could be a more effective way than to give him the name of the divinity? Just as in Christian countries the child is assigned to the care of a patron saint and receives that saint's name (even that of Jesus in some countries), so in ancient times it could not have seemed an unnatural thing to indicate or induce the protection of the god by giving the god's name. The gods in polytheistic religions are much closer to men than in the monotheistic faiths where the one God is so grand, and therefore so far away. It is far from unthinkable, then, that a child should be called directly by the name of his patron deity. Of the custom we have evidence in many regions. In the Book of the Dead the soul is instructed to call itself by the name of Ra, or Ptah, or Osiris. This, to be sure, is when the soul has passed into the region of the dead, and may be supposed to partake of the divine nature. But the fact that one is to become a god after death would rather favor the idea of assuming something of divinity even in this life. The deification of human monarchs in their earthly life is a common phenomenon, and the ease with which the kings claim divine parentage shows how loosely drawn was the line between men and gods.

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[5] So conservative an authority as Gray holds it to be proven that Am had virtually become a proper name (of a god) among peoples somewhat remote from Palestine, though he thinks there is no direct evidence from Palestine itself (*Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 53). Delaporte finds one case in Assyrian where he is compelled to make Aḫ a proper name. See his essay, "Noms théophores en Assyrie," *RHR*, LIV, 60. Jastrow also finds cases where Aḫ is a divine name (*Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, I [1905], 162, n. 1).

Moreover, we have direct evidence as to the custom among the nearest neighbors of the Hebrews. The following examples from the Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions would seem to be decisive: ארש is the name of a man and also that of a god, as is seen from עבדארש; compare also חר and עבדחר; יאל is the name of a man and also appears in the combination יאלפעל indicating a divinity;[6] in this same connection belong the Arabian King Ya'lu mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, the Hebrew יואל, and the Arabic divinity Wâ'il; מלכרם, מלכאסר, מלכבעל, all of which we should take to be divinities, are found as personal names in the inscriptions, and from Palmyra we may add מלכו, בעלמלך, and צדקמלך; from the name עבדמסכר we gather that מסכר is the name of a divinity, but it appears also as that of a man;[7] נבא (of a man) in the inscriptions is apparently the god Nebo; עליון is given by Fürst as a man's name; פתחא, the Egyptian Ptah, is the name of a man; צדק *Συδυκ*, *Συδυκος*, is Phoenician and also South Arabian for man and divinity; with צפן in עבדצפן compare צפנבעל (this a woman's name); further,

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[6] Cook, p. 106.

[7] Cook, p. 42.

אשמנשלם, נבושלם, שלם, עזרבעל, עזר, בעלמלך, ארנבעל, בעלרם, רמבעל, אשמנאדן, אסרמלך, names of men, all have claims to be considered here, though their full force cannot be estimated until we have studied the compound names of divinities. עשתור, however, as the name of a man in Palmyra, would seem to belong in our list, and the Arabic divinity Wadd gives his name to a man in the Sinaitic region. In Palmyra Azîz is a man and also a god,[8] while among the Nabateans Obodath designates both man and divinity.[9]

It does not seem rash, therefore, in view of all the facts, to assert that names of the gods were given to men among the Semites. For the Hebrews we may cite David's court seer who bore the name Gad, undoubtedly that of a Syrian divinity (Isa. 65:11). In the Hebrew lists we even find men called by the name of Baal (I Chron. 5:5; 8:30). The precarious nature of the attestation has already been indicated; yet we can hardly suppose the Chronicler or his copyist to have inserted so obnoxious a name without some tradition to go upon. The giving of similar names must have been a custom well known when these texts took shape. If we include among proper names those borne by tribes, clans, or families, we shall find a number which are those of divinities. Asher, Dan, and Simeon are tolerably clear examples, as anyone will see.

We have been considering the theory that the names of the gods are given directly to children as talismans to protect them from evil or misfortune, and the Christian custom of naming for the saints suggests that this is a natural thing for the devout man to do at a certain stage of religious thought. The phenomena of totemism come in to strengthen this hypothesis. A large number of proper names in the Old Testament are the names of animals. It is often said that a child is called by such a name because the father hopes that it will show the traits of the animal—the cunning of the fox or the courage of the lion. But in the stage of polydemonism these very qualities are taken to be signs of supernatural beings, and the dedication of the child to the animal is a religious act by which the parent seeks divine aid in the manifold perils of life. The persistence of the names of 'unclean' animals among personal names can be explained only on the basis of some such belief—a survival, no doubt, from an earlier stage, yet a testimony to a lingering veneration for the uncanny powers which dwell in animal forms. The priestly clan of the Boar, the section of Judah which bore the name of the Dog, the official who was called Mouse, the other called Rock-badger, all attest the feeling with which animals ritually unclean were regarded in Israel. In the popular consciousness the giving of such names would be in effect the giving of names of divinities.[10]

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[8] Cook, pp. 282, 295.

[9] Meyersham, *Deorum nomina hominibus imposita* (Kiel, 1891), treats this subject at length, and Nestle gives a number of names of Greek gods borne by men, *op. cit.*, p. 115, n. 1. Ranke, while minimizing the number of divine names borne by men among the Babylonians, concedes that there are some instances. See his *Personennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabidynastie*, p. 23, n. 2.

There is, however, another hypothesis to be considered. It is supposable that all these forms have been abbreviated from fuller forms which designated the wearer of the name as servant or client of the god. In the case where the name of a male divinity is given to a woman this is, in fact, the most plausible hypothesis. It still remains true that the oriental mind might look at things in a way that would be foreign to our mode of thought. The giving of the name of a male divinity might be of a piece with the custom found in some regions—the custom of dressing a girl like a boy to protect her from the evil eye. Conceding that Abital (a woman's name) meant originally 'Father-of-the-night-mist,' and that it designated the divinity (fay, cobold, or sprite) which presided over the beneficent dampness which does so much for the vegetation in Palestine, it is clear that a little girl might receive the name. On the other hand, it would be equally appropriate to call her 'Handmaid-of-Abital'—a cumbrous name, easily shortened by leaving off the first member. The practical effect of the abbreviation is to give the girl or woman the name of a male divinity. It is conceivable also that, while at first the names designated servants or clients of the gods, at a later stage the abbreviated names set the fashion, and the names of the gods were given to men without the formal recognition of dependence. As personal names were sometimes formed from those of a divinity by adding an adjective termination, there is the additional possibility that in some cases the termination was worn off, and so the name of the god was left in its simplicity.[11]

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[10] It is not meant here to affirm that totemism as a system existed among the Israelites in historic times. The traces we have are survivals from prehistoric times. Nor have I thought it necessary to include in my table of names of divinities more than a few of the more noteworthy animal names. A complete list of Hebrew animal names will be found in Jacobs, *Studies in Hebrew Archaeology*, pp. 94 ff., and a similar one in Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 88 ff. See also Cook's interesting essay, "Israel and Totemism," *JQR*, XIV, 413-455.

The next thing to claim our attention is the large number of compound divine names among the Semites. From very early times mixture of peoples in western Asia was constantly taking place. The result on their religions was syncretism. The god called Hadad, for example, worshiped in one region, was found to be essentially the same in character with the Ramman venerated in another district. The identity was indicated by joining the the two names in the form Hadad-Ramman—a name which survived as a place-name down to a late period in Israel. In Egypt we know it to have been the rule rather than the exception to call a god by a double name. For Moab we have Mesha's evidence in favor of Ashtar-Chemosh, while for Syria we may add to the examples given above the well-known Atargatis (Atar-Ate), and for Phoenicia Gad-El, Melek-Ashtart, and Eshmun-Melkart. In the works of the Assyriologists we read of Ilu-Malik, Ishtar-Malkat, Shamsi-Adad, Shamsi-Ramman, Ashur-Ramman, and others. In Palmyra we meet Melek-Bel.

The composite divine names we meet in our Hebrew text seem to belong in the same class with those just considered. The Hebrew writers, to be sure, were not aware of the real origin of these names; to them they were names connected with ancient sanctuaries, and presumably given by the patriarchs; therefore names of Israel's one God. But there is no essential difference between El-Elyon, El-Shaddai, El-Olam, Yahweh-Shalom, on the one hand, and Ashtar-Chemosh or Eshmun-Melkart, on the other. Yahweh-Elohim, indeed, is a purely literary product, while in El-Elohe-Israel we suspect that some other, less innocent, form has been displaced by the one in the text. What I now desire to emphasize is that these compound divine names may be given to men as well as the simple names. They should be sought among the personal, and even among the geographical, designations.

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[11] Kerber calls attention to the fact that the name of a man (Anath, Judg. 3:31; 5:6) was that of a goddess. His own theory is that in all these cases the first part of the name has disappeared (*loc. cit.*, p. 10).

The preceding discussion justifies the following statement of probabilities:

1. Where a personal or geographical name is a single noun, it may be the name of a divinity. If it be adjective or participial in form, it may be derived from the name of a divinity.

2. Where a personal name or geographical name consists of two nouns, one of them is likely to be the name of a god, and both of them may be such names.

3. Where a personal name consists of a noun and a verb, the noun is likely to be the name of a god.

The subjoined list presents the amount of evidence on which we may decide whether the names it contains are those of divinities. For the sake of completeness it gives the Old Testament names recorded among peoples who were neighbors of Israel and who may be supposed to share the popular religious ideas of the Hebrews. The Massoretic punctuation has been disregarded.

אב, already commented upon, is found in various combinations—אביאל, אביהו, אבימלך, אביסף; also in the names of women. Among the Phoenicians we find אבשלה, אבבעל, אבבל, the last two of women. For ישבאב, I Chron. 24, 13, 𝔊 gives us Ιεσβααλ. The name אחאב becomes intelligible if it be parallel to אחיהו.

ארא, apparently a god, *CIS*, I, p. 444; with it we may compare אדו, Ezra 8: 17.

אדון. With אדניהו, אדנירם we may compare Phoenician אדנבעל, אשמנאדן, אדנשמש, בעלאדן, all names of men. אדניקם (Ezra 2: 13 and elsewhere) shows the noun as subject of a verb.

אדום, eponym of the Edomites, was recognized as a divinity in Israel, as is shown by the name of an officer of David, עבדאדם. 𝔊 has Αβδοδομ also for עבדון, II Chron. 34: 20, and Ευαδομ for בענק, Josh. 13: 27. The town Admah may receive its name from this god. In Phoenician we find עבדאדם (*CIS*, I, p. 367).

אדר, a Babylonian god combined with Melek, was the object of worship among the colonists in Samaria (II Kings 17: 31).

In view of the fact, however, that we find place-names אדר, חצר אדר, עטרות אדר, אדרים, it is probable that the cult was older. אדרם, one of the officers of David, may be cited here, though the text in which his name occurs is not free from suspicion. Phoenician names are אשמנאדר, אדרבעל, בעלאדר, and יתנאדר.

אור, meaning 'light' or 'flame,' would naturally be deified, as is the case in most religions. Notice אורי, אוריאל, אוריהו, שדיאור, and compare Phoenician בלאור, ארמלך (Cook, pp. 18, 20).

אח, meaning 'brother,' shows the tendency to become a divine name which we have noted in other nouns denoting kinship: אחיהוד, אחירם (Phoen. חירם), אחימלך, and others.

אל, now used as an appellative, was originally the name of a particular divinity, as we know from the Assyrian and Babylonian records. There is no reason why he may not have been worshiped in Canaan from the time of the early Babylonian occupation of the country. The sacred trees, אלה and אלון, seem to derive their names from him. Common to Hebrew and Phoenician are the names אלעם (אליעם), אלמלך (אלימלך), חנאל (חניאל and חננאל), possibly גדאל (גדיאל). With the Hebrew יחיאל we may compare Phoenician יחואלן, and with עבדיאל, Phoenician עבדאלם. South Arabian names with אל are numerous.

אמון, king of Judah, seems to have been named for a well-known Egyptian god, and from him we can hardly separate David's son אמנון (related to אמון as שמשון is to שמש), and a clan or man in the genealogy of Judah, אמנון, I Chron. 4: 20.

אסיר, man or clan, may bear the name of the Egyptian Osiris, who meets us also in the Phoenician names עבדאסר, מלכאסר, and אסרמלך.

אסף, a guild of singers, also found in אביאסף and in the Phoenician אספת (a woman), may belong in our list.

אשר, the name of a tribe, is undoubtedly that of a divinity. Besides the place-name אשר we have אשראל, אשראלה, and אשריאל. Compare the Phoenician אשרשלה. The endeavor of the punctuators to disguise some of these names by pointing שׂ instead of שׁ may be disregarded. The ašerah, or sacred pole, must originally have been the representative of a goddess, the female counterpart of Asher. The evidence of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets to this effect has often been dwelt upon.

בל, distinct from Baal and imported from Babylon, appears in אשבל, Ιασβηλ (for יחצאל, Gen. 46:24), Ιωβηλ (for עבד, Judg. 9:26). The mountain עיבל may have been the 'Heap-of-Baal,' and if 𝔊 is right in reading Reubel for Reuben, the name of this patriarch should be mentioned here. Phoenician gives us ידיעבל, compounded with a passive participle as is ראובל, as well as אבבל, יתנבל, and other names.

בעל has already been commented upon. The name אשבעל is apparently the same as the Phoenician ישבעל. 𝔊 gives us Αβιβααλ for אבי עלבון. Two men in the Hebrew genealogies bear the name Baal, just as two in the Phoenician inscriptions are called בעלי. Notice the significant combination בעליה, and reflect on the apparent innocence with which a king of Israel who himself bears a name compounded with that of Yahweh (Ahaziah) sends to consult the oracle of בעל זבוב (II Kings 1:2–16). Various places bear the name Baal or the feminine Baalath (Baalah), and 𝔊 adds to them מיבעל (for מבחר, I Chron. 11:38). The large number of Phoenician names compounded with Baal need not be reproduced here. With the Hebrew Baalath-beer we may compare the Phoenician Baalath-Gebal, the goddess who was worshiped at Gebal. It is suspected that the name of Baasha, king of Israel, is a contracted or mutilated form of Baal-Shemesh.

ברק is the name of a hero and also that of a clan—בני ברק. It is found in Phoenician (Carthaginian), as well as in Palmyra and in South Arabia. Deification of the lightning is common to almost all polytheistic religions.

גד, the name of a divinity, of a man, and of a tribe, has already been spoken of. Note the combinations: בעל גד, עזגד, Αβγαδ, Βελγαδ, מגדל גד, and גדל (for גדאל). In Phoenician we find גדאל, גדנבר, and others.

גיל occurs in the name of a woman, אביגיל. It has already been shown that the only way to account for this apparent absurdity is to suppose the name to be that of a divinity. If there were a god גיל, the place גלה (originally גילון) may have been named for him.

דגון, a Philistine god, had two sanctuaries in Israel. He is known also in Babylonia and in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets.

דד or דוד. A divinity of this name is indicated by the names אלדד, אלידד, חנדד, מידד. The form דודוהו, II Chron. 20:37, seems to be an intentional corruption of דודיהו (*Δουδιου*, *Δωδιου*), while דודי is a shortened form of the same. בלדד may belong here, and the name David is a derivative. On the Moabite stone we find דודה, in Aramaic דד, and in Palmyra דדא; also Dûdu in the Amarna tablets.

דן is eponym of a tribe, and the name occurs in several place-names. Personal names are אבידן, חמדן, and דניאל, besides *Ιωδαν* (for עדן, II Chron. 29:12). The Phoenician אשדנת may be אישדן with a feminine ending. השבדנה, Neh. 8:4, is etymologically dubious.

הדד, the Syrian storm-god, was known in Edom, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. Evidences of his worship in Israel are scanty, consisting of the place-name Hadad-Rimmon, already referred to, and the personal name חנדד, which may be a contraction or mutilation of חנהדד. In Phoenician we find הדדעזר, which is also Aramaic if our Hebrew text is correct. Šamši-Adad is given from Babylonian sources.

הדר seems to be another form of אדר; notice אדרם and הדרם, evidently two forms of the same name. On the other hand, הדרעזר is a simple textual error for הדדעזר.

הוד is found as a personal name, and in the combinations אביהוד, אחיהוד, אישהוד, הודיה, הודויה, הודיהו, and עמיהוד. In the Greek *Αβιουδ* represents אביהוא in Ex. 6:23, and אביה in I Chron. 7:8. For אליהוא in I Chron. 12:20 we read *Ελιουδ*, and there may be other instances where an original הוד has been disguised. *Ουδ* for הול, I Chron. 1:17, however, may be simply a corruption in the Greek text.

היל gives us אביהיל only, possibly textual error for אביהיל.

הלל, name of a man, may be connected with hilâl, the new moon.

זבד gives us אלזבד, זבדיאל, יהוזבד, זבדיה, and עמיזבד.

For the simple זבד in Ezra 10:27 we read *Ζαβαδαβ*. Offense seems to have been taken by the scribes at almost every name in which the word זבד occurs, for 𝔊 shows an astonishing variety of equivalents.

זבל is the name of a man, and has some connection with the name of the tribe Zebulon. As we have Phoenician personal names שמזבל and איזבל, we suspect a divinity. A certain plausibility is thereby given to the conjecture that Baal-zebub is a mutilation of an original Baal-Zebul.

חדש, the New Moon, is the name of a clan (I Chron. 8:9), and the feminine חדשה is that of a town. Νουμήνιος (I Macc. 12:16) shows that the personal name existed among the Jews at a late date, and the Phoenician בנחדש belongs with it. The moon was an object of worship in western Asia, and almost everywhere else, from very early times.

חוד in אביחוד is perhaps a mistake for הוד.

חור is the name of several men or clans, and is found as one element of the personal names אשחור, בן חור and עמיחור. Derivatives are חורי, חורם (?), and חורם אבי. In Phoenician we find חר and עבדחר; in Aramaic, חור; and in Nabataean, חורו and חוראל. It has been suggested that this is the Egyptian Horus.

חוה, Eve. That the name has some mythological significance is probable, and it may not be rash to connect it with חות, a Carthaginian goddess of the underworld (Cook, p. 135).

חזיר, the Boar, name of a guild of priests (I Chron. 24:15), has already been alluded to. A man of this name is mentioned in Nehemiah (10:21).

חיל occurs in אביחיל, which may be a mistake for היל, already noted, or the mistake may be the other way. If the smooth ח was sometimes represented by ה, we might connect the name of Abraham's maid הגר, and that of the tribe which claimed her as their ancestress, with the South Arabian divinity חגר (Baethgen, p. 127).

חם is one of the names denoting kinsmen which are so easily personalized. In Hebrew we find חם, חמואל (חמול), חמדן, and חמוטל.

חמה, the Sun, accounts for the place-names חמון and חמת (Josh. 19:35). The sun-pillars חמנים, mentioned several times in the Old Testament, are evidently dedicated to Baal-Hamman—a god popular with the Phoenicians, especially with the Carthaginians.

חמור, the Ass, gave his name to the father of Shechem—that is, to the clan which inhabited the town—and to the place חמרן.

חנן, if a divine name, accounts for אלחנן, בן חנן, בית חנן, בעל חנן, חנניה, חן, חנה, and חננאל, though in some of these חנן may be a verb. We find, however, a name Hanan and another Hanun. The Phoenicians used a shorter form as in חנבעל, חנמלך, and מלקרתחנא.

חרס, the Sun, gives its name to the places הר חרס and תמנת חרס.

טוב, the name of a district beyond the Jordan, occurs also in the personal names אביטוב, אחיטוב, טוביהו, טוביה, and טבאל. Further, Ταβεηλ for טבליה, I Chron. 26:11. The unusual טובאדניהו, however (II Chron. 17:8), is regarded with suspicion. Aramaean, besides טבאל, are אביטב and גדטב.

יאל, in the fuller form יואל is equivalent to the Arabic Wâ'il, as already pointed out, and occurs also in Phoenician. מחויאל may be 'Ya'el-giver-of-life.'

יכין, the pillar in Solomon's temple, was probably worshiped by the superstitious, and we find a man who bears the same name.

יעוש, a son of Esau, is now usually thought to be named for the Arabic god Yaghûth. We may provisionally associate with it יעיש, יעשי, and יעשיאל.

יעל, an animal name, was borne by men and women; also found in the derived forms יעלא, יעלה, and יעלם.

ירח, the Moon, must have been the patron deity of Jericho. The man or clan ירוח (I Chron. 5:14) may represent the same divinity, and there was an Arab clan ירח.

יתר occurs as the name of a man or boy, and we find also יתרא, יתרו, יתיר, יתרן, אביתר, and יתרעם.

כלב, the Dog, gave his name to a Judaite clan. כלאב may represent the same name disguised, while כלוב (=Χαλεβ, I Chron. 4:11) and כלובי seem to be derivatives. Among the

Nabataeans we find כלבא (Cook, p. 237) and כלבו (*CIS*, II, 1, p. 283).

כמוש, god of Moab, seems to have had a sanctuary in the country west of the Jordan, at Michmash ('Place-of-Chemosh').

כסיל, one of the constellations, gave its name to a place in Judah, and perhaps also to כסלות and כסלון.

לבנה, one of the names of the moon, is also the name of a town (Judg. 21:19), and we are inclined to connect with it the patriarch Laban, as well as the places לבונה, לבני, and לבנת.

לוד is found in the name (of two men) אחילוד. The anxiety of 𝔊 to replace the second member with some other word may show that it had some uncomfortable association.

לחם is known as an ancient Babylonian divinity. He may have left a trace of his early worship in the name of Bethlehem, borne by two towns in Israel.

מות: The name אחימות, if meaning 'Brother-of-death,' would be cruel. Yet we find this name in use, as well as עזמות (place and personal), ירימות, and שמירמות. The name ירמות is also read Ιεριμοθ by 𝔊. The South Arabian district חצרמות may not belong in this connection. Since we know of a deity Muth which had a place in the Phoenician mythology (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, i, 33), we may suppose her to have invaded Palestine, rather than that Death has been personified. This, however, as we see from the Old Testament treatment of Sheol, would not be impossible.

מלך has already been spoken of. It occurs as the name of a man in the family of Saul (I Chron. 8:35; 9:41), and also in various combinations—אבימלך, אחימלך (once changed to אחיה), עבדמלך, and others. For מיכל we find Μελχολ, showing that the attempt was sometimes made to disguise the name. Observe also Μελχαβαννα for מכבני (I Chron. 12:14). ימלך may represent an original יומלך. Phoenician names, מלכרם, עזמלך, מלכיתן, אלמלך, are strictly parallel to what we find in Hebrew. We can prove that the Phoenician names are syncretistic and not asseverative by such an example as מלכעשתרת, where it would be absurd to render 'Astarte-is-king.' Two divinities, one male the other female, have here been fused into one—a not uncommon phenomenon. In Assyria we find Šumu-Malik, and Ilu-Malik. The divinities assigned to the Samaritan colonists —Anammelech and Adarmelech—belong here. מלכם the Ammonite form of this god seems to occur as the name of a man (I Chron. 8:9). He is found also outside of Palestine (Cook, p. 361).

מלכה or מלכת would naturally be the female counterpart of Melek. The name is borne by Israelite women as well as by the Aramaean clan called "daughter of Haran" (Gen. 11:29). Ištar-Malkat occurs in Babylonia. In Phoenicia we find התמלכת (for אחתמלכת) and המלכת (for אחמלכת). According to Cook (*loc. cit.*, p. 135) מלכת was a goddess of the underworld to the Carthaginians. This may have been suggested by her identification with Ishtar, whose *descensus ad inferos* was recounted in the Babylonian myth. The Queen of Heaven, whose worship was rife in Jerusalem in the time of Jeremiah, will occur to the student.

מני is mentioned as a divinity in Isa. 65:11. Possibly the name אחימן was originally connected with him. In Phoenician we have עבדמני. The Arabic Manât may be the female counterpart of this divinity.

מען occurs as a personal name (I Chron. 2:27), and also in the combination אחימען.

מרדך is found, not only in Babylonian names, but also in that of the good Jew, Mordecai.

נבו, the Babylonian god Nabû, was early introduced into Palestine, as is indicated by the places named for him—Mount Nebo beyond the Jordan, a town in Judah, and one in Reuben. A family called בני נבו existed in the post-exilic period (Ezra 2:29). Whether Naboth, whose tragic story is well known, bears a name derived from that of this divinity or his female counterpart cannot be certainly affirmed. The Ishmaelite Nebaioth is also dubious. In Phoenician we have עבדנבו, נבושלם, and עדרנבו.

נדב; besides four men who bear the name Nadab, we have אבינדב, אחינדב, עמינדב, יונדב, and נדביה, not to mention the Arabic clan נודב, Ναδαβαῖος (I Chron. 5:19).

נחש, the Serpent, gives us נחש, נחשון, עיר נחש, נחשתן, and נחשתה. The demonic nature of the serpent is conceded in all religions. N*aas* is once preserved where the current Hebrew has נתניאל (I Chron. 26:4).

נעם, in the fuller form נעמן, is the name of a Syrian god, apparently the same with Adonis (see Duhm on Isa. 17:10). The name meets us not only in Naaman the Syrian, but also as a Benjamite clan-name (נעמן, Gen. 46:21; Num. 26:40; I Chron. 8:4, 7). Personal names are נעם and נעמה, also אחינעם, אבינעם, אלנעם, and נעמי. The Phoenician sources give us נעמה, בתנעם, בתנעמת, עבדנעם, גדנעמת, and נעמלכת.

נר and his son אבנר (אבינר) may be compared with נריהו.

סין, the moon-god worshiped in Babylonia, Syria, and South Arabia, gave his name, we may suppose, to Sinai.

סכן was worshiped among the Phoenicians, if we may judge by the names גרסכן and עבדסכן. Conjecturally we may combine it with שכניהו, not infrequent among the Hebrews.

סמך is noticeable from the form אחיסמך, with which we may combine סמכיהו, of which יסמכיהו may be a corruption.

סוס: The sacred horses dedicated to the sun are known from II Kings 23:11. The proper name סוסי, Num. 13:11, and the place-name חצר סוסה, Josh. 19:5, may preserve relics of this cult. Among the Phoenicians we find a personal name עבדססם (*CIS*, I, 1, p. 95), which points to a divinity ססם with whom we may connect the Hebrew ססמי, I Chron. 2:40.

עדה, the wife of Lamech, has long been suspected of being a goddess in disguise, in which case there was probably a male divinity עד. Notice the proper names עדוא, עדי, אלעד, אלעדה, עדיאל, עדיה, יועד, יועדה, and the place עמעד.

עדר and עזר, dialectically different, occur in so many forms that we must take account of them: אביעזר, Αχιεζερ (for איעזר), אליעזר, עזריאל, עזריה, יועזר, עזר, עזור, עזרא, עזרה. All these are personal names. An Aramaic king is הדדעזר, if the reading is correct. In Phoenician we have עזר, אשמנעזר, בעלעזר, עזרבעל, בדעזר. In the alternate form we have the personal and place-name עדר, and the person עדריאל, with which compare the Phoenician עדרנבו. The celebrated place Ebenezer shows itself, then, to be the 'Stone-of-Ezer,' and must have received its name from a maççebah like the one at Bethel. The change of the name Azariah to Uzziah, which has puzzled the expositors, will now be accounted for as an endeavor to get rid of an idolatrous suggestion.

עז and עזז naturally become divine names, as we see from Azîz, noticed above. In Hebrew we have עזגד, עזיאל, עזיא, עזיהו, עזז, עזא, עזי, עזה, עזיזא, עזזיהו, and עזמות; in Phoenician, עתרעזה, עזמלך, and עבדעזז; in Palmyrene, עזיזה is the name of a man and also of a god.

עכבר, a totemistic personal name, is found in Phoenician as well as in Hebrew (*CIS*, I, 1, p. 272).

עליון, used as a name of God by itself and also in conjunction with אל, יהוה, and אלהים, was probably a separate divinity in the earlier time. According to Eusebius, the name was in use among the Phoenicians (*Praep. Evang.*, i, 36 from Philo of Byblos).

עם is another of the names of kinship, and is used in a large variety of combinations parallel to those in which we find other divine names: אליעם (Phoenician אלעם), ישבעם (unless Ιεσσεβααλ represents the true reading), ירבעם, עמירם, עמינדב, and others. The people בני עמון possibly traced their origin to this deity.

ענה may be a reminiscence of the Babylonian Anu. We find ענה, עני, עניה, ענמלך. For בנענה we have the contracted form בענא, בענה.

ענת, a Syrian goddess, perhaps originally the female counterpart of Anu, has given her name to several places; בית ענת, בית ענות, ענתות (Αναθωθ once for חנתן, Josh. 19:14), ענתתיה. It is also Phoenician (Cook, p. 80).

עשתרת, the chief goddess of the Canaanites (Ishtar of the Babylonians), is directly asserted to have been worshiped by the Israelites. It is remarkable, therefore, that aside from some place-names she does not appear in Old Testament proper names. This shows how thoroughly names which gave offense have been removed from our texts. Besides the place-names preserved to us there may have been others, for 𝔊 gives Ασταρωθ for עטרות in Num. 32:34; Josh. 16:5. בעשתרה (Josh. 21:27, usually supposed to be for בית עשתרת) has a curious parallel in the Carthaginian personal name בעשתרת which we should take to be for אבעשתרת or בנעשתרת.

עת, עתא, עתה was a divinity at Palmyra (notice עבדעתה, cited by Baudissin *PRE*^{3}, II, p. 172), better known in the syncretistic form עתרעתא (Atargatis). In Hebrew we find עתי and עתיה.

פלט occurs as the name of a clan, and in the place-name, בית פלט. We find also פלטיאל, פלטיהו (and the abbreviated form פלטי, vocalized in two ways), אליפלט, אלפלט, and יפלט, perhaps for יופלט.

פעור is made the name of a divinity in a late document. Earlier we find בעל פעור and בית פעור. The obscure name פערי, II Sam. 23:35, may represent פעריהו.

פרץ is one of the clans of Judah. We find also רמון פרץ, בעל פרצים, and פרץ עזה.

פתח. The Egyptian Ptah may be concealed in the Hebrew פתחיה. In Phoenician we find a man named פתחא, and another named עבדפתח.

צדק appears as the name of a divinity in the Phoenician צדקרמן and צדקמלך. It is also the name of a man (*CIS*, I, p. 200). It is found in combination in South Arabia. Hebrew forms are צדק, צדוק, אדניצדק, מלכיצדק, יהוצדק, צדקיהו.

צור, צר, the Rock, is not uncommon as a figurative designation of God. But the widespread adoration of rocks, stones, and mountains shows that the designation was originally more than a figure of speech. In Aramaic we find ברצר (Cook, p. 171). Compare the Hebrew forms אליצור, צוריאל, Αβεισουρ (for אביהוא, Ex. 6:23), צריה (צרויה?), צרי, פדהצור, צורישדי, and the place-names מצור, מבצר צר, and בית צור. The name of the city Tyre may belong here.

צלם was an Arabian divinity, and may have given names to two localities and a man צלמון in our Hebrew text.

צפון is found as a place-name in בעל צפון outside of Palestine, and צפון was also a town of Gad, Josh. 13:27. Personal names are צפון, צפיון, אליצפן, אלצפן, and צפניה. In Phoenician we find עבדצפן, בדצפן, and צפנבעל (name of a woman).

קדם appears in Ezekiel (47:19 𝔊, Καδημ for קדש), and also in קדמות, קדמוני, קדמיאל. Cadmus, who brought letters into Greece, if a god or a demigod, belongs here. There is a South Arabian name אלקדם.

קוס in ברקוס, Ezra 2:53, may be the Nabataean divinity who appears in the name קסנתן (Cook, p. 233).

קין designates the first outlaw, the first of the smiths, the eponym of the Kenites, and must have been an object of worship. Place-names in Palestine are קינה and קינים, and the patriarch Kenan bears a very similar name. A South Arabian divinity קינן is known, and we have קינו as Nabataean name of a woman (Cook, p. 228).

קיש, the father of Saul, may have been called for a god קיש or קוש. Compare Qaushmalaka, an Edomite name known to us from the Assyrian, with קושיהו (I Chron. 15:17; in the parallel passage, 6:29, it is קישי). We have also a river קישון, the town קשיון, and the patronymic אלקושי. Nabataean names are קישא and קישה.

רגם, known to be a divinity, appears as the name of a man in the genealogy, I Chron. 2:47, and in the compound רגם מלך, Zech. 7:2.

רחל, the eponymous ancestress of a group of tribes, was worshiped, as appears from the sacred pillar marking her grave. We are not surprised, therefore, to find the name אחרחל.

רחם is said to be a divinity according to the Palmyrene inscriptions, and also in South Arabia (Baethgen, p. 91). It is perhaps not too bold to associate with him רחם and רחום of our text.

רכב, a clan in Judah and a man in Benjamin (II Sam. 4:2; notice Ρηχαβ, place-name for רכה I Chron. 4:12), suggests the Aramaic רכבאל, בררכב (Cook, pp. 159, 171).

רם occurs in isolation, and also in the combinations אברם, אבירם, אחירם (Αχιραμ also for הורם), מלכירם, רמיה, אדנירם, and יהורם. Whether מרום and רומה belong here is not certain. Phoenician names are בעלרם, רמבעל, and מלכרם.

רמון is the Hebrew form of Rammân, the Assyrian, Syrian, and South Arabian god of the thunder. He gives his name to two towns and a rock in Israel, besides Ραμμων for ראמות, I Chron. 6:80 (65). We find also גת רמון, עין רמון, and רמון פרץ. The name Hadad-Rimmon has already been commented upon.

Ra (רע), the Egyptian sun-god, has perhaps left traces in אחירע.

רצפ appears in Phoenician in the composite divine name מלקרתרצפ (Cook, p. 361). Rizpah, the concubine of Saul, is an apparent derivative.

שאול, Saul, is the name of an Edomite, and of three Israelites. We have also מתושאל and מישאל; and a town conquered by Seti is given the name ביתשאל. It is a question, therefore, whether the 'Hill-of-Saul' (Gibeath Saul)[12] was named for the Israelite king or for a divinity who gave his name, not only to the place, but to the man; שאול should be the god of the underworld, Sheol.

שבע, or with the softer labial שוע, appears as a proper name (in both forms), and we find אלישבע, אלישוע, אבישוע, יהושבע, יהושבעת, יהושוע, (יושוע), בתשבע, בתשוע, מלכישוע, besides the place-name באר שבע. In Aramaic we have שבעלהי, contracted from שבעאלהי (*CIS*, II, 1, p. 119), and a god Sibi or Sibitti is known to the Babylonian epic (Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 173; *KAT*^{3}, p. 413).

שדי in אל שדי is supposed by the latest pentateuchal author to be the name by which Yahweh revealed himself to the patriarchs. The word appears also in עמישדי, צורישדי, and שדיאור. These also are late, but, as we have knowledge of ancient divinities called שדים, whose name appears in עמק שדים, we suspect that the original שדי was one of these. Μεισαδαι for מישאל in Lev. 10:4 is perhaps a further trace of this name.

שור occurs as a man's name, and also in the compounds אבישור, אחישר (Αχιηλ), and שריה.

שחר, the Dawn, would naturally be personified, and the name appears in אחישחר, Σααρηλ (for שחרים, I Chron. 8:8), and שחריה. Compare the Phoenician שחרבעל.

שי looks like a mutilated form of some longer name. It is found in אבשי, אבישי, ישי (for אישי). Once we meet Αβεισα for אבישג, also Αμεσσαι for עמשא. The name חושי is probably contracted from אחושי.

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[12] Notice that Saul's home is apparently the Hill-of-God of I Sam. 10:5.

שכר is at the basis of יששכר (for איששכר). We find also a man named שכר and a place שכרון.

שלח, name of a man (or tribe) in the genealogies, is also the patron of the Pool of Siloam (שלח). שלחי, a man, and שלחים, a place, may properly be mentioned here along with the Phoenician אבשלח.

שלם is a frequent element in proper names: אבשלם, אבישלם, שלמה, שלמי, שלמית, שלום, שלמון, שלמיאל (*Σαλαμιηλ* also once for שמואל, Num. 34:20; once for שמוע, Num. 13:4), *Σελεμιας* (for שמעיה, Jer. 43 [36]:12), the city Jerusalem and the sanctuary יהוה שלום. Once we find *Σαλλειμ* for לוש, and בשלם may be בנשלם. In Phoenician we have שלם, יכנשלם, בתשלם, and בעלשלם. A divinity שלמן is attested by an inscription (Cook, p. 42), and is known also in Babylonia.

שם, one of Noah's sons, was probably a divinity. We discover the name in שמואל and שמידע; possibly also in שמי (for שמיהו), שמה, שמאבר, שמאם, and שמשרי. The name of Moses' son גרשם may belong here. On a deity with a similar name among the Assyrians see *KAT*^{3}, pp. 483 f. Phoenician gives us שם and שמזבל.

שמר, the alleged owner of the site of Samaria, would more naturally be taken for the patron deity of the place. In this case devotion to him is indicated further by the names שמיר, שומר, שמרי, שמרת, שמריהו, and שמירמות.

שמש, the Sun, was widely worshiped throughout Asia, and must have been the tutelary deity of the hero שמשון, as well as of the localities בית שמש and עין שמש. In Ezra 4:8 we find a certain שמשי, and 𝔊 gives us Α*χισαμας* (for אחישמר) and Α*βεισαμας* (for אבישוע). In Phoenician we find אדנשמש and שמששלך; in Assyrian, Šamši-Adad and others.

שעיר, a satyr-like demon, gave his name to Mount Seir, and he and his congeners had sanctuaries in Jerusalem down to the time of the exile—במות השערים, II Kings 23:8. Whether שעירה and שערים, place-names, belong here is not certain, but שעריה, I Chron. 8:38, seems significant.

תבור is a mountain, a fountain, and a sacred tree; therefore a divinity. The rallying-place of the warriors under Barak would naturally be a sanctuary.

תמר, name of a place and of a clan, occurs in the combination בעל תמר and in חצצן תמר. Further, the man's name איתמר may be for אביתמר or אישתמר.

תפל is the name of a place in the desert, and is also an element of the personal name אחיתפל.

תרף, the well-known household divinity (always in the plural in our texts), seems not to be used in the formation of any proper name that has come down to us.

This list contains over a hundred names; and if we add to it the animal names given by other authors, we shall have a hundred and fifty possible names of divinities. The precarious nature of the evidence for some of them is evident; yet, when all due allowance is made for this, we have a considerable number that are reasonably certain. When we consider how industriously the effort was made to keep such names out of the text, we are surprised rather that so many have come down to us. While the mere possession of the names gives us no light on the nature of Israel's polytheism, we are able, with the help of the other Semitic sources, to get a general idea of Hebrew popular religion. It is clear, for example, that the polydemonism of the desert is represented by the seʿirim and shedim. The large group of animal names points to the same stage of religious thought. Sacred plants and wells, with the divinities who inhabit them, are quite analogous to what we find in other Semitic religions. Survivals have been pointed out in Syria in our own time.

The larger nature-worship, as we may call it, whose objects are sun, moon, stars, the dawn, the lightning, and the fire, is attested by our list and needs no extended comment. The Old Testament writers are aware that their people were easily drawn away to worship the Host of Heaven. They thought, indeed, that this was a yielding to foreign influences, as in part it may have been. But the tendency to revere these objects is so natural to man that we shall hardly go wrong in assuming that we have here primitive Semitic traits.

Our attention is next called to the group which we may call Syrian, in which we may without hesitation put Baal, Astarte, Gad, Meni, Anath, Rimmon, Adonis, Melek, and Naaman. Perhaps Asher should be added to the list. Gad is the most significant, for he was not only a Syrian divinity, but the eponym of one of the tribes of Israel. All of these were, however, worshiped in Canaan before the conquest, and their survival in Israel was due to the amalgamation of Israel and the Canaanites. Edom, on the other hand, as eponym of a people allied by blood with Israel, was probably only sporadically worshiped in Canaan.

These eponyms call attention to the question of animism. Were the eponyms deified men, or were the gods adopted by the tribes as ancestors? The answer cannot be given. But of animism in the definite sense we have evidence in the worship offered at the graves of Rachel and Deborah. Absalom's pillar is interpreted in the same sense, but to follow up the evidence outside of proper names is not our present purpose. The teraphim, however, may be mentioned, as they occur in the list given above. They are usually supposed to be the ancestral images, though it is to be wished that the evidence were more definite. The personified kinsmen, however—Ab, Aḫ, Am, and Dod—may be plausibly interpreted as evidence of animism.

Foreign gods came in from two sides, as we might expect. Egypt contributed Amon, Osiris, Horus, Muth, and Ra. We naturally suspect Zephon also of being in this group. But, as we have evidence of a Phoenician god of this name, we cannot insist on our hypothesis. From the eastern quarter (Assyria-Babylonia) we have Adar, Bel, Dagon, Nebo, Tammuz, and El—unless the last named is a primitive Semitic divinity. Tammuz does not appear in our list of proper names, but we have Ezekiel's evidence that he was worshiped in Jerusalem at a late date. From the Moabites we get Chemosh.

After accounting in this way for a number of divinities in our list, we still have a residuum of which we know only the names. Some of them are personifications of abstract qualities, like Goodness, Help, Strength, Plenty, and Splendor. Others were strictly local deities, like Tabor. The main result of our study is to confirm the conclusion, long ago reached by critical scholars, that monotheism never was the doctrine of the mass of the Israelites until after the exile.

AN ANALYSIS OF ISAIAH 40–62

CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS

AN ANALYSIS OF ISAIAH 40–62

Charles Augustus Briggs

In the first edition of my *Messianic Prophecy* (1886) I made an analysis of Isaiah 40–66, in order to explain its Messianic ideas and arrange them in proper order. I then distinguished three sections of this prophecy:

I. A long poem in the trimeter measure, whose principal theme was the divine deliverance of the Servant of Yahweh, divided into five parts, each closing with a refrain consisting of a little hymn or piece of a similar character: (1) 42:10–11, (2) 44:23, (3) 49:12–13, (4) 55:12–13, (5) 61:10–11.

II. A long poem in the pentameter measure, whose principal theme was the deliverance of Zion, the wife of Yahweh. This also had five parts, each closing with the refrain indicating the departure from Babylon: (1) 42:14–17, (2) 48:20–22, (3) 52:11–12, (4) 57:14–21, (5) 62:10–12.

III. An appendix, 63–66, of various elements, some pre-exilic and some post-exilic, partly composed and partly edited by an author who attached them to the two earlier poems, which he welded together and edited. He divided the whole work into three parts with refrains, 48:22; 57:20–21; 66:24.

I showed that the two earlier poems were distinguished: *first*, by measures, trimeter and pentameter—among the latter I then recognized some hexameters, which I have now abandoned; *second*, by the parallel themes, the Servant in the trimeter and Zion in the pentameter; *third*, by a reference in the trimeter to the great conqueror in general terms, in the pentameter by the name Cyrus; *fourth*, by the use of the divine name אדני יהוה in the pentameter and the appendix, but not in the trimeter. I did not at that time give a complete analysis, because I was concerned only with the Messianic idea, and had no space for it. I did not attempt any further textual criticism or removal of glosses than was necessary for my purpose.

In 1886 critics of all schools recognized and maintained the unity of Isaiah 40–66, although some recognized earlier and later elements to a limited extent. The most important work had been done by Ewald, who divided the original prophecy into two parts, 40–48 and 49–60, and stated that 61–66 were appendices, and that several little pieces were insertions from earlier prophets.

In 1892 Duhm issued his able Commentary on Isaiah, in which he made an analysis of Isaiah 40–66, apparently without any knowledge of my previous work. He recognized differences of measure, and used these to a limited extent in his analysis; but he was more influenced by other considerations and has all the arbitrariness of the older fragmentary hypothesis. His use of the measures enables him to detect many glosses, but he is not sufficiently well grounded in the principles of Hebrew poetry to reach correct results either in the measures or in the strophical organization of the poems. Cheyne followed Duhm, only with increased arbitrariness. It is astonishing that a man who changes his own mind so often that one cannot be sure of quoting him correctly should be so insistent upon an absolute uniformity both of vocabulary and thought in this great prophet of the exile as to rule out from him any, even the most minor, deviations from a pretended type. It is not encouraging to sound scholarship to see so many of the younger German scholars following in their footsteps.

My purpose in this article is to revise my analysis of Isaiah 40–62 in order to distinguish the two great poems of the great prophet of the Exile. I give first the trimeter poem translated and arranged in measures, strophes, and in five parts, then the pentameter poem in the same way. I limit myself to such critical notes as seem to be necessary to my purpose. These are given at the foot of the page. I am obliged to consider the limits of space in such a composite work as these volumes in honor of my lamented friend.

THE EARLIER TRIMETER POEM

Part I

40:12 Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of His hand,
And the heavens with a span meted out,
And comprehended in a tierce the dust of the earth,
And weighed in scales the mountains,
And (weighed out)[1] the hills in balances?
13 Who hath directed the spirit of Yahweh,
And the man of His counsel maketh Him know,
And[2] hath taught Him (in the path of[3]) knowledge?

14 Who[4] exchanged counsel and made Him understand,
And taught Him in the path of justice,
And the way of understanding made Him know?
15 Behold the nations are as a drop of a bucket,
And as the small dust of the balances are counted.
Behold the isles as a very little thing He taketh up,
16 And Lebanon is not sufficient to burn,
And its animals are not sufficient for a whole burnt offering.[5]

18 To whom[6] will ye liken 'El,
Or what likeness will ye compare to Him?
19 The graven image a workman melteth,
And a refiner with gold spreadeth it,
And with chains of silver refineth it.[7]
20 A tree that will not rot he chooseth,
A cunning workman he seeketh him,
To set up a graven image that shall not be moved.

21 Know ye not ?———[8]
Hear ye not ?———[8]

---

[1] A verb is needed to complete the measure, as in the synonymous lines; read, probably, פלס, omitted because of פֶּלֶס in the previous line.

[2] This line, which properly should close the strophe, has by error been transposed to 14*c*, where it is out of place. It is not in 𝔊, probably because its uncertain position discredited its authenticity.

[3] The measure requires ארח or דרך, probably the former because of its use in the preceding line after misplacement.

[4] את before מי is improbable; it is an explanatory gloss, making an awkward change of subject.

[5] Verse 17 repeats 15 in a dogmatic form, and makes the strophe just so much too long; it is therefore doubtless a gloss.

[6] The ו is a gloss of connection, frequently inserted by prosaic copyists.

[7] המסכן תרומה is a gloss to introduce another action.

[8] The last tone was omitted from these two lines for metrical pause, to make the questions more distinct and emphatic; see my *Comm. on the Book of Psalms*, p. 5.

It[1] hath been told you from the beginning,
Ye[1] have understood from the foundations[2] of the earth;
40:22 It is He that is enthroned upon the circle of the earth,
The inhabitants thereof being as grasshoppers;
He that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain,[3]
And hath spread[4] them out as a tent to dwell in.

23 It is He that bringeth princes to nothing,
The judges of earth as a thing of naught;[5]
24 Yea, they have not been planted,
Yea, they have not been sown,
Yea, they have not taken root,
Their stock is (not)[6] in the earth;
Moreover[7] he hath blown against them and they have withered
And a whirlwind taketh them away as stubble.

25 To[8] whom will ye liken ('El),[9]
That I may be equal, saith the Holy One?
26 Lift up on high your eyes.[10]
Who hath created these,
That bringeth out in number their host,
To all of them by name calleth,
By the greatness of strength and might[11] of power,
Not one lacking?

27 Why sayest thou, Jacob,
(Why)[12] speakest thou, Israel,
"My way is hid from Yahweh,
And from my God my cause passeth away?"
28 Dost thou not know,[13] hear,

---

[1] הלוא is a gloss of misinterpretation, making the lines too long for good measure.

[2] מוסדות is an error for מיסדות (Duhm, Cheyne, Marti) or ממוסדות (Lowth).

[3] דק ἁ. λ.; 𝔊 ὡς καμάραν. Read כְּרָקִעַ, with Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti.

[4] וימתחם ἁ. λ.; BDB, Lexicon, "hath spread them out."

[5] עשה is an explanatory gloss, against the measure.

[6] בל is needed for measure and good sense.

[7] ו is improbable, as גם must be attached to the next word for good measure; see *Comm. on the Book of Psalms*, p. xliii.

[8] ו has been prefixed as in 18.

[9] אל is needed for measure, as in 18; it has been supplanted by the suff. ני—by a prosaic copyist, possibly because of the fuller ending of the verb in ון as in 18. ואשוה goes with next line; for measure and accent of MT are erroneous.

[10] וראו, a frequent expansive gloss in such connections.

[11] אַמִּיץ, adj., error for אֹמֶץ, noun, as in the versions; parallel to רֹב.

[12] למה should be repeated for good measure.

[13] אם לא is a prosaic gloss against measure.

The everlasting God, Yahweh,
The Creator of the ends of the earth,
Fainteth not, neither is weary?

There is no searching of His understanding,
40:29 Giver of power to the faint,
And to the one without might, strength.[1]
30 The youths faint and are weary,
And young men stumble exceedingly;
31 But they that wait on Yahweh renew their power,
They mount up with wings as eagles,[2]
They go and faint not.

41:1 Listen silently unto Me, ye isles,
And let the peoples renew strength;
Let them draw near, then let them speak,
"Together for judgment let us approach."
2 Who hath awakened one from the East,
Victory causeth to meet[3] him at every step,
Giveth before him nations,
And kings (before him)[4] beateth down?

He giveth them as dust to his sword,
As driven stubble to his bow;
3 He pursueth them, he passeth in safety
On the path which he goeth not on foot.
4 Who hath wrought and done it,
Calling generations from the beginning,
I, Yahweh, the first,
And with the last am I the same.

5 The coasts saw and feared,
The ends of the earth trembled,
They drew near and came (together);[5]
6 Everyone helpeth his neighbor,[6]
7 The workman strengtheneth the refiner,

---

[1] ירבה is an expansive gloss against measure.

[2] ירוצו ולא ייגָעו is not in accord with the simile of eagles flying, and makes the strophe just this line too long. It was a marginal note which has crept into the text.

[3] יִקְרָאֵהוּ, erroneous massoretic interpretation for יְקָרְאֵהוּ.

[4] יַרְדְּ, erroneous massoretic interpretation for יֹרִד; לפניו was doubtless in the original, as the measure requires (cf. 45:1); and was omitted by a prosaic copyist because it had been used in the previous line and so would be tautological in prose.

[5] 𝔊 ἅμα implies יחד, needed for measure.

[6] ולאחיו יאמר חזק does not suit the context. 𝔊 is uncertain; 𝔊^{B} καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἐρεῖ ἴσχυσεν. ἀνὴρ τέκνων. 𝔊$^{\aleph AQ}$ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ βοηθῆσαι. It was an uncertain seam connecting the activity of the nations with that of the individual workman. It gives the verb חזק a different meaning in the same context.

And he that smootheth with the hammer him that smiteth[1] the anvil,
Saying of the soldering "It is good;"
And he strengthened it with nails that it should not be moved.[2]

41: 8 But thou Israel, My servant,
Jacob whom I have chosen,
Seed of Abraham who loved Me,[3]
9 I have chosen thee and not rejected thee.
10 Fear not for I am with thee,
Be not dismayed for I am thy God;
I do strengthen thee, yea, I do help thee,
I do uphold thee[4] with the right hand of My righteousness.[5]

15 Behold I do make thee[6] a threshing instrument,[7]
A new one having edges;
It[6] will thresh the mountains and will beat them small,
And will make the hills as chaff,
16 It[6] will fan them and the wind will carry them away,
And the whirlwind will scatter them;
But thou wilt exult in Yahweh,
Thou wilt boast in the Holy One of Israel.

17 The afflicted[8] seeking water,
Whose tongue with thirst doth fail,
I, Yahweh, will answer them,
The God of Israel, I will not forsake them;
18 I will open on the bare heights rivers,
In the midst of valleys fountains,
I will make the wilderness into a pool of water,
And a thirsty land into springs of water.[9]

---

[1] את is a prosaic gloss, against the measure, which requires that we should connect הולם with פעם in one tone.

[2] There is no sufficient reason for removing verses 6 and 7 to follow 40:20, as Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti do; for this transposition spoils the strophes in both cases. The verses are needed here to prepare for the antithesis in the next strophe. Verse 5 also is suited to the context, and needed for the strophe; it is not a gloss, as Duhm would have it.

[3] Verse 9*abc* gives an historical reference to the call of Abraham; an original marginal note.

[4] אף is an intensive gloss, against the measure.

[5] Verses 11–14 continue the pentameter poem 40:1–11; see p. 94.

[6] It is difficult in this context to think of Israel as this threshing instrument; it is most natural to refer it to the conqueror from the East of verse 2. It seems probable that a later editor misinterpreted it, and, referring it to Israel, introduced the ךְ here and the second person of the verb, instead of the third in the subsequent verbs. Only thus do we get the proper antithesis for 16*c*.

[7] חרוץ is an interpretative gloss.

[8] והאביונים and ואין are expansive glosses, destroying the measures.

[9] Cf. Is. 30:25.

41:19 I will put in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia,
And the myrtle and the oleaster tree;
I will set in the wilderness the fir-tree,
The pine and the box together,
20 That they may see and they may know,
And they may consider, and they may understand together,
That the hand of Yahweh hath done it,[1]
The Holy One of Israel hath created it.

21 Draw near,[2] saith Yahweh,
Bring near your mighty ones,
Saith the King of Jacob.
22 Let them bring them near, and declare to us
That which will happen,
The former things what they are,[3]
And let us put our minds[4] upon their latter end;
Of those things that are to come make us hear.

23 Declare the things that are to come hereafter,
That we may know that ye are gods.
Yea, ye should do good or do evil,
That we may be dismayed and (fear)[5] together.[6]
25 I have raised up one from the North and he is come,
From the rising of the sun that he may encounter,[7]
And he may trample[8] rulers as mortar,
And as a potter treadeth clay.

26 Who hath declared it from the beginning?[9]
And beforetime, that we may say "he is right?"
Yea, there is none that declareth,
Yea, there is none that maketh it heard,
Yea, there is none that sayeth it;[10, 11]
28 And I see that there is no one,

---

[1] זאת is an interpretative gloss, against the measure.

[2] ריבכם is an interpretative gloss, against the measure.

[3] הגידו is an expansive gloss, against the measure.

[4] ונדעה is an expansive gloss, against the measure.

[5] נרא is an error for נירא.

[6] Verse 24 is a gloss, a duplicate of 29, and premature.

[7] By misinterpretation of יקרא, בשמי was added, against the measure.

[8] יבא is an error for יבוס, as most critics after Clericus and Lowth have recognized.

[9] ונדעה is a gloss as in 22 above.

[10] שמע אמריכם is a textual error; שמע is a repetition due to the mistaken addition of the suff. כם to an original אֹמֵר, which is required to correspond with 26*b*.

[11] Verse 27 is a gloss, not harmonious with the context; probably originally on the margin.

And of them there is no counsellor,
That I may ask them, and they may return a word.[1]

42:1 Behold My servant whom I uphold,
My chosen in whom My soul delighteth;
I have put My spirit upon him,
Justice to the nations will he bring forth;
2 He will not cry, nor lift up,
Nor cause his voice to be heard in the street;
3 A broken reed will he not break off,
And the faint wick will he not quench.[2]

5 Thus saith Yahweh, the true God,[3]
He who created the heavens and stretched them out,
He that spread out the earth and that which cometh out of it,
He that giveth breath[4] upon it,
And spirit to them that go therein:
6 I, Yahweh, have called thee,
With righteousness will I hold[5] thy hand,
And I will keep thee for a covenant of the people.[6]

I will give thee for a light of the nations;
7 To open the blind eyes,
To bring out the prisoners from the dungeon,
From the house of restraint those dwelling in darkness.
8 I am Yahweh, that is My name,
And My glory to another will I not give.[7]
9 The former things, behold they are come to pass,
And new things I am declaring.[8]

10 *Sing to Yahweh a new song,*
His praise from the end of the earth;
Let the sea (thunder)[9] *and its fulness,*
The coasts and their inhabitants;

---

[1] Verse 29 is a gloss, giving an answer that the context does not suggest, but is rather a dogmatic utterance of a later editor.

[2] Verse 3*c* repeats 1*d* and is a gloss; so is the whole of 4, with the reference to the coasts. Both enlarge the strophe beyond its normal dimensions.

[3] האל, Ps. 85:9, probably for האלהים.

[4] לעם is an expansive gloss.

[5] ך is a gloss of misinterpretation of its connection in the sentence.

[6] ואתנך goes with the last two words to begin the next strophe. There has been, as often, a prosaic combination of verbs.

[7] ותהלתי לפסילים is an expansive gloss, against the measure.

[8] Verse 9*c* is an expansive gloss, out of the measure and the strophical organization.

[9] ירעם, as Lowth conjectured, has been corrupted into יורדי.

42:11 *Let the wilderness (exult)*[1] *and its (flocks),*[2]
The settlements where Kedar dwelleth ;
Let the inhabitants of Sela jubilate,
From the top of the mountains shout.[3]

Part II

18 Ye deaf, hearken (to hear),[4]
And ye blind, look to see.
19 Who is blind but My servants,[5]
And deaf but (their rulers)?[6]
20 Ye saw[7] many things without (seeing),
Opened their ears without hearing.
21 Yahweh was pleased, for His righteousness' sake,
To magnify and make glorious the teaching.[8]

23 Who among you will give ear to this,
Will hearken and hear for time to come?
24 Who gave Jacob for a spoil,
And Israel to robbers; was it not Yahweh?[9]
25 And He poured upon him fury,
His anger and the fierceness of battle;
And it set him on fire round about, and he knew it not,
And burned in him, and he laid it not to heart.

43:1 And now thus saith Yahweh,
Who created thee, O Jacob, and who formed thee:[10]
Fear not for I do redeem thee,
I have called (thee)[11] by thy name, thou art Mine.

---

[1] ישאו is a corruption of an original ישישו ; so Klostermann, Graetz, Cheyne, Marti.

[2] עריו does not suit the wilderness; it is an error for עדריו, the ד having been omitted by haplography.

[3] Verses 12 and 13 are glosses of an expansive character, not suited to the context. This is followed by a strophe of the pentameter poem, 14–17, the continuation of 41:11 f.; see p. 94.

[4] The measure and parallelism require לשמע.

[5] 𝔊 has plur., as the context indeed requires; the sing. in MT is an erroneous interpretation.

[6] So 𝔊, which omits altogether כמלאכי אשלח מי עור. The last clause is a gloss.

[7] ראית Qrē, infin. abs., parallel with פקוח, is the correct reading; Ktīb ראית is a misinterpretation. ולא תשמר belongs in next line, only it should be 2 plur., as the context requires. In this line תראו is necessary for good sense.

[8] Verse 22 is a gloss, originally on the margin, descriptive of the sufferings of the people at the Exile.

[9] Verse 24*c* is a gloss, originally on the margin, giving the reason for the afflictions.

[10] ישראל is here a gloss, making line a tetrameter.

[11] The suff. should be added to 𝔐 as in 𝔊 𝔗, Lowth.

43: 2 When[1] in waters I will be with thee,
And rivers[2] will not overflow thee;
When[1] in fire thou wilt not be burned,
And the flame will not consume thee;

3 For I, Yahweh, thy God,
The Holy One of Israel, thy Savior,
Will give Egypt as thy ransom,
Cush and Sheba in thy stead,
4 Since thou art precious in Mine eyes,
Thou art honored and I love thee;
And I will give (lands)[3] in thy stead
And peoples instead of thy life.

5 From[4] the sun-rising will I bring thy seed,
And from sun-setting will I gather thee;
6 I will say to the North, "Give up!"
And to the South, "Withhold not!"
Bring My sons from afar,
And My daughters from the ends of the earth,
7 All who are called by My name,[5]
Whom I formed, yea made.[6]

9 Who can declare this,
And former things can make us hear;
Let them give their witnesses that they may be vindicated,
And let them make it to be heard[7] and say faithfully,[8]
10 That ye may know and ye may believe Me;
That ye may understand that I am He.
Before Me a God was not formed,
And after Me there shall be none.

11 I, I am Yahweh,
And there is not besides Me a Savior.
12 I, I declare,[9] and I let it be heard,
And there was not among you a strange (god)

---

[1] The verbs תעבור and תלך are expansive glosses, against the measure.

[2] So 𝔊; the ב is an assimilation to the previous line.

[3] Read אדמות, as the context requires, with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, for אדם of 𝔐; the ת was omitted by haplography before ת of next word.

[4] אל תירא כי אתך אני is a gloss; so Duhm, Marti.

[5] ולכבודי בראתיו is an expansive dogmatic gloss.

[6] Verses 8 and 9*ab* are glosses; so also בהם, due to previous glosses.

[7] יִשְׁמְעוּ is an erroneous interpretation; it should be Hiph., as usual, יַשְׁמִעוּ.

[8] Verse 10, as far as למען is a gloss of expansion, destroying the measure and the symmetry of the strophe.

[9] והושעתי is dittograph of והשמעתי.

Ye being My witnesses and I God.[1]
43:13 Yea, from the days of old[2] I am the same,
And there is none that from My hand can deliver;
I work, and who can reverse it?

14 Thus saith Yahweh,
Your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel:
For your sake have I sent against Babylon,
And I have cast down the bars (for you),
(And I have aroused My chosen), all of them.[3]
But as for the Chaldeans, for (mourning)[4] their ringing cry (is exchanged).
15 I am Yahweh, your Holy One,
Creator of Israel, your King.

16 Thus saith Yahweh,
(Your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel),[5]
He that made in the sea a way,
And in the waters a path;
17 That bringeth forth chariot and horse,
Army and strength together;
They lie down, they cannot rise up,
They are extinct, as flax are they quenched:

18 Remember not the former things,
And consider not the things of old.
19 Behold I am about to do a new thing;
It sprouteth forth, can ye not know it?
Yea, in the wilderness shall be a way,
And in the desert will I put[6] rivers;
20 The wild animals of the field will glorify Me,
The jackals and the ostriches.[7]

---

[1] נאם יהוה is not in 𝔊, and is a gloss, against the measure.

[2] מיום has no meaning by itself; 𝔊 ἔτι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς suggests ימי עולם or ימי קדם, and indeed the measure requires it.

[3] A line is missing in 𝔐 and 𝔊, which, however, differ in verbs, showing either variant readings, or two similar lines, the one followed by 𝔐, the other by 𝔊, which is not infrequently the case. The latter is more probable, as it supplies the missing line. The two were then, probably:

והורדתי בריחים לכם
והעירתי בחירי כלם

[4] בָּאֳנִיּוֹת, massoretic error for בַּאֲנִיּוֹת as Is. 29:2, Lam. 2:5; so Hitzig, Ewald, Marti.

[5] A line is missing, and even the first line lacks a tone. I venture to insert a line usual in such connections.

[6] אשׂים belongs to this line, not to the previous one.

[7] Verses 20*c*–21 are a gloss, repetitious in character; so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

43:22 Me hast thou not called, O Jacob,
Or[1] wearied Me, O Israel;
23 Thou hast not brought thy whole burnt-offerings,[2]
And with peace offerings hast not honored Me;
I have not made thee serve Me with grain offering,
And I have not wearied thee with frankincense;
24 Thou hast not got for Me calamus with silver,
And with the fat of thy peace-offering thou hast not satiated Me.[3]

25 I, even I, am the same,
That blotteth out thy transgressions for Mine own sake,
And thy sins I remember not.
26 Put Me in remembrance, let us plead together;
Tell it, that[4] thou mayest be justified.
27 Thy first father sinned,
And thy representatives transgressed against Me,[5]
28 Therefore I gave up Jacob to the ban.[6]

44:1 And now,[7] Jacob My servant,
And Israel, whom I have chosen;
2 Thus saith Yahweh, thy Maker,
And He that formed thee from the womb to help thee:
Fear not, My servant Jacob,
And Jeshurun, whom I have chosen;
3 For I will pour water upon the thirsty place,
And streams upon the dry land.

I will pour My Spirit upon thy seed,
And My blessings upon thine offspring;
4 And they shall spring forth, (as) grass among[8] (waters),
As willows by the water courses;
5 One will say, "I am Yahweh's,"
Another will proclaim his name Jacob;
One will subscribe with his hand to Yahweh,
And surname his name Israel.

---

[1] כי is a gloss of misinterpretation; οὐδὲ of 𝔊 is a correct interpretation, because the force of the negative was carried over into this line.

[2] לי שׂה is an expansive gloss.

[3] Verse 24*cd* is an antithesis sufficiently suggested without being inserted; it was a marginal justification of God.

[4] The line has one word too many, probably אתה; no such emphasis was needed.

[5] ואחלל שרי קדש is of doubtful meaning in this context. It is probably an expansive gloss to the previous context, and should be in the third pers. as 𝔊 𝔖, but 𝔐 has the first person and attaches it to subsequent context.

[6] The last two words, וישראל לגדופים, are an expansive gloss.

[7] שמע is a gloss, stating what was implied; against the measure.

[8] בבן, interpreted by Massora as בבין, should more properly be כבין מים as in 𝔊; so Lowth.

44: 6 Thus saith Yahweh, the King,[1]
And the Redeemer, Yahweh Sabaoth:
I am first[2] and last,
And beside Me there is no God.
7 Who is like Me? Let him come to the encounter,
And let him declare it, and let him set it in order for Me.
Who hath made to be heard[3] former things,
And what shall come to pass can declare?[4]

8 Fear ye not, and be not afraid;[5]
Have I not from of old made thee hear?
Indeed I have declared it, ye being My witnesses,[6]
And there is no Rock (beside Me).[7]
9 The framers of images, all of which[8] are unreal,
And whose precious things profit not,
Their witnesses[9] see not,
And they know not, in order that they may be ashamed.

10 Who hath formed an image,
A god he has molten that is profitable[10] for nothing![11]
12 A worker in iron doth (measure an idol),[12]
And worketh (it)[13] in the coals,
And formeth it with hammers,
And worketh it with his strong arm.
Yea, has he hunger he has no power,
Has he not drunken water he is faint.

13 A worker in wood doth stretch a line,
He marketh it with a stylus,

---

[1] Read המלך and הגאל; the lines have been enlarged by the glosses ישראל and the suffix.

[2] The repetition of אני makes the statements more distinct and emphatic, but it destroys the measure and is therefore improbable.

[3] משומי עם עולם ואתיות is a textual error for מי השמיע אתיות. The separation of ע and dittography of מ made עם, and then עולם and ו were necessary for good sense.

[4] The plur. and למו are errors of interpretation.

[5] Read תראי for תרהו with Ewald, Budde, *al.*

[6] היש אלוה מבלעדי is a gloss; אלוה not elsewhere in Isaiah 40—66, and improbable.

[7] בל ידעתי is a corruption of an original מבלעדי.

[8] כלם implies relative clause, אשר כלם.

[9] המה, with extraordinary points; textual error, dittograph of the previous הם suff.

[10] אל and פסל have been transposed by error; the former belongs in the second line.

[11] Verse 11 is a gloss of imprecation which interrupts the thought.

[12] מעצד is probably an error for an original מד עצב; the ד has been pressed out.

[13] אתו is needed for measure.

He shapeth it with planes,
And with compasses marketh it out;
And so he doth make it like the figure of a man,
Like the beauty of a man to endure.[1]
44:14 As for a house, he must hew him down cedars,
And take the holm tree and the oak.

And he secured him trees,[2]
Of the forest which (Yahweh)[3] planted,
Cedars[4] which the rain made to grow strong;
15 And so a man had them to burn,
And he took some of them and warmed himself,
Yea, he kindleth them and baketh bread,
Yea, he maketh a god and did worship it,
He made it a graven image and fell down to it.[5]

21 Remember these things, Jacob,[6]
For thou art My servant,
I formed thee, My witness[7] art thou,
Israel, do not forget[8] Me.
22 I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions,
And as a cloud[9] thy sins.
Return unto Me, (Jacob);[10]
For I have redeemed thee, (Israel).[10]

23 *Ring out, ye heavens (above),*[11]
That Yahweh hath done it;
Shout, ye lower parts of the earth,

---

[1] לשבת belongs with אדם to indicate the permanence of the image, as in 40:20; 41:7. The בית is the house or temple for the image, and properly belongs in the next line.

[2] בעצי יער is compressed from an original בעצים, which belongs with the first line, and ביער, which begins the second.

[3] 𝕲 has יהוה which is needed for measure.

[4] ארן, marked as doubtful by the little *Nun*, represents an original ארזים, cedars, which being wrongly attached to the second line occasioned the insertion of the ו before גשם, all of which destroyed the measure of the three lines and its fine parallelism.

[5] Verses 16–20 are an expansive gloss, in prosaic style, and repetitious in character. There is no sufficient reason, however, with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, to regard the whole passage, 9–20, as a gloss. This prophecy throughout is characterized by its putting in antithesis the God of Israel with the idols of the heathen.

[6] ישראל inserted, as often, by error, making the line tetrameter.

[7] עבד לי, tautological; probably an error for עד לי.

[8] תנשני, error for תשני.

[9] This line needs another tone, either a verb or else the full form of the preposition, וכמו ענן; cf. 41:25; 51:6.

[10] These names are needed for measure.

[11] שמים is not in proper antithesis to תחתיות ארץ; read מִמַּעַל as in 45:8, and get the missing tone.

(That Yahweh hath created it);[1]
Break forth, ye mountains, into ringing cries,
Ye forest and every tree therein,
That Yahweh hath redeemed Jacob,
And in Israel beautifieth Himself.[2]

PART III

46: 1 Bel doth bow down,[3] ———
Nebo doth stoop;[3, 4] ———
Their images are for animals,
And upon cattle are lifted up,[5]
Are loaded as a burden to a weary (beast).
2 They stoop, they bow down together,
And are not able to deliver,[6]
And they themselves into captivity do go.

3 Hearken unto Me, house of Jacob,
And all the remnant of the house of Israel;
Ye that have been loaded from the belly,
Ye that have been carried from the womb;
4 Even unto old age I am the same,
And unto hoar hairs I[7] will bear thee as a burden;
I have done it,[7] and I will lift thee up,
And I will bear thee as a burden, and I will deliver.

5 To whom will ye liken Me and make Me equal,
And compare Me that we may be like?
6 They that lavish gold out of a bag,
And silver in the balance weigh;
Hire a refiner, that he may make a god;[8]
They fall down, yes, worship,
7 They lift him upon the shoulder and carry him,
And set him in his place that he may stand.[9]

---

[1] What the heavens are to ring out is given, so also with the mountains; but what the earth is to shout is not given in 𝔐. The missing line undoubtedly gave it. We may suggest it by using ברא, often a synonym of עשה in this prophet.

[2] Chapter 45 continues the pentameter poem; see p. 96. It was inserted here when the two poems were consolidated.

[3] These are broken lines for emphasis; see 40:21.

[4] קֹרֵס should be perf., קָרַס, parallel to כָּרַע.

[5] The line needs another tone, read ויעל for ול.

[6] משא makes the line too long. It has come into the text from the preceding verse.

[7] אֲנִי is a gloss, destroying the measure. An emphasis upon the first person is overdone with these intermediate verbs.

[8] The suff. ־ֵהוּ is a gloss of unnecessary explanation, making the line too long. It is necessary to connect אל by makkeph to the verb, and so we should read ויעש־אל.

[9] Cf. 40:20; 41:7; 44:13. There is no sound reason for regarding verses 6-8 as an insertion.

From his place he will not remove,
Yea, if one crieth upon him he will not answer;[1]
From his trouble will not save him,
46: 8 Remember ye this and (be ashamed),[2]
And recall it unto mind, ye transgressors;
9 Remember the former things of old,
That I am God, and there is no one else;
God, and there is none like Me.

10 He that declareth from the beginning the end,
And from ancient time what hath not been done;
That sayeth, "My counsel shall stand,
And all my pleasure will I do;"
11 That calleth from the East a bird of prey,
From afar[3] the man of His counsel;
I[4] have spoken, yea, I will bring it to pass,
I have formed it, yea, I will do it.

12 Hearken unto Me, ye (whose heart faileth),[5]
Ye that are far from righteousness, draw near.[6]
13 My righteousness is not far off,
And My salvation will not tarry;
And I will give in Zion salvation,
And to (the house of) Israel[7] My beauty[8]

* * *

48: 1 Hear this, house of Jacob,
Ye that are called by the name of Israel,
And from the (bowels)[9] of Judah went forth;
Ye that swear by the name of Yahweh,
And the God of Israel commemorate,[10]

[1] ולא is a misinterpretation; read לא־יענה, as the measure requires.

[2] התאששו, ἁ. λ., is an error for התבששו; so Schleusner, Lagarde.

[3] מארץ is an expansive gloss.

[4] The first אף is a gloss, destroying the measure.

[5] אבירי לב is improbable; read with 𝔊 אֹבְדֵי לב as in Jer. 4:9.

[6] A verb is needed, probably קרבו, which by mistake has been attached to next verse, and being regarded as infin. abs. interpreted as קרבתי.

[7] For measure read לבית ישראל.

[8] This strophe lacks two lines, which seem to have been omitted when chap. 47 was inserted. Chap. 47 is a magnificent taunt song, or triumphal song over Babylon. It is pentameter in measure; but it has five strophes of seven lines each, and is thus of a different strophical organization from that of the great pentameter poem. It is complete in itself, and seems to have been originally an entirely independent composition.

[9] מִמֵּי, error for מִמְּעֵי; Secker, Marti; cf. Gen. 15:4, 𝔊 מִפִּי.

[10] לא באמת ולא בצדקה is a gloss, disturbing to the context.

48: 2 From the Holy City are called,
And upon the God of Israel stay yourselves,
Yahweh, Sabaoth His name.

3 The former things from of old I declared,
And from My mouth they went forth, that I might make them heard;
Suddenly I did them, and they came to pass;[1]
5 Before they came to pass[2] I made them heard,[3, 4]
6 (Ye) did hear, behold[5] it all.
O ye, will ye not declare it?
Now I do make new things heard,
And hidden things that ye do not know.[6]

7 Now they are created,[7] (they are) not of old,
Formerly thou didst not hear them,[8]
Lest thou shouldst say, "Behold I know them."
8 Yea thou didst not hear, ———[9]
Yea thou didst not know, ———[9]
Yea of old one did not open them up,[10, 11]
11 For Mine own sake, for Mine own sake, I will do them,[12]
And My glory to another will I not give.

12 Hearken unto Me, Jacob,
And Israel, named by Me,[13]
I am the same, I am the first,
Also I am the last;
13 Also My hand founded the earth,
And My right hand spread out the heavens;

---

[1] Verse 4 is a gloss, inharmonious with its context, requiring the insertion of the seam 5*a*.

[2] תבוא is an error for תבאנה as in 3.

[3] Verse 5*cd* is a gloss: פן תאמר עצבי עשם ופסלי ונסכי צום.

[4] The suff. ךָ was due to the insertion; the original text had it not, and it is erroneous in the true context.

[5] חֲזֵה is an erroneous massoretic interpretation of an original infin. abs. carrying on force of the verb which originally must have been in the true context, שמעתם, or infin. abs., שמע instead of 2 sing. שמעת.

[6] יְדַעְתָּם, massoretic error for יְדַעְתֶּם, which the context demands.

[7] ו with לֹא makes a separate tone, whereas לֹא must be attached to מאז by makkeph for one tone; ו is therefore a gloss of misinterpretation.

[8] לפני יום ולֹא is an error for לפנים לֹא as Klostermann, Stade, Cheyne, Marti; which gives good measure.

[9] Broken lines for emphasis; see 40:21; 46:1.

[10] אזנך is a gloss of misinterpretation of פתחה. We should read פתח, infin. abs., in the sense of 'explain,' which is given in 𝔊 as 1 sing.; so Duhm, Marti.

[11] Verses 8*d*–10 are an expansive gloss (Duhm), which really disturbs the context.

[12] Verse 11*b* has been inserted as a gloss between 11*a* and *c*; so Duhm.

[13] מְקֹרָאִי is dubious; 𝔊 *ὃν ἐγὼ καλῶ*. Another tone is needed for measure; read מִקרא בי.

I call unto them,
They stand up together.[1]

48:14 Who[2] among you hath declared these things?
His friend[3] will accomplish His pleasure,
Against Babylon and the seed[4] of the Chaldeans.
15 I[5] have spoken, yea, I have called him,
I have brought him and will make his way prosperous.[6]
16 Draw near unto Me, hear ye this;
Not in secret[7] did I speak,
Before the time of its happening I made it heard.[8, 9]

49:1 Hearken, O coasts, unto me,
And give attention, ye peoples from afar:
Yahweh from the womb called me,
And from the bowels of my mother mentioned me;[10]
2 And made my mouth like a sharp sword,
In the shadow of His hand hid me,
And made me a polished arrow,
In[11] His quiver concealed me.

3 And He said to me, "Thou art My servant,
Israel, in whom I will beautify Myself."
4 As for me,[12] I have toiled in vain, to no purpose,
In vain have I spent my strength,
Yet surely my judgment is with Yahweh,
And my recompense with my God,
5 And I shall be glorified in the eye of Yahweh,[13]
In that my God is my strength.

---

[1] Another tone is needed for measure; insert, probably, הם.

[2] הקבצו כלכם ושמעו is an introductory gloss, hardly to be thought of in the sam strophe with 16*a*.

[3] יהוה is a gloss, not in 𝔊, and against the measure.

[4] זְרֹעוֹ is an error of interpretation for זרע 'seed,' of 𝔊, which alone suits the context.

[5] אֲנִי, twice in 𝔐, but once in 𝔊; only one is allowed by the measure.

[6] הִצְלִיחַ should be infin. abs. It is rightly interpreted by 𝔊 as 1 sing.

[7] מראש is a disturbing gloss.

[8] שם אני is improbable; it is an error for השמעתי; cf. 44:8 (Marti), the initial ה having been left off by haplography, and ע overlooked.

[9] Verse 16*d* is a pentameter line which seems to be a seam connecting with the strophe of the pentameter poem that follows.

[10] שמי makes the line too long. It represents only an original suff. ־נִי.

[11] The line needs another tone; read במו for ב.

[12] ואני אמרתי is a gloss of introduction, sufficiently implied, however, by the emphatic אני. It destroys the measure.

[13] This couplet has by a copyist's error been transposed so that it now follows the next tetrastich, where it disturbs the context.

49: 5 And now (thus)[1] saith Yahweh,
That formed thee from the womb for servant to Him,
To bring back Jacob unto Him,
That Israel to Him[2] might be assembled;[3]
6 To raise up the tribes of Jacob,
And to restore the preserved of Israel,
And I will give thee for a light to the nations,
My[4] salvation to the end of the earth.

7 Thus saith Yahweh,
The Redeemer of Israel and his Holy One,
To one despised in person, to the one abhorred of nations,
To a servant of Kings (and princes):[5]
"Kings will see and rise up,
Princes (will behold)[6] and bow down,
Because of Him[7] who is faithful,
The Holy One of Israel who chooseth thee."[8]

8 Thus saith Yahweh:
In an acceptable time I answered thee,
And in a day of salvation I helped thee,
And I will keep thee for a covenant of the people,
And I will give[9] thee to raise up the land,
To make them inherit the desolate heritages;
9 Saying to them that are bound, "Go forth,"
And to them that are in darkness, "Show yourselves."

Upon the ways will they pasture,
And on all bare heights will be their pasturage;
10 They will not hunger and they will not thirst,
Neither will the burning wind or sun smite them,
For He that compassioneth them will lead them,
And unto springs of water will He guide them,

---

[1] So 𝔊 𝔖 𝔙 Lowth.

[2] לֹא should be לוֹ (Qrē, Aq. 𝔗, RV., Lowth, most critics), not negative as in MT.

[3] Verse 6*a*, ויאמר נקל מהיותך לי עבד, is a repetitious gloss, making the strophe too long and not in good measure.

[4] לִהְיוֹת is an unnecessary gloss, making the line too long.

[5] The line lacks one tone; ושרים is suggested by the subsequent context.

[6] A verb is needed to complete the measure; the parallelism suggests יחזו.

[7] יהוה is an unnecessary insertion for explanation.

[8] ויבחרך is a misinterpretation. It is a relative clause without ו.

[9] Cf. 42:6. In this case as in that the verbs have been consolidated after the prose style, at the expense of the measure; ואתנך goes properly with this line.

49:11 And[1] make every mountain into a way,
And (all)[2] highways[1] will be lifted up.

12 *Behold these from afar will come,*
And[3] these from the North and from the Sea,
And these from the land of Sinim.
13 *Ring out, ye heavens (above),[4]*
And ye (lower parts of the)[4] earth, rejoice,
Break forth with songs, ye mountains;
That Yahweh hath comforted His people,
And to His afflicted is compassionate.[5]

PART IV

51: 4 Attend unto Me, My people,
And My folk, unto Me give ear;
For the Law from Me will go forth,
And My judgment will become a light to the peoples.[6]
5 In a moment My righteousness doth draw near,
My salvation will go forth,[7] will vindicate;
Upon Me the coasts will wait,
And unto Mine arm will they look in hope.

6 Lift up to heaven your eyes,
And look unto the earth beneath,
For the heavens as smoke do (slip away),[8]
And the earth like a garment will wear out,
And her inhabitants die as (gnats),[9]

---

[1] שמתי, an improbable change from third pers.; מסלתי arose from dittography of the י in ירמון; this occasioned הרי for הר and ושמתי for ושב.

[2] כל is needed for measure before מסלת as before הר; so 𝔊.

[3] הנה is a gloss, making bad measure; repeated from the previous line.

[4] These lines are defective; the first should have ממעל and the second תחתיות, as in 44:23.

[5] Verse 14 begins another section of the pentameter poem, which, with various glosses, continues through chaps. 50 and 51:1–3; see pp. 101, 102.

[6] ארגיע should begin the next line as in 𝔊, ἐγγίζει ταχύ, for the measure requires it, and we should read רגע for ארגיע. The change of form was an interpretation of 𝔐, due to its interpretation of the connection of words. So for קרוב we should read קָרֵב.

[7] יָצָא massoretic error for יֵצֵא (𝔊 Cheyne, Marti), which then is closely connected with ישפטו, which should be sing., the plur. having originated from the gloss וזרעי עמים, the former having come in from 5*d*, the latter from 4*d*, all at the expense of the measure and the sense.

[8] נמלחו ἁ. λ., BDB, Lexicon, 'be dispersed in fragments,' probably an error for נמלטו, 'slip away.'

[9] כמו כן 'in like manner,' though sustained by the versions, does not seem appropriate. Read כִּנִּים, 'gnats,' with Lowth, Gesenius, Knobel, *al.*

51: 8 And as wool will the worm devour them;[1]
But My righteousness will be forever,
And My salvation for generation after generation.

52:13 Behold My servant will prosper,
He[2] will be exalted and be high exceedingly.[3]
14 As disfigured[4] more than a man in his appearance,
And his form than the sons of mankind,
15 So will he startle many nations,
Kings[5] will stop their mouths;
For what had not been told[5] they will have seen,
And what they had not heard they will have attentively considered.

53: 1 Who believed the report,[6]
And His arm,[7] unto whom was it revealed?
2 When he grew up as a suckling plant before Him,
And as a root out of a dry ground;
He had no form, no majesty,[8]
And no appearance or desirableness;[8]
3 Despised and forsaken of men,
A man of sorrows and[9] grief.[10]

4 Verily our griefs he bore,
And our sorrows, he[11] carried them;
But we regarded him as stricken,
Smitten of God and afflicted;
5 But he was one pierced because of our transgressions,
Crushed because of our iniquities,
The chastisement for our peace was upon him,
And by his stripes there was healing for us.

---

[1] Verse 8 is a doublet of 6*d* f., separated by the pentameter lines 7, beginning another section of the pentameter poem; see p. 102; 6*f* is the same as 8*cd*, save that the former is pentameter, with the closing two beats וצדקתי לא־תחת, the latter two trimeters, the last being וישועתי לדור דורים. The pentameter poem extends through 51 to 52:13.

[2] ירום, not in 𝔊; excessive use of synonymous verbs, and makes the line too long; so Budde, Duhm, Marti.

[3] כאשר שממו עליך רבים, tetrameter gloss (so Duhm), making the strophe too long.

[4] מִשְׁחַת, ἁ. λ., 'disfigurement;' it is better to read with Geiger מָשְׁחָת, Hoph. ptcp.

[5] עליו explanatory gloss, making the line too long; so also להם.

[6] The suff. נו is an interpretative gloss.

[7] זרוע יהוה makes the line too long; read זרועו.

[8] נֶחְמְדֵהוּ, assimilated to the gloss, ונראהו after it was inserted as a dittograph of מראה. We should read חֶמְדָּה with 𝔊.

[9] ידוע is an expansive gloss, making the line tetrameter.

[10] וכמסתר פנים ממנו נבזה ולא חשבנהו is an expansive gloss, making the strophe just so much too long.

[11] הוא makes the first line too long and is required in the second for measure.

53: 6 We all like sheep strayed away,
Each to his own way turned,
And Yahweh caused to light on him
The iniquities of us all.
7 He was harrassed and he was afflicted,
And he opened not his mouth,
As a sheep that is led to the slaughter,
And as a ewe before her shearers.[1]

8 From oppression and from judgment he was taken away,
And among his contemporaries, who was considering
That he was cut off from the land of the living,
Because of (our)[2] transgressions, smitten to (death)?[3]
9 And his grave was assigned with the wicked,
And with the rich in his martyr death;
Though he had done no violence,
And there was no deceit in his mouth.

10 Yahweh was pleased to crush him,
(Yahweh)[4] made him weak (unto death);
He maketh himself a trespass offering,
He will see a seed, ———[5]
He will prolong days, ———[5]
And the pleasure of Yahweh will prosper,[6]
11 On account of his own travail he will see,
(The just one)[7] will be satisfied with his knowledge.

My servant will justify many,
And their iniquities he will carry;
12 Therefore I will give him a portion among the great,
Among[8] the strong will he divide spoil;
Because he exposed his life,[9]
And with transgressors was numbered,
And he did bear the sin of many,
And for transgressors[10] interposes.[11]

[1] ולא יפתח פיו is a doublet, and נאלמה a gloss to emphasize the conclusion.

[2] By haplography נו was omitted before נגע, and subsequently עמי was inserted for explanation against the measure.

[3] למו, error for למות; cf. 𝔊.

[4] החלי makes the first line too long. It is a relic of a lost line which the strophe needs for completeness; I venture to restore it as above. מת has fallen out by haplography before אם ת; or else, more probably, אמת is an error for it. Then we should read ישים for תשים which originated from regarding נפשו as subject.

[5] These are broken lines for emphasis; see 40:21; 46:1; 48:8.

[6] בידו is a gloss, not in 𝔊.

[7] צדיק belongs here as subject of verb, and not in the next line as in MT.

[8] ואת makes the line too long; read ב as in the parallel ברבים.

[9] למות is an expansive gloss.

[10] ולפשעים has two tones.

[11] Chap. 54 resumes the pentameter poem; see p. 105.

55: 1 Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye,[1]
And he that hath no silver,[2]
Come ye,[3] buy without silver,
Without price[4] wine and milk.
2 Why will ye weigh silver,[5]
And your labor for that which satisfieth not?
Hearken diligently unto me,[6]
And let your soul delight itself in fatness.[7]

3 I will make an everlasting covenant,[8]
The sure deeds of kindness toward David.
4 Behold, a witness to the peoples I gave him,
A prince and commander to the peoples;
5 Behold, a nation thou knowest not thou wilt call,
And they[9] that know thee not unto thee will run,
Because of Yahweh thy God,
And for the Holy One of Israel, for He hath beautified thee.

6 Seek ye Yahweh while He may be found,
Call ye upon Him while He is near;[10]
7 And He will have compassion, will abundantly pardon.
8 For My thoughts are not your thoughts,
And your ways are not My ways.[11]
9 As[12] the heavens are high above the earth,
So high are My ways above your ways,
And My thoughts above your thoughts.[13]

10 As[14] the rain descendeth from heaven,
And thither returneth not,
Except it hath watered the earth,

---

[1] למים is a gloss, making the line too long, a premature statement, and not suited to the context, which gives wine and milk, rather than water.

[2] לכו שברו ואכֹלו. This line is a gloss; eating is not the conception of this piece, but only drinking.

[3] The ו is an erroneous connective.

[4] The ו in ובלוֹא makes the line too long, as it is necessary for measure to connect בלוֹא: by makkeph to מחיר.

[5] בלוֹא להם is a gloss by the same hand as that above in verse 1; see note 2.

[6] אכלוֹ טוב is another gloss by the same hand.

[7] Verse 3*ab* is a gloss (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti), merely a doublet of 2*c*.

[8] לכֹם is an explanatory gloss.

[9] גוֹי is a gloss of interpretation.

[10] Verse 7 is a gloss, as Duhm, Cheyne, Marti recognize; except that the closing line of the tristich must be there. This probably consisted of the verbs וירחם ירבה לסלוֹח.

[11] נאם יהוה is a gloss, out of the measure.

[12] In כי גבהו, read with versions, כִּגְבֹהַּ; cf. Ps. 103:11.

[13] ממחשבתיכם has two tones.

[14] כי כאשר ירד is a prosaic amplification of an original כרדת; והשלג is a gloss.

And made it bring forth and sprout and give seed,[1]
55:11 So My word,[2] that goeth forth from My mouth,[2]
Will not return unto Me empty,
Except it hath accomplished[3] what I please,
And it hath prospered in the thing whereunto I sent it.

12 *For with joy will ye go forth,*
Amidst shouts of welfare[4] *from the mountains will ye be conducted;*
And the hills will break forth in ringing cries,[5]
And the trees[6] *of the field will clap their hands;*
13 *Instead of the thorn will be*[7] *the fir tree,*
Instead of the briar will be[7] *the myrtle tree;*
And it will be to Yahweh for a name,
And for an everlasting sign that cannot be cast off.[8]

PART V

58:1 Proclaim[9] with the throat, spare not,
As a trumpet lift up thy voice,
And declare to My people their transgressions,
And to the house of Jacob their sin.
2 Yet day by day they seek Me,
And in knowing My ways delight,
As a nation that[10] did righteousness,
And the judgment of their God forsook not.

They ask Me righteous judgments,[11]
In drawing near to God they delight.
3 "Why do we fast" (they say) "and Thou seest not,
Afflict ourselves and Thou knowest not?"
In[12] the day of your fast ye find pleasure,[13]

---

[1] לזרע ולחם לאכל is a gloss of amplification.

[2] יהיה and אשר are glosses, destroying the measure.

[3] את אשר, explanatory gloss, against the measure.

[4] ההרים belongs to the second line by measure and parallelism; שלום must then be given a meaning to correspond; that can only be a shout of welcome; cf. Ps. 122:7, 8.

[5] לפניכם is an explanatory gloss.

[6] כל is, as often, an expansive gloss.

[7] The verbs יעלה are an unnecessary explanation, against the measure.

[8] The pentameter poem begins again in chap. 56. The trimeter is not resumed till chap. 58.

[9] I see no sufficient reason for separating this chapter from the poem. The measure and strophical organization are the same; and there is nothing in the piece unsuited to the situation of the exilic community.

[10] אשר a gloss, impairing the measure.

[11] This is a phrase of Ps. 119:62, 106, 164, but not in itself a late term. Judgments is an early term for legal decisions of the Law.

[12] הֵן is an emphatic gloss.

[13] It is not necessary to give חפץ the late sense of business; cf. 53:10.

And all your toilers[1] press;
58: 4 Lo, for strife and contention ye fast;
And to smite with the fist of wickedness.

Ye shall not fast as today,
To make your voice to be heard on high.
5 Is it like this,[2] the fast that I choose,
A day for one[3] to afflict himself?
Is it to bow down as a rush his head,
And sackcloth and ashes spread?
Is it this (ye) call a fast,
And a day of acceptance to Yahweh?

6 (Thus saith Yahweh):[4]
Is not this the fast I choose,
To loose the bonds of wickedness,
To undo the bonds of the yoke,
And to let the oppressed go free,
And that ye break every yoke?
7 Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry,
And that ye bring the wandering home?[5]

When thou seest one naked thou shouldst clothe him,
And from thy flesh thou shouldst not hide thyself;
8 Then will thy light break forth as dawn,
And thy restoration speedily sprout forth;
And thy righteousness shall go before thee,
And the glory of Yahweh bring up the rear;[6]
9 Then wilt thou call and Yahweh will answer,
Thou wilt cry out and He will say, "I am here."

If thou wilt remove from thy midst the yoke,
The putting forth of the finger and speaking trouble,
10 Wilt bestow on the hungry their desire,
And the desire of the afflicted wilt satisfy,
Thy light will rise in darkness,
And thy glory will be as the noonday,
11 And Yahweh will guide thee continually,
And satisfy thy desire in scorched places.[7]

---

[1] עַצְּבֵיכֶם is ἁ. λ.; 'your toilers,' BDB. Lexicon.

[2] יהיה is an unnecessary explanatory gloss.

[3] אדם is an explanatory gloss, against the measure.

[4] 𝔊 has λέγει κύριος, after ἐξελεξάμην, but it comes better at the beginning of the strophe, and is needed to complete the strophe.

[5] עניים is an explanatory gloss to מרודים, making line too long.

[6] Cf. Is. 52:12.

[7] צחצחית ἁ. λ.

Then will (Yahweh)[1] brace up thy strength,
And thou wilt be as a watered garden,
And as a spring of (living)[2] waters,
Whose waters fail not.
58:12 And they shall[3] build the old wastes,
The foundations of the generations will raise up,
And thou wilt be called the waller up of the breach,
The restorer of paths to dwell in.[4]

61:1 The Spirit of Yahweh[5] is upon me,
Because that Yahweh hath anointed me;
To preach good tidings to the meek He hath sent me,
To bind up the broken hearted,
To proclaim liberty to the captives,
And deliverance to them that are bound,
2 To proclaim the acceptable year of Yahweh,
And the day of vengeance of our God;

To comfort all that mourn,
3 To provide for the mourners of Zion,
To give to them a head-dress,
Instead of ashes, the oil of joy,
Instead of mourning, the garment of praise,
Instead of a spirit of faintness,
To[6] be called terebinths of righteousness,
The planting of Yahweh to beautify Himself.

4 And they will build the old wastes,
They will raise up the former desolations,
And they will repair the waste cities,
The desolations of generations erect.[7]
5 And strangers will feed your flocks,[8]
And aliens' sons will be your plowmen and your vine-dressers;
6 But ye will be called the priests of Yahweh,
Ministers of our God, will it be said.[9]

---

[1] יהוה is needed for measure and is almost necessary at the beginning of a new strophe.

[2] חיים is needed for measure.

[3] ממך is an unnecessary gloss.

[4] Verses 13 and 14, as Koppe, *al.* have observed, are a late gloss, adding something of a different nature after the climax has been reached. This is followed by chap. 59, which is a post-exilic piece, and chap. 60, which belongs to the pentameter poem. The trimeter poem is resumed in chap. 61.

[5] אדני, Qrē and gloss, not in 𝔊 𝔙, Luke 4:18.

[6] וְקֹרָא, textual error for infin. abs., as often in Hebrew literature.

[7] ועמדו is out of place at the beginning of verse 5; it is needed here as Hiph., יעמידו.

[8] Transpose זָרִים and ורעו.

[9] לכם is an explanatory gloss.

Ye will eat the riches of the nations,
And in their glory will ye pride yourselves,
61: 7 For your shame ye will have double;[1]
8 And I will make an everlasting covenant,
9 And (your)[1] seed will be known among the nations,
And (your)[1] offspring among the peoples,
All that see them will acknowledge them,
That they are the seed that Yahweh hath blessed.

10 *I will greatly rejoice in Yahweh,*
My soul will be joyful in my God,
For He hath clothed me in garments of salvation,
He hath covered me with a robe of righteousness;
As a bridegroom putteth on a priest's turban,
And as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels;
11 *As the earth bringeth forth her increase,*
As a garden causeth that which is planted therein to spring forth.[2]

THE PENTAMETER POEM

PART I

40: 1 Comfort ye, comfort ye My people, saith your God,
2 Speak unto the heart of Jerusalem, and proclaim unto her,
That her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is discharged;
That she hath received from the hand of Yahweh double for[3] her sins.
3 Hark! one proclaiming, "In the wilderness clear the way of Yahweh,
Level in the desert (for Yahweh),[4] a highway for our God.
4 Let every valley be lifted up, and every mountain and hill be depressed,
And let the crooked place become straight, and the rugged place a plain,
5 And the glory of Yahweh will be revealed, and all flesh will see,"[5]
For the mouth of (Adonay)[6] Yahweh hath spoken.

6 Hark! one saying, "Proclaim," and another[7] saying, "What shall I proclaim"?

---

[1] The change to third person in 7*b* indicates a gloss, which extends to 8*d*. It also occasioned the change from second to third person in 9.

[2] The closing couplet is an interpreting gloss.

[3] כֹל is an amplification, against the measure.

[4] ליהוה is needed for measure before the caesura.

[5] יחדו an amplification, against the measure.

[6] אדני, usual in this poem with יהוה in such phrases, is here needed for measure.

[7] אָמַר, massoretic error for אֹמֵר, as previous participle, and so, one saying, another saying.

"All flesh is grass, and its (splendor)[1] as the flower of the field;
40: 8 (Surely)[2] the grass withereth, the flower fadeth;
But the word of (Yahweh)[3] our God standeth forever."
9 Upon a high mountain go up, thou that bringest good tidings to[4] Zion;
Lift up with power thy voice, thou that bringest good tidings to[4] Jerusalem;
Lift up, fear not, say to the cities of Judah,
10 Behold your God, behold Adonay Yahweh,
As a strong one He cometh, with His arm ruling for Him;
Behold, His wage is with Him and His recompense before Him.

11 As a shepherd He will feed His flock, with His arm gather it,
The lambs in His bosom[5] He will lift up, those that give suck He leadeth.[6]
41: 11 They[7] shall be shamed and they shall be confounded, they that are incensed against thee;
They shall be as nothing and they shall perish, the men of thy strife;
12 Thou wilt seek them and thou wilt not find them, the men of thy contention;
They shall be as nothing, and as a thing of naught, the men of thy battle;
13 For I, Yahweh, thy God, am He[8] that holdeth thy right hand,
He that sayeth to thee, "Fear not, I do help thee;
14 Fear not, thou worm Jacob, ye men of Israel,
I do help thee,[9] even thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel."[10]

---

[1] חסדו, error for הדרו, used of trees elsewhere; כל, as often, a gloss of exaggeration.

[2] אכן הציר העם spoils the measure, is an explanatory gloss (so Duhm, Marti); but אכן is characteristic of this prophet. It belongs with יבש חציר in 8, to complete the measure. The line יבש חציר נבל ציץ came into *7a* by dittography, and is absent from 𝔊, which also has not *7b*. In all this 𝔊 is certainly correct, for there is no room for this material in the strophe.

[3] יהוה is required for good measure.

[4] ציון and ירושלים are not in apposition with מבשרת, but there is an objective construct relation; so Lowth.

[5] ובחיקו, by an error in the interpreting of the connection, for בחיקו.

[6] These two lines are apart from previous strophe. They either represent a strophe which has been omitted in the combination, or, more probably, are the introductory lines missing to this strophe, though the two are now separated by the first section of the trimeter poem, 40:12—41:10; see p. 69.

[7] הן, emphatic gloss.

[8] מחזיק should have the article as האמר.

[9] נאם יהוה is a gloss, destroying the measure.

[10] The trimeter poem now begins, and continues through 41:15—42:13; see p. 72.

42:14 *I have been long time*[1] *silent. Shall I be still, shall I restrain myself?*
As a woman in labor will I groan,[2] *will I gasp, will I pant together;*
15 *I will lay waste mountains and hills, and all their herbage dry up,*
And make rivers into coasts, and pools will I dry up,
16 *And lead the blind in a way they know not,*
In paths they know not will I make (them) tread.[3]
I will make darkness into light,[4] *and rugged places into a plain;*[5]
These things I do with them, and I have not forsaken them.
17 *They are thrust back with shame, they that trust in graven images,*
They shall be ashamed[6] *that say to molten images, "Ye are our gods."*[7]

PART II

44:24 Thus saith Yahweh, thy Redeemer, He that formed thee from the womb:
I am Yahweh, Maker of all things, that stretched forth the heavens;
Alone[8] I was He that spread abroad the earth. Who was with Me?
25 He that frustrated the signs of praters,[9] and diviners maketh mad;
That turneth the wise men backward, and their knowledge maketh foolish;
26 That confirmeth the word of His servant, and his counsel[10] performeth;
That sayeth of Jerusalem, "She shall be inhabited[11] and her temple I will establish;"
That sayeth of the cities of Judah, "They shall be built, and her wastes I will raise up;"
27 That sayeth to the deep,[12] "Be dry, and thy streams I will dry up;"
28 That sayeth to Cyrus, "My shepherd, and My pleasure[13] will he perform."

---

[1] For מעוֹלם read מן עוֹלם, in order to get two tones.

[2] אפעה ἁ. λ.; BDB. Lexicon, 'groan.'

[3] אדריך אתם for אדריכם, to complete the measure.

[4] לפניהם is an expansive gloss.

[5] Cf. 40:4.

[6] יבשו has been attached to the preceding verbs in a prosaic manner, as often, by a copyist, at the expense of the measure.

[7] The trimeter poem now follows, and continues through 42:18—44:23; see p. 75.

[8] לבדי goes with this line, and not with the previous one as in MT.

[9] בַּדִּים, n. m. pl., 'praters,' false prophets; elsewhere in this sense Jer. 50:36, and in the sense of 'empty, idle talk' Is. 16:6; Jer. 48:30; Job 11:3.

[10] Read עצתי instead of עצת מלאכיו, which is too long for the measure.

[11] The line is defective here. Its true complement is 28, והיכל תוסד; only it should correspond with the synonymous line and be אסד. The last line, which distinguishes the strophe, was added as a climax with לאמר for האמר, dependent upon Cyrus, and תבנה for תושב.

[12] צוּלָה ἁ. λ., error for מצולה.

[13] כל, as often, an expansive gloss.

45:1 Thus saith Yahweh (the true God)[1] to His anointed, Cyrus,
Whose[2] right hand I have holden to subdue before him nations,[3]
To open[4] the two-leaved door and gates that cannot be shut:
2 I before thee will go and (the mountains)[5] will make level,
Doors of bronze will I break and bars of iron;[6]
3 And I will give[7] treasures of darkness and treasures hidden in secret places;
That thou mayest know that I am Yahweh,
He that calleth (thee)[8] by thy name, the God of Israel;
4 For the sake of Jacob My servant and Israel My chosen,
I proclaimed thy name, and have given thee thy title,[9] though thou didst not know Me.

5 I am Yahweh, and there is none else, beside Me there is no God.
(I proclaim thy name[10] and give thee thy title), though thou dost not know Me,
6 That they may know from sunrise and from sunset,
That there is none beside Me, I am Yahweh and there is none else;
7 (I)[11] that form light and that create darkness,
(I)[11] that make peace and create distress,
I, Yahweh, that do all these things.
8 Drop down ye heavens from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness,
Let the earth open, (that) salvation and righteousness (may shoot forth)[12]
Let it cause them to sprout forth together; I, Yahweh, have created it.[13]

---

[1] האלהים 𝔊, needed for measure.

[2] אשר, a gloss, as often.

[3] ומתני מלכים אפתח is an expansive gloss, changing the construction of the sentence.

[4] לפניו, a repetitious gloss.

[5] הדורים, error for הררים, 𝔊, Lowth.

[6] אגדע, an interpretative gloss.

[7] לך, gloss.

[8] לך, needed here for measure rather than in 4.

[9] ו consec. is necessary here after וָאֶקְרָא.

[10] This line is defective. It seems to be a reiteration of *4b;* in that case it seems proper to add אקרא בשמך, and to regard אֲאַזֶּרְךָ as an error for אֲכַנְּךָ.

[11] Another tone is needed for measure, probably אני, which would be an appropriate emphasis in these two lines.

[12] ויפרו cannot be satisfactorily explained; it is probably an error for ויפרחו, with ו subordinate; so Marti.

[13] The suff. יו is a misinterpretation, referring to Cyrus; the original was doubtless, as often, without suffix.

45: 9 Woe to one that striveth with Him who formed him—a potsherd
among the potsherds of earth!
Shall one[1] say to Him that formed him, "Why[2] makest Thou Thy
work without power?"[3]
10 Shall one say to a father "Why[2] begettest thou," and to a mother
"Why travailest thou?"
11 Thus saith Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel, He that formed thee,
The former things thou mayest[4] ask Me, and concerning[5] the work
of My hands thou mayest command Me;
12 I have made the earth, and man[6] I created;
My[7] hands stretched out the heavens, and their host I commanded;
13 I have raised him up in righteousness, and his[8] ways I will level,
He shall build My city and My captives set free,
Not for price,[9] saith Yahweh Sabaoth.

14 Thus saith Yahweh:[10] The toil of Egypt shall be thine,[11]
And the traders[12] of Cush after thee will go in chains,[13]
And the Sabeans, men of stature, unto thee will come;
They will come over,[14] and unto thee will bow down, and unto thee
will supplicate:
"Surely in thee is 'El, and there is no one else, no god."
15 Surely an 'El that (giveth shelter) is the God of Israel,[15]

---

[1] חֹמֶר is a gloss of interpretation, making the line too long.

[2] מָה here is not 'what' but 'why.'

[3] אין ידים is used in the figurative sense; לוֹ is a gloss of interpretation. The several emendations suggested, based on the ordinary meaning of ידים, are awkward and difficult.

[4] שאלוני is an error for תשאלוני; so Hitzig, Cheyne, Driver, Marti, in accordance with the verb that follows; the initial ת was omitted by haplography.

[5] על בני is an expansive gloss (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti), making the line too long.

[6] עליה or בראתי must be a gloss, for the line is too long; probably the former, for there are two verbs in the parallel line.

[7] אני is an emphatic gloss, making one tone too many.

[8] כל, a gloss of intensification, as often.

[9] ולא בשחד is a gloss of amplification, destroying the measure.

[10] Σαβαώθ of 𝔊 makes the line too long, though adopted by Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

[11] The difficulty of these verses is due to the prosaic combination of the subjects, which were originally in synonymous lines; these I restore to their proper poetic position.

[12] סַחַר is a massoretic error for סֹחֲרֵי, 'traders,' as the verb requires.

[13] As in 𝔊, attached to this verb, not to the following as in MT.

[14] This verb is required for measure, as 𝔐 𝔊^{B} Theod.; though omitted by Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, after 𝔊$^{\aleph AQ}$.

[15] אַתָּה, 𝔐 𝔊, is a gloss of interpretation, disturbing to the thought and the measure. The latter difficulty is not removed by אִתְּךָ, suggested by Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. מושיע is not in 𝔊^{B}, and is omitted by Duhm; but it is in 𝔊$^{\aleph AQ}$. There seems no especial propriety for its use, although it will not disturb the measure if we connect אכן and אל as one tone. This does not, however, commend itself. מסתתר Hithpa. 'one hiding Himself,' gives a majestic thought, more appropriate, however, to the theodicy of Job, than to

45:16 They shall be ashamed, and indeed confounded, all that rise up against Him;[1]
Together they are gone into confusion, the gravers of images.
17 Israel is saved by Yahweh with an everlasting salvation.
Ye shall not be ashamed, and ye shall not be confounded, unto everlasting perpetuity.

18 Thus saith Yahweh, Creator of the heavens,[2]
He that is God, Former of the earth and its Maker,
He that established it, not as a waste created it,
To be inhabited formed it, I, Yahweh, than whom there is none else:[3]
19 Not in secret did I speak, in a place of a land of darkness,
I said not to the seed of Jacob, "In a waste seek Me."
I, Yahweh, am one that speaketh what is right, that declareth equitable things.
20 Assemble yourselves and come, draw near[4] the escaped of the nations.
They have no knowledge, that carry the wood of their graven images,
And they that make supplication unto a god that cannot save.

21 Declare ye, and bring them near, yea, let them take counsel together;
Who hath made this heard from ancient times, from of old hath declared it?
Is it not I, Yahweh, than whom there is no God else beside Me,
A righteous God and Savior, than whom there is none else?
22 Look unto Me and be saved, all the ends of the earth,
For I, God, than whom there is none else, by Myself have sworn;[5]
23 That which is right has gone forth from My mouth, a word not to return,
That to Me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear (saying),
24 "In[6] Yahweh are righteous deeds and strength, unto whom men shall come,[7]

---

our prophet, whose God is a God revealing and glorifying Himself. There has probably been a dittography of ח, and we should read מסתר and then we get the appropriate idea of a God 'giving shelter' to His people.

[1] 𝔊 πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι αὐτῷ implies כל קמיו, which is doubtless correct (so Duhm); the ק and יו have been omitted between ל and מ, and so כלם of 𝔐 arose. The כל מתקוממו of Cheyne is too long for the measure, and could not have been easily reduced to כלם.

[2] These lines are all good pentameters. Difficulty is found by Duhm, Cheyne, Marti because of misinterpretation.

[3] This is a relative clause.

[4] יחדו is a gloss of intensification.

[5] בי נשבעתי belongs by measure to this line, not to the next as in MT; but it is necessary to explain the previous clause as relative, and this line as introducing the next.

[6] Verse 24 is disturbed at the beginning by לי אמר, which is a conflation of two readings, לאמר and יאמר, both of which glosses are implied by the context, for these two lines are words of those that come to Yahweh. אך is also a prefix of intensification.

[7] ויבשו כל הנחרים בו is a gloss from 41:11.

45:25 In Yahweh will be justified and will boast themselves all the seed
of Israel."[1]

48:17 *Thus saith Yahweh, thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel,*
I am Yahweh thy God,[2] that leadeth thee in the way,
18 *And thy peace[3] shall be as a river, and thy righteousness as the*
waves of the sea,
19 *And as the sand shall be thy seed, and the offspring of thy bowels;[4]*
It will not be cut off, and the name[5] will not be destroyed from
before Me,
20 *Go forth from Babylon, flee from the Chaldeans with the voice of*
shouting,
Declare ye, make it heard,[6] bring it forth unto the ends of the earth,[7]
"*Yahweh hath redeemed Jacob,[8] they do not thirst;*
21 *In the wastes He made them go, water from the rock He made flow,*
And He cleft the rock and the waters gushed out for them."[9, 10]

PART III

49:14 And she said,[11] "Yahweh hath forsaken me, and Adonay hath forgotten me,"
15 Can a woman forget her suckling child, that she should not have
compassion on the son of her womb?
Yea, these may forget, yet will I not forget thee;
16 Behold, upon my palms I have graven thee, thy walls are before Me.[12]

---

[1] The trimeter poem is resumed in chap. 46; see p. 81. Chap. 47 is an independent taunt song; see p. 82. The trimeter poem is resumed in chap. 48, and continues through verses 1-16.

[2] מלמדך להועיל is a gloss from the same hand as לוא הקשבת למצותי, 18*a*; these betray a later conception of Yahweh as teacher, and impair both lines. תלך was added in the same spirit.

[3] וַיְהִי is an error for וִיהִי; so also in 19.

[4] מעיך כמעתיו makes the line too long. The latter is ἁ. λ., and seems to be dittograph of the former.

[5] שמו, 𝔊 שמך. As usual in such cases both suffixes are interpretations of a noun without suff.

[6] זאת makes the line too long; it was needless.

[7] אמרו is as usual in such contexts a gloss.

[8] עבדו does not suit the plural verb and is a needless explanatory gloss. ולא צמאו belongs with this line, not with the next as in MT.

[9] למו belongs to the last line, and not to the previous one as in MT.

[10] Verse 22 is the refrain of the final work, when its three great sections had been consolidated. The trimeter poem is then resumed, and continues through 49:1-13; see p. 84.

[11] ציון is an explanatory gloss, making the line hexameter.

[12] תמיד is a gloss of emphasis.

49:17 Thy (builders)[1] make haste, thy destroyers[2] from thee shall go forth.
18 Lift up round about thine eyes, and see, all of them,
They do gather together, they are come to thee, (all of them),[3] as I live;[4]
With all of them[5] as an ornament wilt thou clothe thee, and gird thee as a bride.
19 For thy desolate places and thy wastes and thy land of ruins—
Now[5] shalt thou be too straight for the inhabitants, and they that swallowed thee up will be afar off.

20 Again will they say in thine ears, the children of thy bereavement,
"The place is too straight for me, give place that I may dwell;"
21 And thou wilt say in thine heart, "Who hath born me these?
Seeing I am bereaved and barren,[6] these, who hath brought them up?
Behold I was left alone, these, where were they?"
22 (For) thus saith Adonay, Yahweh, (thy Savior):[7]
Behold, I will lift up unto the nations My hand,
(Behold),[8] unto the peoples will I raise My banner.[9]
23 And kings will be thy nursing fathers, and their princesses thy nursing mothers,[10]
And thou wilt know that it is I, Yahweh, in whom they[11] that hope will not be ashamed.[12]

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[1] בָּנַיִךְ error for בֹּנַיִךְ, as 𝔊 𝔙 𝔗, Saadia, Lowth, Eichhorn.

[2] מְהָרְבַיִךְ is a dittograph of מהרסיך, which alone suits the measure.

[3] כֻּלָּם is needed for measure in this line, and is favored by its use in the previous and following lines.

[4] נְאֻם יהוה is here, as often in this prophet, a gloss.

[5] כִּי is dittograph of כ in כֻּלָּם; so also כִּי in 19 after the suff. ךְ.

[6] גֹּלָה וְסוּרָה is an expansive gloss, destroying the measure.

[7] This line needs two tones; probably the introductory כִּי was lost by haplography before כֹּה, and מוֹשִׁיעֵךְ, a usual term in such phrases.

[8] These two lines cannot be trimeters on account of הִנֵּה in the first line and וְאֶל in the second. As they stand in 𝔐 they are tetrameter; but that is impossible in the context. It is easiest to regard them as pentameter, by separating אֶל from גּוֹיִם as a separate tone, and prefixing הִנֵּה to the second line. Only in this way can we complete this strophe properly. It has been confused by its connection with the trimeter glosses. The same idea is in the pentameter refrain 62:12.

[9] Two trimeter lines of gloss follow, with the late word חֹצֶן, elsewhere Neh. 5:13, Ps. 129:7.

[10] Two trimeter lines follow which represent the haughty, vindictive temper of later Judaism, entirely out of accord with the ideas of the noble-minded author of this pentameter.

[11] אֲשֶׁר, interpretative gloss. The relative clause is sufficiently distinct without it.

[12] Verses 24–26 are a gloss of a vindictive character, like 23*b*, not at all in the spirit of our prophet.

50: 1 Thus saith Yahweh, thy Redeemer, the mighty One of Jacob:[1]
"Where then is the bill of divorce of your mother, wherewith I put her away;[2]
Or which of My creditors is it to whom[2] I sold thee?
Behold, for your iniquities were ye sold, and for your transgressions was she put away.[3]
2 Wherefore I came and there was none, I called without one to answer.[4]
Is the hand of (Yahweh)[5] so much shortened that it cannot ransom,
Or is there not in (Yahweh)[5] power to deliver?
By[6] My rebuke I dry up the sea, rivers[7] of the wilderness,
Their fish stink, because there is no water, and die of thirst.
3 I clothe the heavens with blackness, and sackcloth[8] their covering."

4 Adonay Yahweh hath given me the tongue of the taught,
To know in season,[9] a word He stirreth up for me.
In the morning[10] He stirreth up[11] for me to hear as the taught,
5 Adonay Yahweh hath opened for me an ear,
And I do not rebel, backward I do not turn.
6 My back I have given to the smiters, and my cheek to them that pluck out the beard,
My face I have not hid from shame and spittle.
7 (Behold)[12] Adonay Yahweh is helper to me,
Therefore[13] I have put my face as a flint,[14]
And I know that I shall not be ashamed, I shall not be confounded.

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[1] גֹאלך אביר יעקב belongs in this line, and not in the previous chapter as in 𝔐.

[2] אשׁר is, as often, a prosaic addition, impairing the measure of both lines.

[3] אמכם is an explanatory gloss, at the expense of the measure.

[4] ו with אין in this line, assimilation, against the measure.

[5] ידי for יד יהוה, required by measure; so בי for ביהוה.

[6] הֵן is an emphatic gloss, against the measure.

[7] אשׂים makes the line too long; it is an erroneous interpretation, against the context; נהרות is a second object to אחריב and should be in the construct state, not absolute as in MT.

[8] אשׂים is a gloss, making the pentameter into a hexameter.

[9] לעות ἁ. λ., error for לְעֵת of 𝔊, parallel with בַּבֹּקֶר; so Oort. Moreover, את יעיר is not in 𝔊, but τοῦ γνῶναι ἡνίκα δεῖ εἰπεῖν λόγον. ἔθηκεν μοι πρωι. יעיר seems to be a dittography of יעיר, and את a later prosaic addition; לי should follow יעיר the first time as well as the second.

[10] בבקר repeated by dittography.

[11] אזן came in by error from the next line.

[12] ו is not appropriate here; read הנה for measure.

[13] One על־כן is a dittograph — it is used but once in 𝔊 — and לא נכלמתי belongs to the last line of the strophe. It is premature here.

[14] Káḫallāmíš has two tones.

50: 8 Near is He that justifieth me, who will contend with me?
Let us stand up together, who is mine adversary?[1]
9 Adonay[2] Yahweh helpeth me, who[3] will condemn me?
Behold all of them as a garment wax old, the moth shall eat them.
10 Who is among you that feareth Yahweh, that hearkeneth to His voice,[4]
That doth walk in dark places and have no brightness?
Let him trust in the name of Yahweh, and stay upon his God.
11 "Behold all of ye that kindle fire, that (light) firebrands,[5]
Go ye unto the flame of your fire and among the firebrands ye kindled;
From My hand have ye this, in a place of pain shall ye lie down."

51:1 Hearken unto Me, ye that pursue righteousness, ye that seek Yahweh;
Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn, and unto the quarry[6] whence ye were digged,
2 Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah who bare you:
For when he was but one I called him, and blessed him[7] and made him many.
3 For Yahweh hath comforted Zion,[8] all her waste places;
And made her wilderness as Eden, and her desert as the garden of Yahweh;
Joy and gladness will be[9] therein, thanksgiving and the sound of melody.[10]
7 Hearken unto Me, ye that know righteousness, in whose mind[11] is My law:
Fear ye not the reproach of frail man, and at their revilings be not dismayed;
6 Verily My salvation shall be forever, and My righteousness will not be dismayed.[12]

[1] יגש אלי is an expansive gloss, at the expense of the measure.

[2] הֵן has come up from the line below.

[3] הוא is an emphatic gloss, against the measure.

[4] בקול עבדו makes the line too long. It is a mistaken interpretation of בקולו, and the suffix refers to Yahweh. The servant is not in this context.

[5] מְאַזְּרֵי is improbable; it is probably an error for מְאִירֵי 𝔖; so Secker, Dillmann, Duhm, Cheyne; BDB. Lexicon.

[6] מַקֶּבֶת ἁ. λ., 'excavation, quarry,' defined by the gloss בור.

[7] The last two verbs should be with ו consec., and not simple ו as in MT.

[8] נִחַם is repeated, against the measure.

[9] ימצא, explanatory gloss, against the measure.

[10] Verses 4–6 are a trimeter insertion belonging to the trimeter poem; only its last line is the proper conclusion of this strophe, having been transposed with the similar line of the other poem, now *8b*; see p. 86.

[11] עם is an interpretative gloss.

[12] Verse 8 also belongs to the trimeter poem.

50:9 Awake, awake, put on strength, arm of Yahweh,
Awake as in days of old, in generations of olden times!
Art Thou not that which did tear in pieces Rahab, that pierced the dragon?
10 Art Thou not it that did dry up the sea, the waters of the great deep;
That made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over?[1]
12 I[2] am He that comforteth (thee),[3] of whom[4] art thou afraid?
Of frail man that dieth, of a son of man that is given over as grass?
13 And yet thou didst forget[5] thy Maker that stretched out the heavens and founded the earth;
And wast in dread continually all day long because of the[6] oppressor;
He aimed[7] to destroy, but where is the fury of the oppressor?[8]

17 Arouse thyself, arouse thyself (Zion),[9] rise up, Jerusalem,
Who hast[10] drunk at the hand of Yahweh the cup of His fury,
The bowl of the cup of staggering hast drunken, hast drained.[11]
19 These two things have befallen thee, who bemoans thee?
The crushing[12] of famine and sword, who[13] comforteth thee?[14]
21 Therefore hear now,[15] thou afflicted, drunken, but not with wine;
22 Thus saith[16] Yahweh, thy God, that pleadeth the cause of His people;
Behold I have taken from thy hand the cup of staggering,
The bowl of the cup of My fury thou shalt not again drink,[17]
23 And I will put it in the hand of those that afflict thee,[18] (in the hands of them that oppress thee).[19]

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[1] Verse 11 is a marginal gloss from 35:10.

[2] אנכי once only in 𝔊, the other is a dittograph, against the measure.

[3] The suffix כם is an error for ך, sing. The מ belongs with מי, as ממי.

[4] את is a dittograph of the verb תיראי, and ו is an assimilation to the next verse.

[5] יהוה is a gloss, against the measure; 𝔊 θεόν.

[6] חמת is a gloss, assimilated to the next line.

[7] כאשר, gloss of interpretation.

[8] Verses 14–16 are a composite gloss; 15 from Jer. 31:35. The whole is out of connection, and cannot be brought into strophical organization or connection.

[9] צירן is needed for measure. [10] אשר gloss, as often.

[11] Verse 18 is a gloss, interrupting the thought by a change to the 3d person.

[12] MT gives four things in place of the two of the previous line, which is impossible; שד is here, as in 60:18 an explanatory gloss to the less common שבר, and the latter must be taken as construct before הרעב.

[13] אנחמך is error for ינחמך of 𝔊 and other versions.

[14] Verse 20 is a gloss, enlarging upon the sufferings at the destruction of Jerusalem, interposing, and weakening the force of the direct antithesis of 21.

[15] זאת is an explanatory gloss, at the expense of the measure.

[16] אדניך, not in 𝔊, makes the line too long.

[17] עוד is an emphatic gloss, against the measure.

[18] 𝔊 has *τῶν ταπεινωσάντων σε*, and implies ביד מוגיך (cf. Lam. 1:5, 12), which must have fallen out by haplography.

[19] Verse 23*b* is an expansive gloss with a strain of vindictiveness.

52: 1 Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion,
Put on thy beauty,[1] O Jerusalem, the holy city,
For there shall no more come into thee[2] the uncircumcized and the unclean.
2 Shake thyself from the dust, arise, O captive,[3] Jerusalem,
Loose thyself[4] from the bonds of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion;
3 For thus saith (Adonay)[5] Yahweh (thy God),
For nought thou[6] wast sold, and without silver wilt thou be redeemed.[7]
7 How beautiful on the mountains the feet of him that telleth good tidings,
That proclaimeth peace, that telleth good tidings,[8] that proclaimeth the victory,
That saith to Zion ("It is well);[8] thy king doth reign"!

8 *Hark, thy watchman lift up,[9] together they ring out;*
For eye to eye they see when Zion returneth,[10]
9 *Break forth, ring out together, ye wastes of Jerusalem,*
For Yahweh hath comforted His people, hath redeemed Jerusalem.
10 *He*[11] *hath made bare His holy arm in the eyes of*[12] *the nations,*
And all the ends of the earth do see[13] *the victory of our God.*
11 *Depart ye, depart ye, go forth,*[14] *an unclean thing touch not;*
Go forth from her midst, be ye clean that bear the vessels of Yahweh;
12 *For ye shall not go forth in haste, and in flight shall ye not go,*
For He that goeth before you and He that bringeth up the rear is the God of Israel.[15]

---

[1] בגדי is an explanatory gloss, unnecessary and against the measure.

[2] עוד, a gloss of emphasis, as often.

[3] שבי, inappropriate to the context, is an error for שביה; so Oort, Budde, Duhm, *al.*

[4] Ketīb התפתחו is improbable; read התפתחי with Qrē and versions; Hithp. only here. The preposition מן has then been omitted by haplography.

[5] This short line needs enlargement by the usual divine names of this author, אדני and אלהיך.

[6] The change to 2d plur. is improbable; it is an erroneous change; read 2d sing.

[7] Verses 4–6 are a gloss (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti), because of style, historical reference, and repetitious character.

[8] טוב has been by error transposed from next line where it is needed for measure.

[9] קול is an unnecessary explanatory gloss.

[10] יהוה was inserted as an erroneous interpretation.

[11] יהוה, a gloss of interpretation.

[12] כל, gloss.

[13] את, a prosaic gloss.

[4] משם, more precise designation of place, but a gloss.

[15] The trimeter poem now is resumed, and it continues through 52:13–53:12.

PART IV

54: 1 Ring out, O barren, thou that didst not bear, saith Yahweh.[1]
Break forth, ring out, cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child;
For more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married;
2 Enlarge the place of thy tent, and thy curtains[2] stretch out;[3]
Spare not, lengthen thy cords, thy stakes strengthen;
3 For on the right and on the left thou wilt break forth with thy seed;[4]
It will inherit the nations and make desolate cities inhabited.
4 Fear not for thou shalt not be ashamed, and thou shalt not[5] be confounded;
Thou[6] wilt not display shame, the shame of thy youth thou wilt forget,
And the reproach of thy widowhood thou wilt not remember any more.[7]

6 As[8] a wife forsaken and grieved,[9] Yahweh calleth thee,
And a wife of youth when she is refused, saith thy God.
7 In a little moment I forsook thee, but in[10] compassion will I gather thee;
8 In wrath[11] I hid My face for a moment from thee,
But in everlasting kindness I have compassion on thee, saith thy Redeemer.[12]
9 I sware[13] that the waters of Noah should not pass again over the earth,
So I sware that I will not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee.
10 For the mountains will depart and the hills be removed,
But My kindness will not depart,[14] and the covenant of My peace will not be removed,
Saith He that hath compassion on thee,[15] O thou afflicted, tempest-tossed and not comforted.[16]

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[1] אמר יהוה belongs here to complete the line, and not at end of the second line, where it is out of measure.

[2] משכנותיך, not in 𝔊, makes the line too long, and is an evident gloss,

[3] יטו is improbable; read הטי with 𝔊 and other versions.

[4] זרעך belongs in this line according to the measure, and should be without ו. MT has made a misinterpretation.

[5] אל is an evident error of transposition for לא, as with the preceding verb.

[6] כי twice in this line, mistaken insertions.

[7] Verse 5 is a gloss of emphasis not needed here.

[8] כי is a dittograph.

[9] רוח, an unnecessary explanatory gloss.

[10] גדלים, a gloss of emphasis.

[11] שצף, ἁ. λ., dittograph of קצף; so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

[12] יהוה, gloss.

[13] כי מי נח זאת לי אשר is an introductory gloss, spoiling the measure.

[14] מאתך is a gloss of closer definition.

[15] יהוה is a gloss.

[16] עניה סערה לא נחמה belongs here, and not in the next line as in MT.

54:11 Behold, I am about to lay thy stones with kohl,
And I will lay thy foundations in sapphires and make thy pinnacles rubies,
12 And thy gates shall become carbuncles and[1] thy borders pleasant stones;
13 And all thy builders will be men taught of Yahweh, and great will be the peace of thy sons.
14 In righteousness thou wilt be established[2] away from oppression, that thou mayest not fear;
Thou wilt be far from terror, that it may not draw near unto thee.[3]
16 Behold, I have created the workman that bloweth in the fire of coals,
And he that bringeth forth a weapon for his work, a[4] destroyer to destroy;
17 Any weapon formed against thee shall not prosper,
And any tongue that riseth up against thee, in judgment will be condemned.[5]

56: 1 Thus saith Yahweh, "Watch[6] for judgment and righteousness,
For near is My salvation to come, and My righteousness to be revealed."[7]
3 Let[8] not the son of the stranger say, who hath joined himself unto Yahweh,[9]
"Yahweh will altogether separate me from His people;"
And let not the eunuch say, "Behold I am a dried up tree,"
4 Thus saith Yahweh to the eunuchs: "Those that keep My[10] sabbaths,
And choose that which I delight in, and hold fast to My covenant;
5 I will give to them in My house and in My walls a share,
And a name will I give them[11] better than sons and daughters,
An everlasting name which cannot be cut off."[12]

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[1] כל, as often, an intensive gloss.

[2] רחקי belongs to the next line to complete the measure. It should, however, in that context be תרחקי: so Graetz, Cheyne, Marti.

[3] Verse 15 is a gloss; so Duhm, Marti.

[4] ואנכי בראתי is a dittograph from the line above.

[5] The remainder of this verse is a gloss, as Duhm and Marti have observed. Chap. 55 is part of the trimeter poem; see p. 89.

[6] שמר not in the sense 'observe,' parallel with עשה, which is against the context, for עשה is a gloss of misinterpretation, and the next line urges that שמר be given the sense of 'watch for' the salvation that is near.

[7] Verse 2 is a trimeter tetrastich, out of connection with this piece.

[8] ואל. The ו is a connective with 2, but was not in the original before its insertion.

[9] לאמר is a gloss, as often in poetry.

[10] אשר and את are prosaic glosses.

[11] אתן־לו belongs here to complete the measure, and not in next line, which it injures.

[12] There is no sound reason for regarding this section relating to eunuchs and foreigners as post-exilic; it represents the broad-mindedness of our prophet, rather than the narrow exclusiveness of post-exilic Judaism.

56: 6 And the sons of the stranger that join themselves unto Yahweh to minister to Him,
And to love the name of Yahweh, to be His servants,
Every one that keepeth the Sabbath from defiling it, and holds fast on My covenant,
7 I will bring to My holy mountain and make them to be glad in My house,[1]
Their whole burnt offerings and their peace offerings shall be for acceptance upon Mine altar;
For My house will be called a house of prayer for all peoples.
Adonay[2] Yahweh is about to gather the outcasts of Israel,
Again gather unto Him, unto His assemblies.[3, 4]
57:13*cd* And (all)[5] that seek refuge in Me shall possess the land,
(All that hope in Me)[6] shall inherit My holy mountain.

14 *One is saying,*[7] *"Cast ye up, cast ye up, clear the way,*
Take up, (take up),[8] *the stumbling-block out of the way of My people:"*
15 *For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabits eternity:*[9]
The high place and the holy place I inhabit, and[10] *the contrite and humble in spirit;*
To revive the spirit of the humble and[11] *the heart of the contrite;*
16 *For not forever will I contend, nor*[12] *forever be wroth;*
For the spirit before Me would fail, and the persons[13] *I made.*

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[1] תפלתי does not belong here; it came up by a copyist's error from below.

[2] נאם is a gloss due to the 1st sing. אקבץ in the next line, a misinterpretation of an original infin. abs., as often.

[3] לנקבציו is insufficient for the last section of the pentameter. The ל represents an original עַל, which gives the missing tone; עַל is needed with this word just as truly as in עליו. 𝔊 properly translates this *συναγωγήν*.

[4] A piece of an entirely different character now follows, verses 9–12, unsuited to either the pentameter or the trimeter poem. It must be a post-exilic insertion. Another little piece, 57:1, 2, follows, of a still different type, also post-exilic; and then a much longer piece in the style of Ezekiel, 57:3–12. The remaining two lines of this strophe then follow.

[5] כל is needed for measure.

[6] The introductory words of this line are absent. They must have been synonymous with those of the previous line, probably therefore, כל קוי as in 49:23*b*.

[7] וְאָמַר is a mistaken massoretic pointing; read אֹמֵר as usual in these phrases; see 40:6.

[8] The verb should be repeated here, as in the previous line.

[9] קדוש שמו is a gloss not in the style of this prophet.

[10] אֶת, gloss, involving the misinterpretation 'with,' for the direct object as in preceding context.

[11] להחיות, repeated, at the expense of the measure.

[12] ולא makes the line too long; simple ו sufficiently carries on the negative.

[13] אני, gloss; mistaken emphasis, at the cost of the measure.

57:17 *For the iniquity of his covetousness I was wroth and smote*[1] *him,*
hiding My face.
When I was wroth[2] *he went on turning off in the way of his own*
mind.[3]
18 *I will heal him, and I will lead him, and I will restore comforts*
to him.[4]

PART V

60:1 Arise, shine, (O Jerusalem),[5] for thy light is come,
And the glory of Yahweh (thy God)[6] upon thee is risen;
2 For behold[7] darkness covereth the earth, and dense darkness the
peoples;
But upon thee Yahweh riseth, and His glory[8] appeareth;
3 And nations will walk in thy light, and kings in thy brightness.[9]
4 Lift up round about thine eyes and see all of them.[10]
They have gathered themselves together, they are come to thee,
(all)[11] thy sons;
From afar they come, and thy daughters at the side are carried;
5 Then shalt thou see and be bright, and thy mind will be reverent
and broadened;
For the abundance of the sea will be turned unto thee, the wealth
of the nations.[12]

6 The multitude of camels will cover thee, the young camels of
Midian,[13]
And will fly all of them, from Sheba they will bring[14] gold,
And frankincense they will bear, and the praises[15] of Yahweh tell
in glad tidings.

[1] וְאַכֵּהוּ should have ו consec., carrying on previous perf.; הסתר implies פני as elsewhere.

[2] וְאֶקְצֹף should have ו consec.

[3] דרכיו ראיתי is a gloss, out of measure.

[4] ולאבליו is a late addition. This is followed by a gloss by the final editor, verses 19–21, closing with his refrain, marking the end of the second part of the completed poem.

[5] So 𝔊 𝔙 𝔗; needed for measure.

[6] This is also needed for measure.

[7] The article is by dittography of ה in הִנֵּה.

[8] עליך makes the line too long.

[9] זרחך is an insertion from above; it disturbs the measure and adds nothing to the sense.

[10] Verse 4*a* = 49:18, which has influenced MT here.

[11] A word is needed for measure, probably כל, parallel with כלם; so 𝔊.

[12] יבאו לך is attached by 𝔊 to the next verse; it is a gloss.

[13] ועיפה, n. pr., is improbable; it makes this line too long, and is needed in the next; read ועפו, 'fly,' of the rapid movement of the camels.

[14] 𝔊 *ἥξουσιν φέροντες χρυσίον*, i. e., בזהב, this is the most probable reading.

[15] 𝔊 *σωτηρίαν*, interpretation.

60: 7 All the flocks of Kedar will assemble,[1] the rams of Nebaioth,
They will minister (to) thee,[1] ascend for acceptance on Mine altar,
And (My house of prayer),[2] My house of beauty, will I beautify.
8 Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as doves unto their lattices?
9 Surely to Me assemble[3] the ships of Tarshish first,
To bring thy sons from afar, their silver and their gold,[4]
To the name of Yahweh thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel.[5]

10 And the sons of the foreigner will build thy walls, and their kings will serve thee;
For in My wrath I smote thee, but in My favor I have compassion on thee.
11 And thy gates will be open,[6] day and night they will not be shut,
To bring unto thee the wealth of nations, with their kings as (leaders);[7]
12 For the nations[8] that will not serve thee will perish, will be utterly wasted.
13 The glory of Lebanon, the fir tree, will come unto[9] thee,
The plane and sherbin tree together, to beautify My sanctuary.[10]
14 And the sons of thine oppressors will come unto thee, to bow down in homage;
And all that despised will prostrate themselves at the soles of thy feet,
And thou wilt be called the city of Yahweh,[11] the Holy One of Israel.

15 Instead of being[12] forsaken and hated, and without one to pass by,
I will make thee an everlasting excellency, a joy of generations;
16 And thou wilt suck the milk of nations and the breast of kingdoms;[13]

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[1] לךְ is in the wrong line; it is needed in the short line instead of the suffix, for measure.

[2] So 𝔊 in 56:7; followed by Hitzig, Marti; but really both readings are necessary for measure. As not unfrequently, 𝔐 takes one, 𝔊 the other.

[3] איים is a gloss, disturbing the measure and sense. יְקַוּוּ a misinterpretation for יִקָּווּ; Geiger, Luzzatto, *al.*

[4] אתם, an explanatory gloss.

[5] כי פארך, an expansive gloss, from 7. [6] תמיד, expansive gloss.

[7] נְהוּגִים, misinterpretation for נֹהֲגִים, Knobel, Duhm.

[8] הגוי והממלכה אשר is an expansive gloss; גוים should be transferred from the complementary part of the line to the principal part as the only subject.

[9] ברוש defines כבוד הלבנון. It has been transposed by a prosaic scribe to bring all the trees together, at the expense of the measure.

[10] מקום is an unnecessary gloss; ומקום רגלי אכבד is not in 𝔊, and there is no room for it in the measure or strophe.

[11] ציון is a gloss, making the line too long.

[12] היותך is an explanatory gloss.

[13] תינקי is repeated, against the measure; read ממלכות, the ות having by error produced the superfluous word; מלכים gives a grotesque conception.

And thou wilt know that I am Yahweh,[1] thy Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob.
60:17 Instead of brass will I bring gold, ———[2]
Instead of iron will I bring silver, ———
Instead of wood (will I bring)[3] brass, ———
Instead of stone (will I bring) iron, ———
And I will make peace thy magistracy, and righteousness thine exactors;
18 Violence will not be heard in thy land, nor destruction in thy boundaries.[4]

19 And thou wilt call salvation thy walls, and praise thy gates;
The sun will not become to thee[5] a light by day,
And for brightness the moon will not be to thee (by night);[6]
For Yahweh is[7] become an everlasting light, and thy God thy beauty;
20 And thy sun will not go down[6] or thy moon withdraw itself,
For Yahweh will be thine,[8] and the days of thy mourning will be ended;
21 Thy people[9] will be righteous, forever will they inherit the land,
The branch of My planting, the work of My hands to be beautified;
22 The least will become[10] a thousand, and the smallest a strong nation;
I, Yahweh, in its time will hasten (this).[11, 12]

62:2 And[13] nations will see thy righteousness, and[14] kings thy glory,
And thou shalt be called by a new name[15] that Yahweh will designate;
3 And thou shalt be a crown of beauty in the hand of Yahweh,
And (thou shalt be)[16] a diadem of royalty in the palm of thy God.
4 Thou shalt no more be termed "Forsaken,"
And thy land will no more be termed "Desolate,"

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[1] The line is too long; either מושיעך or גאלך is a gloss.

[2] These lines lack a tone for an emphatic metrical pause.

[3] אביא was omitted by a prosaic copyist in both these lines.

[4] The line is too long; עיר and שד are glosses; see 51:19.

[5] עוד is a gloss, as often.

[6] This is needed for measure and antithesis; thus 𝔊 𝔗, Lowth.

[7] היה לך, a gloss assimilated from 20.

[8] לאור עולם is a gloss from 19.

[9] כלם, an expansive gloss.

[10] יהיה, an unnecessary gloss.

[11] The suffix is for an original זאת, needed for measure.

[12] The trimeter poem is resumed in chapter 61; see p. 92.

[13] Verse 1 is a gloss, in different measure; 3d pers. for 2d pers., a seam of the edito

[14] כל, as usual, is a gloss of intensification.

[15] אשר פי is a gloss, prosaic in character.

[16] והיית should be repeated for measure and greater distinctness.

But thou wilt be called "My delight is in thee," and thy land "Married;"
For Yahweh doth delight in thee, and thy land will be married.
62: 5 As a young man marrieth a virgin, thy great Builder[1] will marry thee,
And with the exultation of a bridegroom over a bride thy God will rejoice.[2]

6 Over thy walls, Jerusalem, I have appointed watchmen;
All day and all night continually they are not silent.
Ye that remind Yahweh, let there be no rest to you,
7 And give no rest to Him until He establish (her),
Until He make Jerusalem a praise to the earth.
8 Yahweh hath sworn by His right hand and by the arm of His strength,
"I will not give thy corn any more as a food to thine enemies,
And aliens' sons will not drink thy new wine, for which[3] thou hast toiled;
9 But they that have garnered it will eat it and praise Yahweh,
And they that have gathered[4] it will drink it in My holy court."

10 *Go through, go through the gates,*[5] ——— ———
Clear the way of the people; ——— ———
Cast up, cast up the highway, ——— ———
Gather out the stones, ——— ——— ———
Lift up a standard over the peoples.[6] ——— ———
11 *Behold Yahweh hath made it heard to the ends of the earth,*
Say ye to the daughter of Zion: "Behold thy salvation cometh,
Behold His wage is with Him and His recompense before Him,
12 *And they will be called, 'The holy people, the redeemed of Yahweh,'*
And thou wilt be called, 'Sought out, a city not forsaken.'"

[1] בָּנָיִךְ, though sustained by the versions, is improbable; read בֹּנֵךְ, with Lowth.

[2] עָלַיִךְ is a gloss.

[3] אשר is a prosaic gloss, as often.

[4] ומקבציו has two tones.

[5] These broken lines are for emphasis in metrical pauses.

[6] See 49 : 22.

THE OMISSION OF THE INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE

H. G. MITCHELL

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The omission of the particle ה (or אם), employed in Hebrew to denote a question, is discussed to some extent in all the larger grammars; but in none of them does it receive satisfactory treatment. Perhaps it is too much to expect the desired exactness and completeness in a work, good as it is in many respects, as old as that of Nordheimer (1840), who cites as examples arising "from emotion or anxiety in the speaker," not only Gen. 3:1 and II Sam. 19:23, but I Sam. 16:4, and II Sam. 9:6 and 18:29, in two of which the absence of the particle is clearly due to textual corruption, while in the other it was as clearly omitted because the author did not intend an interrogation. It is, however, a little surprising that two of these, and other similar examples, should be found in König's *Syntax* as well as in Davidson's, and in the last edition of Gesenius' *Grammar* (Kautzsch). In the following passages, cited by one or more of these authors, the interrogative particle should be supplied:

Gen. 27:24 (Dav., Kön., Gesen.) אתה זה בני עשו. Read with Sam., as in vs. 21, האתה. So Kittel (*Biblia Hebraica*, etc.). The necessity of supplying the particle appears when vs. 23 is properly rendered as a parenthesis, "Now he did not recognize him," etc. Then follows, "Therefore, he said, Art thou," etc.

I Sam. 16:4 (Dav., Kön., Gesen.), שׁלם בואך. Read with 𝔊^{B} (ἦ) השׁלם. So Klostermann, H. P. Smith; on the opposite side, Driver, Nowack, Budde. This ה was probably lost when the plural termination of the preceding verb disappeared.

II Sam. 18:29 (Dav., Kön., Gesen.), שׁלום לנער אבשׁלום. Read, with 15 codd.[1] as in vs. 32, השׁלום. So Klostermann, Nowack, Smith; *contra*, Driver, Budde.

II Kings 5:26 (Dav., Kön., Gesen.), לא לבו הלך. Read either לא, 'nay,' or, with 𝔙 (*nonne*), הלא. So Kittel (*BH*),

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[1] In II Sam. 18:29 and probably in I Sam. 16:4 the Massora notes השלום as a conjecture (*sebîr*).

Haupt. Stade prefers the latter reading. In either case the citation becomes irrelevant.

Ezek. 11:3 (Kön.), לא בקרוב בנות בתים. Read, with 𝔙 (*nonne*), הלא. So Cornill, Kraetzschmar; *contra*, Ewald. If, as Smend, Toy, Davidson hold, the clause should be rendered, not interrogatively, but categorically, of course the citation of it is equally unwarranted.

Job 40:25 (41:1) (Kön.), תמשׁך לויתן בחכה. Read התמשׁך, with Kenn. 157, and as in the following verses (except 30). So Kittel (*BH*), Dillmann; *contra*, Siegfried.

There are several more passages, some of them cited by other authorities, which are to be reckoned as examples, not of the intentional omission of the particle in question, but of the corruption of the Massoretic text. I have noted the following:

I Sam. 30:8 (Nolde), ארדף אחרי הגדוד הזה. Read, with 𝔊 (εἰ), and as in the precisely similar passages 14:37 and II Sam. 5:19, הארדף. So Kittel (*BH*), Wellhausen, Driver, Budde, Nowack, Kraetzschmar, Smith. The effect is the same if Klostermann's suggestion, אם, be adopted.

II Kings 9:19, שׁלום. Read, with $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ (ἦ) $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ (εἰ) and many codd. and edd., and as in vss. 18, 22, 31, השׁלום. So Kittel, Stade, Thenius.

Ezek. 11:13 (Ew.), כלה אתה עשׂה את ישׂראל. Read, as in the precisely similar passage 9:8, הכלה. So Toy (perhaps), Kraetzschmar. Since the preceding word ends with ה, this is probably a case of haplography.

Ezek. 17:9, תצלח. Read, with 𝔊 (εἰ) and 6 codd., and as in vs. 15, התצלח. So Kittel (*BH*), Cornill, Toy, Kraetzschmar. Here again the scribe wrote ה once instead of twice. 𝔖 has לא.

Prov. 5:16, יפוצו מעינתיך חוצה. $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ has μή. Hence Ewald supplies אל, Frankenberg, אל or פן, Kittel favors היפוצו. Cf. Toy.

Job 30:24 (Nolde), אך לא בעי ישׁלח יד. Read, with 𝔊, and in harmony with the following verse, אם לא or אך אם לא, and in clause *b* for להן שׁוע, לא יְשַׁוֵּעַ or לא נושׁע. So Kittel; *contra*, Dillmann.

The above examination of the passages cited by the grammarians as illustrating the omission of the interrogative particle has shown that there are not so many genuine examples as has been supposed. This might be true, and still these examples might be numerous. The impression one gets from the more recent grammars is that there is actually a considerable number of them. König, e. g., says that the question was expressed by means of (1) the interrogative tone, or (2) by the particle ה, or, less frequently, by אם; and gives no indication that the particles were used any oftener than they were omitted. Kautzsch is more explicit. He says (Gesen., § 150. 1) that "frequently the natural emphasis of the words is of itself sufficient to indicate an interrogative sentence as such." It would have been more nearly correct to say, in the language of Nordheimer, that "although the particles ה and אם are usually employed in Hebrew to indicate an interrogation, still they are not absolutely necessary, and hence are not always introduced;" for, as a matter of fact, there are comparatively few cases in which the particle is omitted from a direct and independent single question, or, in the case of two or more connected interrogative clauses, from an initial question; and fewer still, as has been shown, in which the omission was intentional. The following list includes all that I have noted, even those due to textual corruption:

Gen. 3:1; 18:12; (27:24); Judg. 11:9; I Sam. (16:4); 21:16/15; 22:7, 15; (30:8); II Sam. 16:17; (18:29); 19:23/22; I Kings 1:24; 21:7; II Kings (5:26); (9:19); Isa. 14:10; Ezek. (11:3, 13); (17:9); Hos. 10:9; Hab. 2:19; Zech. 8:6; Prov. (5:16); 22:29; 26:12; 29:20; Job 2:9, 10; 11:3; 14:3; (30:24); 37:18; 38:18; (40:25/41:1); 40:30/41:6; Cant. 3:3; Lam. 3:36, 38.

There are 39 in all, of which at least 12—those in parentheses—represent pretty evident scribal errors, while 4 or 5 others will bear further study. There are many other passages which have with more or less plausibility, but mistakenly, been rendered interrogatively and classified as instances of the omission of the proper particle. I have noted the following:

Ex. 9:17 (𝔊, 𝔙, EV), עודך מסתולל בעמי. The context requires that it should be interpreted as a condition, "If thou oppose my people." Cf. vs. 13. So Reuss; also Baentsch, who, however, unnecessarily supplies כי אם. Cf. Eccles. 1:10.

Ex. 33:14 (Nolde, Ew., Kön., Gesen.), פני ילכו. It does not seem in character for Yahweh to ask whether his presence shall go with his people. Translate, therefore, with EV, "My presence shall," etc. So Reuss, Baentsch.

I Sam. 11:12 (Kön., Gesen.), שאול ימלך עלינו. The testimony of 2 codd. and 𝔊 𝔖 𝔗 𝔄 is to the effect that the original text had לא. Read, therefore, "Saul shall not rule over us." So H. P. Smith; *contra*, Driver, Nowack.

II Sam. 9:6 (Nord., Dav.), מפבשת. The form of the answer, as well as the absence of אתה, indicates that David called Meribaal (Mephibosheth), not asked, as in the case of Siba (vs. 2), if he was the person so named. So EV, Nowack; *contra*, Reuss.

Isa. 24:17 (Nolde), עליך פחד ופחת ופח. The context requires a direct threat. So EV, Delitzsch, Duhm, Marti. Delitzsch renders excellently, *Grauen, und Grube, und Garn.*

Isa. 40:19 (𝔊, 𝔙, Kön.) הפסל נסך חרש. If this is a question, the ה may as well be recognized as the interrogative particle. So 𝔗, Luzzatto, Budde. If it is not so recognized, the clause is best rendered, "The image—a workman cast it." So Dillmann, Cheyne, Duhm, Marti; *contra*, Reuss.

Jer. 6:15 (EV, Nolde), הובישו כי תועבה עשו. Elsewhere in the Book of Jeremiah הוביש means 'suffer defeat, or humiliation.' Hence it is best in this case to translate as in RV marg., "They shall be put to shame." So Graf, Reuss, Giesebrecht.

Jer. 15:18 (AV, RV), היו תהיה לי כמו אכזב. If it is a question, it is a parallel to the one preceding, and therefore dependent for its interrogative character on למה. The best authorities render, "Thou art indeed to me like a deceitful brook." So Reuss, Graf; similarly Duhm. In either case the passage does not belong in the above list.

Ezek. 21:15/10 (EV), או נשיש. The words are apparently a part of an interpolation; cf. vs. 18/13. At any rate, they are utterly unintelligible. So Cornill and Toy. Kraetzschmar and others have undertaken to restore the text, but without finding traces of a question.

Ezek. 32:2 (Ew.), כפיר גוים נדמית. Here, also, the text is suspected. The simplest emendation suggested is that of Toy,

אל at the beginning and הדמית for נדמית. Thus emended the clause might be rendered, "Thou hast made thyself like a young lion!?" The present text, however, can be rendered, "Young lion of the nations, thou art undone!" and this interpretation is adopted by Hitzig, Reuss, Smend.

Ps. 56:8/7 (𝔊, EV, Nolde), על און פלט למו. The present text is contradictory. The emendation suggested by Ewald, פלס (58:3/2) for פלט, relieves the difficulty. Translate, therefore, 'On account of iniquity weigh to [i. e., reward] them." So Olshausen, Hupfeld, Nowack, Wellhausen.

Job 40:24 (RV, Nolde), בעיניו יקחנו. The passage was apparently intended for a question; but the first word (or words) has been lost. Bickell supplies מי, derived from פיהו of the preceding verse; cf. Dillmann. More probable is the reading מי הוא, suggested by the same word, for which it might easily be mistaken. So Budde, Duhm; *contra*, Delitzsch, Davidson.

Eccles. 1:10 (AV, RV, Nolde), יש דבר שיאמר ראה זה חדש. Here, as elsewhere in Ecclesiastes, יש introduces, not a question, but the protasis of a virtually conditional sentence. Render, therefore, "If there be a thing," etc. Cf. 2:21; 6:11; also Judg. 6:13; II Kings 10:15. So Delitzsch, Reuss, Frankenberg.

II Chron. 25:8 (Kön.), יכשילך האלהים לפני אויב. The interrogative interpretation is adopted to avoid the contradiction between this and the preceding clause. That clause, however, is corrupt. Read, with 𝔊, 𝔙, "If thou thinkest to be strong in these things;" and then, naturally, "God will cast thee down before the enemy." So Kittel (*BH*, *SBOT*), Benzinger.

In the passages thus far cited the supposed questions have all been of the positive type. In the following לא is used, according to some authorities, in the sense of הלא.

Gen. 11:6 (Nolde), לא יבצר מהם כל אשר יזמו לעשות. The context requires a statement, "There will be withheld from them," etc., as the clause is commonly rendered. See EV.

Ex. 19:23 (Nolde), לא יוכל העם לעלות. The words are simply a reminder to Yahweh that he has ordered bounds set about the mountain. They are therefore properly rendered in EV, "The people cannot come up."

I Sam. 14:30 (𝔙, AV, RV marg., Nolde), עתה לא רבתה מכה. In this case it is not certain that לא belonged to the original text. 𝔊 omits it; so Reuss, Budde, H. P. Smith. If it be retained, the clause is not necessarily a question, but may be rendered as in RV, "Now hath there been no great slaughter." So Nowack. Finally, if a question was intended, the omission of the particle can be explained as an instance of haplography.

II Sam. 23:5 (𝔊, RV marg., Ew., Kön.), לא כן ביתי עם אל. It does not seem probable that David would claim for himself, or anyone else for him, that he was an ideal ruler, like the one described in vss. 3 f. Hence if the MT be retained, the best rendering is that of EV, "Although (or verily) my house is not so with God;" or that of Klostermann, who, finding here a parallel to Job 9:35, interprets לא כן as meaning 'not after the usual fashion.' Cf. Delitzsch on Job 9:35. H. P. Smith gives כן the meaning 'firm' and לא the force of a strongly affirmative particle; while Nowack, following Nestle (*Marginalia*, 27 f.), substitutes for both of them נָכֹן. The interrogative interpretation is preferred by Böttcher, Driver, Reuss, *al.*

II Sam. 23:5 (RV marg., Ew., Kön., Gesen.), לא יצמיח. In 𝔊 this clause is connected, as the rhythm requires, with vs. 24. Render, therefore, "The ungodly shall not flourish." So Nowack, H. P. Smith. Budde prefers the interrogative interpretation, but supplies the particle.

Isa. 9:2, 3 (Nord.), לא הגדלת השמחה. The variant לו, found in 20 codd. is preferable to לא, but the emendation suggested by Krochmal, הגילה for הגוי לא, is now preferred to either. So Cheyne, Duhm, Marti.

Isa. 10:4 (Kön.), בלתי כרע תחת אסיר. Such a use of בלתי is without precedent. Moreover, according to Kittel, this word is probably an error for לבלתי, and the proper rendering of the clause, "Not to bow under the prisoner."

Jer. 49:9 (𝔙, EV, Nolde), לא ישארו עללות. These words were borrowed, apparently, from Obad. 1:5, but it does not follow that they are here used precisely as in the original connection. The rendering given them by 𝔊 shows that they were not; but that originally the verse began with כי instead of the אם of

Obad., and that, therefore, the author meant to say, "The grape-gathers have come to thee, and they will not leave gleanings." So Graf, Reuss, Duhm.

Jer. 49:9 (RV), השׁחיתו דים. The mistaken interpretation of the clause just discussed necessitated an equally erroneous rendering of its parallel. Properly translated, the latter reads, "They will destroy their fill." So Graf, Reuss, Duhm.

Hos. 11:5 (Ew., Kön.), לא ישׁוב אל ארץ מצרים. Read, with 𝔊, לו for לא, and connect it with the preceding verse. Verse 5 will then read, "He shall return," etc. So Kittel, Nowack, Marti, Harper; *contra*, Reuss.

Job 9:16 (Nolde), לא אאמין כי יאזין קולי. This is precisely such a case as that of לא אענה in the preceding verse. Just as Job there says, "If I were righteous, I would not answer," so he should here declare as in EV, "If I called and he answered." ($\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ adds לא), "I would not believe," etc. So Delitzsch, Dillmann, Reuss, Davidson, Budde, Duhm.

Job 10:15 (Nord.), לא אשׂא ראשׁי. This is another case of the same kind as those in 9:15, 16. Render, therefore, "I would not lift up my head." So Delitzsch, Dillmann, Davidson, Duhm; *contra*, Reuss.

Job 13:15 (Nolde, Nord.), לא איחל. The words are translated, "I have no hope." So RV, Ewald, Reuss, Budde, Duhm. It is doubtful, however, if יחל can properly be so rendered in the Book of Job. Hence, perhaps, it is safer with Dillmann, to translate, "I shall not [have to] wait," or, with the versions, read לו for לא and render, "I will wait for him." So Davidson.

Job 14:16 (EV, Nord., Kön.), לא תשׁמור על חטאתי. 𝔖 has in the preceding clause a לא, which gives to the whole verse a hypothetical character. So Siegfried. It is the same with 𝔊, which renders this clause as if the original were תעבור,—a reading that is actually adopted by Ewald, Kittel, Dillmann, Duhm. Better than either of these emendations seems the interpretation by Reuss and Budde, according to which the first clause of the adopted verse is subordinate to the second in a virtually conditional sentence, which may be rendered, "Though thou numberedst my steps thou wouldst not watch over [to spy out] my sin."

Job 23:6 (𝔊^{A}, Nold.), לֹא אך הוא ישׂם בי. Read, with RV, "Nay, but he would give heed to me" (Kittel, Delitzsch, Duhm); or, "Nay, let him but give heed to me." So Dillmann, Reuss.

Job 34:23 (Nolde), לֹא על אישׁ ישׂים עוד. The context requires a negation. Read, therefore, "He doth not fix," etc. So, as far as the negative is involved, Delitzsch, Dillmann, Reuss, Budde, Duhm, *al.*

Job 37:21 (Nolde), לֹא ראו אור. The interrogative interpretation would give the clause a meaning the opposite of that required by the context. Read, with 𝔊, "They see not [cannot look at] the light," the following clauses being subordinate. So Ewald, Dillmann, Reuss.

Lam. 1:12 (EV, Nolde, Ew., Kön) לוא אליכם כל עברי דרך. This is a difficult passage. Some of the versions are more intelligible. Thus 𝔊 begins with *οἱ* (probably to be read *οἲ*) *πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, Σ with *ὢ ὑμεῖς*, and 𝔙 with *O vos*, i. e., אוי אליכם. This, however, represents a corrupt text, the alphabetic scheme of the author requiring that the first letter be a ל. The Massoretes have restored this letter, but there is no indication that their לוא is to be taken in the sense of הלוא. In fact the meaninglessness of the clause, whether interpreted as a question or a negative, makes it doubtful whether לוא is the original reading. Budde suggests לוּא אלי, after which he would naturally read כלכם for כם כל-, and Kittel (*BH*) substitutes for לוא אליכם the briefer לכם or לכו.

This concludes the list of passages that are, or have been, correctly or incorrectly regarded as examples of the omission of the interrogative in independent or initial questions. There are in all 71; of which 12 have been found to be cases of textual corruption, and 32 instances of mistaken exegesis, while only 27 really have any place in this discussion.

Having thus shown to what extent the interrogative particle is actually (so far as noted) omitted in the class of questions described, let me now examine the explanations given in Gesenius' *Grammar* for such omissions. One of them (§ 150, 1 R) is that it "occurs especially before a following guttural for the sake of euphony." The correctness of this statement can easily be tested. To this end it will be necessary, first, to divide the whole number of cases in which, whether correctly or incorrectly from my standpoint, the particle is actually omitted, and show in just how many of them the word to which it would naturally be prefixed begins with a guttural, and how many times with one of the other letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The result of such an analysis is as follows:

1. *Before gutturals:*

א	Gen. 3:1; 18:12; (27:24); Judg. 11:9; (I Sam. 30:8); I Kings 1:24; 21:7; Job 2:10; 14:3; Cant. 3:3; Lam. 3:36.	11
ה	I Sam. 22:15; II Sam. 19:23/22; Hab. 2:19; Job 38:19. . .	4
ח	I Sam. 21:16/15; Prov. 22:29; 29:20.	3
ע	Job 2:9.	1
		19

2. *Before other sounds:*

ב	Job 11:3.	1
ג	I Sam. 22:7; Isa. 14:10; Zech. 8:6.	3
ז	II Sam. 16:17.	1
י	(Prov. 5:16); Job 40:30/41:6.	2
כ	(Ezek. 11:13).	1
ל	(II Kings 5:26); (Ezek. 11:3); Hos. 10:9; (Job 30:24). . . .	4
מ	Lam. 3:38.	1
ר	Prov. 26:12.	1
שׂ	(I Sam. 16:4); (II Sam. 18:29); (II Kings 9:19).	3
ת	(Ezek. 17:9); Job 37:18 (40:25/41:1).	3
		20

Note that there have been included in this table, not only passages in which the omission of the particle was intentional, but also (in parentheses) those in which it is due to textual corruption; and justly, because the statement under consideration, as has been shown, was based on both classes. From this standpoint it appears that the particle is omitted not quite as many times before gutturals as before other letters. From a more critical standpoint the showing is better, the figures being 17 to 10 in favor of the gutturals, instead of 19 to 20. This, however, is not a complete test. In order to determine whether the statement quoted is warranted or not, it is necessary, further, to know the ratio of the number of cases in which the interrogative particle has been *intentionally omitted* before the gutturals, not only to that of the cases in which it is wanting before other sounds, but also to that of the cases in which it is *used* before the gutturals. The following table, though probably not complete, is sufficiently accurate to answer the present purpose, viz.: to show whether the Hebrews really omitted ה very frequently before a guttural, and, when they omitted it, did so "for the sake of euphony." That their practice may be more fully illustrated, the examples noted are distributed among the several gutturals according to their vocalization.

—הֶאָ	Num. 11:12; Deut. 20:19 (𝔊); II Sam. 19:43/42; Ezek. 28:9; Mic. 2:7; Ps. 77:9/8; Job 21:4; 34:31	8
—הַאַ	Gen. 18:13, 23, 24; 27:21; Num. 32:6; Judg. 6:31; 13:11; II Sam. 2:20; 7:5; 9:2; 20:17; I Kings 13:14; 18:7, 17; Am. 2:11; Job 34:11; 40:8	17
—הַאֲ	II Sam. 13:20; II Kings 6:22; Isa. 66:9; Mic. 6:6, 11 (MT, —הַאֶ)	5
—הַאִ	Num. 16:22 (Sam.); 17:28/13; Ezek. 14:3; Neh. 6:11 . .	4
—הַאֵ	Ex. 2:7; Judg. 14:3; I Sam. 14:37; 23:2; II Sam. 19:36/35; I Kings 22:6; II Kings 3:11; Jer. 7:17; 49:7; Job 8:3; II Chron. 18:6	11
—הַאֶ	Judg. 12:5; II Sam. 2:1; 5:19; 9:3; II Kings 8:8, 9; 18:27 (MT, עַל); Isa. 36:12; Mic. 6:7, 10 (MT, —הַאִ); Zech. 7:3; I Chron. 14:10	12
—הַאֱ	Gen. 42:16; II Kings 5:7; Jer. 23:23; Job 4:17	4
—הַאוּ	II Sam. 12:23	1
—הַאֻ	Num. 22:37; I Kings 8:27; Ps. 58:2/1; Zech. 6:18 . . .	4
—הַאוֹ	(—הַאֹ) Judg. 20:23, 28; Jer. 5:22; 7:19; Ps. 50:13; Job 22:15	6
—הֶהָ	Gen. 24:5; Jer. 26:19; Joel 1:2	3
—הַהַ	Num. 22:30; II Kings 18:33; 19:12; Isa. 36:18; 37:12 . .	5
—הַהִ	Gen. 24:21	1
—הַהֵ	Jer. 2:11	1
—הַהוּ	Num. 23:19	1
—הֶחָ	Num. 13:18; Judg. 9:9, 11, 13; Ezek. 18:23; Job 15:2; Eccl. 2:19	7

—הַחִ	Num. 31:15; Job 1:9	2
—הַחֵ	I Sam. 15:22; Job 11:7; 22:3	3
—הֶעָ	Job 13:25	1
—הַעַ	Isa. 57:6; 64:11/12; Jer. 5:9, 29; 9:8/9; 12:9, 9; Am. 8:8	8
—הַעֵ	Num. 16:14; II Kings 5:36; Hag. 1:4; Job 10:4	4
—הַעֶ	Jer. 2:14; 22:28	2
—הַעוֹ (—הַעֹ)	Gen. 31:14; 43:7, 27; 45:3; Ex. 4:18; I Kings 20:32; Hag. 2:10; Ruth 1:11	8
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The table, which, for obvious reasons, includes all sorts of questions, needs no further explanation. It makes it so plain that the Hebrews actually used the interrogative particle before all the gutturals, in almost all the possible combinations, with the several vowels, that it is impossible, in the light of the above figures (17 to 118) to suppose that they ever omitted it before any of them solely "for the sake of euphony."

A second explanation suggested by Kautzsch is that "the natural emphasis upon the words (especially when the most emphatic word is placed at the beginning of the sentence) is of itself sufficient to indicate an interrogative sentence" (Gesen. § 150, 1; cf. Davidson, § 121). It is evident that this explanation does not go to the root of the matter, but, for the sake of completeness, its correctness should be tested. To this end it will be necessary, first, to examine the structure of the passages, 39 in number, in which, before independent questions, the particle is wanting in the massoretic text. The facts are exhibited in the following table:[2]

1. *Subject first:*
    - *a*) In a verbal sentence; the same being —
        - *α*) A noun: Lam. 3:36; ‖ (II Kings 5:26) 2
        - *β*) A pronoun: I Kings 1:24; 21:7; Hab. 2:19; ‖ Isa. 14:10 . 4
    - *b*) In a nominal sentence; the same being —
        - *α*) A noun: ‖ (II Sam. 18:29); (II Kings 9:19) 2
        - *β*) A pronoun: (Gen. 27:24); Judg. 11:9; Job 2:9; ‖ II Sam. 16:17 4

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[2] The references to cases due to textual corruption, in this as in the preceding table, are inclosed in parentheses. The upright parallels separate those in which the first letter is a guttural from the others.

2. *Predicate first:*
   - *a*) In a verbal sentence: Gen. 3:1; (I Sam. 30:8); Prov. 22:29; 29:20; Job 38:18; (Ezek. 17:9); Hos. 10:9; (Prov. 5:16); Prov. 26:12; Job 37:18; (40:25/41:1); 40:30/41:6 12
   - *b*) In a nominal sentence: I Sam. 21:16/15; (I Sam. 16:4) . . 2
3. *Object first:*
   - *a*) Direct object: Job 2:10; Cant. 3:3; (Ezek. 11:13) 3
   - *b*) Indirect object: I Sam. 22:7 1
4. *Adverbial clause first:*
   - *a*) In a verbal sentence: I Sam. 22:15; II Sam. 19:23/22; Job 14:3; Zech. 8:6; Job 11:3; (30:24); Lam. 3:38 7
   - *b*) In a nominal sentence: Gen. 18:12; (Ezek. 11:3) 2

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The table is instructive. In the first place, if one apply the rule that, in verbal sentences the predicate (Gesen., § 142, 2), and in nominal sentences the subject, should precede (Gesen., § 141, 4), it will appear that of the 39 examples cited, 18, or nearly one-half, are perfectly normal in arrangement, and that, of these 18, 11 are genuine cases, of which only 6 have a guttural at the beginning. If the corrupt passages be neglected, the result will be somewhat more favorable for the statement under examination, the ratio of normal to irregular passages being only 11 to 16; but this is large enough to warrant one in questioning whether the arrangement of an interrogative sentence can be said to explain the omission of the particle. Moreover, these figures must be viewed in the light of the number of cases in which ה is actually used before irregular sentences. Perhaps, however, it will be sufficient to show how many of the first 39 cases in which it occurs in Genesis are of this description. The following table will answer this purpose:

1. *Subject first:*
   - *a*) In a verbal sentence; the same being—
     - *α*) A noun: Gen. 18:25 1
     - *β*) A pronoun: 20:5 1
   - *b*) In a nominal sentence; the subject being—
     - *α*) A noun: 43:7; 13:9; 34:23; 37:13 4
2. *Predicate first:*
   - *a*) In a verbal sentence: 18:13, 23, 24; 24:5; 18:14, 28; 24:58; 27:36, 36; 29:5; 37:8, 10; 41:38; 42:22 14
   - *b*) In a nominal sentence: 4:9; 18:17; 19:20; 27:38; 29:15; 30:15 6

3. *Object first:*
    - *a*) Direct object: 20:4; 31:15 (subj. of passive) 2
    - *b*) Indirect object: 17:17 1
4. *Adverbial clause first:*
    - *a*) In a verbal sentence: 3:11; 16:13; 29:25 3
    - *b*) In a nominal sentence: 31:14; 4:7; 24:23; 30:2; 34:31; 40:8; 43:7 7

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The device of comparing the passages in which the particle is omitted with the same number, the first in the Old Testament in which it is employed, was suggested without premeditation. The result is, therefore, surprising, for it appears that the number of the latter in which the arrangement is irregular and emphatic is exactly the same as among the former. This fact makes it pretty evident that the order of the words in a question had little, if anything, to do with the use or omission of the interrogative particle.[3]

It remains to examine certain representations respecting the relation of the content of the questions without ה to the omission of the particle. Nordheimer says that the "particles are omitted when the question arises from emotion or anxiety in the speaker" (§ 1099, 4, *a*); Davidson, that "omission of the particle is most common in animated speech, as when any idea is repudiated" (§ 121).[4] Let us see if, or how far, these statements are correct. It is hardly possible to tabulate the passages in which the particle is omitted in such a way that scholars generally will be satisfied, for there are some of them about which there always has been, and doubtless always will be, difference of opinion; about which, in fact, the same person may be of two minds on different occasions. The following table, therefore, must be regarded as but a tentative comparison of these questions with one another in respect to the state of mind by which they were severally prompted. The various states represented are:

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[3] Note, also, as a further coincidence, that 6 of these questions, as in the case of the genuine ones without a particle, begin with a guttural.

[4] This explanation is entirely ignored by Kautzsch.

1. Incredulity, real or feigned: Gen. 3:1; 18:12; Judg. 11:9; I Kings 1:24; Job 14:3 ‖	5
2. Irony: I Sam. 21:16/15; Hab. 2:19; Job 2:10; 38:18; Lam. 3:36; ‖ I Sam. 22:7; Zech. 8:6; Job 11:3; 37:18; (40:25/41:1); 40:30/41:6	11
3. Sarcasm: I Kings 21:7; Job 2:9; ‖ II Sam. 16:17; Isa. 14:10	4
4. Repugnance: II Sam. 19:23/22; ‖ (Eze. 11:13); (17:9); (Prov. 5:16)	4
5. Confidence: expressed—	
a) Positively: Ps. 22:29; 29:20; ‖ 26:12	3
b) Negatively: with reference to—	
α) Past facts: ‖ (II Kings 5:26); (Ezek. 11:3)	2
β) Present facts or truths: ‖ Lam. 3:38; (Job 30:24)	2
γ) Future events: ‖ Hos. 10:9	1
6. Denial: I Sam. 22:15 ‖	1
7. Uncertainty: (Gen. 27:24); (I Sam. 30:8); Cant. 3:3; ‖ (I Sam. 16:4); (II Sam. 18:29); (II Kings 19:19).	6
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In this case the table is decidedly favorable to the suggestion of the grammarians; for, be it noted, of the 27 genuine cases of the omission of the particle, no fewer than 20 fall under the first four heads. Indeed, if one takes into account the peculiarities of some of the other cases, the showing can be made even better. For example, while it is true that the Hebrews do not seem to have hesitated to prefix הֲ to any of the gutturals, whatever the vocalization, actually using it before הָ in at least 5 cases, it does not occur before the article. It is probable, therefore, that such a use was avoided, not on account of the guttural, but because it would bring together two so similar particles. If this conjecture be adopted, it will explain I Sam. 22:15 (6), and furnish an alternative reason for the omission of the particle in II Sam. 19:23/22 (3). There is another group consisting of three passages (5, *a*) which should perhaps be eliminated. They are all alike, and all virtually conditional clauses; so that the first, e. g., might be rendered, "If thou seest a man diligent in business, he," etc. See the similar passages with יֵשׁ or עוֹד: Ex. 9:17; Eccles. 1:10; etc. The elimination of these five passages leaves 22 genuine cases of the omission of the particle, of which all but 2 may be classified under the first three heads as so many varieties of what might be called exclamatory questions, and appropriately marked by a double punctuation (! ?). The conclusion is inevitable that here, at least, the nature of the thought is the principal reason for the omission of the interrogative particle. As for the 2 examples not thus explained, both of them may well be accidental.[5]

The investigation, so far as it has proceeded, then, warrants one in claiming that in most, if not all, the genuine cases, except the two that begin with the article, the omission of the interrogative particle is explained by the peculiar feelings by which the questions were prompted. It has not, however, shown that the presence of such feelings always has this effect. As a matter of fact, there are many cases in which questions implying incredulity, irony, or sarcasm are introduced by הֲ. They occur in various parts of the Old Testament, but especially in the Book of Job, where there are long series of such questions. For examples see Lev. 10:19; I Sam. 10:11; I Kings 8:27; Ex. 14:11; Judg. 11:25; 14:3; II Kings 1:3; Job 10:7, 8; 18:4; etc. If, therefore, one were required to make a statement on the subject, one would have to say that in direct single or initial questions ה is omitted before the article, and sometimes in exclamatory questions for the purpose of indicating more clearly the incredulity, irony, or sarcasm which prompted them, but which can be adequately expressed only by the human voice.

It was my intention to include in this discussion dependent questions, but lack of time and space makes it necessary to postpone the treatment of this phase of the subject until a future occasion.

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[5] This is the more probable in the case of Lam. 3:38, as the word in vs. 37 immediately preceding the one to which הֲ would have been prefixed ends in הֲ. As for Hos. 10:9 the text and the interpretation are in dispute; cf. Wellhausen, Marti.

CHARACTER OF THE ANONYMOUS GREEK VERSION OF HABAKKUK, CHAPTER 3

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1. As is well known, the Codex Barberinus (=86 Holmes-Parsons) presents the third chapter of Habakkuk in a double translation; that is, in addition to the Septuagintal version (=86*b*), in another which is anonymous (=86*a*). The latter is found also in V (=23), 62, 147. A colophon in the Barberinus reads as follows: Τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ ἀμβακοὺμ οὐχ εὗρον συμφωνοῦσαν οὔτε τοῖς ō οὔτε ἀκόλᾳ οὔτε συμμάχῳ οὔτε θεοδοτίωνι· ζητήσεις οὖν, εἰ τῆς ε̄ ἢ τῆς ϛ̄ ἐκδόσεώς ἐστιν.

See Field, *Hexapla*, ad Hab. 3:2, and especially E. Klostermann, *Analecta zur Septuaginta* (1895), 50–60, where a fresh collation of the four manuscripts (and of the Complutensian text) is given.

2. From the extant fragments of E′ and S′ it became evident to Montfaucon (quoted by Field) that our anonymous version cannot be identical with either.

Compare the following examples: Verse 1, E′='ΑΣ ἐπὶ ἀγνοημάτων, Anon. μετ' (var. μετὰ) ᾠδῆς; vs. 3, E′='ΑΣ𝔊^{B} ἐκ θαιμάν, Anon. ἀπὸ λιβός (graphic var. λοιβος; but θεμαν V!); *ibid.*, E′ *Sela*, Anon. μεταβολὴ διαψάλματος (var. διάψαλμα); vs. 5, E′ *mors*=Σ θάνατος, Anon. πτῶσις; *ibid.*, E′=ΣΘ ὄρνεον, Anon. τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πετηνῶν (var. πετεινων); vs. 10, E′='ΑΣΘ ἐντινάγματα ὑδάτων παρῆλθεν, Anon. ἐν τῷ τὸν ἐξαίσιόν σου ὄμβρον διελθεῖν δι' αὐτῆς; vs. 13, E′='Α𝔊 ἐξῆλθες εἰς σωτηρίαν, Anon. ἀνεφάνης ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ; *ibid.*, E′='Α εἰς σωτηρίαν σὺν χριστῷ σου, S′ διὰ 'Ιησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν σου, Anon. ῥύσασθαι τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς σου; *ibid.*, E′ *denudasti*, sive *evacuasti*, *fundamentum usque ad collum*, Anon. ἕως ἀβύσσου τῆς θαλάσσης καταδύσονται.

Montfaucon was certain that it must then be the Septima (Z′). Now Field (*Prolegomena*, p. xlvi) has cast doubt upon the very existence of a seventh version. The few instances from the Psalter may indeed be dismissed with Field as dubious; but there remain the two passages, Hab. 1:5 and 2:11, according to the testimony of Jerome, whose language is quite explicit ("reperi, exceptis quinque editionibus, id est, Aquilae, Symmachi, LXX, Theodotionis, et Quinta, in duodecim prophetis et duas alias editiones"). It is nevertheless strange that in the third chapter his Greek apparatus does not appear to have gone beyond the Sexta; had he known our translation, he certainly would have quoted it for verse 13.

3. Although three of the manuscripts containing our anonymous version, V, 62, 147, are Lucianic in character, it will not do to identify Anon. with Lucian. The Complutensian, which is strongly Lucianic, shows, it is true, remarkable agreements with Anon.; but its readings are apparently mixed. The readings from 22, 36, 48, 51, and Theodoret (all Lucianic) agree with Anon. in so few cases that it is impossible to class them and Anon. together. It is true, we find doublets which are characteristic of Lucian (vs. 2); but they are common to all texts.

On V, 22, 36, 48, 51, Theodoret, as Lucianic see Cornill, *Ezechiel*, p. 65; on the Complutensian, *ibid.*, p. 66; on 62, 147, Klostermann, *loc. cit.*, p. 51. Cod. 42, which according to Field is equally Lucianic, agrees with Anon. in the trifling omission of *καί*, vs. 7; more important is the agreement between Anon. and 239 (a manuscript whose affiliations are unknown) in vs. 4, *ἐκεῖ ἐπεστήρικται* (*ἀπεστ.* V, *ἐστηρ.* 239) *ἡ δύναμις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ* against *καὶ ἔθετο* (*ἔθηκεν* Compl.) *ἀγάπησιν κραταιὰν* (*ἀγάπην ἰσχυρὰν* Compl.) *ἰσχύος* (*τῆς δυνάμεως* Compl.) *αὐτοῦ* 𝔊.

V quite frequently abandons Anon. in favor of 𝔊. Thus, vs. 3, *ἐξ ὄρους φαράν* 62, 86*a*, 147: *ἐξ ὄρους κατασκίου δασέως* V = $\aleph^{c.a,\,c.b}$ *al.*; *ibid.*, *ὁ οὐρανός* 62, 86*a*, 147: *οὐρανούς* V = 𝔊; vs. 6, *αἱ ὁδοὶ αἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀλλοιωθήσονται· αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα σεισθήσεται ἡ οἰκουμένη* 62, 86*a*, 147: *αἱ ὁδοὶ αἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀντὶ κόπων* V, cf. *πορίας* (var. *πορειας*) *αἰωνίους* (*-ίας*) *αὐτοῦ* (var. *αὐτῶν*; >40, *al.*) *ἀντὶ* (+ *δὲ*) *κόπων* 𝔊; vs. 8, *ἡ ὀργή* 62, 86*a*, 147: *τὸ ὅρμημα* V = 𝔊; vs. 13, *ἐκλεκτούς* 62, 86*a*, 147: *χριστούς* V = $\aleph^{c.c\ (vid)}$ AQ, *al.* On the other hand, in two cases V stands alone against 𝔊: vs. 6, *διεθρύβη* 62, 86*a*, 147, cf. 𝔊: > V; vs. 8, *ἀνέβης* 62, 86*a*, 147, cf. 𝔊: *praem.* *κύριε* V.

A conclusive proof of the un-Lucianic character of our version is furnished by the rendering *ἀσφαλεῖς* for כָּאַיָּלוֹת, vs. 19, 𝔊 presenting the literal translation *ὡσεὶ ἐλάφου* (var. *ὡς ἐλάφων*), exactly as the same word is rendered by Lucian, II Kings 22:34 (*στηρίζων τοὺς πόδας μου ὡς ἐλάφου*).

4. It is worthy of note that in three instances Anon. appears to have influenced 𝔖.

Vs. 9, ܐܣܒܥܬ cf. ἐχόρτασας; vs. 14, ܠܡܬܬܟܠܢܐ ܒܡܣܡܟܢܘܬܗܘܢ cf. τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ τῇ αὐθαδείᾳ αὐτῶν; *ibid.*, כְּמוֹ־ > 𝔖 Anon.

A similar influence might be found in vs. 6, if we were certain about the meaning of ܘܪܓܫ (on the reading ܘܪܓ see Payne Smith *s. v.*). According to Nöldeke (*ZDMG*, XL, p. 729, footnote), the verb is taken by some of the native lexicographers to mean 'tremble,' while others assign to it the meaning 'conjecture.' The latter recalls the rendering of Anon., ἐξείκασεν.

5. The author of our version was certainly a Jew.

Whereas all the other versions render מְשִׁיחֶךָ, vs. 13, by χριστούς, χριστόν, χριστῷ, our version alone is careful to avoid the term because of its Christian associations, putting in its place the safer ἐκλεκτούς (so 62, 86*a*, 147). How far a christianizing exegesis could go is shown by the rendering of S′, διὰ Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν σου. Aquila, who elsewhere replaces the Septuagintal χριστός by ἠλειμμένος (Ps. 2:2; Dan. 9:26), seems to have foregone caution in the present passage, to the delectation of Jerome ("Iudaeus Aquila interpretatus est ut Christianus").

6. Our version shows two doublets which it shares, however, with the majority of 𝔊 manuscripts.

Vs. 2, בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים תּוֹדִיעַ 𝔐. ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν τὰ ἔτη (ἐπι-)γνωσθήσῃ (>68, 130, 311)· ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχθήσῃ (>239) = בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים תִּוָּדֵעַ; *ibid.*, בְּרֹגֶז רַחֵם תִּזְכּוֹר 𝔐. ἐν τῷ ταραχθῆναι (var. ταράσσεσθαι) τὴν ψυχήν μου ἐν ὀργῇ (ἐ. ὀ.>Compl.) ἐλέους μνησθήσῃ = בְּרֹגֶז יְהִי תִּזְכּוֹר and בְּרֹגֶז רַחֵם תִּזְכּוֹר.

Especially characteristic of our version is the introduction from a parallel clause of a verb wanting in 𝔐; a Greek synonym is naturally chosen.

Thus in vs. 2 (also in 𝔊), καὶ ἐξέστην is resumptive of καὶ εὐλαβήθην, while γνωσθήσῃ is supplied from the following ἐπιγνωσθήσῃ or ἀναδειχθήσῃ. Similarly in vs. 4, ἐπεστήρικται resumes ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ; vs. 6, ἀλλοιωθήσονται corresponds to ταπεινωθήσονται; vs. 9, σείσεις, to διεσκέδασας; vs. 11, ἐπέσχεν, perhaps to ἐστάθη.

7. Our version indulges in free renderings or paraphrase of an interpretative character, often suggesting religious scruples in the manner of the Targums.

Vs. 7, οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὰς δέρρεις Μαδιάμ over against 𝔊 πτοηθήσονται καὶ (κ.>42) (αἱ) σκηναὶ γῆς Μαδιάμ. The purpose is apparently to avoid the personification of inanimate objects. For Targumic examples see Cornill, *loc. cit.*, p. 123.

Vs. 8, *ἅρματα* for 𝔊 *ἵππους* covers up a mythological element.

Vs. 10, *ἐν τῷ ἀντοφθαλμεῖν σε*, 𝔊 *ὄψονταί σε*. The mountains, as inanimate, are not to be endowed with sight.

Vs. 13, *ἀνεφάνης*, 𝔊'AE'S' *ἐξῆλθες*, ΣΘ *egressus es*. A well-known Targumic device; cf. here איתגליתא.

Ibid., *καταδύσονται*, free for עַד־צַוָּאר.

Vs. 14, *μετὰ δυνάμεώς σου* = בְּמַטָּיו/בְּמַטֶּיךָ, paraphrastic.

Vs. 16, *τὰ σπλάγχνα μου*, more decorous than 𝔊 *ἡ κοιλία μου* = בִּטְנִי (the same purpose is subserved by *καρδία* א$^{c.a, c.b}$ *al.*). Similarly, *ibid.*, *κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐταράχθη* for 𝔊 *καὶ ὑποκάτωθέν μου ἐταράχθη ἡ ἕξις* (var. *ἰσχύς*) *μου* = וְתַחְתַּי אֶרְגָּז. On aesthetic euphemism in the ancient versions see Frankel, *Vorstudien*, § 31; Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 385 ff.

Free is the rendering in vs. 17, *ἡ ἐλαία ἐξίτηλος* ('evanescent, extinct,' a hapax legomenon in OT Greek) *ἔσται*, 𝔊 *ψεύσεται ἔργον ἐλαίας* = כִּחֵשׁ מַעֲשֵׂה־זַיִת; and vs. 19, *ἀσφαλεῖς*, an interpretative paraphrase for 𝔊 *ὡσεὶ ἐλάφου* (var. *ὡς ἐλάφων*) = כָּאַיָּלוֹת.

Vs. 19, *ἔδωκέ μοι ἰσχύν* is less anthropomorphic than 𝔊 *δύναμίς* (var. *ἰσχύς*) *μου* = חֵילִי.

An interpretative addition seems to be also *τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου* vs. 19 (cf. *τοὺς ἐχθρούς* Procop.), just as *τοὺς τραχήλους* paraphrases 𝔊 *τὰ ὑψηλά* = בָּמוֹתַי.

8. Our version also strives after idiomatic Greek constructions, while 𝔊 affects a hebraizing literalness.

Thus we find subordination (participial or infinitive construction) in the place of Hebrew co-ordination: vs. 6, *στὰς διεμέτρησεν*, *κατανοήσας ἐξείκασεν* for *ἔστη καὶ ἐσαλεύθη*, *ἐπέβλεψεν* (var. *κατενόησεν*) *καὶ* (*δι*)*ετάκη*; vs. 10, *ἐν τῷ ἀντοφθαλμεῖν σε ταραχθήσονται*, 𝔊 *ὄψονταί σε καὶ ὠδινήσουσιν* (var. *εἶδόν σε καὶ συναλγοῦσιν*).

9. The exegetical position of our version, whether in matters of punctuation, accentuation, rendering of words, or interpretation in general, is on the whole modern, if we may take the exegesis of the Vulgate as a standard of modernity. But, as a matter of fact, it becomes evident upon examination that in the development of scriptural exegesis a fixed chronology is impossible. Sometimes we find a rendering which is by no means obvious, running counter to what we are wont to designate as the

traditional interpretation, in supposedly late versions, the Targum for instance; and vice versa. Apparently there must have existed for a long period marked fluctuation in the conception of scriptural words or contexts, corresponding to the unsettled state of the consonantal text itself. Deviations from the received punctuation and accentuation may be met with even in Aquila.

Examples: (*a*) Punctuation. שׁ and שׂ; vs. 4, וְשָׁם 𝔐 = Anon. (*ἐκεῖ ἐπεστήρικται*; I take the verb as an amplification by the translator, see above, § 6; it is possible, however, that we have here a doublet, that is, *ἐπεστήρικται* = וְשָׂם, passivum pro activo) Θ (*et ibi*): וְשָׂם 𝔊 (*καὶ ἔθετο*) 'ΑΣ (*et posuit*).

Vocalization. Vs. 2, בְּקֶרֶב primo 𝔐 = Anon. 𝔊Θ (*ἐν μέσῳ*) Σ (*ἐντός*): בִּקְרֹב 'Α (*ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν*); בְּקֶרֶב secundo: בִּקְרֹב Anon. 𝔊 (*ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν, ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι*).

Ibid., שָׁנִים 𝔐 = 'Α (*τὰ ἔτη*) Σ (*τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν*) Θ (*ἐτῶν*): שְׁנַיִם Anon. 𝔊 (*δύο*).

Vs. 5, דֶּבֶר 𝔐 = 'Α (*λοιμός*) Σ (*θάνατος*) Ε' (*mors*) Anon. (*πτῶσις*, elsewhere = נֶגֶף, מַגֵּפָה; cf. also חתך Sir. 50:4): דָּבָר 𝔊 (*λόγος*) Θ (*sermo*).

Vs. 6, וַיַּתֵּר 𝔐 = 𝔊 (*καὶ* (*δι*)*ετάκη*, passivum pro activo, cf. 𝔙 *et dissolvit*[1]): וַיָּתַר Anon. (*καὶ ἐξείκασεν*[2]).

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[1] The meaning was derived from הִתִּיר 'unfasten, loosen,' *λύειν* (Ps. 104 (105):20; 145 (146):7), *διαλύειν* (Isa. 58:6), *solvere* (*ibid.*). *Διαλύειν* is used to render נָמַס (Judg. 15:14), which in a number of instances is rendered by *τήκεσθαι* and its compounds; in other words, (*δια*)*λύεσθαι* and *τήκεσθαι* are synonyms. הִתִּיר, in the mind of the translator, could be used in the sense of 'breaking up, liquefying,' quite as well as its Aramaic equivalent שְׁרָא, which means 'loosen' (Dan. 3:25; in a figurative sense, *ibid.*, 5:6), but also 'dissolve' (cf. ܐܬܡܣܝ *liquefactus est* in a quotation from Ephrem Syrus, Brockelmann, p. 387*b*). שָׁרוֹי 'soften, dissolve,' e. g., Pesaḥim 44*b*, whence the biblical מִשְׁרָה Num. 6:3 is, of course, a different root; see Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Lexicon*, p. 1056*a*, and references. According to Ibn Ǧanaḥ (*s. v.* נתר), it is quite possible that הִתִּיר derives its meaning of 'unfastening' from נָתַר 'spring up;' but see Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 684*a*. With 𝔊𝔙 goes Ibn Ezra who paraphrases נמס. It is probable that 𝔗 בלבלינון 'he confounded them' presupposes the same etymology. It is also to be noted that וְיִתַּר Job 37:1 is rendered *καὶ ἐλύθη* 'Α.

[2] *Εἰκάζειν* 'liken, compare, infer from comparison, conjecture, guess,' is found for דִּמָּה 'think of' Ps. 47 (48):10 Σ, שָׁעַר 'calculate, reckon' Prov. 23:7 Σ (*εἰκάζων* = שָׁעַר שֹׁעֵר), cf. Mishnic שִׁעֵר 'estimate,' Ḥullin 7:4, hence *εἰκασμοί* for שְׁעָרִים Gen. 26:12 'Α; Wisd. 8:8 *εἰκάζει* Aא? = ܣܥܪܐ 𝔖 *aestimat* 𝔙, 9:16 *εἰκάζομεν* = ܡܣܬܥܪܝܢܢ 𝔖 *aestimamus* 𝔙, 19:18 *εἰκάσαι* = ܕܢܣܬܥܪ 𝔖 *aestimari* 𝔙. The passive *εἰκάζεσθαι* corresponds to נֶחְקַר Jer. 26 (46):23. תּוּר 'spy out, explore' Num. 13:2 is a synonym of רִגֵּל, *ibid.*, 21:32, and therefore of חָקַר; cf. Judg. 18:2. Our translator found in וַיָּתַר the exact counterpart to וַיְמֹדֶד *διεμέτρησεν*: "He stood, and measured the earth; he beheld, and explored the nations." See below. Of course, the form וַיַּתֵּר may have been taken as an equivalent of וַיָּתַר, that is, in the language of our grammars, as a form after ע"ע analogy (see König, *Lehrgebäude*, I, 171).

Vs. 7, תַּחַת 𝔐 = 𝔊 'ΑΘ (ἀντι) Σ (διά): תֵּחַת Anon. (σεισθήσεται; cf. Job 4:14 διασείειν (var. συσ-) = הִפְחִיד; חַת, יָרֵא and פָּחַד are synonyms; cf. Deut. 1:21; Ps. 27:1. Σ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα = לוֹ, cf. Isa. 59:20 ἕνεκεν Σειών = לְצִיּוֹן).

(*b*) Accentuation. Vs. 4. קַרְנַיִם מִיָּדוֹ לוֹ 𝔐 = Anon. (κέρατα ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ): קַרְנַיִם מִיָּדוֹ לוֹ 𝔊 (κέρατα ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοῦ; that is, 𝔊 connects לוֹ with מִיָּדוֹ and sees in the former an amplification of the pronominal suffix in the noun; cf. Fried. Delitzsch, *Hiob*, p. 151).

Vs. 11, לְאוֹר חִצֶּיךָ יְהַלֵּכוּ 𝔐 = Anon. (κατὰ τὸ φέγγος τῶν βολίδων σου πορεύσονται): לְאוֹר חִצֶּיךָ יְהַלֵּכוּ 𝔊 (εἰς φῶς βολίδες σου πορεύσονται).

(*c*) Meaning of words. Vs. 5, רֶשֶׁף Anon. τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πετηνῶν (var. πετεινων) = 'Α (πτηνῶν) ΣΘΕ′ (ὄρνεον). The word is given the meaning 'bird,' 'birds,' (ὄρνεις, πτηνόν, πετεινά, οἰωνός; עוֹף, צִפּוֹר, ܥܘܦܐ, ܛܝܪܐ, ܦܪܚܬܐ; *avis*, *aves*), specifically a bird of prey, 'vulture,' 'eagle' (γύψ, ἀετός; اسم طائر اخلق به ان يكون خاصّة للجارح منه) 𝔊 Deut. 32:24; Job 5:7; 'Α Deut., Job, Ps. 77 (78):48; Σ Job, Ps. 75 (76):4; 77 (78):48; 𝔗^{OJ} Deut.; 𝔖 Deut., Job; 𝔙 Deut., Job; Exod. rabba, chap. 12; Rashi on the two Ps. passages; Ibn Ǧanaḥ. See Gesen. *Thesaurus* for an etymology based on Arabic, which, however, is rejected as uncertain. Perhaps the signification is a purely conjectural one derived from the passage in Job. 𝔊$^{AQ. 26. 233}$ ἐν πεδίλοις (πεδειλοις), seems to have taken רֶשֶׁף in the sense of 'shackles,' cf. رَسَفَ 'walk like a shackled man,' أَرْسَفَ 'drive (a beast) in hobbles' (Hava). The variants (εἰς πεδία, εἰς πεδιαν, εις παιδειαν) are apparently corruptions in Greek.

Vs. 6, וַיְמֹדֶד Anon. διεμέτρησεν = ܘܡܫܚܗ 𝔖 *et mensus est* 𝔙, which is the obvious sense. 𝔊 καὶ ἐσαλεύθη, passivum pro activo, = 𝔗 ואזיע, assumes, perhaps correctly, a root נוד / מוד, just as מוט corresponds to נוט (Ps. 99:1; also 72 (73):2, where 𝔊 ἐσαλεύθησαν = נָטָיוּ/נטוי). It is unnecessary to read וַיְמֹטֵט (Guthe) or וַיְמֹגֵג (Wellhausen).

Ibid., שַׁחוּ Anon. ταπεινωθήσονται = ܘܐܬܟܦܦܘ 𝔖 *incurvati sunt* 𝔙, again the obvious meaning. 𝔊 ἐτάκησαν from שחח (or שוח, שיח) 'melt away,' Arab. ساح, Ethiop. ሰሐ፡, Syriac ܫܚܐ and ܫܚ (Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, XXX, p. 186, footnote); cf. Ps. 41 (42):7 תִּשְׁתּוֹחָח κατατήκεται Σ, 12, תִּשְׁתּוֹחֲחִי κατατήκῃ Σ; Sir. 43:10 ἐκλυθῶσιν = יִשֹּׁחוּ/ישחו (so correctly Peters).

Vs. 16, יְגוּדֶנּוּ Anon. πολεμοῦν takes the verb as denominative from גְּדוּד (see Brown-Driver-Briggs, *s. v.* גדד). Perhaps we should point

יְגֻדֶנּוּ in order to explain Anon. (but see Ḳimḥi); 𝔙 *accinctum*, of course, presupposes the same etymology.

(*d*) Interpretation in general. The Hebrew tenses being ambiguous (the imperfects may be taken aoristically, and the perfects prophetically; see Nowack's commentary), it would be of interest to know how they were understood by the ancient versions. From the paraphrastic explicitness of 𝔗 it is clear that it interprets vss. 3–15 as a historical retrospect, while the framework is taken in an eschatological sense, exactly in the manner of our own Authorized Version. With the exception of יָחִילוּ, vs. 10, the imperfects are taken in a future sense by 𝔙. The rendering in 𝔖 fluctuates between future, past, and present. Anon. has the future, except for תִּרְכַּב vs. 8, תֵּעוֹר vs. 9, תְּבַקַּע (aorist and future) *ibid.*, יָבוֹא and אֶרְגָּז vs. 16, which are rendered aoristically, and יַדְרִכֵנִי vs. 18, for which the present (var. the perfect) is used. 𝔊 in the main agrees with Anon.; but note the future for תִּרְכַּב, תְּבַקַּע; future with aoristic variant for תֵּעוֹר; present with future variant for יַדְרִכֵנִי. Marti's interpretation of our psalm as a description of the coming manifestation of the Lord in language reminiscent in part of the traditional theophanies is borne out by the majority of the ancient versions; in vs. 3 the future is attested by 'ΑΣΘΕ', in addition to the versions mentioned.

Vs. 9, נְהָרוֹת תְּבַקַּע־אָרֶץ Compl. *ὁ ποταμὸς σχίζεται τῇ γῇ*, passivum pro activo, taking אֶרֶץ as subject, נהרות as object, and תבקע as 3 pers. fem.; 𝔙 *fluvios scindes terrae* = 'Α *ποταμοὺς σχίσεις γῆς* takes תבקע as 2 pers. masc. and connects נהרות and ארץ in a status constructus relation; 𝔊 *ποταμῶν* (var. *ποταμῷ*, *ποταμοῖς*) *ῥαγήσεται* (*ἡ*) *γῆ*, passivum pro activo, similarly takes תבקע as 2 pers. masc. and connects the two nouns in a status constructus relation of an inverse order; the same interpretation seems to underlie 𝔖 (ܘܐܪܥܐ ܒܢܗܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܬܬܒܙܥ). Anon. *ποταμοὺς διεσκέδασας καὶ γῆν σείσεις* also takes תבקע as 2 pers. masc. and the two nouns as co-ordinate objects, the verb being rendered doubly (see above, § 6). Ibn Ezra and Ḳimḥi also take the verb as 2 pers. masc. with ארץ as the first and נהרות as the second (predicative) object.

Vs. 10, הָרִים Anon. *ὄρη* adheres to the simple sense (peshaṭ); 𝔊 *λαοί* is haggadic, cf. Mic. 6:2 *λαοί* (*βουνοί* AQ*, *al.*: *ὄρη* Q^{mg}), cf. 𝔗 (according to Ḳimḥi) אבהתא and Roš hašanah 11*a* = Exodus rabba, chap. 15 and 28, אין הרים אלא אבות.

10. The Hebrew text underlying Anon. shares a number of variations with 𝔊, but has also some of its own.

(*a*) Vs. 1, עַל שִׁגְיֹנוֹת 𝔐 *al segionoth* Jerome = 'ΑΣΕ' (ἐπὶ ἀγνοημάτων) Θ (ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀκουσιασμῶν, see Field) 𝔙 (*pro ignorantiis*) 𝔗 (כשׁלותא): עַל הֲגִינֹת ? Anon. 𝔊 (μετ' ᾠδῆς[3]).

Vs. 2, יָרֵאתִי 𝔐𝔖 (ܘܕܚܠܬ) 𝔗 (ודחילית) 𝔙 (*et timui*) Anon. 𝔊 (καὶ εὐλαβήθην, var. ἐφοβήθην, correction after 𝔐?): רָאִתִי Anon. 𝔊 (κατενόησα[4]).

Ibid., חַיֵּיהוּ 𝔐'Α (ζώωσον αὐτό) Θ (ζώωσον αὐτόν) Σ (ἀναζώωσον αὐτόν) 𝔙 (*vivifica illud*) 𝔗 (דיהבת להון חייא): חַיִּים Anon. 𝔊 (ζῴων) 𝔖 (ܘܚܝܐ).

Ibid., תּוֹדִיעַ 𝔐𝔙 (*notum facies*) 𝔗 (את עתיד להודעא): תִּוָּדֵעַ Anon. 𝔊 (ἐπιγνωσθήσῃ. ἀναδειχθήσῃ) 𝔖 (ܬܬܝܕܥ).

Ibid., רַחֵם 𝔐 Anon. 𝔊 secundo (ἐλέους) 𝔖 (ܪ̈ܚܡܝܟ) 𝔗 (ברחמין) 𝔙 (*misericordiae*): חַיַּי Anon. 𝔊 primo (τὴν ψυχήν μου).

Vs. 8, חָרָה 𝔐𝔖 (ܪܓܙ): תֶּחֱרֶה Anon. 𝔊 (ὀργισθῇς var. ὠργίσθης) 𝔗 (הוה רגז מן קדמך) 𝔙 (*iratus es*).

Vs. 15, דָּרַכְתָּ 𝔐𝔖 (ܘܕܪܟܬ): הִדְרַכְתָּ Anon. 𝔊 (ἀνεβίβασας, ἐπεβίβασας; var. ἐπιβιβᾷς, ὑπερήγαγες[5]).

Ibid., חֹמֶר 𝔐𝔖 (ܒܚܡܠܐ) 𝔗 (דגור) 𝔙 (*in luto*): חָמְרוּ Anon. 𝔊 (ἐταράχθη,[6] with מַיִם as subject; (συν)ταράσσοντας, with מַיִם as object).

Vs. 16, רָקָב 𝔐𝔙 (*putredo*): רַעַד? Anon. 𝔊 (τρόμος) 𝔖 (ܙܘܥܐ) 𝔗 (זיעא).

Note the following instances where Anon. goes with 𝔐, while 𝔊 varies:

Vs. 9, תֵּעוֹר 𝔐 Anon. (ἐξεγέρθη) 𝔖 (ܬܬܬܥܝܪ) 𝔙 (*suscitam*, activum pro passivo): תְּעֹרֵר[7] ? 𝔊 (ἐνέτεινας, var. ἐντενεῖς).

Vs. 10, זֶרֶם מַיִם עָבָר 𝔐 Anon. (ἐν τῷ τὸν ἐξαίσιόν σου ὄμβρον διελθεῖν δι' αὐτῆς) 𝔖 (ܘܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܥܒܪܬ) 𝔗 (עננין מיטרא עדו) 𝔙 (*gurges aquarum transiit*) 'ΑΣΘΕ' (ἐντινάγματα ὑδάτων παρῆλθεν): זֵר מֵי מַעֲבָר 𝔊 (σκορπίζων[8] (var. διασπερεῖς[8]) ὕδατα πορείας (αὐτοῦ).

Vs. 12, תִּצְעַד 𝔐 Anon. (ἐγερθήσῃ) 𝔊^{86b} (συμπατήσεις): תְּצַעֵר 𝔊 (ὀλιγώσεις, var. ἐλαττώσεις).

[3] Cf. Ps. 9:16 הִגָּיוֹן Hebr. εγγαων 𝔊'Α ᾠδή; 91 (92):3 עֲלֵי הִגָּיוֹן 𝔊 μετ' ᾠδῆς. Hence the retroversion נְגִינוֹת (Graetz, *al.*) is superficial. Possibly no variant need be assumed at all; cf. Ps. 7:1: שִׁגָּיוֹן 𝔊 ψαλμός.

[4] κατανοεῖν = רָאָה Gen. 42:9 and elsewhere. In keeping with the parallelism, we should probably read מַעֲשֶׂךָ for שִׁמְעֲךָ.

[5] רָכַבְתָּ (Graetz) is a superficial retroversion.

[6] Cf. ταράσσειν = חָמַר Ps. 45 (46):3; חֳמַרְמַר Lam. 1:20; 2:11.

[7] For עֶרְיָה 𝔊 probably read עֹרֵר; so Wellhausen, *alii*.

[8] σκορπίζειν = זָרָה Mal. 2:3; Ezek. 5:12; διασπείρειν = זָרָה Jer. 15:7. πορεύεσθαι = עָבַר Num. 20:19 and elsewhere.

Vs. 13, עָרוֹת יְסוֹד 𝔐 Anon. (ἕως ἀβύσσου τῆς θαλάσσης, free): עֵרִיתָ יְסוֹד? E′𝔙 (denudasti fundamentum): עִדִּיתָ יְסוֹד Θ (ornasti fundamentum): עֹרַרְתָּ אֵסוּר 𝔊 (ἐξ-ήγειρας δεσμούς).

Vs. 16, יְגֻדֶנּוּ 𝔐 Anon. (πολεμοῦν, see above, § 9): יְגֻרֵנִי 𝔊 (παροικείας μου).

Vs. 17, מִמִּכְלָה 𝔐 Anon. (ἐκ μάνδρας) 𝔖 (ܡܢ ܛܝܪܐ) 𝔙 (de ovili): מִמַּאֲכָל 𝔊 (ἀπὸ βρώσεως).

(b) Vs. 4, חֶבְיוֹן 𝔐 'A (absconsionem) Σ (absconditam) Θ (absconsio) 𝔙 (abscondita est)[9] 𝔗 (דהוות מטמרא)[9] 𝔊 (ἀγάπησιν[10]): צִבְיוֹן[11]? Anon. (ἡ δύναμις).

Vs. 6, עַד 𝔐𝔖 (ܕܥܠܡܐ) 𝔗 (דמלקדמין) 𝔙 (saeculi): עֹז? 𝔊 (βίᾳ), > Anon.

Vs. 7, אָוֶן 𝔐𝔊 (κόπων) 'A (ἀνωφελοῦς) Σ (ἀδικίαν) Θ (ἀδικίας) 𝔖 (ܥܘܠ) 𝔗 (לטעותא) 𝔙 (iniquitate): אֶרֶץ Anon. (ἡ οἰκουμένη).

Vs. 9, שְׁבֻעוֹת 𝔐𝔙 (iuramenta) 𝔗 (בדיל קיימך) > 𝔊: הִשְׂבַּעְתָּ Anon. (ἐχόρτασας) 𝔖 (ܘܣܒܥܬ).

Ibid., אֹמֶר 𝔐𝔖 (ܡܐܡܪܝܟ) 𝔗 (מימרך) 𝔙 (quae locutus es) 𝔊 (λέγει, var. εἶπεν, + κύριος): שֶׁמֶר[12]? Anon. (τῆς φαρέτρας αὐτοῦ).

Vs. 10, רוֹם 𝔐𝔊 (τὸ) (ὕψος) 𝔖 (ܪܘܡܐ) 𝔗 (מרומא) 𝔙 (altitudo): (קוֹל) רָם[13] Anon. (μεῖζον).

Vs. 13, מִבֵּית רָשָׁע 𝔐𝔖 (ܡܢ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܥܘܠܐ) 𝔗 (מבתיהון) 𝔙 (de domo impii): רָשָׁע מָוֶת 𝔊 (ἀνόμων (var. ἀσεβῶν) θάνατον): מְתֵי רֶשַׁע Anon. (ἀνθρώπων ὑπερηφάνων).

Vs. 14, נָקַבְתָּ 𝔐𝔊 (διέκοψας, var. διεμέρισας) 𝔖 (ܦܣܩܬ) 𝔗 (בזעתא) 𝔙 (maledixisti[14]): נָקַמְתָּ Anon. (ἐξεδίκησας).

Ibid., בְמַטָּיו 𝔐𝔖 (ܒܫܒܛܘܗܝ) 𝔗 (בחוטריה דמשה) 𝔙 (sceptris eius): בְּמַטֶּיךָ Anon. (μετὰ δυνάμεώς σου).

Ibid., פְּרָזָו 𝔐𝔊 (δυναστῶν, var. δυνατῶν) 𝔖 (ܕܓܢܒܪܘܗܝ) 𝔗 (וגיברי) 𝔙 (bellatorum eius):[15] פָּרִיצָו[16] Anon. (τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν).

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[9] From חָבָה = חָבָא.

[10] From חָבָה = חָבַב.

[11] Cf. δύναμις = צְבִי Isa. 28:1 Al.: cf. צָבָא Num. 4:23 Al. and elsewhere. Possibly τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ = צִבְיוֹן (צְבִי is a synonym of תִּפְאֶרֶת cf. Isa. 28:1: צְבִי תִפְאַרְתּוֹ; δόξα = תִּפְאֶרֶת *ibid.* Al.); the inversion as Isa. 62:8 κατὰ τῆς δόξης (var. ἰσχύος) τοῦ βραχίονος αὐτοῦ = וּבִזְרוֹעַ עֻזּוֹ. For the interchange of ח and צ (Old Hebrew script) see the examples adduced by me in *ZAW*, XXV, 321.

[12] Cf. φαρέτρα = מִשְׁמָר Jer. 28 (51):12.

[13] Cf. Deut. 27:14.

[14] Cf. Lev. 24:16.

[15] Cf. Judg. 5:7 𝔊ᴮ.

[16] Cf. Ezek. 18:10 'A.

Ibid., יִסְעֲרוּ 𝔐𝔊 (σεισθήσονται, var. σαλευθήσονται) 𝔗 (ברוח עלעולין ?) 𝔙 (*venientibus ut turbo*): יִסָּעֲדוּ[17] Anon. (οἱ πεποιθότες) 𝔖 (ܡܬܥܫܢܝܢ).

Ibid., לַהֲפִיצֵנִי 𝔐𝔙 (*ad dispergendum me*): לָהּ יִפְצוּ 𝔊 (ἐν αὐτῇ (δι)ανοίξουσι): > Anon. 𝔖.

Ibid., כְּמוֹ 𝔐𝔊 (ὡς) Σ (ὥστε) 𝔙 (*sicut eius*): > Anon. 𝔖.

Vs. 16, שָׁמַעְתִּי 𝔐𝔖 (ܫܡܥܬ) 𝔗 (שמיעית) 𝔙 (*audivi*): שָׁמַרְתִּי 𝔊 (ἐφύλαξα Compl., -ξάμην *cet*): שַׂמְתִּי Anon. (ἐταξάμην).

Ibid., אָנוּחַ 𝔐𝔊 (ἀνα(var. κατα)παύσομαι) 𝔙 (*requiescam*): תַּבִּהַּ ? Anon. (φυλάξεις).

11. Unsolved problems of identification:

Vs. 8, ὃ προέβης = ?; vs. 11, φῶς τὸ λαμπόν = ?; *ibid.*, τὸ δὲ φέγγος = ?; vs. 19, ταχίσας κατεπούσατο = ?; 𝔊 vs. 13, βαλεῖς (var. ἔβαλες) = ?; vs. 14, χαλίνους (var. ἡνίας) = ?.

[17] Cf. βοήθεια = מְוּסָדָה מִסְעָדָה Isa., chaps. 30, 32, and βοηθεῖν = סָעַד Ps. 118 (119):117, סְעַד II Esdr. 5:2. נִסְעַד is thus a synonym of נֶעֱזַר, נִסְמַךְ, נִשְׁעַן.

NOTES ON THE NAME יהוה

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I. THE PRONUNCIATION JEHOVAH

In modern books of reference the origin of the hybrid Jehovah is usually attributed to Petrus Galatinus, a Franciscan friar, confessor of Pope Leo X, in his *De arcanis catholicae veritatis*, published in 1518. Thus, in the new Hebrew and English Lexicon (p. 218), Professor Briggs writes: "The pronunciation Jehovah was unknown until 1520, when it was introduced by Galatinus."[1]

The writers who in the seventeenth century combated the pronunciation Jehovah make similar assertions, though not all with equal positiveness. Drusius, in the preface of his *Tetragrammaton* (1604),[2] calls Galatinus "pater vulgatae lectionis;" and, again (p. 67), declares "primus in hunc errorem nos induxit Galatinus;" but, when he comes to discuss more particularly Galatinus' words (p. 90), expresses himself more cautiously: "Fieri potest ut errem, tamen inclino ut credam, parentem lectionis Jehova Petrum Galatinum esse. Nam, ante qui sic legerit, neminem novi."[3] Sixtinus Amama (*De nomine tetragrammato*, 1628), a pious pupil of Drusius, says (*Decas*, p. 205): "Nullus certe, vocem eam cuiquam ante P. Galatinum usurpatam, adhuc ostendit." He rightly attributes the occurrence of Jehova in certain printed editions of Jerome,[4] Paul of Burgos, and Dionysius Carthusianus, to the editors. Cappellus (*Oratio de SS. Dei nomine tetragrammato*, 1624)[5] is less guarded; he speaks of "Galatinus, quem primum dicunt in orbem terrarum vocem istam *Jehova* invexisse" (*Decas*, p. 270); and roundly affirms, "Nemo ante Galatinum legit vel *Jova*, vel *Jehova*" (*ibid.* p. 291).

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[1] Similarly, and with the same error in the date, A. B. Davidson, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, II (1899), p. 199; and E. Kautzsch, *ibid.*, Extra Volume, p. 625 (with the correct date).

[2] Reprinted, with other discussions, on both sides of the question, by Reland, *Decas exercitationum philologicarum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehova*, 1707. For convenience of reference I cite these dissertations, some of which in their separate form are rare, by Reland's pages.

[3] In a note on this passage Reland pointed out that Jehova was used by Porchetus de Salvaticis, who wrote in 1303. See below, p. 147.

[4] *Breviarium in Psalterium*, on Ps. 8, Plantin edition.

[5] The *Oratio* was first printed at the end of Cappellus' *Arcanum punctationis* (1624), pp. 313–332; then in the revised edition of the *Arcanum* (1643); finally, as an appendix to his *Critica Sacra* (Paris, 1650), pp. 690–712, with a *Defensio*, chiefly against the reply of Gataker (*ibid.*, pp. 713–739). In this ultimate form it is reprinted by Reland.

The scholars who defended the pronunciation Jehovah—Fuller (1612), Gataker (1645), and Leusden (1657)[6]—were apparently unable to discover any instances of the earlier occurrence of Jehovah other than those cited and accounted for by Drusius and Amama.

In 1651, however, Joseph Voisin, the learned editor of the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymundus Martini, produced conclusive proof that Jehovah had been used long before Galatinus. In the *Index capitum libri Galatini*, a catalogue of Galatinus' plagiarisms appended to his edition of the *Pugio*, in a note on *De Arcanis*, l. ii. c. 10, Voisin showed that *Jehova* (*Yehova*, *Yohova*) occurred in three of the four manuscripts of the *Pugio* which he had collated. Thus in Part III, Dist. 2, chap. iii, §4 (fol. 448),[7] in Raymundus' translation of a quotation from *Bereshith Rabbah* on Gen. 2:19 f. (cf. our *Bereshith Rabbah*, 17, 4), where, in a tradition of R. Aḥa, God asks Adam, "And what is *my* name?" Adam answers: "יהוה *Jehova*, sive Adonay, quia Dominus es omnium."[8] In Part III, Dist. 3, chap. ii, §11 (fol. 515). Raymundus writes: "*Cum gloriosus nomen de cunctis Dei nominibus*, scilicet יהוה, quod pro sui dignitate nullus praesumat Judaeus suis quatuor literis nominare, sed dicunt loco ejus אדני, ut supra dictum est: si istud, inquam, tam gloriosum nomen," etc.[9] Here Cod. Majoricanus and Cod. Barcinonensis read: "*Cum gloriosus nomen de cunctis Dei nominibus*, videlicet *Yehova*, vel *Yod*, *He*, *Vau*, *He:* vel nomen quatuor literarum." Voisin accordingly castigates Cappellus for asserting that the name Jehova was unknown before the sixteenth century, and was introduced by Galatinus:[10] inasmuch as Scaliger had proved[11] that the *De Arcanis* of Galatinus was taken bodily from the *Pugio*, Capellus ought to have examined the latter, one manuscript of which was readily accessible to him in the Plessy-Mornay library in Saumur; he would have learned that Jehova is found in a work written about 1278.

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[6] All reprinted in Reland, *Decas*, etc.

[7] The pagination of Voisin's edition is noted on the margin of J. B. Carpzov's reprint, Leipzig and Frankfurt, 1687.

[8] In this place only Voisin has admitted *Jehova* into his text, on the authority of Codex Fuxensis, which was the basis of his edition; Codex Majoricanus here reads, "*Yohova*, id est Dominus." The Hebrew has only יהוה שאתה אדון לכל.

[9] So Voisin, with Cod. Fuxensis.

[10] *Critica Sacra* (1650), p. 691; *Decas*, pp. 269, 270, 291; see above, p. 145.

A cooler scrutiny of the testimony adduced by Voisin will doubtless convince the modern critic that the occurrence of the name Jehova in manuscripts of the *Pugio* is not to be attributed to the author himself, but to subsequent copyists. The purely casual appearance of the name in the two passages cited, and the variations of the codices, are conclusive.[12] But, though in error in thinking that Raymundus himself used Jehova, Voisin proved that it was found in copies of the *Pugio* as far back as the fourteenth century.[13]

A generation after Raymundus Martini, Victor Porchetus de Salvaticis wrote his *Victoria contra Judaeos* (1303),[14] taken largely, as he expressly says, from the *Pugio*. In this work the tetragrammaton is regularly represented by *Jod*, *He*, *Vau*, *He;* but once or twice *Jehova* appears, and once *Johovha* [? *sic*].[15] This variation might suggest the surmise that the manuscript of the *Pugio* used by Porchetus was related to the Codex Majoricanus, in which both *Jehova* and *Johova* occur; without an examination of the *Victoria* it is, however, impossible to determine this point, or even to be sure whether Porchetus himself wrote Jehova. But even if, in this case also, the introduction of the name be the work of copyists, the fact remains that it was in use before Galatinus.

Voisin, in his polemic against Cappellus, assumes that Galatinus got the name Jehova, with the rest of his learning, from the *Pugio Fidei*. It is, of course, entirely possible that Jehova was found somewhere in the manuscript of the *Pugio* which Galatinus used;[16] but it is to be observed that there is no indication of such dependence; and, on the other hand, that the only connection in which Jehova occurs in the *De Arcanis* is in a formal discussion of the question how the Tetragrammaton should be pronounced, a question not raised in the *Pugio* at all. Moreover, as we shall see, Galatinus' own words make it perfectly clear that the pronunciation Jehova was current in his time.

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[11] In a letter to Casaubon in 1603; see Scaliger, *Epistolae*, etc., Ep. 84, cf. 90.

[12] In the fourth of the manuscripts collated by Voisin (D), from the Monastery of St. Dominic in Toulouse, it is to be inferred from Voisin's silence that the name did not occur at all.

[13] Cod. Majoricanus was written in 1381; the age of the other manuscripts used by Voisin is not given.

[14] Printed by Justiniani, Paris, 1520. I have not succeded in finding a copy of this book.

[15] Reland, *Decas*, 90, n. *b*.

The *De Arcanis*,[17] although it passed through at least five editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[18] seems to be little known to modern scholars. The quotations from it in recent books are apparently derived—at several removes, with natural increment of errors—from Drusius; and detached from their connection, and garbled (as they frequently are), give an erroneous notion of the author's position. Under these circumstances it will not, I trust, be thought superfluous to quote the context somewhat fully.

The work was written, with the encouragement of the Emperor Maximilian and of Pope Leo X, to sustain the cause of Reuchlin in his famous controversy with the Dominicans concerning the books of the Jews, by showing that the distinctive doctrines of Christianity can be proved from the talmudic and cabalistic literature. It is in the form of a dialogue, the speakers being Capnio (Reuchlin), Hogostratus (Hoogstraaten, the Prior of the Dominicans in Cologne, Reuchlin's most bitter antagonist), and Galatinus. Galatinus is the principal speaker; Reuchlin plays the rôle of interrogator, and Hoogstraaten is an occasional objector. Almost everything in the book of any significance is taken from the *Pugio Fidei*, which Galatinus has not the grace even to name; what Galatinus adds from other sources is drawn chiefly from cabalistic writings, among which one entitled גלי רזיא has a prominent place.

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[16] Perhaps a Codex Neapolitanus noted by Possevinus; see Carpzov, *Introductio*, etc., p. 90.

[17] The full title is: *Opus toti christianae Reipublicae maxime utile, de arcanis catholicae veritatis, contra obstinatissimam Iudeorum nostri temporis perfidiam: ex Talmud, aliisque hebraicis libris nuper excerptum; et quadruplici linguarum genere eleganter congestum.*

[18] The Catalogue of the British Museum enumerates editions of 1518, 1550, 1561, 1603, 1672. I quote the editio princeps.

It has been asserted, for example, by Maussacus, that Galatinus was by birth a Jew; perhaps on the same ground on which Justiniani suspected that Raymundus Martini was a Jew—he knew too much Hebrew to be a Christian. I have been unable to find any evidence pointing in that direction. That he had Jewish assistants may be regarded as certain. The conjecture, however, that Elias Levita served him in this capacity has no basis beyond the known relations of Elias to Cardinal Egidio and other Christian students of the Cabala. The presumption is that the two Jews who adorn the back of the title-page with an acrostic and a rhymed poem in Hebrew in praise of Galatinus, and his book demolishing Hogostratus, were his helpers. One of these is named in the Latin title to his epigram "Moses Aharon Hebraeus" (the acrostic itself bears גרשם משה), the other is "Ishac Hyspanus Hebraeus medicus physicus."

Book II, chaps. ix–xvii, discuss the names of God; in chap. x, on the Tetragrammaton, after Galatinus has given extended extracts from the *Galē razaia* and from Maimonides on Shem Hamephorash, Reuchlin asks:[19]

Dic obsecro, hoc nomen quatuor literarum, ut scriptum est, siue ut literae ipsae sonant, quomodo proferatur?

Galatinus.—Quidam ex nostris aiunt hoc nomen in nostris literis sonare Ioua, a quo dicunt forte apud antiquos nomen Iouis irrepsisse. Sed maxime profecto errant, huiusmodi gentilitatis blasfemiam tam sancto nomini inferentes. Non enim hae quatuor literae, יהוה, si ut punctatae sunt legantur, Iova reddunt, sed (ut ipse optime nosti) Iehoua efficiunt. Quamuis Iudaei illud pronunciare ut scriptum est non audeant, sed loco eius אדני Adonai, quod idem est quod Dominus, proferant. Qui autem in nostris literis Ioua sonare contendunt, id ex eo potissimum probare conantur, quod Hebraeorum grammatici dicunt, cum sceua aliqua literarum gucturis sequitur, plerunque et sceua ipsum et gucturis literam simul per syncopam auferri. Nam, exempli gratia, יהודה Iehuda non nunquam יודה Iuda et scribitur et pronunciatur; et יהושע Iehosua, יושע Iosua; et יהויכין Iehoiachin, יויכין Ioiachin; et תהלים tehilim, תלים tillim, et reliqua multa id genus. Quod similiter quoque in hoc nomine Dei magno fieri uolunt. Qua ex re illud Ioua apud nos sonare inferunt, cum in eo sceua litera he literam gucturis praecedat. Quod si uerum esset ipsum nomen non יְהֹוָה sed יֹוָה sine sceua et he litera scriberetur. Et sic non tetragrammaton, siue quatuor literarum esset, sed trium dumtaxat. Quod nec cogitari quidem licet. Nefas enim est eo in nomine quicquam uel addi uel minui, sed sic omnino debet et scribi et

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[19] Ed. 1518, fol. 48*a*. I preserve the spelling, but have resolved the abbreviations and modernized the punctuation.

> pronunciari (si tamen pronunciandum est) sicut Deus ipse Mosi illud scribi debere mandauit. Quo circa grammaticorum Hebraeorum regula quam inducunt in eo locum nullum habet, quamuis et in reliquis nusquam uel rarissime in sacris uiginti quatuor libris seruata reperiatur, sed in aliis fortasse tantum codicibus et praecipue apud Talmudistas. Ipsum igitur nomen Dei tetragrammaton cum sceua et he litera, quae lenem habet aspirationem, et scribi et pronunciari necesse est. Quare caueant, qui illud apud nos Ioua sonare affirmant. Non enim Ioua nec Ieoua, sed Iehoua, cum leni aspiratione, sicut scribitur, pronunciandum est.

Somewhat farther on (fol. 49*a*), after the question has been answered why the Jews dare not utter the name, and it has been shown from Maimonides that it was pronounced in the temple, in the priests' benediction, Reuchlin asks:

> Si hoc nomen apud eos (ut optime probasti) aliquando proferebatur, quamobrem igitur ineffabile dicebatur? *Galatinus.*—Hoc magno absque mysterio esse non potest. Non enim hoc nomen quo ad uocem ipsam nominis ineffabile dicitur, cum et ipsi (ut dictum est) quandoque pronunciarint, et aeque ut scriptum est facile proferri possit, si literae ipsae cum apicibus et punctis legantur. Ex ipsis enim (ut dictum est) haec uox Iehoua redditur. Sed quo ad mysterii significatum omnino ineffabile est.

It is plain from Galatinus' own words that among his contemporaries the vowels of יְהֹוָה were commonly taken for the proper vowels of the name. Some of them, however, instead of pronouncing *Jehova*, as the points would naturally be read, were led by the seductive comparison with the Latin (Jupiter) *Jovis* to pronounce *Jova*, and defended the contraction by an ingenious grammatical argument, which Galatinus refutes. The controversy, therefore, whether the name should be pronounced *Jehova* or *Jova* is older than Galatinus. Who the "Jovists" were against whom he argues, I do not know. The opinion that the name *Jov-is* was derived from יְהֹוָה (or יְהֹוִה) was common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries;[20] it inevitably suggested itself as soon as Christian scholars began to pronounce the name. In the controversy of the seventeenth century the resemblance to Jove was argued to prove that Jehovah was the true pronunciation. The form *Jova*, after the analogy of Judah for Jehudah, was preferred by several scholars in the sixteenth century, and was admitted as possible by some of those who preferred Jehova.[21] The question is, however, of no significance for our present purpose. The important point is that Galatinus did not introduce the pronunciation Jehova, but only defended it against those who pronounced יְהוָֹה *Jova.*

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[20] Later the tables were turned, and many scholars derived Jehovah from the Indo-European root from which the name Jove comes. Ed. Glaser, *Jehowah-Jovis und die drei Söhne Noahs* (1901), is the most recent discoverer of this etymological mare's nest.

Nor have I been able to find any evidence that the common use of Jehova by scholars in the sixteenth century was due to the example and influence of Galatinus.

A thorough investigation of the use of Jehovah in the first half of the sixteenth century has never been made. The following notes make no claim to completeness, but they include the authors whose example was most influential.

Luther, in his translation of the Old Testament, follows the usage of the Church in rendering יהוה by HERR, Lord; but in his own writings sometimes uses Jehovah. In an exposition of Jeremiah 23: 1–8,[22] originally delivered in two sermons, November 18 and 25, 1526, and printed in 1527, he says (p. 569):

> Es hat die Ebreische sprache fast bey zehen nahmen, damit sie Gott nennet,[23] unter wilchen yhr viel sind, damit sie Gott von seinen wercken nennet; aber dieser nahme "Jehovah," "HERR," bedeut allein Gott, wie er ist ynn seinem Göttlichen wesen. Diese unterschied künnen wir ynn unser sprache nicht halten; wir Deudschen heissens alles "Herr" und künnen das wort "Herr" nicht zwingen, das es Gott allein heisse; denn wir heissen ein Fürsten herr, ein hausvater heisst man auch ein herrn, ist uns Deudschen fast gemeyn. Das wir aber Gott auch ein Herrn nennen, haben wir aus den Evangelisten, die heissen yhn "Dominum," Herr, den folgen wir nach und lassens auch dabey bleiben. Die andern nahmen ynn Ebreischen werden nicht allein Gotte zu geschrieben, sondern werden auch zu andern leuten gesagt; aber dieser nahme "Jehovah," Herr, gehört alleine dem waren Gott zu.

It is noteworthy that this passage occurs, not in an academic lecture or a commentary addressed to the learned, but in a sermon, immediately published as a popular pamphlet. The name Jehovah is not introduced as something new; on the contrary, it is used as if it was familiar to the hearers or readers.[24]

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[21] See below, p. 152.

[22] *Kritische Gesammtausgabe*, XX, 547 ff. In the brief Latin report of the sermon (Rörer) Jehovah does not appear. The title of the pamphlet is, *Ein epistel aus dem Propheten Jeremia, von Christus reich und Christlichen freyheit, gepredigt durch Mar. Luther.* Wittenberg, 1527.

[23] Jerome, Ep. 25, ad Marcellam, *De decem nominibus Dei.*

Jehovah appeared in the English Bible in Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch (1530) in Exod. 6:3, "but in my name Iehouah was I not knowne unto them," and maintained itself in the whole succession of English Protestant versions, except Coverdale (1535). The margin of Matthews' Bible (1537), on Exod. 6:3, has the note, "Iehouah is the name of god wherewith no creature is named, & is as moch to say as one that is of hymselfe & dependeth of no thing."[25]

Sebastian Münster, in his notes on Exod. 3:15, and on 6:3 (where Jehova stands in his text), accompanying his Latin translation of the Old Testament (1534, 1535), uses the name as though it were well known. The Jews, he says, infer from the words "this is my memorial (זכרי) forever" (3:15), "nomen Domini tetragrammaton non proferendum secundum dispositionem literarum et punctorum; sed in animo tantum commemorari debet, non autem labiis exprimi . . . . Atque adeo haec superstitio invaluit apud Judaeos, ut obstupescant ad prolationem hujus nominis, si forte a Christiano audiant ipsum pronunciari, timeantque ruere coelum." Leo Judae used Jehova in his Latin version (1543), in Exod. 6:3, and has a note on the significance of the name. Paulus Fagius, a pupil of Elias Levita, in the notes on his translation of the Targum of Onkelos (1546), at Exod. 6:3, says of the name, "quod juxta elementa et puncta quidem יְהֹוָה *Jehovah* sonat."[26] Castalio, who uses *Jova* throughout his Latin translation (1551; Pentateuch, 1546), in his note on Gen. 2:4 justifies this pronunciation against those who denied that the points of יְהֹוָה were its own vowels by citing Josaphat, Joram, Hallelujah, etc. Servetus uses Jehovah, from which Jove is derived:[27] "Iouem illi [sc. the Romans] dixerunt, ex antiqua traditione Hebraeorum,

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[24] Böttcher, in a note in his *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, I, 49, says that Luther, "as is well known," never uses the name in his popular writings, though in his learned exegetical works he shows his familiarity with it. Singularly enough, the passage above quoted is one of those which he cites!

[25] In Zwingli's writings, so far as a hasty examination shows, the word Jehovah is not used.

[26] Fagius was acquainted with Galatinus, whom he quotes on Exod. 3:15.

[27] *Christianismi Restitutio* (1553), p. 125 ff., see esp. p. 133.

Deum Ioua appellantium. Ioua indeclinabile, inflexione quadam est versum in Iouem, Ioua autem est dictum pro יהוה Iehova, cum scheua in capite non profertur, et aspirationis prolatio omittitur, ut in ea lingua passim fit."[28] In 1557 Jehova got established in the dictionary,[29] and in the same year was introduced throughout the Old Testament in Stephanus' edition of Pagninus' Latin version.[30] In Calvin's commentaries on the Psalms (1557) and on the Pentateuch (1563) יהוה is uniformly rendered by Jehova.[31] Tremellius—a Jew by birth—employs Jehova throughout his translation (1575), though he was aware that the points belonged not to יהוה but to אדני.[32] Similarly A. R. Cevallerius, a son-in-law of Tremellius, in his *Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguae* (1559),[33] gives Jehovah as the equivalent of the Tetragrammaton, yet elsewhere explains that the vowels are those of אדני.[34]

The examples last cited show that the pronunciation Jehovah was by this time so firmly established that even scholars who knew that it was a hybrid used it as a matter of course.

Among the Catholic scholars of the sixteenth century the use of Jehovah was probably less common than among Protestants, partly because of the stronger hold of the Vulgate; but it was employed constantly by a man of no less influence in his time than Cardinal Thomas de Vio Cajetanus in his Commentary on the Pentateuch (1531);[35] his translation of Gen. 2:4, for example, has Iehoua Elohim, and on Exod. 6:3 he notes, "Juxta Hebraeum habetur: Iehouah Elohe patrum vestrorum visus est mihi." According to Stephanus, Sanctes Pagninus, one of the most learned Hebraists of his age, used Jehova in his annotations.[36] Hieronymus ab Oleastro in his commentary on the Pentateuch (Genesis

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[28] Observe the argument of Galatinus' Jovists.

[29] Ioann. Forster, *Dictionarium Hebraicum Novum*, pp. 208–211.

[30] See below, pp. 155 f.

[31] The text of the harmony of Exod.—Deut. is substantially that of Sebastian Münster, slightly revised, and with *Jehova* consistently introduced.

[32] Drusius, *Decas*, 85 f., from manuscript notes of Tremellius' lectures on Isa. 1:2.

[33] Ed. 1567, p. 195.

[34] Drusius, *Decas*, 88; Letter of Cevallerius to the Bp. of Ely, 1569.

[35] Cajetanus knew no Hebrew, but he had a very literal translation made for him by the collaboration of a Jew and a Christian Hebraist (Fritzsche, *PRE*^{2}, VIII, 462).

[36] See below, p. 155.

1556, Exodus 1557), derived Jehova from הֹוָה, making it mean "Destroyer" (sc. of the Egyptians and Canaanites),[37] an etymology which Daumer rediscovered. Marcus Marinus admitted Jehova to his Lexicon, *Arca Noae* (1593). In the seventeenth century Jehova appears in the commentaries of Estius (1621), Menochius (1630), and Tirinus. Malvenda (†1628) is the first in whom I have found the name written with the consonants alone, *Ihuh* (e. g., Gen. 2: 4, 8); ordinarily he writes *Jehu* (e. g. Ps. 1:2; 8:2).

It is a singular error to assume, as scholars seem generally to have done, that the pronunciation Jehovah originated with any single author, and was propagated in one direct line of literary succession. In the massoretic text the name is written יְהֹוָה, without any indication, such as in ordinary cases of substitution is given in the margin, that the points are not the proper vowels of the word; nor is the substitution included in the massoretic category of *Ḳerē* and *Ketīb*.[38] Christian scholars knew that the Jews did not pronounce the name, reading Adonai instead; but they generally regarded this as a superstitious scruple. If the better informed among them were aware that Jewish grammarians held the vowels of יְהֹוָה to belong to אדני,[39] two answers would occur; *first*, the vowels are manifestly not those of אֲדני, and, *second*, compound names such as יְהוֹשָׁפָט and שְׁפַטְיָה prove that the punctuation יְהֹוָה gives the true vowels of the tetragrammaton.[40] There is every probability that many Christian scholars independently, reading what actually stood written in the Hebrew text, pronounced the name Jehova or Jova. It is therefore, a bootless inquiry who first made this inevitable blunder; it is certain that Galatinus was neither the first nor the last.

Genebrardus, in his *Chronologia* (1567), inveighing against the pronunciation Jova or Jehova, attributes the introduction of this error, not to Galatinus, as Drusius and his followers do, but

[37] Drusius, *Decas*, 66, n.

[38] The term *Ḳerē perpetuum*, applied to it by modern grammarians, appears to be a figment of their own.

[39] See, e. g., Elias Levita, *Massoreth ha-Massoreth* (1538), Pt. II, §9 (ed. C. D. Ginsburg, 1867, p. 233).

[40] Both these arguments are, in fact, persistently repeated by the defenders of the pronunciation Jehovah from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth.

to Sanctes Pagninus, "si modo ab haereticis non sit corruptus."[41] In the original edition of Pagninus' translation of the Old Testament (1527) the name Jehovah does not occur, nor is it found in his *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae* (1529); but in Robert Stephanus' edition of Pagninus' version (1557),[42] Jehova is uniformly put for יהוה. In a note on Ps. 2:1 Stephanus remarks that the substitution of Adonai is to be rejected as a Jewish superstition, and continues: "Nonnulli nomen ipsum Iehova non mutant; nec ipse Sanctes in suis Annotationibus manuscriptis, quas apud me asservo: quos et secuti sumus."[43] In the Preface, also, Stephanus refers to these annotations: his reprint of Pagninus' version was based on two copies of the preceding edition containing the author's manuscript corrections and revisions; "venerunt etiam in manus nostras ejusdem Sanctis in V. T. annotationes, ex quibus ibidem omnia quae ad hujus interpretationis recognitionem pertinebant sedulo excerpsimus."

The notes in Stephanus' edition were vehemently impugned by the theologians of the Sorbonne, who complained that he made the orthodox name of Vatablus[44] cover a compilation taken largely from the works of Swiss Protestants; but there is no reason to question the explicit statements quoted above. The time at which the annotations of Pagninus were written is not known. His translation of the Old Testament, with which it may be surmised that they were contemporaneous, was completed, after twenty-five years of labor, before 1518, although it was not printed until 1527.

There is another edition of Pagninus' version, published at Lyons in 1542, with a preface and marginal scholia by Servetus ("Michael Villanovanus"), in which, also, reference is made to the manuscript notes of Pagninus. Servetus writes: "In ipsa Pagnini nostri versione non parum est nobis post omnia ejus annotamenta desudatum: annotamenta inquam, quae ille nobis quam plurima reliquit. Nec solum annotamenta, sed et exemplar ipsum locis innumeris propria manu castigatum." A second preface, by Joh. Nic. Victorius, informs the reader that the differences of the Lyons edition from the preceding (Cologne, 1541) are the result of a revision by the author himself, so thorough "ut nunc non tam restituta, quam primum edita videri possit."[45] Victorius, also, speaks of Pagninus' annotations, which were in the possession of his heir,[46] and expresses the desire that a publisher might be found for them.[47]

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[41] Ed. Paris, 1600, pp. 79 f.

[42] The Vulgate and Pagninus' new version in parallel columns, with annotations. This edition I have not been able to see; but the lemmata of Stephanus' notes (reprinted in the *Critici Sacri* under the name of "Vatablus"), and the Basel reprint of Pagninus (1564), which is said by Le Long-Masch accurately to reproduce Stephanus' text of 1557, make the fact certain.

[43] See also on Exod. 6:3.

[44] Vatablus was Professor of Hebrew in the Collège de France; he died in 1547, having published nothing. Stephanus used notes of his lectures taken down by students.

It appears, therefore, that Stephanus used for his edition the same apparatus which Victorius and Servetus had in their hands for the Lyons edition. The descriptions of the exceedingly rare Lyons edition do not make it possible to determine with certainty whether Jehova was introduced in it; on the whole, I incline to think that it was not.

While the pronunciation Jehovah was thus widely current in the sixteenth century, its correctness was not universally admitted. Some scholars recognized that the points of יְהֹוָה belonged to the substitute, אדני ; it was a mistake to read the consonants of one word with the vowels of another; how the name was really pronounced in Old Testament times could be inferred only from external tradition or from grammatical analogy. Mercerus, the successor of Vatablus in Paris, gives a warning against the recent fashion of reading יהוה with the vowels of אדני or אלהים, *Jehova* or *Jehovi*.[48] If the name is to be pronounced it would be better to read it יֶהֱוֶה, *Jeheveh*, after the analogy of אהיה in Exod. 3:14. Genebrardus condemns the pronunciation *Ioua* or *Iehoua* as "aliena, imo vero irreligiosa, imperita, nova et barbara . . . . ut contra Calvinianos et Bezanos multis locis docuimus."[49] "Vel ejus genuina prolatio per temporis longinquitatem et longam ob eversum templum desuetudinem oblivioni tradita est, vel est *Ihué* (*Ieué* habet Ioachimus Abbas in I Apoc.) vel *Iahué*[50] (cujus apocope sit *Iah* in illo vulgato *Halelu Iah*) *ἰαβαὶ*, ut Theodoritus in Epitome divinarum dogmatum Samaritas protulisse ait." Arias Montanas explains that the vowels of יְהֹוָה , יֱהֹוִה , belong to אדני and אלֹהים respectively:[51] "Nostri hujus rationis ignari *Iehovah* pronuntiant." "Si vero certam quandam ex aliorum similium nominum ratione indicare pronuntiationem fas est, *Ieveh* dicendum est, atque ita existimo veteres illos pronuntiasse, tum Israelitas, tum ex aliis gentibus homines, ad quos nominis hujus et Dei ipsius notitia pertinuit." Bellarmin asserts that that the true pronunciation is unknown; the points belong to אדני (which he proves with conclusive grammatical reasons); the name should therefore not be read *Iehoua*.[52] It is noteworthy that no one of the scholars of the sixteenth century who reject the pronunciation Jehovah lays the responsibility for the blunder upon Galatinus.

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[45] The extent of these differences appears to be greatly exaggerated in these prefaces. Mosheim (*Anderweitiger Versuch einer vollständigen und unpartheyischen Ketzergeschichte*, 1748, p. 89) affirms that the changes are neither numerous nor important. See also Le Long-Masch, II, 477 f.

[46] Pagninus died in Lyons, in 1541.

[47] Rosenmüller, *Biblische Litteratur*, IV, 174 ff.

[48] On Gen. 2:4; cf. on Exod. 3:13 (Drusius, *Decas*, 82 f.; Cappellus, *ibid.*, 317); see also his additions to the article יהוה in his edition of Pagninus' *Thesaurus* (1577). Mercerus (a Protestant) succeeded Vatablus in Paris in 1546, and died in 1570. His commentaries were not published till after his death (Minor Prophets, 1583, Genesis, 1598).

The controversy so hotly waged in the seventeenth century was opened by Drusius, *Tetragrammaton* (1604). The advocates of Jehovah had much the worst of the argument, but they had on their side an established usage upon which argument made no impression. Learned defenses of this usage continued to be made from time to time in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; for example, by J. D. Michaelis (1792),[53] Rudolph Stier,[54] and Hölemann.[55] It is interesting, in the light of his later writings, to know that Ewald, in his earliest publication (1823), entered the lists not only for the unity of Genesis, but for the pronunciation Jehovah. At another time I shall show that the current opinion that Ewald is the author of the pronunciation Jahveh is one of the legends of learning, of the same sort with the Galatinus myth.[56] The pronunciation Jahveh was "propounded" in the sixteenth century, and it stood in the pages of the Lexicon in most general use in Germany (Eichhorn's Simonis) ten years before Ewald was born. Gesenius had adopted it when Ewald was still defending Jehovah (1823).

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[49] *Chronologia* (1567); ed. Paris, 1600, pp. 79 f.; *Comment. in Psalmos*, Praefat. (the latter I have not seen).

[50] This is, so far as I know, the first suggestion of the pronunciation Jahveh, now generally accepted.

[51] *Joseph, sive de Arcano Sermone* (in the Antwerp Polyglot, T. VII, 1572), p. 4.

[52] *Institutiones Linguae Hebraicae* (1578); ed. Colon. 1616, pp. 284 f.; cf. his exposition of Ps. 8:1.

[53] *Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica*, I, p. 524.

[54] *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache.*

[55] *Bibelstudien* (1859), 54 ff.

II. "JEVE" IN JOACHIM OF FIORE

Genebrardus, in a passage quoted above (p. 157), observes that Joachim, in his commentary on the first chapter of the Apocalypse (written about the year 1200),[57] has the form *Ieve.* Attention was called to this fact a few years ago by Franz Delitzsch, who had come upon it in a manuscript containing a part of this commentary.[58] A more recent hand had written in the margin, at the first occurrence of *Ieve,* the gloss Iehovah. Delitzsch adds: "Ein Stück urkundlicher Geschichte der Aussprache des Tetragrammatons innerhalb der Kirche lag vor mir." Delitzsch assumes that Joachim's Ieve represents a traditional Jewish pronunciation יֶהֱוֶה, and thinks that a trace of such a tradition may be found in Rabbi Samuel ben Meir on Exod. 3:15; יהוה in vs. 15 was read with the vowels of אֶהְיֶה, vs. 14. This interpretation of the mystification in Rashbam seems to me doubtful; but with that I am not immediately concerned. It can be shown, I think, that *Ieve* in Joachim did not have its origin in pronunciation at all, but in a trite cabalistic play on the consonants of יהוה.

In his commentary on Apoc. 1:8 Joachim has a long disquisition on the name of God, combining the "A et O" of the Apocalypse with Exod. 3:14 f.; 6:3, in which he writes the name constantly IEVE.[59] The part which bears upon the question in hand is as follows:[60]

> Populo autem Iudeorum, etsi tribus suprascriptis modis in deo omnipotente apparuit, docens se esse trinum et unum deum, nomen tamen

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[56] See e. g., *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (III), 3320: "The controversy as to the correct pronunciation of the tetragrammaton . . . . has been gradually brought to an end by the general adoption of the view, first propounded by Ewald, that the true form is Yahwè."

[57] Published in Paris, 1254.

[58] *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, II (1882), 173 f.

[59] *Expositio . . . in Apocalipsim* (Venet., 1527), fol. 33*b*, ff.

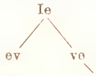
[60] *Op. cit.*, fol. 35*a*, f. I modernize the punctuation.

suum IEVE, quod Hebrei legunt Adonay, non indicauit eis, quia esse se trinum et unum deum non illis per specialem intellectum aperuit quousque verus ille Moyses, mediator dei et hominum Christus Iesus; qui cum instaret hora passionis sue ut transiret ex hoc mundo ad patrem, post multa que locutus est discipulis suis, adiecit et ait: Jam non dicam vos seruos, quia seruus nescit quid faciat dominus eius; vos autem dixi amicos, quod omnia quecunque audiui a patre meo nota feci vobis. Quando autem dixit hoc verbum, nisi cum nomen illud ineffabile, quod est IEVE, notum fecit illis, loquens eis manifeste de spiritu sancto et de patre, et de gloria maiestatis sue, dicens: Ego in patre et pater in me est? etc. [John 14:13, 16]. . . . . Et quia tam aperte docuit esse tres personas coeternas sibi et coequales, unum scilicet et trinum deum, quod est dicere IEVE, oportebat nihilominus eum docere, que istarum personarum ingenita esset, que autem genita, et que procedens, quod in subsequentibus luce clarius manifestat cum dicit: Cum venerit paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis a patre, spiritum veritatis, qui a patre procedit, ille testimonium perhibebit de me.

For Joachim, therefore, the name JEVE imports the mystery of the Trinity. A little further on he writes (fol. 35*b*):

Sciendum est igitur, quod nomen illud venerabile, quod congrue satis ineffabile dicitur tam ab Hebreis quam a Latinis, pronuntiatur Adonay; et tamen in Hebreo non eisdem characteribus quibus scriptum est pronuntiatur, sed aliis. Scribitur enim quatuor literis, propter quod et apud Grecos thethragrammaton nominatur, cuius inscriptio ista est, IEVE. Est autem nomen istud, ut tradunt peritissimi Hebreorum, tante virtutis ut si distinguatur in tribus dictionibus ad hoc ut sigillatim proferatur, IE sigillatim, EV sigillatim, VE, singula distinctio integritatem sui nominis habeat, et si proferatur simul, IEVE, unitatem demonstret.

If, now, he continues, these three monosyllabic names are written in a triangle, A,[61] each of the three will have its own perfection, each the distinctive attribute (*proprietas*) of some one person; and, what is more, the second name springs (*propagatur*) from the first, and the third from the second, in such a way that one cannot be pronounced without the other. These syllables are not divided in pronunciation, but the V (vowel) blends with the preceding and following so that the enunciation is a unit. Joachim employs diagrams to show this, as follows (fol. 35*b*, 36*a*):

[61]


Scribendum est enim simplicitur quatuor literis istis, IEVE, et tamen legendum primo IE, EV, VE, deinde IEVE; quod, ut diligenter ostendi queat, literis quidem formatis nomen ipsum scribendum est, pronuntiationes vero ipsius clausulis minutissimis designande, verbi gratia,

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \overline{\text{ie}} & & \overline{\text{ue}} & \\ \text{IE} & \text{——} & \text{VE} & \underline{\text{ieue}} \\ & \underline{\text{eu}} & & \end{array}$$

Et quid magis hoc mysterio veritati vicinum? Certe vides scriptum quatuor literis ineffabile nomen; certe vides—immo nondum in toto vides quanta profunditas sacramenti contegatur in eo. Unde et non immerito ab Hebreis scribitur quidem sed non profertur, quod si temptas in eo quod mente distinguitur lingua proferre, desinit esse tetragramaton; ideoque melius mente percipitur quam lingua ministerio personatur.

IE is one name; EV is one name; VE is one name; yet IEVE is not three names but one. Just so in the Trinity: the Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God; yet these are not three Gods but one. If the three names are written in a triangle you have the letter A; if IEVE be inclosed in a circle, O—trinity in unity.

Joachim observes, further, (fol. 37*a*) that there are only three different letters in the name, IEV (E being repeated), and finds in this, too, an allegorical significance.

Galatinus likewise discovers the mystery of the Trinity in the three syllables of Jehova.[62]

Capnio asks:

Quid tres huius nominis [sc. Iehova] syllabae significant? *Galatinus.*—Tres utique personas diuinas. Quemadmodum enim unaquaeque huius nominis syllaba (ut aiunt Cabalistae) id totum significat, quod totum nomen ipsum importat, ita quaelibet diuina persona, cum perfectus Deus sit, totam in se continet diuinitatem; nec diuinitas ipsa magis est in tribus personis simul quam sit in unaquaque, sed tota est in unaquaque et tota in tribus. Tres igitur huius nominis syllabae tres diuinas designant personas, quarum unaquaeque est uerus et perfectus Deus . . . . Et sicut tres huiusce nominis syllabae simul sumptae unum nomen efficiunt, ita tres personae diuinae sunt unus Deus. *Capnio.*—Quae sunt illa diuina nomina, quae ueteres Hebraeorum ex quatuor literis huius nominis componi asseruerunt? *Galatinus.*—Haec, sive יָהּ iah, הוּ hu, וְהוּ uehu.[63]

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[62] *De Arcanis*, fol. 50*b* f.

[63] Galatinus distorts the tradition for the sake of his interpretation; the third, as he himself says just below, must be וה. See also Petrus Alphonsi, quoted below, p. 162.

> Primum enim ex prima et secunda componitur litera, sive ex iod et he hoc modo יָהּ iah, quod idem est quod Deus et patrem designat, qui totius diuinitatis fons est. Secundum uero nomen ex secunda et tertia constat litera, sic הוּ hu, quod *ipse* interpretatur et filium significat . . . . Tertium denique nomen ex tertia et quarta constituitur litera, sive ex uau et he; sic וְהוּ vehu, et id totum sonat quod *et ipse*, et spiritum sanctum denotat . . . .

Galatinus remarks (fol. 51*a*) that ה is common to the first and second names, ו to the second and third; from which the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, the Son and the Spirit follows.

Raymundus Martini had remarked that there are but three different letters, יהו, in the Tetragrammaton, ה being repeated, a fact of which he first makes an application to the person of the Messiah:[64]

> Quando verò dicitur de Deo simpliciter, tunc, ut ait Magister Petrus Alphonsi, qui fuit in Hispania, priusquam fieret Christianus, magnus Rabinus apud Judaeos, tres literae priores hujus nominis, scilicet יהו, indicant in Deo hoc nomine vocato tres esse מדות, id est, proprietates à seipsis invicem differentes ex sua diversitate, quam habent tam in figura quam in nomine, ut praedictum est. Una verò earum quae repetitur et in fine nominis ponitur, quae est ה, et est prima in hoc nomine הויה Essentia, indicat trium מדות, id est, proprietatum vel personarum, unitatem Essentiae.

Petrus Alphonsi, to whom Raymundus refers, was baptized in 1106, in the forty-fourth year of his age. After his conversion he wrote a controversial Dialogue to refute the Jews and demonstrate the Christian faith.[65] The Jewish disputant in the Dialogue bears Petrus' own name before his baptism, Moses. In the chapter on the Trinity,[66] Petrus undertakes to prove, from the name יהוה itself, that there must be just three persons in the Trinity. I quote the whole passage in order that the dependence of Joachim upon it may appear more evidently.[67]

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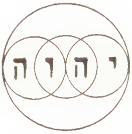
[64] *Pugio Fidei*, fol. 540, ed. Voisin.

[65] First printed in Cologne in 1536, under the (publisher's) title: *Dialogi lectu dignissimi, in quibus impiae Judaeorum opiniones . . . . confutantur*, etc. Reprinted (with a different title) in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (Lyons), XXI, 172 ff., and thence in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLVII, 535-672.

[66] Migne, 606 ff.

[67] Migne, 611. Voisin in his notes on the *Pugio* (fol. 556) quotes part of this paragraph

Trinitas quidem subtile quid est ineffabile, et ad explanandum difficile, de qua prophetae non nisi occulte locuti sunt et sub velamine, quoadusque venit Christus, qui de tribus una personis, fidelium illam mentibus pro eorum revelavit capacitate. Si tamen attendas subtilius, et illud Dei nomen, quod in Secretis Secretorum[68] explanatum invenitur, inspicias, יהוה, nomen inquam trium litterarum, quamvis quatuor figuris, una namque de illis geminata bis scribitur, si inquam illud inspicias, videbis quia idem nomen et unum sit et tria. Sed quod unum est, ad unitatem substantiae, quod vero tria, ad trinitatem respicit personarum. Constat autem nomen illud his quatuor figuris, י et ה et ו et ה, quarum si primam tantum conjunxeris et secundam, י scilicet et ה, erit sane nomen unum. Item si secundam et tertiam, ה scilicet et ו, jam habebis alterum. Similiter, si tertiam tantum copulaveris atque quartam, scilicet ו et ה, invenies et tertium. Rursus si omnes simul in ordine connexueris, non erit nisi nomen unum, sicut in ista patet geometrali figura



A comparison of this passage with that quoted above from Joachim's commentary on the Apocalypse proves that Joachim, in his speculations on the Tetragrammaton, is dependent (directly or indirectly) on Petrus Alphonsi: his IEVE is merely a transliteration of יהוה, the Latin E standing for *He*. That Joachim pronounced the name *Ieue*, with its constituents *Ie*, *eu*, *ue*, and exercised his phonetic ingenuity upon it, in no way militates against this origin. His other departures from Petrus' scheme are the consequence of the fact that his starting-point is the A and O of Apoc. 1:8; which leads him to dispose the syllables in a triangle (A), and then the whole name in a circle (O), instead of in intersecting circles within a circle. His insistence that in pronunciation the vocalic V blends with the preceding E and the following E (IE‿V‿E) is his substitute for Petrus' geometrical demonstration by intersecting circles.

The tradition of the "peritissimi Hebraeorum" to which Joachim appeals is not, therefore, as Delitzsch imagined, a traditional pronunciation, but a cabalistic combination of the letters of the written name, as, indeed, Galatinus and Petrus expressly say.

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[68] See below, p. 163.

Petrus Alphonsi cites specifically the *Secreta Secretorum* as a book in which the name יהוה is (cabalistically) explained.[69] This reference is of considerable interest on its own account. The Hebrew title was presumably סודי רזים or ס׳ הרזים, and the citation of this work in a writing of the early part of the twelfth century is an important datum in the intricate history of the "Raziel" literature.

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[69] Doubtless with permutations of the letters of יהוה, as in the *Sepher Yeṣirah.*

THE RHYTHMS OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS

WILLIAM R. ARNOLD

THE RHYTHMS OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS

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For over a hundred years, and most persistently during our own generation, efforts have been made to discover the principles underlying the versification of the ancient Hebrews. These attempts have for the most part confined themselves to a search for "meter" by means of mechanical experiments upon the poetry of the Old Testament, such as the counting of syllables, with or without the attribution to them of commensurate quantity, and the counting of words or word-accents.

In 1901, however, appeared the *Studien zur hebräischen Metrik* of Eduard Sievers. That eminent Germanic scholar, who had come into the land in response to a Macedonian appeal from the ranks of the Hebraists, began by insisting that the material limitations of verse are not imposed for their own sake, but to meet the demands of some definite rhythmic form which they aim to realize. Unless the meter discovered succeeds in effecting a rhythmical movement when the poetry is rendered in accordance with its rubrics, it can have no purposed existence, and is not worth discovering.

This was of course the fundamental (though in large measure unconsciously entertained) reason why all previous theories and systems of Hebrew meter had been rejected by so many Hebrew scholars. Students of the Old Testament, like other men, have no difficulty in recognizing rhythm when they meet it, however unable they may be to point out with exactness wherein the essence of it consists. The specific objection which Sievers formulated against the theory of Ley, for example, was implied, together with other objections which the former fails to perceive, in the general dissent of Ley's contemporaries.[1] Had the latter's system done anything to enhance the beauty of the language, it would have been accepted with alacrity, we may be sure. But such rhythm as the poetry of the Old Testament yielded when read with no conscious attempt at rhythmization, obviously did not proceed from the principles of Ley's system, since the latter was powerless to furnish a solvent for the difficulties of rhythmization which remained.

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[1] Nor did the objection lack formal statement. In an article which appeared in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* in the autumn of 1901, but which was in the hands of the editor, the late Professor Stade, in the summer of 1900, the present writer used these words (p. 229, note): "If the interval between beats coincide with that between word-accents, the poetry of the Old Testament cannot possibly be rendered without emasculating

This situation Sievers proceeded to remedy. He set himself to discover the rhythm of Hebrew poetry, and then to determine the meter upon the basis of the rhythm. What he has done *in form* is to posit as the rhythmic base of all Hebrew versification an "irrational anapaestic foot," composed of two unaccented syllables followed by one accented one, the three being of incommensurate individual, though of approximately fixed aggregate, duration. This base is represented by the formula $x\ x\ \acute{-}$. All Hebrew rhythm is irrational, its constitutive time-lengths being indefinite and incommensurate; and all Hebrew meters are multiples of this foot, $x\ x\ \acute{-}$, with its several modifications, $x\ \acute{-}$ or $\acute{-}$ by absorption, $x\ x\ \acute{\smile}\ x$ by resolution (in the body of the line), and $x\ x\ x\ \acute{-}$ or $x\ x\ x\ \acute{\smile}\ x$ by way of exception at the beginning of a line. What Sievers has done *in substance* is, *first*, to weaken the superficial objections to the metrical system of Ley by removing or altering those features of the Hebrew language which palpably interfere with the rendition of the poetry according to the measures of that system; and, *second*, to procure at any cost the accentuation of the final syllable of every clause. It is still mainly the number of accents that constitutes a line of Hebrew poetry. But one is no longer required to perform the physically impossible by pronouncing more than three unaccented syllables between two accented ones; and the verses are given a uniform accentual ending by unceremoniously conforming the few Hebrew words with penultimate to the many with ultimate accentuation. These elementary considerations—that two accented syllables can have no more than three unaccented syllables between them, and that

the language. . . . . It may be replied that the theory has nothing to do with any pulsatory accompaniment or with the measurement of intervals: it does not measure intervals, it counts accents. If so, the theory is empty. . . . . It takes five rhythmic units to make a pentameter."

the majority of Hebrew words are accented on the last syllable—which, as we shall see, have properly nothing to do with rhythm, practically determine for Sievers all questions of Hebrew rhythm and meter.

Though the projector of this system grows constantly more certain of his position, and has since the issuance of his first publication extended his so-called rhythms and meters to considerable sections of the historical narratives of the Old Testament, the general reception of his conclusions has been even less favorable than that which was accorded the theory of Ley. In fact, so little have his positive contributions commended themselves that even his negative criticisms of his predecessor, valid enough so far as they go, continue to be disregarded; and Ley still has adherents who count their "accents" and will have nothing to do with "feet."

Here again, I venture to affirm that the failure of Sievers' views to meet with general acceptance is due not so much to the penalties he levies upon the Hebrew language, grievous and unlawful as these penalties are—in this age of the making of all things new, a following is not refused upon so prosaic a ground as that. It is rather that, though his accents and syllables are marshaled in due order, the sound of his "rhythms" is intolerable to the ear of the trained Semitist, and no amount of argument or asseveration will serve to alter the matter. If it is true that meter does not exist for its own sake, it is just as true that rhythm never yet existed for its own sake. Quite apart from the specific mutilations of individual words, the mere fact that a certain way of reading the poetry of a language makes the general sound of it disagreeable to those who know it best, is enough to show that if such reading be a rhythmization, it is a rhythmization which the genius of the language will not endure. The rhythmization of poetry must give pleasure to those who understand the poetry. To quote the expressive New England phrase, "The proof of the pudding is in the eating."[2]

Fortunately, however, there is no need of employing generalizations in this matter. Whether or not Sievers is in error as to the proper reading of Hebrew poetry, is a question which will take care of itself, if it can be shown that he is egregiously in error in the matter of his presuppositions in the domain of rhythm. There is no such thing as irrational rhythm, and the essence of rational rhythm is not what Sievers holds it to be.

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[2] Nor has a rhythmization which appeals to the proper tribunal for judgment any need of transliterated texts—to the uninitiated, vanity, and to the initiated, the abomination of desolation.

In truth it is no discredit to Old Testament science that after the labor of all these years the question of the meter of Hebrew verse is still an open one. No question of meter can be settled satisfactorily without some idea of the rhythms which the measured composition aims to produce. When now, as with our own English and the other modern versifications, the modes of rhythmization and with them the incarnate rhythms are transmitted in concrete form from one generation to another, it becomes a matter of purely scientific interest to ascertain which elements in the composition are, and which are not, of the essence of the rhythm. Such indisputable, scientific information is notoriously lacking in the case of all our modern versifications. Nevertheless, neither verse nor rhythm will perish from the earth for the want of it. But when the stream of transmission has been cut off, and the task is to breathe a fitting rhythm into the corpse of other-world and strange-tongued measures which for ages have lain dead, it becomes of the first importance that we know exactly what it is that we propose to infuse, and by what right we assume the universality of the principles we invoke. The Greek meters, on the face of them, differ radically from our own. Are we to posit more in the way of necessary rhythmic presuppositions in the case of the Hebrew than is conceded in common by the ancient Greek and the modern English? Or, since both Greeks and English are Aryans, and the Hebrews Semites, should we posit less? These are questions which must be answered if the study of our problem is not to continue to consist of a series of disjointed leaps into the air.

For the facts of mathematics we are accustomed to turn with confidence and profit to the mathematicians, and for the facts of astronomy and biology to the astronomers and the biologists. But the musical theorists of the modern world have furnished us with nothing that can with any truth be described as a science of rhythm. The student of the Old Testament who would give adequate consideration to this subject must therefore apply himself to the fundamental investigation of matters which lie wholly outside of his special field. What is rhythm, and what are its laws?

On page 27 of Sievers' work, he says, "Die specifische Form dieser Bewegung [that is, of the motion in time through which the musical work of art is made manifest] heisst allgemein *Ablauf* oder *ῥυθμός*, *Rhythmus*, sofern sie *gesetzmässig* (und im Kunstwerk auch *wolfällig*) *geregelt* und *gegliedert* ist." But what are the laws which constitute it "gesetzmässig geregelt"? And what makes it "wolfällig"? And does *ῥυθμός* mean "rhythm" or "*a* rhythm"?—the distinction is important. Further, are the "Abschnitt, Reihe, Periode, Strophe," tabulated on p. 29, *rhythmic*, that is, elements of rhythm? or are they merely *rhythmical*, that is, characterized by rhythm? On p. 30 (following Saran) he enumerates as the factors of rhythm: "(1) die Zeitaufteilung nach gewissen festen Proportionen; (2) die Dynamik . . . . ; (3) das Tempo; (4) die Agogik . . . . ; (5) die Tonarticulation (legato, staccato, u. s. w.); (6) die tote Pause . . . . ; (7) die Melodie . . . . ; (8) der Text . . . . ; (9) das Euphonische des Textes, z. B. Reim, Alliteration u. dgl.," and continuing quotes with evident approval, "Nur das Zusammenwirken aller oder doch der meisten dieser Factoren erzeugt den Rhythmus." Are these items properly co-ordinated? Is "Zeitaufteilung" effected otherwise than through some such agency as dynamic, melody, or text? And if not, are these last intrinsically factors of rhythm or only in so far as they are employed to effectuate divisions of time? On p. 31 Sievers affirms on his own responsibility that "*Zeitaufteilung* und *Stärkeabstufung*" may be considered "die eigentlichen *constitutiven Factoren* des Rhythmus." Does he mean by "constitutive factors" that they suffice to produce rhythm, or that they constitute rhythm? Is he operating with one concept when he needs two? Or is the thing produced merely a subjective state, so that by the same means one rhythm may be produced in my mind and another in the mind of my fellow? And just how much "Stärkeabstufung" must there be before one experiences the sense of rhythm? Or does the degree demanded vary with different individuals?

Recourse to standard works of reference on musical theory and terminology is equally profitless. One or two quotations which lend themselves to our purpose will suffice to exhibit the prevailing vagueness and confusion.

> *Rhythme.* Ce mot, d'origine grecque, dans son acception générale signifie nombre, cadence, mesure. En musique il désigne les rapports et la proportion qu'ont entre elles les parties d'un tout; la liaison, la succession des pensées qui s'enchaînent dans une composition musicale d'une certaine étendue; et enfin la différence du mouvement qui résulte de la vitesse ou de la lenteur conformément auxquelles un morceau doit être exécutée.[3]
>
> *Rhythm.*—This much-used and many-sided term may be defined as "the systematic grouping of notes with regard to duration." It is often inaccurately employed as a synonym for its two subdivisions, ACCENT and TIME, and in its proper signification bears the same relation to these that *metre* bears to *quantity* in poetry. The confusion which has arisen in the employment of these terms is unfortunate, though so frequent that it would appear to be natural, and therefore almost inevitable. Take a number of notes of equal length, and give an emphasis to every second, third, or fourth: the music will be said to be in "rhythm" of two, three, or four — meaning in *time.* Now take a number of these groups or bars and emphasize them in the same way as their subdivisions: the same term will still be employed, and rightly so. Again, instead of notes of equal length, let each group consist of unequal notes, but similarly arranged . . . . the form of these groups also is spoken of as the "prevailing rhythm," though here *accent* is the only correct expression. Thus we see that the proper distinction of these three terms is as follows: *Accent* arranges a heterogeneous mass of notes into long and short; *Time* divides them into groups of equal duration; *Rhythm* does for these groups what accent does for notes. In short, Rhythm is the Metre of Music.[4]
>
> *Rhythmik* ist die Lehre von den durch die verschiedene Dauer der Töne (Länge und Kürze) entstehenden Kunstwirkungen; sie ist daher wohl zu unterscheiden von der *Metrik*, welche das verschiedene *Gewicht* der Töne zum Objekt hat. . . . . Die beiden grundlegenden Probleme der Rhythmik sind die *rhythmische Qualität*, d. h. die relative und absolute Dauer der einzelnen Töne, und die *metrische Qualität*, das verschiedene Gewicht der unterschiedenen Zeitteile.[5]

[3] Soullier, *Dictionnaire de musique*, Paris, 1878.

[4] Frederick Corder in Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. III, 1883. The new edition by Maitland, now being published, has not reached the word "Rhythm."

[5] Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon*, 6th ed., 1905, pp. 1092, 852. This is the nearest this authority comes to a definition of rhythm.

> *Rhythm.*—(1) The measured movement of similar tone-groups; i. e., the effect produced by the systematic grouping of tones with reference to regularity both in their accentuation and in their succession as equal or unequal in time value. *A* rhythm is, therefore, a tone-group serving as a pattern for succeeding groups identical with it as regards the accentuation and duration of the tones. . . . . *Time*, on the other hand, is the division of each measure into equal fractional parts of a whole note, corresponding (at least in the simple times) to the same number of regular beats to the measure; with which regular beats the pulsations of the rhythm are by no means required to coincide.—It must be added, however, that the above definitions are not universally accepted, and that great confusion prevails in this department of English musical terminology, as in others; they are given simply as valid for this Dictionary.—(2) Rhythm, in a wider sense, is the accentuation marking and defining *broader musical divisions* in the flow and sweep of a composition *by special emphasis at the entrance or culminating points of motives, themes, phrases, passages, sections*, etc.[6]

It is apparent that we must be forgiven for not knowing exactly what to seek in the poetry of the Old Testament.

Happily the darkness is not complete. That which modern theory has failed to achieve was attained in ancient times by the foremost musical analyst of the Hellenic world, Aristoxenus of Tarentum, *ὁ μουσικός, κατ' ἐξοχήν*, an associate of Aristotle in the Lyceum at Athens. What Aristotle accomplished in the domain of logic, Aristoxenus wrought in the domain of rhythm. He formulated its basic principles, and created the concepts which are indispensable to the operations of scientific investigation. If his doctrine failed to be transmitted in its purity by the later Greek theory, it was due in part to the decline of Greek music, and in larger part to the supremacy of the metricists, baneful in any event, but doubly so when coinciding with the changing pronunciation of Greek (which the epigones did not realize) and the confusion arising from the continued employment of illustrations which had ceased to illustrate. Yet even so, the later writings contain, wedged in with monstrosities of the age of the decay, sections with the unmistakable stamp of Aristoxenic origin.

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[6] Baker, *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 7th ed., New York, 1903. The reader may compare such current definitions as that of the *Century Dictionary*, or of the article on rhythm in the recently published *New International Encyclopaedia*, which inclines to the view that "rhythm is a kind of emotion."

Of Aristoxenus' systematic treatise on rhythm only fragments have come down to us. These are meagerly supplemented by passages in his *Harmonics* bearing upon the subject, and by more or less extensive citation in the works of later authors.[7] Such as they are, however, the remains suffice to mark out with certainty and clearness the main lines of the science of rhythm.

The writer who in recent times has devoted most study to the rhythmics of Aristoxenus and who, in consequence, is commonly cited as the authority upon the subject, is Rudolph Westphal. The opening words of one of the latter's prefaces tell us

> Dreissig Jahre lang (nach Herodot's Rechnung fast ein Menschenalter) bin ich dem Aristoxenus kaum auf Wochen untreu geworden. Meine schönsten Stunden habe ich im Verkehre mit ihm verlebt. . . . . Es war mir verstattet, den Rhythmus Bach's und unserer übrigen grossen Meister eingehend zu studieren, und an ihm die nötige Parallele für die rhythmische Doctrin des Aristoxenus zu gewinnen. Es ist mir jetzt, als ob mir Versöhnung zu Theil geworden: als ob wenigstens die Manen des alten Tarentiners nicht mehr zürnten; als ob sie, die wie früher die seines Landmanns Archytas lange auf Erden keine Ruhe finden konnten, zum endlichen Frieden gelangt seien.

Though many of his incidental opinions and one of his far-reaching conclusions have been seriously questioned by his colleagues in the classics, it is the general custom to accept gratefully and enthusiastically with Sievers (p. 26) "Westphal's glänzende Neubelebung der Lehren des alten Tarentiners Aristoxenos."

Now the plain fact is that it would be hard to imagine a more pernicious combination of misplaced erudition and impenetrable stupidity than is exhibited in the voluminous writings which Westphal devoted to the elucidation of the rhythmics of Aristoxenus. Had Westphal interpreted correctly the elementary propositions of Aristoxenus, we should not now be asking whether rhythm is an array of accents or a species of emotion; and the ponderous dissertation of Sievers, together with much else in other fields, would have remained unwritten. Westphal failed to grasp the fundamental distinction between *ὁ ῥυθμός* (rhythm) and *ῥυθμός* (*a* rhythm); between *ῥυθμός* and *ῥυθμοποιία*; between *χρόνος ποδικός* and *χρόνος τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας ἴδιος*. He wrongly identified the *πούς* of Aristoxenus with the "Takt" or *measure* of modern music, from which it differs radically both in compass and in function; and the *χρόνος πρῶτος* with the *time-unit* of the modern measure. He attributed to Aristoxenus the doctrine of "irrational rhythm," the existence of which that authority not only does not affirm or imply, but expressly denies. He cluttered the discussion with "accents," of which Aristoxenus says not a word; and drew distinctions between "schwerer" and "leichter Takttheil," which are as foreign to the thought of Aristoxenus as is the "Takt" itself. And time and again he emended his text when it stubbornly refused to lend itself to his misrepresentations. Nor is Aristoxenus at all at fault in this matter. Fragmentary as are the writings, they display such unsurpassed precision and lucidity of statement that he who runs may read—if he be not looking in the other direction.[8]

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[7] To the texts published in Westphal's *Aristoxenus von Tarent Melik und Rhythmik*, Vol. II, should be added the contents of a papyrus discovered a few years ago: Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part I (1898), No. IX, which are unquestionably from the pen of Aristoxenus, though probably belonging to a special treatise on meter rather than to the rhythmics

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[8] For an appreciation of Aristoxenus' style, see Westphal, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. xxxiv. This author must at least be given the credit of having recognized the great importance of Aristoxenus for the study of rhythm; especially in such passages as Vol. I, p. xxxiii, Vol. II, p. clvi. On the other hand, J. H. Heinrich Schmidt, whom the gods having sentenced to destruction made mad, declares (*Kunstformen der griechischen Poesie*, Vol. II [1869], p. 17): "Philosophische Köpfe suchen den Kategorien, welche sie sich gebildet haben, die Facta möglichst anzupassen; weit davon entfernt, durch liebevolles Eingehen in den Gegenstand selbst ihn aus sich zu erkennen und anderen so zu erschliessen, suchen sie nur die Belege für ihre eigenen Ideen—und finden sie mit Leichtigkeit. Dieser Richtung gehören die alten Rhythmiker an, Aristoxenus an der Spitze. Ueber allgemeine Grundsätze kommt er eben so wenig in seiner Rhythmik, als in seiner Harmonielehre hinweg."

Macran (*The Harmonics of Aristoxenus*, Oxford, 1902, p. 87) tempers his praise of Aristoxenus with mention of "his petty parade of logical thoroughness, his triumphant vindication of the obvious by chains of syllogisms." If justification of Aristoxenus' circumstantiality in this perplexing field were needed, it might be found in Macran's own book, p. 233 of which has this note: "As the monotone of declamation is a license of speech, so is the *tremolo* a license of music; and the use of either, if not justified by the presence of an exceptional emotion, is a sin against nature." Which shows that Macran has not yet learned from Aristoxenus to distinguish, *first*, between what the former calls the "monotone" of declamation, which is not a monotone but a movement within too limited a compass in the domain of pitch, and the monotones of declamation which are really such; and, *second*, between a *glide* (in the domain of pitch) of which Aristoxenus has been speaking, and a *tremolo* (in the domain of time) of which he has said nothing. How invaluable formal syllogisms may prove in clearing the air of current misconceptions is well illustrated by the argument of Sidney Lanier to show that rhythm cannot possibly depend upon anything but duration of time (*Science of English Verse*, pp. 65 f. note). Had Lanier subjected to the same merciless test his other fundamental—but totally erroneous—proposition, that "every series of English sounds, whether prose or verse, suggests to the ear exact co-ordinations with reference to duration" (p. 62), his studies would have had permanent value.

With the single exception of that regarding the *χρόνος πρῶτος*, all the above-mentioned

In the following paragraphs I will attempt to set forth as briefly as possible what I understand to be the the true Aristoxenic theory of rhythm, first asking the kind indulgence of the reader in the words of our authority:

> *δεῖ δ᾽ ἕκαστον τούτων εὖ πως ἐκλαμβάνειν πειρᾶσθαι τὸν ἀκούοντα μὴ παρατηροῦντα τὸν ἀποδιδόμενον λόγον ἑκάστου αὐτῶν εἴτ᾽ ἐστὶν ἀκριβὴς εἴτε καὶ τυπωδέστερος, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν συμπροθυμούμενον κατανοῆσαι καὶ τότε οἰόμενον ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ καταμαθεῖν, ὅταν ἐμβιβάσαι οἷός τε γένηται ὁ λόγος εἰς τὸ συνιέναι τὸ λεγόμενον.*[9]

Rhythm in the abstract (*ὁ ῥυθμός*)—employing the word in the same way that we speak of "tone" or "color"—is *harmonized time.*

As in the case of sound two distinct tones must be combined to produce harmony, so in the case of time two distinct periods of time must be combined to produce rhythm. A combination of two such distinct periods of time is a *foot* (*πούς*). Or, since the two periods of time must necessarily be contiguous, we may say that a foot consists of a period of time divided into two distinct parts. A foot, it is apparent, if this definition is correct, can under no circumstances consist of a single, undivided period of time (*ἐξ ἑνὸς δὲ χρόνου πους οὐκ ἂν εἴη*). There is no such thing as "syncope" in rhythm.[10]

errors of Westphal are reproduced in the recent elaborate treatise on the rhythmics of Aristoxenus by Louis Laloy, *Aristoxène de Tarente et la musique de l'antiquité*, Paris, 1904. Indeed, Westphal's heresies may be said to have brought forth their perfect fruit in this latest work; for Laloy declares that while the fugues of Bach and the sonatas of Beethoven have gained a better interpretation, "ce sont plutôt les textes des poètes anciens qui ne s'expliquent pas très bien dans le système rythmique d'Aristoxène," and concludes, "Il semble donc qu'il lui soit arrivé de dépasser son époque, et de parler pour l'avenir" (pp. 286 f.). The Oxyrhynchus papyrus, discovered since Westphal's day, Laloy first frightfully misinterprets, and then condemns: "Cet ouvrage n'a rien de commun avec les *Eléments rythmiques:* on y rencontre un vocabulaire différent et sans doute antérieur. C'était un livre sans grandes prétentions scientifiques, où l'on constatait plutôt que l'on n'expliquait; il date d'une époque où Aristoxène n'avait pas encore conçu l'idée d'une science rythmique" (p. 319; cf. pp. 41, 331 ff., and *s. v. περιέχειν* in the "lexique" at the end of the volume). The fact is that the papyrus everywhere assumes a thorough acquaintance with the technical terminology expounded in the rhythmics, without which neither head nor tail can be made of its fragments.—And all this notwithstanding Aristoxenus' style is "d'une aveuglante clarté" (p. 42).

[9] *Harmonics*, Macran, p. 108.

[10] The word *ξυνζυγία* in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, col. iii, as in the *Harmonics* (Macran, p. 125), means *a section consisting of two feet*, not "the union of the two usual *χρόνοι ποδικοί* into one, a *μονόχρονον*," as Goodell, *Chapters on Greek Metric*, p. 195, following Grenfell and Hunt, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

Again, as in the case of sound not every combination of two tones constitutes a concord, so in the case of time not every combination of two times (or division of one time into two) constitutes a rhythm. In the domain of pitch certain ratios exist between the sets of vibrations producing two concordant sounds: one vibration to one vibration produces the concord of the prime; 1:2, the concord of the octave; 2:3, the concord of the fifth; 3:4, the concord of the fourth; 4:5, the (imperfect) concord of the third; etc. So—and the comparison is of course merely by way of illustration—in the domain of time, to constitute a rhythm a certain quantitative ratio must exist between the two parts of the foot. Nor will mere ratio answer the purpose in the latter case any more than in the former. For, obviously, if we reduce the common divisor sufficiently, approaching the infinitesimal if necessary, the relation of any two periods of time is rendered rational. But more than this, a ratio between two time-lengths may be clearly perceived to exist (through computation in time-units, as for example $1+1+1+1:1$) and yet no rhythm be present. Only certain specific time-ratios, which are experimentally ascertained, give pleasure and satisfaction to the human sense. Not merely, therefore, is there no such thing as "irrational rhythm," but by no means all rationally divided times constitute rhythms.[11]

A rhythm (ῥυθμός) may accordingly be defined as a period of time divided into two parts (no matter by what means the three limits are marked, and whether each part is in itself continuous or discrete) which sustain to each other a quantitative ratio satisfying to the human sense of harmony in time.

In a wider and somewhat looser sense, we may speak of *a rhythm* as consisting of successive repetitions of the same individual rhythm. Thus let the numeral 2 represent a period of time twice the length of another period represented by the numeral 1, and assume that the ratio 2:1 is rhythmical: the foot 2:1 will constitute a rhythm; and we may employ the term also to designate a succession of such identical feet, 2:1, 2:1, 2:1, 2:1, 2:1. Except, however, in these two senses, the use of the expression "*a* rhythm" is illegitimate and misleading.

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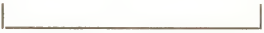
[11] It is almost superfluous to point out in this connection that facts which require instruments for their discernment have no place in the study of rhythm.

The question then arises, What are the rhythmical ratios? Now, just as certain combinations of two sounds are immediately and independently harmonious, whereas others only become so through resolution; so, in the domain of time, certain foot-divisions are independently rhythmical, whereas others are such only when occurring in subordination to the independent rhythms.

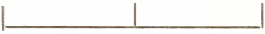
Let the diagram *A* represent any period of time with marked beginning and end.

A

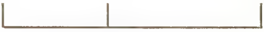


Then let the figures *B*, *C*, and *D* represent various divisions of that time into two parts.

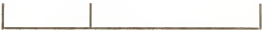
B



C



D



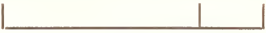
Though the diagrams exhibit dimensions of space, and we must guard against the mistake of confusing symmetry in space with rhythm in time, the reader will have surmised that the ratios represented in the above divisions, which are both easily apprehended and pleasing, are such as yield rhythms in time. They are the simple ratios, 1:1, $1:1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2:3, and 1:2. These are the only ratios which according to Aristoxenus are independently rhythmical.

It must be emphasized in passing that it is an error to suppose that the sense apprehends the proportions of these rhythms by computation, through some such process as mental "beating time," and that that apprehension constitutes the foot rhythmical. On the contrary, it employs directly the very faculty which enables us to beat time. For let the reader ask himself how the musician knows when to come in with his "three" when beating "one, two, three." The ratios 1:2 and 2:3 are determined as directly as is that of 1:1. But the faculty may be employed for different purposes; as the command of the interval of the fifth may be used to produce a concord or to measure off successive fifths. Beating time, 1+1+1+1+1+1 . . . . , differs from the rhythm 1:1, 1:1, 1:1, in precisely the same way that a progression 1+2+4+

8+16+32 . . . . differs from the rhythm 1:2, 1:2, 1:2. Beating time is a mechanical device for insuring the correct reading of a musical composition that is graphically described in a network of equal time-units. The boy on the street, who proceeds to whistle the air with all the rhythm it contains, neither hears nor knows the time-beats. And the musician himself has no difficulty in subdividing the time-unit into definite proportions without marking subordinate time.[12]

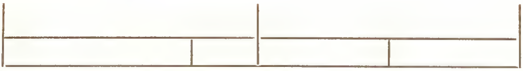
Now let the diagram *E* represent another division of the time-period *A*.

E



Here the ratio will not be immediately evident, and even when it has been indirectly ascertained, it does not, if the foot stand alone, satisfy the sense of proportion. But let this foot be assigned a definite period of time, absolutely determined by the proportions of a larger foot, as in the diagram *F*,

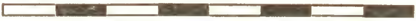
F



and we take pleasure in the ratio 3:1.

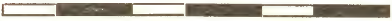
There are, then, certain ratios which are immediately and independently rhythmical (ἔνρυθμοι), and there are others which are only made so by "resolution." The feet exhibiting the former ratios may be employed continuously (συνεχῶς) in a rhythmical composition; those exhibiting the latter can be employed only sporadically and subordinately. Thus the diagrams *G*, *H*, and *I* represent rhythms:

G



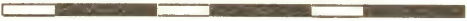
Foot 1:1

H



Foot 2:3

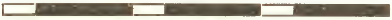
I



Foot 1:2

whereas the diagram J does not:

J



Foot 1:3

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[12] The other purpose which beating-time serves, namely, that of keeping a number of performers in the *tempo* desired, has nothing to do with proportions of time.

It should be added with regard to the former, that each foot in the several rhythms *G*, *H*, *I*, is entirely independent of its neighbors. No two feet need equal each other in time. The *tempo* may be changed with the beginning of every foot, and the rhythm will not be affected in the least. But the *tempo* cannot be changed in the middle of a foot without destroying or altering the rhythm. In fact, this is the surest method of determining what really constitutes the rhythmic base of a composition.

Allowing for the different sequence of parts, and bearing in mind that the numerals represent proportions and not discrete quantities, the independently rhythmical feet are seen to be time-periods divided into two parts as follows:

1:1 dactylic foot
2:3 paeonic *a minore*
3:2 paeonic *a majore*
1:2 iambic *a minore*
2:1 iambic *a majore*[13]

Thus far we have said nothing of the means whereby time-divisions are effected. Though the rhythm consists of the divided time, time cannot divide itself (*ὁ μὲν χρόνος αὐτὸς αὑτὸν οὐ τέμνει*). The division must be effected by means of some phenomenon occurring in time. Nevertheless, since any phenomenon whatsoever that can divide time distinctly can be employed to produce rhythm, we do well not to introduce the phenomenal agent into our definition of rhythm. To mention music, or language, or dancing, or steps, or notes, or accents, in a definition of rhythm, would be as grave a fault as the introduction of the pianoforte or the violin or the human voice into a definition of harmony.

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[13] That the rhythmic *foot* is in principle something wholly different from the *measure* of modern music, will be immediately evident when it is pointed out that a continuous paeonic rhythm is not insured by composing in "$\frac{5}{4}$ time," any more than a continuous iambic rhythm is insured by composing in "$\frac{3}{4}$ time." The continuous rhythms of most modern compositions written in $\frac{3}{4}$ time are dactylic, not iambic. So $\frac{5}{4}$ time may yield a continuous rhythm that is only dactylic, 5:5. For continuous paeonic rhythm, measures of $\frac{2}{x}$ time must be regularly paired with measures of $\frac{3}{x}$ time. In other words, there must invariably be a diaeresis after the second as well as after the fifth of every five time-units throughout the composition; or else invariably a diaeresis after the third and fifth of every five time-units throughout the composition.

The division of time by means of phenomena may occur in one of two ways: (1) The phenomenon may have measurable duration (ἠρεμία), in which case the beginning and the end of the phenomenon divide time at two points and determine a definite time-period. Or (2)—and here we are on ground not covered, but only faintly alluded to, in the extant writings of Aristoxenus—the phenomenon may be instantaneous, in which case it divides time at one point only and determines one boundary of a time-period. In the first case, it is the *duration* of the phenomenon that measures the time; in the second case, it is the *interval* between one phenomenon and the next that measures the time. The notes of an organ are phenomena of the first kind. The beats of a drum are phenomena of the second kind.[14] The ordinary performance upon the pianoforte combines both species of phenomena.

In actual practice there is little difference in the rhythmic capacity of the two classes of phenomena. For the end of one measurable phenomenon is treated as synchronous with the beginning of the next, while the time which actually elapses between one phenomenon and the next is neglected, as *χρόνος ἄγνωστος διὰ σμικρότητα*. On the other hand, each instantaneous phenomenon after the first serves at once to close one interval and to open the next. It should be observed, however, that in producing rhythm by instantaneous phenomena, since each succeeding phenomenon is interpreted (like the first) as introducing a time-interval, the close of a final time-period must be left to the imagination.

The two methods of marking time-periods may accordingly be represented as follows:

By measurable phenomena, ——— ——— ———
By instantaneous phenomena, | | | ⋮

The act of dividing time by means of phenomena into proportions constituting rhythm is *rhythmopoiia* (ἡ ῥυθμοποιία). A specific division of time into such proportions is *a rhythmopoiia*

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[14] That the reverberations of a drum-beat may continue for an appreciable length of time is irrelevant to the point in hand: it is the *instant* of *loudest* (*N. B.*, not an indeterminate period of *louder*) sound that effects the rhythmic division.

(ῥυθμοποιία), and the result of it is *a rhythmopoietic scheme* (σχῆμα τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας).

We have seen that there are certain divisions of time which every rhythmopoiia must necessarily effect. They are the divisions which yield the whole foot and its two component parts. The time-periods thus delimited are the χρόνοι ποδικοί of Aristoxenus. For a given rhythm the determinate χρόνοι ποδικοί are essential and unchangeable. Thus let 3:2, 3:2, 3:2 represent a three-foot paeonic rhythm; the time represented by each numeral is a *chronos podikos* and must be kept distinct.

On the other hand, there is no reason why, within the strictly observed boundaries of the individual chronos podikos, supplementary divisions should not be made. Thus the rhythmopoiia will establish the proportions of the paeonic foot quite as well by the four quantities $1+1+1:2$ as by the two quantities 3:2. But—and this is a point of the utmost importance—such subdivision of a chronos podikos has not the least effect upon the rhythm of the foot to which it belongs. That particular rhythm knows only the time-value of the chronos podikos represented by the numeral 3. The three commensurate parts into which the rhythmopoiia has divided it are not functions of the foot, but *time-divisions peculiar to the rhythmopoiia* (χρόνοι τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας ἴδιοι). The rhythmopoiia may divide the chronos podikos into (or may construct it of) any number of separate time-lengths, if only these are all palpably commensurate and together yield one of the time-values demanded by the rhythm.

It is apparent, therefore, that we may have varying rhythmopoiiai for the same rhythm. Thus the rhythm 3:2 may be effected by division of time through the rhythmopoiia in any one of the following ways: $3:2$, $3:1+1$, $1+1+1:2$, $2+1:2$, $1+2:2$, $1+1+1:1+1$, $2+1:1+1$, $1+2:1+1$. All these are but different schemes (σχήματα) of the same foot, yielding the same rhythm. Nor need the rhythmopoiia stop here. Subject only to the limitations of the human perception, it may continue to subdivide the chronoi podikoi (or, what amounts to the same thing, to expand the foot) indefinitely; for example, $\frac{2}{3}+\frac{1}{3}+\frac{1}{3}+\frac{2}{3}+\frac{2}{3}+\frac{1}{3} : 1+\frac{1}{3}+\frac{2}{3} = 2+1+1+2+2+1 : 3+1+2$. For, strictly speaking, a foot has absolute magnitude as little as has a rhythm; though for practical purposes we distinguish between feet of similar rhythm but varying magnitudes.

The *smallest perceptibly definite quantity of time* that can be employed in the rhythmopoiia of any foot (whether as an independent chronos podikos or as the fraction of one) is called by Aristoxenus the *χρόνος πρῶτος*. Of course such a quantity will be palpably rational of necessity only as regards the *πούς ἐν ᾧ τέτακται*.

A chronos podikos subdivided into *χρόνοι τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας ἴδιοι* is *χρόνος σύνθετος*, *a composite* or *discrete time;* one that is not so divided is *χρόνος ἀσύνθετος*, *a simple* or *continuous time*. The *χρόνος σύνθετος* is to be sharply distinguished from the *πούς σύνθετος*, which will presently be defined.

This brings us to the subject of *complex rhythm*. A *χρόνος σύνθετος* or *composite time* may be constituted in either one of two ways. It may be composed of simple *times* (*χρόνοι*); or it may be composed of the chronoi podikoi of one or more *subordinate feet*. Thus let 5:5 represent a dactylic foot. The rhythmopoiia might give us 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1:5. Here the second chronos podikos is continuous (*ἀσύνθετος*), while the first is composed of simple, equal but rhythmless, times. But the rhythmopoiia might also render the foot (2:3):5. Here the first (dactylic) chronos podikos consists of a subordinate paeonic foot, and we have a rhythm within a rhythm. The process might be continued, as in (2:[2:1]):5; where R (the superior rhythm) is 1:1, dactylic; r_1 (the primary subordinate rhythm) is 2:3, paeonic; and r_2 (the secondary subordinate rhythm) is 2:1, iambic.[15]

When each chronos podikos of a foot is resolved into one or more subordinate rhythms, the foot is *compound* (*πούς σύνθετος*). A point to be emphasized is, that just as one chronos podikos of a foot may be composite while the other is not, so one chronos podikos or fraction thereof may be resolved into one species of rhythm, and another into another species. In other words, it is by no means necessary that the subordinate rhythms of one and the same rhythmic stratum should be identical; in fact, unless they belong to the independent class (see above, p. 178) they must needs vary. So the rhythmopoiia of a dactylic foot might compound it thus, $(3:1):(2:1+1)$. Here R is $1:1$, and r is first $3:1$ and then $1:1$. This fact alone indicates that the only safe method in the analysis of rhythm is to proceed from the top down, and not, as is the custom in Greek metrics, from the bottom up.

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[15] Whether a composite time consists of simple equal times or of subordinate chronoi podikoi, is sometimes difficult to determine. Whereas in the case of the continuous independent rhythm 2:1, 2:1, 2:1, for example, the scheme 1 – 1 – 1 will perforce be interpreted 1 + 1:1; when the question is one of subordinate (and so not necessarily continuous) rhythm, the quantity will be interpreted 1 + 1 + 1 in the absence of several parallel sections furnishing the cue for the rhythm 2:1 or 1:2. A composite time 1 + 1 is of course not to be distinguished from 1:1.

We may go farther and affirm that the various subordinate rhythms need not even exhibit a common divisor. A dactylic foot $a:a$, for example, may have its first chronos podikos subdivided so as to form a dactylic rhythm, and its second so as to form an iambic rhythm, $(\frac{1}{2}a:\frac{1}{2}a):(\frac{1}{3}a:\frac{2}{3}a)$. The reader may convince himself by the simplest experiment that he has no difficulty in dividing automatically, and without beating "$\frac{12}{16}$ Takt," one of two equal time-units into dactylic and the other into iambic proportions. This perfectly rational compound foot is common in the *trimeter* of Greek drama, where no end of trouble has arisen from the erroneous assumption of an iambic base, whereas the real rhythmic base is dactylic, though with prevailingly iambic subordinate rhythm.[16]

We have described the subdivisions of the chronos podikos, which Aristoxenus affirms are not functions of the foot but time-divisions peculiar to the rhythmopoiia. We omitted to say, however, that those subdivisions are not the only *χρόνοι τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας ἴδιοι*. Corresponding to those time-divisions which are *fractions* of the rhythmic quantum (the chronos podikos), there are other time-divisions which are *multiples* of the rhythmic quantum (the foot). A *χρόνος τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας ἴδιος* of the former class is said to depart from the rhythmic quantum *ἐπὶ τὸ μικρόν*. One of the latter class is said to depart from it *ἐπὶ τὸ μέγα*. We have Aristoxenic terms for two such *χρόνοι τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας ἴδιοι παραλλάσσοντες τὰ τῶν χρόνων ποδικῶν μεγέθη ἐπὶ τὸ μέγα*. A section of rhythmopoiia which embraces *two feet* of the same rhythm is a *ξυνζυγία*. One that embraces *three* (or more) *feet* of the same rhythm is a *περίοδος*. So in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, col. iii, the two dactylic feet—the feet are the times, not the text—

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[16] The hopeless difficulty into which one falls regarding the simplest matters when analyzing rhythm wrong end foremost, is well illustrated by a note of Goodell's, *loc. cit.*, p. 146, "How we are to explain the apparent discrepancy between this statement [that the dactyl might not exceed in magnitude sixteen χρόνοι πρῶτοι] and the unquestionable occurrence of dactylic pentapodies I do not yet know," quoting the familiar refrain of the Agamemnon,

αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

The explanation is most simple. The quantity is not a dactyl, but a compound paeon, which might have the magnitude of twenty-five χρόνοι πρῶτοι.

$$\overset{2}{\text{βα}}\overset{1}{\text{τε}}\ \ \overset{2}{\text{βα}}\overset{1}{\text{τε}}\ \ \overset{2}{\text{κει}}\overset{1}{\text{θεν}}\ \ \overset{3}{\text{αι}}$$

constitute a *ξυνζυγία*. The quantity $\overset{2}{\text{βα}}\overset{1}{\text{τε}}\ \overset{2}{\text{βα}}\overset{1}{\text{τε}}\ \overset{2}{\text{κει}}\overset{1}{\text{θεν}}$ would be a *περίοδος* if it were the actual rhythmopoietic section—which it is not, for that would leave a rhythmless *monochronon* hanging loose; wherefore Aristoxenus speaks of it as *περιοδῶδές τι*.[17]

The end of a syzygy or period may be evidenced by some peculiarity in the rhythmopoietic scheme of the closing foot; for example:

Two syzygies: (2:1):(2:1), (2:1):3, (2:1):(2:1), (1 + 1:1):3
Two periods: 2:1 + 1, 2:1 + 1, 2:2, 2:1 + 1, 2:1 + 1, 2:1 + 1, 2:2

or it may be indicated by the mere suspension or cessation of the rhythmopoiia:[18]

Two syzygies: 1 + 1:2, 1 + 1:2 . . . . 1 + 1:2, 1 + 1:2 . . . .
Two periods: 1:2, 1:2, 1:2 . . . . 1:2, 1:2, 1:2 . . . .

We must be careful not to mistake such a quantity as (2:1 + 1) + (2:1 + 1):4[19] for a period; for its final time is no kind of a foot, but a mere *χρόνος ποδικὸς ἀσύνθετος*. The whole quantity is an iambic foot, with one of its chronoi podikoi resolved into subordinate, dactylic rhythms.

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[17] Grenfell and Hunt (*loc. cit.*, p. 18), assisted by Blass, quantify

$$\overset{3}{\text{βα}}\overset{1}{\text{τε}}\ \ \overset{2}{\text{βα}}\overset{1}{\text{τε}}\ \ \overset{2}{\text{κει}}\overset{1}{\text{θεν}}\ \ \overset{2}{\text{αι}}$$

which gives one monochronon and three *iambi*, although Aristoxenus expressly adduces this example to prove *τὸ μονόχρονον οἰκειότερον τοῦ τροχαϊκοῦ* !

[18] Suspension of rhythmopoiia should not be confused with "enrhythmic pause," which is suspension of a particular rhythmizomenon, while the rhythmopoiia continues without intermission.

[19] Rendered, for example, by half a so-called "elegiac pentameter."

The rhythmical arts of ancient Greece were three: *melody*, *poetry*, and *the dance*. According to Aristoxenus, the first employed, as the phenomena of rhythmopoiia, *tones* (φθόγγοι) *of measurable duration;* the second employed *syllables* (ξυλλαβαί) *of measurable duration;* and the third employed *poses* (σχήματα)[20] *of measurable duration.* Tones, syllables, or poses, arranged and timed so as to yield rhythm, were said to *be rhythmized* (ῥυθμίζεσθαι), and the act of so arranging and timing them was called *rhythmization* (τὸ ῥυθμίζειν). A series of tones, syllables, or poses, employed to effect rhythm, was spoken of collectively as *the rhythmizomenon* (τὸ ῥυθμιζόμενον). Language considered merely as matter for rhythmization Aristoxenus called *lexis* (ἡ λέξις); and any specific quantity of it, *a lexis* (λέξις).

Rhythmization as a concept must be clearly distinguished from *rhythmopoiia*, however completely the two processes may appear to coincide in a certain concrete action. Rhythmization has regard to the molding of a given material or the disposition of its parts so as to meet the requirements of a certain form. Rhythmization must always reckon with the character of the material, and must stop short of any procedure that tends to obscure or destroy that character. Rhythmopoiia, on the other hand, has regard solely to the determination and realization of the form, by whatever means.

From the elements of the dance were derived the terms employed by Aristoxenus to designate each of the two parts of the rhythmic foot, as well as the term "foot" itself, and doubtless also the terms "syzygy" and "period."

In each pose (σχῆμα) of the dance, the foot—which foot, is immaterial—was either *held on the ground* or *held suspended* in the air. The position of the foot during the duration of the pose was called the σημεῖον, that is, the *mark* or *index* of the pose. The semeion which consisted of the *uplifted* foot was the ἄρσις; that which consisted of the *resting* or *treading* foot was the βάσις. Neither in the terminology of the dance, nor in the derived terminology of rhythmical science in general, did the terms "arsis" and "basis" refer to the act of *lifting* or *lowering* the foot. The times consumed in such transition from one position of the foot to the other were disregarded, as mere *bounds* of the rhythmic time-lengths (*ὥσπερ ὅροι τινὲς ὄντες τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἠρεμιῶν κατεχομένων χρόνων*).

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[20] It need not be pointed out that this is an altogether different application of the word σχῆμα from that we noticed above in the phrase σχῆμα τῆς ῥυθμοποιιας.

Because the foot was employed to mark time in connection with the other rhythmical arts, the above-mentioned terms were adopted in the analysis of all rhythms: "foot" to designate the entire rhythmic unit, "semeion" to designate each separate chronos podikos, and "arsis" and "basis" to designate the antithetical semeia. Other names for these last occur in the writings of Aristoxenus: *ἡ ἄρσις = τὸ ἄνω = ὁ ἄνω χρόνος = the time during which the foot is up; ἡ βάσις = τὸ κάτω = ὁ κάτω χρόνος = the time during which the foot is down.* A glance at the lexicon suffices to show that there is no reason for rendering these expressions *the upward time* and *the downward time;* compare especially such terms as *οἱ ἄνω, the living, οἱ κάτω, the dead, ὁ ἄνω τόπος, the high region, οἱ ἄνω θεοί, the gods above.* The Greeks of the days of Aristoxenus did not *beat* time; they *held* time.

In marking the times of a rhythm it was of course most natural that when, as in the iambic and paeonic rhythms, one chronos podikos was longer than the other, the longer of the two times should be marked by basis (the grounded foot), and the shorter by arsis (the uplifted foot). Equally natural was it that when, in dactylic rhythms, the rhythmopoiia almost regularly alternated discrete with continuous times, the continuous times should be marked by basis, and the discrete times by arsis. If there was a thing in the world with which basis (the *θέσις* of later writers) had no connection whatever in the days of Aristoxenus, it was *stress.* The unspeakable beauties of graduated thumping the Greeks still left to be enjoyed by barbarians.

To avoid confusion in so summary a statement, I have thus far refrained from alluding to the auxiliary semeia and resultant additional chronoi podikoi of the larger iambic and paeonic (but never of the dactylic) feet of Greek rhythmics. Such an iambic foot had its longer chronos podikos regularly subdivided into two equal parts (foot = 1:1 + 1 or 1 + 1:1), making three chronoi podikoi and three semeia to the foot; so that successive feet were marked alternately by *arsis*, *basis*, *arsis* and *basis*, *arsis*, *basis*. No better evidence could be desired of the utter absence of the dynamic element in the antithesis of basis and arsis. Similarly the larger paeons had each of their chronoi podikoi regularly subdivided into two parts, those of the shorter chronos podikos being equal, and those of the longer sustaining to each other the relation of two to one, making in all four chronoi podikoi and four semeia to the foot; for example in the foot 1 + 1:2 + 1, *basis*, *arsis*, *long basis*, *arsis*.[21] These auxiliary semeia and subdivisions of the primary chronoi podikoi were mere conveniences of measurement, in order that τὸ τοῦ ὅλου ποδὸς μέγεθος εὐσυνοπτότερον γίνηται. They were aids to the perception of relative duration, and do not in the least alter the fact that *the* rhythm of the foot was conceived to depend upon the quantitative ratio between its two principal sections and upon that alone. In other words, for purposes of appraisement only, the continuity of time in certain magnitudes was required to be regularly broken at other stated points besides the rhythmic diaeresis.

It remains to point out the source of the "irrational rhythm" or "Rhythmus des gesagten Verses" which Westphal fathered upon Aristoxenus.[22] To do this we must take leave of the domain of time and rhythm in which we have been occupied, and journey into the *Harmonics* of Aristoxenus, where the subject under consideration is pitch and tone.

> Wenn die Griechen ihre Verse recitirten [says Westphal], so brachten sie von der Versification nur die rhythmischen Accente zu Gehör; aber was die Zeitdauer der einzelnen Sylben anbetraf, so verweilte auf keiner derselben die Stimme des Vortragenden lange genug, dass der Hörende sich des Verhältnisses zwischen der verschiedenen Zeitdauer der Sylben

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[21] Among the less muddled statements of Aristides Quintilianus is one indicating that a larger paeon was called ἐπιβατός, ἐπειδὴ τετράσι χρώμενος μερεσιν ἐκ δυοῖν ἄρσεων καὶ δυοῖν διαφοροῖν θεσεων γίνεται; and another to the effect that a short paeon διάγυιος μὲν οὖν εἴρηται οἷον δίγυιος δυο γὰρ χρῆται σημειοις (Meibom, p. 39). Regarding the latter Goodell complains (*loc. cit.*, p. 148) that "as it stands the last clause fits no interpretation of σημεῖα that I am acquainted with." It fits perfectly the only correct interpretation of the Aristoxenic σημεῖον, which, however, it must be added, Aristides himself is not always clear about.

[22] *Aristoxenos von Tarent*, I, pp. 223 ff.; II, pp. cxlvi ff., cxcii f.; *Griechische Rhythmik* (Rossbach-Westphal, *Theorie der musischen Künste der Hellenen*, I), pp. 42 ff.; Westphal-Gleditsch, *Allgemeine Theorie der griechischen Metrik*, p. 7.

bewusst werden konnte; die Sprechstimme macht, wie Aristoxenos sagt, den Eindruck des Continuirlichen im Gegensatze zur Singstimme, welche auf den einzelnen Sylben eine messbare Zeit hindurch verweilt.

The foundation of this opinion of Westphal's, which continues to be quite generally accepted among classical scholars at the present time, is the following passage in the *Harmonics:*

> First of all, then, we must attempt to ascertain the varieties of *motion as to place* (αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ τόπον κινήσεως).[23] Every voice[24] that is capable of such motion has two distinct kinds of movement, the *continuous* (συνεχής) movement and the movement *by intervals* (διαστηματική). In the continuous movement the voice seems to the senses to traverse a certain range of pitch as if tarrying nowhere—not even, so far as the ear can discern, at the extremities of the range—but changing position continuously up to the very moment of silence. In the other movement, which we call movement by intervals, it seems to behave in the opposite manner: for, striding through a given range, it arrests itself on one pitch-level, then again on another; and doing this continuously—I am here, of course, using "continuously" in its ordinary sense, of time—that is, stepping over the intervals bounded by the pitch-levels, but dwelling on the pitch-levels themselves and sounding these alone, it is said to *make melody* and to be moving by intervals.
>
> Each of these must be taken as it impresses the ear. For whether it is possible or impossible for a voice to move and then to arrest itself upon a definite pitch-level, is an entirely independent inquiry, and one that does not concern the present discipline.[25] For whatever may be the correct conclusion on those points,[26] it cannot affect in any way the differentiation of the melic movement of the voice from its other movements. Speaking simply, whenever the voice changes its altitude in such fashion as to seem to the ear to rest nowhere, we call its movement continuous; and whenever, after seeming to rest at a certain level, it seems to traverse a given interval, and then again seems to rest at another level, and continues to the end to seem to do the one thing and the other alternately, we call its movement movement by intervals.

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[23] That is, *change of altitude* or *movement in the domain of pitch.*

[24] To avoid raising a question that is immaterial to the present discussion, I follow Westphal and Macran in rendering ἡ φωνή *the voice*, though I suspect that throughout the greater part of this section it has the more general meaning of *sound.*

[25] Having regard to such objections as that sound is but the product of motion, or that continued motion is necessary to maintain even stative pitch. These are questions, he rejoins, for the physicist, not for the musician. Westphal affirms that Aristoxenus is relegating the questions to the discipline of rhythmics!

[26] The troublesome clause τὸ δὲ κινῆσαι τούτων ἑκάτερον is not improved by the suggested emendations of Meibom, Marquard, Westphal, or Macran. The simplest and most satisfactory solution is to construe it as subject of the following verb: ὁποτέρως γὰρ ἔχει τὸ κινῆσαι τούτων ἑκάτερον

> Now, the continuous movement we affirm to be that of speech; for when we converse with each other the voice moves in the domain of pitch in such a manner as to seem never to rest at any point. With the other movement, which we call movement by intervals, the opposite is the natural condition of things; for firstly the voice there seems to rest, and then all men affirm of one who appears to be making such use of his voice that he no longer speaks but sings. Wherefore in conversation we shun stative pitch, except when on rare occasions we are forced into that kind of movement by some strong emotion; whereas in singing we do the opposite, shunning the continuous movement and aiming to keep the voice as stationary as possible. For just in proportion as each sound is unmixed and stative and identical throughout, will the singing appear to the senses to be perfect. That there are, then, two distinct movements of the voice in the domain of pitch, and that of these the continuous movement is that of speech and the movement by intervals that of song, is plain enough from what has been said.[27]

The doctrine here set forth is perfectly clear. Put into succinct modern language it is this: The course of the speaking voice in the domain of pitch cannot at any stage be reproduced upon the pianoforte, but requires the violin, with the finger of the left hand gliding along the string as continuously as does the bow athwart it. That of song, on the other hand, is such that the finger on the reproducing violin-string moves swiftly from one point to another and tarries, now here, now there, to emit tones that can be reproduced upon a pianoforte. Occasionally, when swayed by exceptional emotion, a man does introduce into his speech tones that might be reproduced upon a pianoforte, but only sporadically. If, instead of employing such tones sporadically, he does so continuously, he ceases even to declaim and begins to sing.

Whether or not the observations made by Aristoxenus, with no instrument but his well-trained ear, are corroborated by modern science, is a matter that does not concern us. It is sufficient that we understand what he did his best to say.

And now, what has all this to do with rhythm, rational or irrational? What has the distinction between gliding and stative pitch to do with the duration of syllables, whether "spoken" or

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[27] The above is my own rendering of the Greek text, Macran, pp. 101 ff.; Westphal, II, pp. 10 f.; Meibom, pp. 8 ff.

"sung"? Simply nothing at all.[28] All that this section tells us is that the acute accent of Greek speech was not a *high* note but an *upward* note, and the grave accent not a *low* note but a *downward* note, and that every syllable was marked by either the one or the other or by a combination of both.[29]

But if it must be admitted that the alleged direct evidence of the *Harmonics* for an Aristoxenic "irrational rhythm" is non-existent, does not Aristoxenus in his treatise on rhythm make explicit mention of an irrational *foot?* To be sure he does, but in a connection which prevented even Westphal from claiming it as evidence for his "Rhythmus des gesagten Verses." A foot as such is merely a period of time divided into two parts. It is the first requisite toward the realization of rhythm, but by no means the only one. For the production of rhythm there is required, besides a period of time divided into two parts, (1) a palpable ratio between these two parts, and (2) that the ratio satisfy the sense of rhythm, or harmony in time. Accordingly, before proceeding to enumerate the rhythmical ratios, he attempts to make as plain as possible the condition of rationality within the meaning of the discipline of rhythmics. To meet this condition it is not sufficient that there be a theoretical common divisor; which, as observed above, would render any conceivable foot rational. The common divisor must be a quantity actually capable of employment in the rhythmopoiia of the foot; it must be at least the χρόνος πρῶτος, or *smallest perceptibly commensurate quantity.* To make his point clear to his contemporaries, immersed as they were in the normal rationalities of quantifying speech as well as of song and dancing, he essays to describe for their benefit an irrational foot in positive terms. And to do this he is forced to the following shift: Take, he says, a foot in which the basis (thesis) is equal to the arsis, and each has the value of two chronoi protoi; then take another foot in which the basis is likewise equivalent to two chronoi protoi, but the arsis is half that quantity: an irrational foot will be one in which, while the basis remains the same as in those two feet, the arsis is the mean between the arsis of the one and the arsis of the other—that is, equals one chronos protos and a half,[30] a quantity which by definition the sense is incapable of appraising so as to determine whether it is or is not one and a half times the chronos protos. It was the easiest thing in the world to adduce for a Greek audience a foot that, though rational, was not rhythmical; but a foot that was not rational could only be pointedly described by some such indirection. That such a foot had no positive function, it was unnecessary to affirm; and that it could have no possible place in rhythm, except as an exhibition of "bad time," went without saying.[31] Empirically, then, there is such a thing as a bad or unrhythmical foot. But in the *rhythm* of Aristoxenus there were neither irrational rhythms nor irrational feet. Witness the following emphatic declaration, which may well be allowed to ring in our ears as we pass from the Hellenic to the Hebraic field:

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[28] It is of course possible to explain how Westphal came by his curious blunder. But the best thing to do with an absurdity is to bury it. One error that must be corrected, however, since it is provocative of serious mischief and persists even among those few who have questioned Westphal's teaching, is the assumption of a scale of pitch for the speaking voice. In the case of Weil, Westphal's first challenger, the error proved fatal. Goodell, who interprets the theory of Aristoxenus correctly enough a little farther on, begins by saying that in this section "it is the movement of the voice up and down the scale that is under examination. . . . . There are two kinds of tune, two kinds of movement up and down the scale" (*loc. cit.*, p. 121). On the contrary, according to Aristoxenus, speech recognizes no scale of pitch, and has none, but only (so to speak) an inclined plane; and song differs from speech primarily in that it *makes* a scale.

[29] Very incidentally, we are allowed an inference as to the relative duration of the syllables of Greek speech which is in diametrical opposition to the doctrine of Westphal. Chinese modulations of tone are not easily detected in any but our very longest Germanic syllables, whereas Aristoxenus gives the impression of propounding a truth neither remote nor difficult of verification by the most unobserving of his hearers. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the average length of a Greek syllable in ancient times was considerably greater than that of modern Greek or any other stress-accentuating language.

> οἶμαι μὲν οὖν φανερὸν εἶναί σοι ὅτι οὐδὲν προσχρώμεθα τῷ ἀπείρῳ πρὸς τὴν (ῥυθμικὴν) ἐπιστήμην, εἰ δὲ μὴ νῦν ἔσται φανερώτατον. οὔτε γὰρ πόδας συντίθεμεν ἐκ χρόνων ἀπείρων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὡρισμένων καὶ πεπερασμένων μεγέθει τε καὶ ἀριθμῷ καὶ τῃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ξυμμετρίᾳ τε καὶ τάξει, οὔτε ῥυθμὸν οὐδένα τοιοῦτον ὁρῶμεν· δῆλον δέ εἴπερ μηδὲ πόδα, οὐδὲ ῥυθμόν, ἐπειδὴ πάντες οἱ ῥυθμοὶ ἐκ ποδῶν τινων σύγκεινται.[32]

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[30] Goodell's objection (*loc. cit.*, pp. 111 f.) that this interpretation makes the foot rational in the ratio of 4:3, will not hold; for it makes it not *palpably*, but only *theoretically* rational, which is exactly the *ir*rationality that Aristoxenus is laboring to illustrate—the only kind of irrationality there is. Goodell has tripped over Westphal's erroneous identification of the χρόνος πρῶτος with the *time-unit* of the modern measure. Of course, the use which Westphal himself makes of these 4:3 halves of a chronos protos is utterly illegitimate.

[31] The sentence καλεῖται δ' οὗτος χορεῖος ἄλογος, added to Aristoxenus' example of the irrational foot, is an unmistakable gloss. For one thing, it has no antecedent; and for another, Aristoxenus is nowhere near the naming of magnitudes.

[32] Quoted by Porphyry (233–c. 304 A. D.) from a treatise of Aristoxenus περὶ τοῦ πρώτου χρόνου, in the former's commentary on the 'Αρμονικά of the astronomer Ptolemy. The quotation is printed in Westphal's *Aristoxenos*, II, pp. 94 f.

Now I think you see clearly that we make no use whatever of the indeterminate in our science of rhythm; and if that be not already clear, it will presently be perfectly so. For neither do we construct feet of indeterminate periods of time—but, on the contrary, of such as are definite and determinate, in duration and number, in reciprocal commensurateness and order—*nor do we recognize any rhythm that is so constituted;* demonstrably not: for, if we recognize no such foot, we can recognize no such rhythm, since all rhythms are made up of feet.

The words I have italicized pronounce final sentence upon Westphal's "Rhythmus des gesagten Verses" and Sievers' "irrational rhythm."[33]

The rhythm that we are to seek in the poetry of the Old Testament is therefore: *A period of time divided into two palpably commensurate parts* (*of which each in itself may be either continuous or rationally discrete*) *sustaining to each other one of three ratios, 1:1, 2:3, or 1:2.* And a Hebrew meter will be a definite form of Hebrew lexis capable of being timed to yield such a rhythm without doing violence to the character of the language.

The Hebrew is not a quantifying language. Its syllables are not palpably commensurate, nor can they be made so without distorting them out of their natural character and destroying their identity. Whether their relative duration vary from 1:1 to 1:5 (as Lanier affirmed of English syllables in his effort to prove them rational), or from 1:1 to 1:20,000 (as Westphal affirmed of German syllables in laboring to prove them irrational), it is not, and so long as the syllables preserve their linguistic identity cannot be, measured by the unaided senses. The same holds true of all the other elements of accentuating speech that have appreciable duration, whether parts of the syllable or compounds of it. The Hebrew language has, accordingly, no elements which may legitimately be employed as the measurable phenomena of rhythmopoiia. If the rhythm of Hebrew poetry depends upon the relative duration of its syllables, there is no rhythm in Hebrew poetry.

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[33] They are omitted in Westphal's disingenuous rendering of the passage, *Aristoxenos*, I, p. 485.

But though the Hebrew cannot effect the definite divisions of time which are essential to rhythm by means of measurable phenomena, it can nevertheless effect them by means of instantaneous phenomena. Such phenomena are the accents, or points of distinct stress to and from which the language is constantly moving. And whereas the Hebrew will not endure the rationalization of its syllables, it will, like other accentuating languages, not only endure but actually welcome such acceleration and retardation of utterance—which acceleration and retardation is possible precisely because the syllables have no prescribed proportionate quantity—as is required to make those points of stress fall at commensurate intervals of time. Moreover, it is not the degree of its intensity, but the moment of its incidence, in the consciousness of speaker and hearer, that gives to stress its rhythmic function. And whether it fall at the beginning, at the middle, or at the end of a syllable, the stress itself is always a momentary thing. Consequently, the only time-lengths that can contribute to the rhythm of Hebrew poetry are the intervals between accents.

Now, so far as concerns the rhythm, it is not of the least consequence how the termini of syllables are distributed with regard to the accents. If it were physically possible for the voice to utter one syllable with five accents, the rhythmopoiia could employ the five definite intervals of time so determined for purposes of rhythm; if it were possible for the voice to utter twenty syllables with only two accents, the rhythmopoiia would be content to make use of the two intervals so determined. As a matter of fact, it is not possible to bestow more than one accent upon a syllable without bringing into existence a second syllable,[34] nor to pronounce more than a limited number of syllables under cover of a single accent. But these are facts of linguistics and phonetics, and have nothing to do with rhythm. The syllables of accentuating poetry, being neither *χρόνοι ποδικοί* nor *χρόνοι τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας ἴδιοι*, have no rhythmic function whatsoever.

I say *rhythmic* function. And here a word of caution must be inserted, which perhaps should have been uttered earlier, in connection with the exposition of the Aristoxenic rhythmics. When we said that the feet 3:2 and 1+1+1:2 differ only in rhythmopoietic scheme and not at all in rhythm, it was not implied that the difference of rhythmopoietic scheme makes no impression upon the senses and does not influence the character of the rhythmical composition. Continuity and discreteness, as qualities, produce very different aesthetic effects upon the human spirit. The one gives the impression of stateliness, solemnity, restfulness, or melancholy; the other that of sprightliness, activity, perturbation, or hilarity. This effect of relative continuity or discreteness Aristoxenus calls the *ethos* (τὸ ἦθος) of a movement, and intimates quite plainly that it is dependent upon rhythmopoietic scheme. We may call it "color." Now, the antithetical chromatic effects of continuity and discreteness are so far from being moments of rhythm, that it is only because the rhythm is something other than they, that the impression of them exists at all. What gives different color to 1+1+1 and 3 is the very fact that the two quantities are rhythmically identical, and that within one and the same period (chronos podikos), as rhythmically determined, one rhythmopoiia makes two breaks in the continuity of time and the other makes none.

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[34] I refer, of course, to the syllable of actuality, not of spelling. For the scientific definition of a syllable, see Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1904 pp. 191 ff.

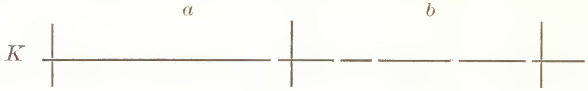
In this connection, however, we have to note an important difference in the respective capacities and methods of rhythmopoiia by means of quantifying lexis and rhythmopoiia by means of accentuating lexis. For obvious reasons, the quantities of the latter rhythmopoiia are normally discrete, the great mass of them exhibiting the scheme 1+1+1 . . . . It does, indeed, admit of a limited variation of scheme; so in the lines

O Sólitude, romántic máid,   Whéther by nódding tówers you tréad

the rhythmopoietic scheme is 2:1+1, 1+1:1+1; and in the lines

Mábel, líttle Mábel,   With fáce agáinst the páne

the scheme is 1+1:2, 1+1:2. But such limited variation of rhythmopoietic scheme cannot give much color to the composition, especially in the face of the more or less obtrusive syllabification of the lexis. For though entirely irrational, the syllables of accentuating speech do nevertheless operate to color the rational time-lengths of the rhythmical composition. The manner of this will be made plain by means of a diagram.



In the diagram *K* the vertical lines represent the moments of stress, inclosing two palpably equal intervals of time, *a* and *b*. The horizontal lines represent six irrational syllables, *tátátatatatá*, which carry the three accents. It is apparent that the effect of continuity or discreteness is produced by the relative frequency of transition from one syllable to another, in spite of the fact that the syllables themselves are irrational, when the time-interval within which the transitions take place is palpably rational and so affords a definite basis for estimating the frequency of such transitions. We see, then, that whereas the syllables of accentuating speech may not be employed as rhythmopoietic time-lengths, under cover of rhythmopoiia they may exercise the same function as the syllables of quantifying speech so far as regards the purely chromatic effects of continuity and discreteness of time.

But when all this has been said, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that the only rhythmic factors in accentuating verse are the rationally timed stress-accents. Both the rhythm and the rhythmopoiia of the following four couplets are accordingly identical throughout; the variation is merely in the chromatic rarefaction and condensation of the lexis.

RHYTHMOPOIIA: $1+1:1+1,\ 1+1:1+1$

The lóvely lády Chrísta- bél, Whóm her fáther lóves so wéll,
What mákes her ín the wóod so láte, A fúrlong fróm the cástle gáte?
Shé had dréams all yéster- níght Óf her ówn betróthed kníght;
And shé in the mídnight wóod will práy For the wéal of her lóver that's fár awáy.[35]

As opposed to such versification as this, the so-called "regular meters" of modern accentuating verse yield not a superior rhythm (if such a thing as a superior rhythm can be conceived), but a monotony of color that is foreign to the most "regular" of Greek meters.[36]

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[35] Whether or no we approve of this rendition of the lines, Coleridge explicitly states that he intends it.

For purposes of metrical analysis and theory, all connected Hebrew speech may be divided into sections, each consisting of one or more syllables and dominated by a single stress-accent. I call such a section a *lexic section;* any specific quantity of connected language being a *lexis.* The laws of phonetics and the rules of Hebrew accentuation combine to limit the syllabification of such a "lexic section" to the following six forms:

FORM AND NAME	SYMBOL	DESCRIPTION
רוּם	ר or **r**	Continuous lexic section.
כֶּרֶם	כ or **k**	Lexic section with break of continuity after the accent.
אֳרִים	א or **a**	Lexic section with break of continuity before the accent.
בִּרְכַּיִם	ב or **b**	Lexic section with break of continuity both before and after the accent.
גְּבָרִים	ג or **g**	Lexic section with double break of continuity before the accent.
דְּלָתַיִם	ד or **d**	Lexic section with double break of continuity before, and single break after the accent.

It should be observed (1) that the transition from one lexic section to another itself constitutes a break in the continuity of the lexis: so כ א or **k a**[37] is *tátatatá.* And (2) that, the syllables being irrational, this transition from one lexic section to another takes place at no definite point of time between the two stress-accents; hence it is for our purpose—which is concerned merely with the place of the accents in time and their allocation among the syllables composing the lexis—immaterial whether we represent a lexis of the form *tátatatá* by the formula **k a** or by the formula **r g**. There is, to be sure, a perceptible difference in the syllabic grouping of the alternative formulae; so **b b b a** comes nearer to representing the grouping of

Bard Bracy, bard Bracy, your horses are fleet

than does **a g g g**. But the difference is not one that we need observe very closely; the same allocation of the accents and the same rhythmization of the line being definitely indicated by either formula.

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[36] So far as concerns the English, at any rate, those "regular meters" (unknown before Chaucer) are a bastard bookish product, demonstrably of exotic origin, and ultimately dependent upon quantifying patterns, which our language can ape but cannot copy.

[37] Pronounce these symbols in full and in Masoretic fashion: *kérem arím;* and read all symbols in Hebrew letters *from right to left.*

A Hebrew lexis yields a rhythmic foot (i. e., is rhythmized) when (1) the lexic sections into which it is divided are so pronounced that their several accents fall at commensurate intervals of time, and when, moreover, (2) the intervals of time so determined are separable into two quantities sustaining to each other a rhythmical ratio. For example, the first verse of Genesis may be divided into seven lexic sections thus: **g a g r d a b**. As ordinarily pronounced, the accents of this lexis do not fall at commensurate intervals of time. But even when, by means of the required acceleration and retardation of utterance, the accents are made to fall at equal intervals of time, and in consequence seven equal time-units are delimited,[38] the lexis is still not rhythmized; for the reason that seven equal time-units cannot be rhythmically balanced: they cannot be separated into two quantities sustaining to each other the ratio 1:1, or 2:3, or 1:2. But let the same lexis be divided into lexic sections thus: **g a g r r b a b** (**r d** being replaced with **r r b** by means of a supplementary—and because supplementary, unobjectionable — stress on the first syllable of השמים), and let the intervals between accents be equalized, and we have the rhythm 4:4.[39]

Every rhythmic time-interval of Hebrew poetry may be introduced by an accent borne by any one of the above six forms of lexic section. The rhythmopoiia of the lexis **r a r a** (1+1: 1+1) differs from that of the lexis **r a a r a a** (1+1+1:1+1+1); but the rhythmopoiia of **r a a b** differs in no respect from that of **d d d g**.

To indicate the omission of a stress-accent at the close of one time-unit and the opening of another, I employ the symbol י (or **i**). Thus the rhythmizomenon **r i a a** contains three accents rhythmized 2:1 + 1. This **r i a a** differs in rhythmopoiia from **r a a a**, but not in rhythm. On the other hand, whether in the lexis **r i a a** the section **r** be continued through the point represented by the negative symbol **i** to the beginning of the lexic section **a**, or stop short of that point and allow it to pass by in silence (by “pause”), will affect in some measure the color of the lexis, but not the rhythmopoiia; so far as concerns this last the lexis may be pronounced in either manner indifferently.

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[38] On the close of a final time-interval in rhythmopoiia by means of instantaneous phenomena, see above, p. 181.

[39] A rhythm, but not a sensible one; for the mind dissociates the particle את from its objective השמים in apprehending the rhythm; showing that the rhythmization of Hebrew requires, besides a knowledge of what rhythm is, a genuine acquaintance with the language and some good taste. When by means of a supplementary stress on the second syllable of בראשית, the lexis is rendered **a r a g r d a b**, we have both rhythm and good sense; if as much could be done with the rest of the chapter, there might be some warrant for speaking of a "creation poem."

In illustration of our theory of the rhythmization of Hebrew poetry, I give an analysis of the rhythm of an old English poem, of the type still uninfected by the fiction of “rhythm” through uniform syllabification.[40]

SAINT STEPHEN AND HEROD

Rhythm: dactylic, 1:1
Foot: 4:4 time-units
Rhythmopoiia: (1+1:1+1):(1+1:2)
Rhythmopoiia of the last two lines: (1+1:2):(1+1:2)

RHYTHMIZATION[41]	TEXT
r k r a a b r i	Seynt Stevene was a clerk in Kyng Herowdes halle,
b r a a b r a i	And servyd him of bred and cloth, as every kyng befalle.
k k k r b r a i	Stevyn out of kechone cam, wyth boris hed on honde;
a a a a k k r i	He saw a sterre was fayr and brygt over Bedlem stonde.
a a b r a a a i	He kyst adoun the boris hed and went in to the halle:
r b r b r b r i	‘I forsak the, Kyng Herowdes, and thi werkes alle.
r b r b r b r i	‘I forsak the, Kyng Herowdes, and thi werkes alle;
a a b r b r a i	Ther is a chyld in Bedlem born is beter than we alle.’
r k r k r a a i	‘What eylyt the, Stevene? What is the befalle?
k b r a a b r i	Lakkyt the eyther mete or drynk in Kyng Herowdes halle?’
k b r a a b r i	‘Lakit me neyther mete nor drynk in Kyng Herowdes halle;
a a b r b r a i	Ther is a chyld in Bedlem born is beter than we alle.’
b b k r r b a i	‘What eylyt the, Stevyn? Art thu wôd, or thu gynnyst to brede?

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[40] It is preserved in a British Museum manuscript assigned to the age of Henry VI; the ballad itself is of course older. I follow the spelling of Gummere, *Old English Ballads*, Boston, 1894, pp. 295 f. The poem will be found also in Sargent and Kittredge, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, edited from the collection of Francis James Child, Boston and New York, 1904, pp. 40 f.

[41] As indicated above, the same rhythmization of the first couplet, for example, might be expressed by resolving the lexis into

r r a a a a a i
a a a a a a a i

but this gives the impression of a syllabic standard of composition, which the evidence does not warrant our attributing to the poet.

RHYTHMIZATION	TEXT
k b r a b r r i	Lakkyt the eyther gold or fe, or ony ryche wede?'
k b r a a r r i	'Lakyt me neyther gold ne fe, ne non ryche wede;
a a b r b a a i	Ther is a chyld in Bedlem born sal helpyn us at our nede.'
r a a k r a a i	'That is al so soth, Stevyn, al so soth, iwys,
k k r r b r a i	As this capoun crowe sal that lyth here in myn dysh.'
a a a r a r a i	That word was not so sone seyd, that word in that halle,
b r g a a b r i	The capoun crew *Christus natus est!* among the lordes alle.
k r a b a a a i	'Rysyt up, myn turmentowres, be to and al be on,
b k k a b r a i	And ledyt Stevyn out of this toun, and stonyt hym wyth ston!'
k r k i b a a i	Tokyn he Stevene, and stonyd hym in the way,
b r b i b k r i	And therfore is his evyn on Crystes owyn day.

Another example of unadulterated accentuating versification I take from *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act III, Scene ii:

Rhythm: dactylic, 1:1
Foot: 2:2 time-units
Rhythmopoiia: 1+1:1+1

RHYTHMIZATION	TEXT
r a r r	On the ground Sleep sound:
r a r a	I'll apply To your eye,
k k r a	Gentle lover, remedy.
r a r r	When thou wak'st Thou tak'st
r a r a	True delight In the sight
r b r a	Of thy former lady's eyes:
r b r a	And the country proverb known,
b r a a	That every man should take his own,
r b r a	In your waking shall be shown:
r g r g	Jack shall have Jill; Nought shall go ill;
a a a a	The man shall have his mare again,
a r a i	and all shall be well.

The subject of the allocation of accents for rhythmic purposes and the license which Hebrew poetry allows in that respect, belongs in a treatise on Hebrew meter, which this essay does not pretend to be. We must limit ourselves to a few very general observations.

It is as impossible in Hebrew as it is in English to fix the metrical value of a lexis apart from the particular rhythmopoiia in which that lexis is employed. To the extent assumed by those Hebrew metricists who set forth absolutely what a certain Hebrew syllable or word "counts for" and whether or not it does "count," the feat is an impossible one even in connection with a quantifying Greek lexis. In the case of an accentuating lexis, the attempt is the height of absurdity.

As in English, so in Hebrew, a syllable ordinarily unaccented may receive a *supplementary* accent when the exigencies of the rhythmopoiia demand it; and, under the same conditions, a syllable otherwise accented may lose its accent. On the other hand, the shifting of an accent from one syllable to another for merely euphonic reasons (the lexis being in any case divisible into lexic sections) is a linguistic and not a rhythmic phenomenon; incidentally it frequently makes possible the rhythmization of a lexis with more justice to the sense, but it contributes nothing to the rhythmopoiia. The regular alternation of accented with unaccented syllables, to which accentuating languages are prone, should never be spoken of as "the *rhythmical* flow" or as "a *rhythmic* law." For the rest, I agree with Sievers[42] that recession of the accent to a closed syllable is actually practiced by the Masoretic tradition though it is not indicated by any tone-sign. In this connection it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Masoretic accents are primarily indicative of intonation and not of stress. And while it is of course true that stressed syllables were selected for intonation, it is not true that no syllables were stressed that were not intoned: וַיִּכְתָּב־שָׁם of Josh. 8:32 cannot possibly be pronounced without a stress-accent on the second as well as on the fourth syllable—to say nothing of such combinations as אֶל־כָּל־מִצְוֺתֶיךָ of Ps. 119:6. Finally, since stress and tone are not identical, there is no reason why a supplementary stress-accent may not in case of necessity be placed upon a *sheva*, when the latter represents a syllable that to the consciousness of the language is genuine though almost wholly suppressed.[43]

As regards the vocalization of Hebrew, I am of course not under the delusion that the author of Judges 5 and the courtiers of David pronounced exactly as did later the teachers of Jerome and the Masorites of the seventh century. But, in the first place, we must not overlook the fact that the greater part of

[42] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 225 f.

[43] Cf. Sievers, *loc. cit.*, p. 157.

the change, whatever it was, had taken place before the Maccabean Psalms were composed; and, second, although we have reason to reject here and there a detail, from the Masoretic system as a whole we cannot succeed in detaching ourselves: it is the only historical system of pronouncing Hebrew that has come down to us from ancient times, and however we may quarrel with the *science* of the Masorites, we must be controlled by their *evidence*. When, moreover, we recall that, though Shakespere's language, with the Elizabethan pronunciation, is all but unintelligible to the present generation, Shakespere's rhythms have been transmitted to us unimpaired, we shall realize that a vast amount of phonetic change is compatible with permanence of rhythmic form. And even assuming that the accentuation of Hebrew in Old Testament times, and not alone the quality of its vowels, differed considerably from the tradition, the difference would affect mainly the rhythmization of the lexis, and not its rhythmopoiia. In any case, our uncertainty as to the ancient pronunciation of Hebrew cannot be pleaded in justification of any rhythmically bottomless theory of Hebrew meter.

The rhythmopoiia of Hebrew poetry is, as we should expect, of the simplest and crudest description. The feet are, in my judgment, without exception *dactylic*, though of three different magnitudes: 2:2, 3:3, and 4:4 time-units, the last compounded of two subordinate feet 2:2.

The continuously employed *rhythmopoietic schemes* are:

$$\begin{gathered}1+1:1+1\\ 1+1+1:1+1+1\\ (1+1:1+1):(1+1:1+1)\\ (1+1:1+1):(1+1:2)\end{gathered}$$

Sporadically the quantity 2 is substituted for $1+1$. I am not prepared to say that the rhythmopoiia $(1+1:2):(1+1:2)$ was not also employed continuously, instead of $1+1+1:1+1+1$.

The meters of Hebrew poetry are accordingly expressed in terms of lexic sections as follows:

rara	*Quadruple measure*
raaraa	*Sextuple measure*
rararara	*Octuple measure*
rararari	*Octuple measure catalectic*

Both **r** and **a** stand for lexic sections of any form: **r, k, a, b, g,** or **d.** Sporadically, **r a** of the meters may be replaced by **r i.**

If, as suggested above, **i** was sometimes substituted continuously for every fourth as well as every eighth lexic section of the octuple measure, we have an additional meter, **rarirari** (as the alternative of **raaraa**), which we may then designate *Octuple measure dicatalectic.*

These meters should not be named "tetrameters, hexameters, octameters, and heptameters;" for those terms, if they mean anything, mean quantities that yield four, six, eight, and seven rhythmic feet respectively; whereas each of these measures yields but one rhythmic foot, or at best, in the case of the octuple measures, two subordinate rhythmic feet. Sievers' terms, "Vierer, Sechser, Doppelvierer, Siebener," are intrinsically less objectionable, but now unfortunately associated with the conception of so and so many "irrational feet." The terms I have employed seem to me both the most scientific and the least misleading.

In the subjoined specimens of Hebrew poetry, rhythmized in accordance with the several measures just described, supplementary accents are indicated by $\acute{\_}$; words combined for accentual purposes are united by *maqqef.*

QUADRUPLE MEASURE, ר א ר א

Rhythmopoiia: 1 + 1 : 1 + 1

Psalm 24:7–10

RHYTHMIZATION	TEXT	
א ג ר א	שאו שערים	ר́אשיכם
א ג א א	וה́נשאו	פתחי עולם
ג כ ר א	ויבוא מלך	ה́כבוד
ר ר כ ג	מי זה	מלך הכבוד
א א א ר	יהוה עזוז	וג́בור
א א ר א	יהוה גבור	מ́לחמה
א ג ר א	שאו שערים	ר́אשיכם
ר ר א א	ו́שאו	פתחי עולם
ג כ ר א	ויבא מלך	ה́כבוד
ר א כ ג	מי הוא־זה	מלך הכבוד
א ג ב ג	יהוה צבאות	הוא־מלך הכבוד

Isaiah 21:11

א א ר א	אלי קרא	מ́שעיר
ר ר ר ב	ש́מר	מה מלילה
ר ר ר א	ש́מר	מה מליל

SEXTUPLE MEASURE, ר א א ר א א

RHYTHMOPOIIA: 1+1+1:1+1+1

Exodus 15:3-6

RHYTHMIZATION	TEXT	
א א א ר ר א	יהוה איש־מ́לחמה	י́הוה שמו
ר א א ג א א	מ́רכבות פרעה	וחיל́ו ירה בים
ג ר א ג א ר	ומבחר ש́לשיו	טבעו בים סוף
ג א כ ג ר א	תהמת יכ́סימו	ירדו ב́מצולת[44]
א א א ר א ב[45]	ימ́ינך יהוה	נ́אדרי בכח
א א א ר ר א	ימ́ינך יהוה	ת́רעץ אויב

OCTUPLE MEASURE ACATALECTIC, ר א ר א ר א ר א

RYTHMOPOIIA: (1+1:1+1):(1+1:1+1)

Judges 5:21-23

כ א ר א כ ג כ א	נחל קישון ג́רפם	נחל קדומים נחל קישון[46]
ר ג ר ג ג א ר א	אז הלמו ע́קבי־סוס	מדהרות דהרות א́ביריו
כ א א א כ א ר ב	אורו מרוז אמר[47] יהוה	ארו ארור י́שביה
א כ ג א ג א א א	כי־לא באו לעזרת יהוה	לעזרת יהוה בג́בורים

OCTUPLE MEASURE CATALECTIC, ר א ר א ר א ר י

RHYTHMOPOIIA: (1+1:1+1):(1+1:2)

Lamentations 4:1, 2

ר ר א א א ב א י	א́יכה יועם זהב	ישנא הכתם הטוב
ר ב ר ב א ר א י	ת́שתפכנה א́בני־קדש	בראש כל חוצות
א א ר א א א א י	בני ציון ה́יקרים	המס́לאים בפז
א ג א ב א א א י	איכה נחשבו לנ́בלי־חרש	מעשה ידי יוצר

OCTUPLE MEASURE DICATALECTIC, ר א ר י ר א ר י

RHYTHMOPOIIA: (1+1:2):(1+1:2)

The last three of the following lines seem to demand this measure; the first line is octuple catalectic:

Isaiah 1:2, 3

א ב ד כ ר א א י	שמעו שמים והאזיני ארץ	כי יהוה דבר
א ב ד י א ר ג י	בנים גדלתי ורוממתי	והם פ́שעו־בי
א ר ב י א א ג י	ידע שור קנהו	וחמור אבוס בעליו
ג ר א י א א א י	ישראל לא ידע	עמי לא־ה́תבונן

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[44] כמו־אבן gloss; otherwise the line rhythmizes: ג א כ ג ג ד.

[45] Or א, if we discard *patah furtive*.

[46] תדרכי נפשי עז gloss.

[47] מלאך gloss.

THE PRE-EXISTENCE OF THE SOUL IN THE BOOK OF WISDOM AND IN THE RABBINICAL WRITINGS

FRANK CHAMBERLIN PORTER

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I. THE PRE-EXISTENCE OF THE SOUL IN THE BOOK OF WISDOM

Out of the popular eclectic Greek philosophy of the second or third centuries before Christ, the writer of the *Book of Wisdom* is commonly understood to have borrowed elements both Stoic and Platonic in origin. Stoic influence is seen especially in his conception of Wisdom as no longer only a personification of the creative thought and energy of God, as in Proverbs, chap. 8, but a substantial entity, a spirit filling the world and holding all things together (1:7), uniting in itself physical, rational, and moral qualities, and betraying unmistakably in many of its attributes and functions the influence of the Stoic world-soul.[1] The Platonic element is found chiefly in the conception of the soul of man, its pre-existence, its relation to the body as something foreign to its proper nature and a hindrance to its attainment of knowledge and virtue, and its essential immortality.

The title of this essay calls, therefore, for a discussion of the supposed Platonic element in this book. Grimm[2] describes this element as follows:

> From the Platonic philosophy he adopts the doctrines of the ὕλη ἄμορφος, the formless matter of which the world was made (11:17), of the pre-existence of souls (8:19, 20), of the body as the seat of sin (1:4; 8:20) and as an obstacle to the attainment of a knowledge of the divine (9:15), and of the elevation of the wise and pious after death to communion with God.

Other modern writers[3] differ little from this statement of the doctrines of the book as to the pre-existence and the immortality of the soul, and as to the dualistic conception of the world and of human nature upon which these doctrines rest.

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[1] πνεῦμα νοερόν, λεπτόν, εὐκίνητον, διήκει καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων, ἀπόρροια τῆς δόξης, ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀιδιου, κ.τ.λ. (7:22—8:1).

[2] *Das Buch der Weisheit*, 1860, p. 19.

[3] See, for example, Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, 3d ed. III, ii, pp. 272 f.; Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (1898), III, 380; Siegfried in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, I, 477, and in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, IV, 929; Toy, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, IV, 5342; Farrar in Wace's *Apocrypha*, I, 407.

It is customary, in other words, to attribute to the author of the *Book of Wisdom* almost the fully developed doctrine of Philo in regard to the soul and its relation to the body.[4] Souls, in Philo's view, pre-exist, the air being full of them. Those that remain true to their nature, incorporeal, are the angels. It is only souls that somehow have lower propensities that sink to earth and enter bodies. Of these some are further degraded by the earthly prison or grave that holds them. The task of the philosopher is to flee from the body and the outer world. By contemplation, rising to ecstasy, the soul may even now escape sense and attain a vision of truth and of God. On this ecstatic vision Philo puts even greater emphasis than on the escape of the soul from the body at death. Such a doctrine of the soul's pre-existence and of the body as a prison from which release is a blessing is attributed by Josephus to the Essenes (*B. J.* ii. 8. 11). Some such view indeed Josephus himself professes (*B. J.* iii. 8. 5), and puts also into the mouth of Eleazar (*B. J.* vii. 8. 7). A sentence from his own argument against suicide (*B. J.* iii. 8. 5) may be quoted, because it expresses well the idea that is commonly ascribed to the *Book of Wisdom:* Τὰ *μέν γε σώματα θνητὰ πᾶσιν καὶ ἐκ φθαρτῆς ὕλης δεδημιούργηται, ψυχὴ δὲ ἀθάνατος ἀεὶ καὶ θεοῦ μοῖρα τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνοικίζεται.* This sentence is consistently Hellenic, but in the context we have a curious blending of inharmonious Greek and Jewish conceptions which constitutes an effective warning to the student who looks for consistency in Jewish eschatology.

The most elaborate study of the Greek element in the *Book of Wisdom* is that of Menzel.[5] His conclusion in regard to the Platonic (dualistic) element is that it is certainly to be recognized in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul (3:1, 9; 1:12; 6:19), the doctrine that the righteous after death are at once near to God, the pre-existence of the soul (8:19–20), the idea that as long as the soul is in the body it is imprisoned and oppressed (9:15), and the conception of ὕλη ἄμορφος (11:17). The question is open whether he derived these ideas directly from Plato, or not.[6] It was the eclectic blending of Stoicism and Platonism by which he was affected. Nevertheless the relation between 9:15 and *Phaedo* 81 C is to Menzel, as it is to E. Pfleiderer,[7] conclusive proof that the writer had actually read at least the *Phaedo*, and perhaps also, as Pfleiderer[8] argues, on account of 7:22–30, the *Cratylus.* Menzel regards the idea that the body is a source of evil and sin (1:4; 8:20, 21; 9:15) as one of the points of likeness between the *Book of Wisdom* and Philo.

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[4] See especially *De gigantibus*, 2-18; *De somniis*, i, 21-23, 31; *De confus. ling.*, 17, 35; *De migrat. Abr.*, 5; *Leg. all.*, iii, 14, 22; *De opif. mundi*, 22, 46.

[5] *Der griechische Einfluss auf Prediger und Weisheit Salomos*, 1889

In regard to the Stoic element it is commonly acknowledged that our author's conception of Wisdom marks only a step, though an important one, from the Hebrew conception toward the Logos of Philo; but with reference to the Platonic element there is less caution; and since it is my purpose to show that greater reservations, rather than less, are called for in the case of this latter element, I wish to point out what little support I may claim for a position against which the presumption is so strong. I do not find any doubt expressed of late as to the fully Platonic, or Philonic, character of the doctrine of pre-existence in 8:19, 20. With the earlier debate, which turned on the question of the canonicity of the book, and on the interest of one side in affirming and of the other in denying the presence in it of an unchurchly doctrine, we need have nothing to do. There seems to be equally unanimous consent to the opinion that the immortality of the soul is here accepted in the Greek sense, in contrast to the Jewish idea of resurrection. But even Grimm thinks that our author's Greek notions were picked up as a part of the current culture of his time, rather than derived from study. Grimm notes also the entire absence in the *Book of Wisdom* of some Platonic doctrines which had an important place in Philo, such as the trichotomy of human nature, and most of all the doctrine of Ideas. He says, too, that the opinion, fundamental to Philo, that the body is the seat and source of evil, is only casually alluded to in *Wisdom* 1:4; 8:19; and that this idea is used for religious and practical rather than for speculative purposes (pp. 22, 23). But these reservations do not affect his interpretation of the crucial passages. Drummond,[9] while he accepts the doctrine of pre-existence in the Greek sense, and says that souls are good and bad before their entrance upon earthly life, and that the quality of the bodies they obtain depends on their moral condition, yet finds that 9:15 does not represent the body as the active source of sin, but only as a check upon man's higher aspirations, and that 1:4 does not mean that the body is a source of evil to the soul, but that it shares the ethical quality of the soul. Bousset, if I do not misjudge him, feels even more strongly the slenderness of the thread on which the supposed Platonic dualism of the book depends. The writer, he says, touches it in passing (9:15), but on the other hand implies that the divine wisdom dwells both in the soul and in the body of man (1:4). The pre-existence of souls is indeed indicated in 8:19, 20, but the passage means that the constitution of the body answers to the constitution of the soul. Though the author does not know the resurrection of the body, yet he does not directly express the thought that death is a freeing from the body, and that the contents of moral effort is the renunciation of the world. "Der dualistische Gedanke ist hier also nur in den ersten Ansätzen vorhanden."[10]

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[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

[7] *Die Philosophie des Heraklit von Ephesus* (1886), pp. 295 f.

[8] Pp. 299 f.

It has long been my conviction that the current language in regard to the Hellenism of the *Book of Wisdom* is misleading, and that it is more important to define the kind and degree of this Hellenism than to assert its reality. In particular in regard to the pre-existence of the soul, not only in *Wisdom* but in rabbinical and other Jewish books, it is not so useful to assert or deny as to define. What did the Jews mean by pre-existence, and above all what did they mean by soul?

The difference between the Jewish and the Greek ideas of pre-existence has been suggestively discussed by Harnack.[11] He argues that to the Greek mind pre-existence is connected with the contrast between spirit and matter, and expresses the thought that the idea, or form, or energy, of all things exists before their physical embodiment, and remains independent of this imperfect material copy. It is only the higher spiritual nature of things that pre-exists. The Jewish conception of pre-existence, on the other hand, rests on the contrast between God and man, and pictures or objectifies God's foreknowledge and determination of all things, and his special thought and purpose regarding things of special worth. Things pre-exist just as they are afterward to appear, not in their idea or form, but in their proper selves. They are hidden with God, and in the appointed time are manifest on earth. Pre-existence in the Greek sense is an explanation of the nature of things and an exaltation of their value; in the Jewish sense it glorifies the power and wisdom of God. Such generalizations may, with some reserve, be accepted, and we may agree with Harnack's conclusion that when Paul connected the contrast of spirit and flesh with the pre-existence of the Messiah he started the transition from a Jewish to a Greek Christology; and that incarnation is a Greek and not a Jewish conception.

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[9] *Philo Judaeus*, I, 200 ff.

[10] *Die Religion des Judentums* (2. Aufl., 1906), pp. 461 f.

[11] *History of Dogma*, I, Appendix i.

With reference to the pre-existence of the soul we may with due caution venture a somewhat different generalization, namely, that to the Greek the soul that pre-exists was or tended to be the personality, the man's real thinking self; while to the Jew it was only a part of the coming man, the divine breath or spirit which was to make him alive, the breath (neshamah) of life which God breathes into the earthly form, making it a living being (nephesh).[12] There is scarcely a greater cause of confusion and difficulty in the comprehension of Hebrew modes of thought than the tendency—in part, to be sure, the necessity—that impels us to translate nephesh by the word "soul." The nephesh is the life or the self of man, the living man himself, just as he is here and now. The older Hebrews had no word for body (σῶμα), and what we call body was not to them the opposite of nephesh, but was inseparable from it. When the Jews wished to speak of that which preceded and survived the earthly life of man the word they naturally used was not nephesh but neshamah (less often ruaḥ), not the word that expressed the personal self of man, but the word that suggested the divine in contrast to the earthly element that entered into his making. But the pre-existence of the neshamah is a very different thing from the pre-existence of the ψυχή. There is a kind of pre-existence of man which belongs naturally to the dualistic view of the world, of which Plato was the prophet. There is an entirely different kind of pre-existence which belongs to the religious attitude which the Hebrews instinctively maintained. That man comes from God and returns to God is said in Genesis 2:7 and in Ecclesiastes 12:7; in a very different sense in John 13:3; 16:28; still differently by the modern poet,

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[12] Gen. 2:7.

> When that which drew from out the boundless deep,
> Turns again home.

Such expressions can be used by those who believe both in the pre-existence and in the immortality of the conscious personality; by those who accept immortality, but not pre-existence, in this personal sense; and by those who reject personality in both cases. When we meet with the idea of the pre-existence of the soul, therefore, we need chiefly to ask what is meant by soul, what is it that pre-exists?

In order to determine whether the *Book of Wisdom* and the rabbinical writings contain a Jewish or a Greek conception of the pre-existence of the soul we must define these two conceptions a little more precisely, though it can be only in bare summary.

There is a sense in which pre-existence entered into the old Hebrew conception of man. It was, however, not the pre-existence of the person himself, the "I," the nephesh, that was in mind, but that of the two elements of which the man was made. The fundamental passage for later Jewish ideas on this subject was Gen. 2:7. Man is on one side dust from the earth, and on the other, living breath, or spirit, from God. Man is taken out of the earth and returns to earth again (Gen. 3:19). God's breath (neshamah or ruaḥ)[13] which makes him a living nephesh is withdrawn at death; and this also goes back to the source from which it came. Death, then, is the return of each part of man to its source.[14] It would be possible, therefore, for the Hebrew, in reflecting on what precedes man's birth, to think either of the body as it is formed in the womb and comes ultimately from the earth, or of the neshamah (ruaḥ) of life which God breathes into the earthly form. As a matter of fact, however, this breath or spirit of God seemed to the Hebrews to belong to God to such a degree that for a long time they did not even individualize each man's share in it, still less connect with it the man's personal consciousness. It remained more natural for them to apply the personal pronoun to the pre-existing body than to the pre-existing neshamah: man comes from earth and returns to earth again.[15] The nearest approach to actual reflection on the pre-existence of man in the Old Testament is found in Psalm 139; and here it is the pre-existent body with which the poet in some sense identifies himself. It is "I" that am formed in the womb and even wrought in the lowest parts of the earth—these two being curiously blended in thought, as they are also in Job 1:21, and *Sirach*, 40:1. But we should expect the idea to arise in course of time that the breath of God also was for each man in some sense a distinct entity. Beginnings in this direction may possibly be found in such passages as Job 32:8; 33:4; Prov. 20:27, and especially the expression "the neshamoth that I made," in Isa. 57:21. There is also the hint in Eccles. 3:21 that there were in the writer's time those who claimed (in contrast to Ps. 104:29, 30, etc.) that the ruaḥ of man had a different destiny after death from the ruaḥ of the beast. It is not my purpose to trace the history of these conceptions, but only to indicate the line along which Jewish thought, so long as it remained distinctly Jewish, would naturally move.

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[13] Compare Gen. 2:7 with 6:17; 7:15, 22; and see Job 32:8; 33:4; 34:14; Isa. 57:16.

In regard to Greek conceptions, what needs here to be said relates principally to Plato, and especially to the *Phaedo*, since this is the book by which the writer of *Wisdom* is thought to have been influenced.[16] Homer determined popular Greek ideas about death far more than Plato ever did. The Homeric Hades

[14] Job 34:14, 15; Eccles. 12:7; *Sirach*, 40:11 [Heb.].

[15] Gen. 3:19; Job 10:9; 34:14, 15; Ps. 22:30 [29]; 30:10 [9]; 103:14; 104:29; Eccles. 3:20; 12:7; *Sirach*, 16:30; 17:1; *Pirke Aboth*, 3:1.

[16] See especially Rohde, *Psyche* (2. Aufl., 1898).

is very like the Hebrew Sheol. There are the same objective pictures of the dead, and at the same time gloom and emptiness and unreality characterize their lot. One distinction, however, is significant. Homer can call the shades in Hades *ψυχαί*; and at the height of the Greek faith in a future life Plato is still willing to describe the immortality he contends for as a persistence of the *ψυχή* in Hades.[17] The word nephesh is not so used in the Old Testament, and at the height of Jewish thought Sheol becomes exclusively the place of punishment for the wicked. *Psyche* is an appropriate title for Rohde's book on the worship of the soul and the faith in immortality among the Greeks; but no one would use Nephesh as the title of a book on Hebrew ideas of the life after death. Greek thought issued at its best in a doctrine of the immortality of the soul; Hebrew thought in a doctrine of the resurrection. Undoubtedly the Greek conception of the transmigration of souls represented in its early popular forms a feeling like that which the Jewish conception of resurrection expresses, that there can be no true life of man apart from a body. But on the higher levels of Greek thought, in the Orphic Mysteries, in Pythagoras, and in Plato, metempsychosis was so transformed that reincarnation was a disciplinary punishment, and the ideal to be striven after was the permanent escape of the soul from the body. The highest point attainable in the Hebrew line of development is that expressed by Paul's conception of a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. Greek thought culminates in Plato's *τότε γὰρ αὐτὴ καθ' αὑτὴν ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος* (*Phaedo*, 67 A). The tendency of Greek thought, then, was to regard the soul as the personality, and with reference both to what precedes and to what follows man's earthly life, to fix attention upon the soul. The difference between the Greek idea of metempsychosis as a series of incarnations of the soul in different bodies, and the Jewish idea of resurrection, the reunion of the soul with its former body, or the reviving of the dead body by a (new?)[18] breath of life from God, illustrates the Greek tendency to connect the personality with the soul, and the Hebrew tendency to connect it with the body. The fact that resurrection is characteristic of the Jewish view and immortality of the Greek is connected also with the national character of the Jewish religion and the individual character of the Greek. But resurrection, in contrast to immortality, did not arise and maintain itself simply as a part of the Messianic hope. It was deeply rooted in Jewish ideas of man and God. The Greek asked, Is the soul immortal? The Jews, If a man die, shall he live again?

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[17] *Phaedo*, 71 D, E, 81 C, 106 E, 107 A.

[18] See Ezek. 37:1–14, which, though it describes in figure, the revival of Israel, discloses the way in which a Hebrew would conceive of the resurrection of the individual. Here the old bones are reclothed with flesh, and revived by a fresh breath (ruaḥ) of God.

The ruling conception in the philosophy of Plato was that there is a realm of eternal and changeless ideas, of which earthly and sensible things are copies, and upon which all things depend for their being. True being, reality, belongs to this realm alone. Man's highest capacity is that of knowing this invisible world of ideas, that is, the capacity for abstract thought. That the soul of man has this power is proof that it belongs by nature to that higher realm. Moreover, since the soul's knowledge of the ideas is not given to it by the senses, it must be in reality memory, and hence attests the fact of the soul's pre-existence in the sphere of eternal realities. The soul is in its nature related to the ideas, and shares with them their quality of eternity. All abstract thought bears witness to the soul's unearthly origin, but especially its knowledge of the highest ideas, such as goodness, beauty, justice.[19] The immortality of the soul is therefore an inference from this pre-existence, of which we have immediate evidence in our knowledge, or memory, of abstract truths and ideals. "In its capacity to know the eternal the soul bears within itself the surest guarantee of being itself eternal."[20] But this soul which has no end because it had no beginning, and attests its eternity to itself by its power to know things not given it through the bodily senses, is bound while on earth to a body which is foreign to its nature. The body hinders it in that search for knowledge which is its true life. The doctrine of transmigration, as developed by the Mysteries and Pythagoras, furnished Plato perhaps with the basis for his theory that knowledge is memory, and certainly with his explanation of the unnatural union of soul with body. The eternal soul must pass through the discipline of successive incarnations in the bodies of men, or even of beasts, until it attains such purity that it may be delivered from the circle of births and remain in the realm to which in truth it belongs. To attain this salvation is the aim of the philosopher. His method is to separate the soul as much as possible from the body, to dwell in the realm of ideas, not in that of sense, to repress bodily passions and desires.[21] Even in the case of the philosopher it is only the complete separation of soul from body by death that brings the open vision of truth. He practices dying even now, and welcomes the approach of death.

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[19] See *Phaedo*, 73-76; *Symposium*, 211, 212.

[20] Rohde, *Psyche*, II, 285.

The pre-existence of the soul is, then, more certain than its immortality, for it is attested by present experience. Plato has other arguments for the soul's immortality based on its nature, especially as not composite and as self-moving; but to the argument from "memory" he returns as the surest basis of his hope.[22] This means that the pre-existence and the immortality of the soul alike depend for him upon the reality of the ideas; and this is the supreme article of faith in the religion of Plato. The true nature of reality is not in matter, and the true nature of man is not in the body.

This brief statement may serve to bring before our minds the characteristic marks of the Platonic doctrine of pre-existence. It is clear that it concerns the soul alone, and that the soul which pre-exists is not only that which lives, but that which thinks. It is evident that the doctrine stands in the closest relation to a general view of the world, a dualistic view, in which the contrast of spirit and matter is central and all-determining. It is a doctrine which involves a definite conception of the nature of evil as having its source and seat in matter, and a distinctly ascetic theory and ideal of conduct. It is inseparable, also, from a belief in immortality in which two elements are to be distinguished, the inherent, unconditional indestructibility of the soul as such (*ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος*),[23] and the goal of a permanently incorporeal life of the soul, a *blessed* immortality, which is conditioned on its renunciation of the pleasures and passions of the body and its attaining of knowledge and virtue. The souls that carry with them out of the earthly life no taint of the body, but have desired death and practiced dying while on earth, will live forever in the realm of reality, in communion with the gods.[24] Plato's doctrine of immortality is therefore in part a metaphysic and in part a religion. The two, however, are not to be separated as if Plato wavered inconsistently between the natural and the conditional immortality of the soul. The redemption of the soul from the body is accomplished by knowledge, the knowledge of eternal truths and realities, and of the soul as belonging by nature to the realm of eternal things. The philosopher is one who knows and applies the fact that the soul is imperishable. By realizing the soul's inescapable immortality, and living in the light of this knowledge, he attains immortality in the full and blessed sense.

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[21] *Phaedo*, 65 ff.

[22] *Ibid.*, 91, 92; cf. 72–77.

[23] *Phaedrus*, 245 C.

It is evident how great a difference separates the native Hebrew from the Greek, and especially from the Platonic, ideas of the pre-existence of the soul; and also that the difference is closely connected with the idea of the soul. In general the Hebrew meant by the pre-existing soul the life or life-giving energy which man receives from God; while Plato meant by it not only that which makes the body alive but also that in man which knows truth, the power of thought; hence, certainly in a far higher degree than neshamah to the Hebrew, the ψυχή to Plato was the self-conscious moral personality, and the pre-existence of the soul was therefore more truly the pre-existence of the person.[25]

The contention of this paper is that, contrary to the current view, both the rabbis of the Talmudic period, and the writer of the *Book of Wisdom* were, at this point, Jewish, not Greek.

Turning now to the *Book of Wisdom*, we shall look first at the short list of passages from which it is inferred that the writer accepted the Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul.

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[24] *Phaedo*, 80, 81.

[25] So much may be said without entering into the difficult question just how far Plato succeeded in securing immortality for the conscious personality in our modern sense of that word. It must be confessed that metempsychosis, the successive inhabiting of different bodies by the soul, though it connects the personality more closely with the soul than with the body, does not convey so vivid a sense of the personal identity of the one who now lives with the one who will live hereafter as does the doctrine of resurrection, which connects the personality with the body more closely than with the soul. See R. K. Gaye, *The Platonic Conception of Immortality*, 1904.

The first of these passages, 1:4, cited by Grimm, with 8:20, as evidence of the Platonic conception that the body is the seat of sin, can be shortly dismissed. Surely nothing that other passages may yield can avail to make this Platonic. The author begins his book with the thought that God can be found and known by men only on the condition of righteousness. Sin shuts men off from that Power (1:3), or Wisdom (1:4), or Spirit (1:5), which is the medium, or representative, of God's immanent presence in the world (1:7) and in men (1:4–6). "For into a soul devising evil wisdom will not enter, nor will it dwell in a body that is in debt to sin." Grimm remarks (pp. 50 f.) that although "body and soul" means the human being in his totality, yet "the author would not have used this paraphrase if he had not assumed a source and seat of moral evil also in the body (well known as a fundamental dogma of developed Alexandrianism in Philo), although according to his view not all bodies are in equal degree permeated by the principle of sin (8:19, 20)." If in the words, "wenn er nicht Quelle und Sitz des sittlich Bösen auch im Leibe angenommen hätte," the "auch" means "as well as in the soul," then the Philonic character of the verse is denied in the sentence that affirms it. In fact it is brought in by Grimm only by sheer force, and is positively excluded by the verse itself and by its context. The two clauses of the verse are in rhythmical parallelism, and mean, individually and together, simply that the divine wisdom will not enter into a sinful man. At most they supplement each other by suggesting that there are more spiritual and more physical sorts of sin which equally shut the divine spirit out. But the body is no more the seat of sin than the soul, and there is nothing to suggest that either body or soul is the source of sin. This verse says the same thing that is said in other words in vss. 3 and 5. The sins which are in the writer's mind as those that especially shut out the spirit of God are not sins of sense, but perverse thoughts and blasphemous or lying words about the meaning and conduct and end of life, such as chap. ii reports. The man described by the phrase, *κακότεχνος ψυχή*, is more vividly present before the writer's eye than the man suggested by the phrase, *σῶμα κατάχρεος ἁμαρτίας*. The verse is definitely un-

Platonic, for it implies that the divine Wisdom can dwell in the body as well as in the soul, and that the soul is not good by nature and the body evil, but that body and soul alike may be either good or evil. The contrast between *ψυχή* and *σῶμα* is like that of Prov. 11:17 rather than that of Greek dualism. The words are Greek, but the thought is Hebraic. Man is a unity, and his character, good or bad, belongs to both of the two parts of which he is composed. Paul, the Hebrew, could think of the body as a dwelling-place of the spirit of God (I Cor. 6:19), and of a purity that includes body as well as soul (I Thess. 5:23);[26] but this is not Platonism.

There remain three verses on which the Hellenistic dualism of our author depends, 8:20; 9:15; 11:17. On 8:19, 20 alone depends the accepted view that he held to Plato's and Philo's doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul. It is a rather heavy weight for these two short verses to sustain. They form, in fact, a parenthesis, and would not be in the least missed if they were dropped out. It is not my purpose, however, to cast doubt upon them. Though they are parenthetical, they serve a good purpose, and are, as I hope to prove, quite characteristic of the author's mode of thought. In the person of Solomon he describes his early love of Wisdom, and his determination to find and follow her (8:2–18). But when he sought her he discovered that she was not to be gained except as the gift of God, and that he must therefore resort to prayer (8:21—9:18); and this in spite of the fact that he was thoroughly and exceptionally good by nature (8:19, 20), and so had fulfilled that fundamental condition for the obtaining of wisdom which is set forth in 1:1–6. The thought in general is that expressed in 7:1–7. Even Solomon, great as was his natural endowment, was only like other men, and gained Wisdom only by a way that is open to every man, that of prayer. He was perfect among the sons of men, and yet he needed the Wisdom that comes from God (9:6).

How then is this natural goodness of Solomon described?

παῖς δὲ ἤμην εὐφυής.
ψυχῆς τε ἔλαχον ἀγαθῆς,
μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν
ἦλθον εἰς σῶμα ἀμίαντον.

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[26] See also Rom. 6:12; 12:1.

According to the usual understanding of the passage the author means by *μᾶλλον δὲ* to substitute the second expression for the first; and this second expression is thought to imply that the soul pre-exists, and has already attained a certain character, good or bad; and that, according to this character, it is assigned to a better or a worse body. To this it is commonly added that the body is in any case something foreign to the soul and a source of evil to it (9:15), because it is composed of matter (11:17). It will serve our purpose to reproduce in summary Grimm's comments.

The author, he thinks, started to write the common expression, which would have been, "I was of good nature and was allotted a good soul *and an undefiled body;*" but as he did not share the common view he did not complete the sentence, but substituted another for it (vs. 20). This would have been clearer if he had written, "Or rather, being *a good soul* I came into an undefiled body." This is evidently what he meant. The "undefiled body" is a body not defiled by the power of the sensuous, or one in which the power of the sense-impulse is not so strong as to hinder the effort of the spirit toward wisdom and virtue. The author accordingly sees in the body, as a part of matter (9:5 [15?]), the source of evil, although his view on this point is not so fully developed as in Philo. In saying that the soul was *good* even before its union with the body, the pre-existence of souls is presupposed, according to the familiar Platonic conception, which Philo and the Essenes also appropriated. Yet our author has somewhat modified the Platonic idea, for he thinks of the character of the body as dependent on the character of the soul in its pre-existent state, and so assumes two sorts of pre-existing souls, good and bad. There are points of analogy with this in Plato and in Philo, but in Plato the best souls escape reincarnation, and in Philo they are not drawn to earth and do not enter human bodies at all, while of those that do enter the earthly life the better class regard the body as a prison, and long to return to their heavenly home. But in spite of this difference, Philo's view teaches us the spirit in which the writer of *Wisdom* also may have thought of the difference between good and bad souls in their pre-existent state. The good were less attracted by the earthly and sensuous than the bad. It is also to be assumed that the writer did not imagine that souls were created good and bad by God. They could only become so by their free choice.[27]

Now have we a right to say that in vs. 19 the author falls into a traditional (Jewish) form of expression with which he does not agree, and then in vs. 20 corrects himself and substitutes his new

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[27] Grimm, *Das Buch der Weisheit*, pp. 176–78.

(Greek) conception; so that we ought to neglect the first verse and use only the second in interpreting his thought? Grimm says that μᾶλλον δὲ is used sometimes to heighten, but more often to correct, what has been said; but in none of the instances he cites does the second sentence simply displace the first, or put a correct statement in the place of an erroneous one. In speech one may slip into an error and correct it with an "or rather." "On p. 8, or rather 10, we read, etc." But in writing we do not leave the error standing and add the correction. When one deliberately writes and leaves two alternative forms of expression, connected by μᾶλλον δέ, we know that each has value to him, and that he feels that he conveys his meaning better by leaving them both and expressing a preference for the second, than he would do by striking out the first in favor of the second. Sometimes the adversative force of the δέ in this phrase is so slight that we can only express it in English by an inflection of the voice; sometimes it is strong enough to bear a "but;" but in all cases the two clauses together are clearer or stronger than the second would be alone. In the sentence, "Steal no more, but rather labor" (Eph. 4:28), the labor does displace the stealing, but the charge to labor does not displace, but only intensifies, the charge not to steal. Examples like the following could just as well be taken from English literature, for they illustrate not a peculiar Greek phrase but the working of the human mind. "It is Christ Jesus that died, nay rather that was raised from the dead" (Rom. 8:34); "Now that ye have come to know God, or rather to be known by God" (Gal. 4:9); "Those who were formerly despised and near to Hades, or rather had entered it" (III *Macc.*, 6:31); "As slaves, or rather traitors" (III *Macc.*, 7:5); "Pharaoh appointed Joseph successor of his kingdom, or rather king" (Philo, *De Josepho*, 21); "The stars are said to be . . . . intelligent living beings, or rather each one is intellect itself" (*De opif. mundi*, 24).[28] In such examples the value of the first clause is evident. It is usually the more familiar, the more easily understood, and even the more literally correct form; while the second is newer, more striking and bold, giving a peculiar force to a certain phase of the thought, never simply displacing the first, and not necessarily more correct. In many instances the second expression could not stand alone, but depends on its contrast to the first for its meaning. All this is almost too simple, and calls for an apology. But in the passage before us it is the habit of commentators to take the second clause apart from the first, and to make it alone support the great doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul. Farrar, for example, says that vs. 19 is "an expression on which we need not dwell, because the writer proceeds, in the next clause, to correct it, and to intimate the view which he took of the relations between the soul and the body." Can we now follow the process of the writer's mind as he wrote the two clauses, and left them both standing? What he wanted to say was simply that Solomon was one of the favored men who possessed beauty and health and purity of body and also native goodness of character. The writer is a Jew writing Greek; and when he uses *σῶμα* and *ψυχή* for the two parts of human nature he inevitably thinks of man somewhat more dualistically than he would have done had he been writing Hebrew. But he is still a Jew, and man still consists, in his thought, in the union of these two parts, and not in either one alone. When, then, he wishes to explain that this child, Solomon, was *εὐφυής* in both parts of his being, the first way that occurs to him of expanding the bare statement is to say that he got by divine allotment a good soul. He is thinking of the body formed in the womb as if it were the person, and of the soul as chosen by God from his treasury of souls and breathed into the growing embryo, or into the child at birth. God fortunately allotted, or graciously chose, for Solomon a good soul. Then it occurs to him that it would be better to connect the personality with the soul, and to say that the body was happily matched to the soul, rather than that the soul was matched to the body. So he adds, "Or rather, being good, I came into a pure body." I think he would hardly have ventured to say what Grimm thinks would have made his thought clearer, "Being *a good soul*, etc." He does not expressly connect the man with the body in the first clause, nor with the soul in the second. The man, the "I," got a good soul, or rather entered a good body. He prefers to bring the "I" into close relation with the soul, but he does not so far identify them that he cares to take back the expression, "I obtained a good soul." The birth of a man is the coming together of body and soul, and the man is most favored by nature who has a soul natively good, united to a body natively pure. It is almost, even though not quite, a matter of indifference to the writer whether this union is described by saying that the man (as if he were first a body, or were with the body) obtained the soul, or that the man (as if he were first a soul, or were with the soul) entered the body. That he hesitates between the two expressions, and that he leaves the first unerased, is entirely inconceivable if he had a fully developed doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul, such as is now uniformly ascribed to him. That he leaves the first clause standing is conceivable only on the supposition that it expressed his thought naturally and well and in the familiar way, but that a newer, more striking way of looking at and expressing the same thing comes into his mind, and that he ventures to set it over against the other. The fact that he leaves the first clause as it is, presents, as it seems to me, positive proof that no such doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul as that of Plato or Philo was in his mind. The birth of Solomon was the coming together of a good soul and a pure body. Did not the soul, then, exist and have a certain character before it came into a body? Yes, but only in a sense comparable to that in which the body existed and had a certain character before it received a soul. If we ask without presupposition what sort of prenatal existence is implied in the two verses taken together, I think we must say that the suggestion of vs. 19 is that God has made and has in keeping souls for all men who are to be born, and allots one to each new child. Then vs. 20, not contradicting the suggestion of vs. 19, modifies it by taking a tentative step in the direction of connecting the person with the soul instead of with the body. God provides a soul for the body, or rather a body for the soul. One can use either expression, for it is not the man himself that pre-exists, but only the two parts that are to make the man.

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[28] See further II *Macc.*, 6:23; Eph. 5:11; I Cor. 14:1, 5; Acts 5:13, 14.

What has already been said of the Jewish idea of the pre-existence of the body and of the soul is sufficient to indicate that this interpretation of 8:19, 20, though it separates the writer of *Wisdom* at this point from Philo, does not set him apart in isolation from such movements of thought in his time as would naturally influence him. It does not attribute to him an anomalous position, but simply reveals the fact that he is still more Jew than Greek. When Jews began to speak Greek, and called the two parts of man *σῶμα* and *ψυχή*, they would naturally use *ψυχή* of that which God breathed into man, the neshamah or ruaḥ, and then the thought would be within easy reach that the personality, the "I," might associate itself as well with that part of the future man which comes from above as with the part which comes from below. Now it seems to me that in the *Book of Wisdom* we are at just such a point, and that 8:19, 20 is a significant landmark in this development of thought. This writer first and more naturally thinks of the body as that pre-existing part of man with which the personal pronoun could connect itself; but then he thinks of the *ψυχή*, the other part of the coming man, that which God breathes into him or lends to him,[29] as better deserving to be called "I." The significance of this tentative and partial connection of the personality with the *ψυχή* for the author's doctrine of immortality will be discussed later on. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that one who stands at this transitional stage, and has made only such a start toward identifying the person with the *ψυχή* as 8:19, 20 indicates, has adopted Platonism, or anything remotely resembling it. He does not hold to what we should call a real pre-existence of man at all. We are not to forget vs. 19. The writer is still more at home with the idea of a pre-existing body than with that of a pre-existing soul; and granting that both in a sense pre-exist, man is still to him neither one nor the other, but the union of the two. Neither Plato nor Philo could have written either of these verses; not vs. 19, because it seems to connect the person with the body; not vs. 20, because it implies that there is such a thing as a pure body, a fit abode for a good soul.

In 7:1–6 the origin of man is described in detail, the origin of the same man, Solomon, as in 8:19, 20, narrated with the same purpose, that of showing that, however he may have excelled other men in endowment, he was like all men in nature, and gained his pre-eminent wisdom, not by peculiar native talents, but only, as every man must gain it, by prayer and as a gift from God. Man is here described wholly from the point of view of his body. He is mortal, earth-born and related to earth, molded as *σάρξ* in the womb; while that which comes from heaven into man is no part of his original nature, but the "spirit of wisdom," which is given in answer to prayer, and secures for men friendship with God. There is hardly room here for the idea of a descent of the soul into a human body, bringing with it some memory of its native region. The movement is upward by divine help, from mortality and earthliness toward God, not downward from nearness to God, through some degrading impulse, into earthly life.

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[29] See the discussion of 15:8, 11, 16; 16:14 below.

The origin of man is described again in 15:11, in dependence on Gen. 2:7. Of the idol-maker it is said:

ἠγνόησεν τὸν πλάσαντα αὐτὸν
καὶ τὸν ἐμπνεύσαντα αὐτῷ ψυχὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν
καὶ ἐμφυσήσαντα πνεῦμα ζωτικόν.

The last two lines are quite certainly identical in meaning. The verbs are synonymous, the descriptive attributes are not distinctive, and between the nouns themselves, *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, the author seems in this connection to have made no clear discrimination (cf. 15:8, 16; 16:14). The *πνοὴ ζωῆς* which, according to Gen. 2:7, God breathed into man, and the *ψυχὴ ζῶσα* which man became, are not here kept apart. The *ψυχή* or *πνεῦμα* of man is what God breathes into him, and is first of all vitality, life itself. At death man returns to the earth from which he was taken, *τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαιτηθεὶς χρέος* (15:8). The *ψυχή*, then, does not fully belong to man. The earth is his native element. The *ψυχή* is a loan from God, and at death the debt is paid. The man returns to earth and his soul is taken back by God. This is obviously Jewish and nothing else. It agrees with 8:19, but not with 8:20; that is, man is not a soul that enters a body, but a body, formed of earth, growing in the womb (7:1 ff.), to which a soul is allotted, or lent. So in 15:16 man is one who has borrowed his spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα δεδανισμένος). Again, alluding to God's healing by means of the brazen serpent, the writer says (after I Sam. 2:6, etc.), that only God can both slay and make alive. Man can slay, ἐξελθὸν δὲ πνεῦμα οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, οὐδὲ ἀναλύει ψυχὴν παραλημφθεῖσαν; that is, he cannot turn back [into the one whom he has slain] the spirit that has gone forth, nor can he release a soul that has been received, or taken possession of [by God] (16:14).[30] Grimm supplies εἰς ᾅδου, but it is more probable that the idea in the author's mind is still the same as in 15:8, 16; moreover he nowhere says that the ψυχή goes to Hades—another indication that he is more Jew than Greek. The soul is taken back at death by God, and man cannot recover it.

But to all that has been argued thus far it will of course be objected that in 9:15 and 11:17 we have ideas unmistakably Platonic, and that if these verses reveal the author's knowledge and acceptance of the Platonic dualism, it is right to assume that 8:20 is also Platonic, and if 8:20, then 1:4.

Solomon's prayer for wisdom (9:1–18) confesses that, though man was made for dominion and for righteousness, yet he is at best weak and short-lived and lacking in understanding, so that even one who is perfect as a man is to be reckoned as nothing unless he have the wisdom that comes from God. The necessity of this divine help is enlarged upon in vss. 13–18, chiefly in the language and spirit of the Old Testament;[31] but in vs. 15 a ground of man's limited powers of knowledge is found in his body. Because of its weight and burden the mind of man can know earthly things but imperfectly, and heavenly things not at all unless God sends his holy spirit. This, however, God does send, in answer to prayer, and a sufficient and saving knowledge of God is therefore within every one's reach. The "corruptible body" or "earthly tent" (cf. Isa. 38:12; Job 4:19)[32] is an explanation, not of the sin, but of the ignorance of man. This is the prayer of a perfect man, one in whom a good soul is united with an undefiled body. It is not therefore the impurity of the body, whether ritual or moral, that is in mind, but its mortality. The thought is the same as that of 7:1–6 and 9:5. The verse reads:

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[30] Cf. Eccles. 8:8.

[31] Compare, e. g., Isa. 40:13, 14; Jer. 23:18*a;* Job 15:8; 28: 20–22; 36:22; *Sirach*, 42:21.

[32] Σκῆνος had almost lost its figurative sense and become practically a synonym of σῶμα. See illustrations of this use in Heinrici, *Das Zweite Sendschreiben des Paulus an die Korinther*, p. 241.

> *φθαρτὸν γὰρ σῶμα βαρύνει ψυχήν,*
> *καὶ βρίθει τὸ γεῶδες σκῆνος νοῦν πολυφρόντιδα.*

That the language is Platonic is not to be questioned; whether the thought is Platonic, the author himself should be allowed to decide. The sentence in the *Phaedo* (81 C) on which the verse is commonly thought to depend runs as follows:

> *Ἐμβριθὲς δέ γε τοῦτο [τὸ σωματοειδὲς]*[33] *οἴεσθαι χρὴ εἶναι καὶ βαρὺ καὶ γεῶδες καὶ ὁρατόν· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἔχουσα ἡ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ βαρύνεταί τε καὶ ἕλκεται πάλιν εἰς τὸν ὁρατὸν τόπον, κ. τ. λ.*

The common or related words in the two passages are:

Wisdom	*Plato*
1. *βρίθει*	*ἐμβριθές*
2. *τὸ γεῶδες σκῆνος*	*γεῶδες*
3. *βαρύνει ψυχήν*	*βαρύ* and *ἡ ψυχὴ βαρύνεται.*

Grimm hesitates to affirm direct literary dependence, but E. Pfleiderer[34] and Menzel[35] think this certain.

Plato is speaking here, not of the hindrance that the body offers to the mind in its search for truth, but of the lot after death of souls which have been defiled by the body during the earthly life. Such souls, he says, have, through constant occupation with the body, taken something corporeal into themselves; and this corporeal element which the soul has absorbed, not the body itself—*τὸ σωματοειδές*, not *τὸ σῶμα*—we must think to be burdensome, and heavy, and earthy, and visible, so that such a soul is weighed down and dragged back to the visible region. Hence such a soul may sometimes even be seen at its tomb because of the body-like element that it has taken with it from its life with the body. After such wanderings it must be again imprisoned in a body, perhaps that of some animal most fitting its character. The connection of our verse with this passage in Plato is therefore purely one of words and not at all one of thought, a fact which commentators do not seem to have regarded as important. But if our author had the *Phaedo* before him he could easily have found striking expressions of a thought at least in form closely like the one he has in mind, namely, that the body stands in the soul's way in its effort to gain wisdom,[36] instead of fixing upon a passage which has an entirely different meaning, and has nothing whatever to do with this thought. That it is remotely through the influence of this passage in Plato that the words ἐμβριθές, γεῶδες, βαρύνω, became associated as expressing the relation of body to soul is not impossible. But that the writer of *Wisdom* selected them from Plato and made the application (expressing a Platonic thought in Platonic language which Plato used to express an entirely different thought) is improbable. The improbability will not lessen when we find that one so deeply concerned as our author is with the subject of immortality shows in all that he says about it not the slightest trace of the influence of the *Phaedo*, though this was the greatest book on the subject which the world had up to his time produced. Both in conception and in argument he follows a wholly different and unrelated course. But our immediate concern is with the question whether the *thought* of 9:15 is really Platonic, or not. Our author thinks of a body free from impurity as hindering the mind merely by the limitations of finiteness and mortality, while Plato regards the body as the seat of passions, of evil appetites, desires, and fears, which obscure the soul's natural vision of truth by a morally degrading and corrupting influence. In the *Phaedo* the only way in which the soul can see things as they are is by freeing itself as much as possible from the body. Indeed, it is only after actual death, which consists in the separation of body and soul, that the soul can fully gain truth. But the *Book of Wisdom* contains no such ascetic doctrine, and suggests absolutely no ascetic practice. The verse before us describes an inevitable fact about man. It does not find a moral cause of this fact in some sin or defect of the soul which brought it into the body, nor in the inevitable evil of the body as matter; nor does it seek escape by the moral effort of suppressing the body, by the practice of dying. Neither is the body man's fault, nor is its burden to be removed by his effort. It is natural and indispensable to man, and belongs to the best of men. It is not an insurmountable barrier in the way of wisdom, for there is an open path by which wisdom can be gained here and now. The way is not escape from the body as from a prison or grave, but the coming into body and soul (1:4) of the divine spirit of wisdom. Our author's positive injunction could only be to keep body and soul alike pure, since only on this condition can the prayer for the divine wisdom be granted (1:4). The man in whose person our author speaks gained wisdom in this way, through prayer and by the gift from above. He possessed a pure body, and when he asked for wisdom he received with it all good things of the bodily life, health and comeliness, riches, power, and honor (7:11; cf. vss. 8–10).[37] Our author knew how to idealize the Solomon of biblical history, but even he would hardly have chosen this hero if his own ideal had been that of asceticism. The book is full of the spirit of confidence and exultation in the actual possession of wisdom.[38] This verse, 9:15, can therefore only mean that wisdom must be sought from God, and cannot be gained by man's unaided effort. But this is not a Platonic dualism; it is Jewish religion, expressing itself first in Scripture form (9:13), then in certain Platonic phrases which the author had caught from the popular philosophical teaching of his day. Such a literary use of current phraseology, derived from a different world-view from one's own, is not unnatural. This verse does not, then, compel us to admit a dualism which 1:4 and 8:19, 20 exclude. It neither compels nor permits us to attribute to our author "the Platonic conception of a pre-existence of souls and a banishing of them into earthly bodies because of a pretemporal fall."[39]

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[33] Not *τὸ σῶμα*, which Grimm and others supply.

[34] *Op. cit.*, pp. 295 f.

[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

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[36] See, e. g., *Phaedo*, 66, 67.

What has been said of 9:15 applies even more obviously to 11:17. The verse contains a Platonic phrase, but not a Platonic thought. The phrase *ἄμορφος ὕλη* arose among Platonists, Aristotle being the first to use *ὕλη* in this sense. Plato had used ἄμορφος[40] of the world-stuff, and the phrase ὕλη ἄμορφος was used by Stoics and by Philo.[41] The Stoic use indicates that it did not necessarily carry dualistic implications with it, and our further study will make it probable that it was from the popular Stoicism of his time, rather than from Platonism, that our author took the phrase. That God made the world out of formless matter was not indeed a Hebrew conception; but the question that concerns us is whether to our author, as to Philo, the matter of which God made the world was evil and a cause of evil; and to this we may return a confident negative. In the material world as God made it only wholesome powers are operative (1:14). That God created the world of formless matter is an evidence only of his greater power, and it is only to illustrate and magnify his power that it is mentioned. God's creation is altogether good. It is only man whose sin brings evil into it, and his sin is nowhere traced to the matter of which his body is formed.

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[37] In accordance with I Kings 3:5–14.

[38] See, e. g., 6:22—7:14; 7:15–21; 8:2 ff.

[39] Zöckler, *Die Apokryphen*, p. 5.

One verse which Grimm interprets in a Platonic direction we need not discuss in detail, since it is generally agreed that his rendering is mistaken. In 8:21 he rendered the word ἐγκρατής by *enthaltsam* (as in *Sirach*, 26:15), whereas it must certainly be translated "possessed of," "master of" (as in *Sirach*, 6:27; 15:1; *Bar.* 4:1), supplying σοφίας from vs. 18, vss. 19, 20 being parenthetical. Grimm's inference that we have here the Alexandrian principle that the greatest possible freeing of oneself from the body is the foundation of virtue and the condition of the elevation of the spirit to the supersensible realm, is baseless. This is indeed the view that necessarily results from the dualistic theory of Plato and Philo, and is strenuously urged by them. The fact that it appears neither here nor elsewhere in the *Book of Wisdom* surely confirms us in our belief that its author did not accept the dualistic theory.

It must already be evident that our writer's view of the world should not be inferred from two or three isolated sentences, but rather that these sentences should be interpreted in the light of his general view. To this we must therefore now give some attention. The Platonic or Philonic doctrine of the pre-existence of

[40] *Timaeus*, 51 A.

[41] See Grimm on *Wisdom* 11:17.

the soul, which is commonly attributed to our author, is a part of a certain philosophy and psychology. Its presence is indicated by causes and effects especially in three directions. It belongs, in the first place, to a dualistic conception of the universe, in which the ruling contrast is that between matter and spirit, and in man between body and soul. In the next place, evil in this universe is due to matter, and sin in man to the body. Sin is to be conquered by a war against the body and by separation from the world, by anticipating that freedom of the soul from the body which only actual death can fully effect. Finally, to the pre-existence of the soul corresponds its immortality. That which comes into the body as a foreign being is not involved in the body's death. The bodily existence appears as an interruption of the soul's normal life. We must therefore test our thesis that there is no Platonic doctrine of pre-existence in the *Book of Wisdom* by asking whether the grounds and results of such a doctrine are to be seen here, as they clearly are in Philo, in these three directions.

The writer's general view of the world is set forth in his conception of Wisdom. This is the most philosophical idea that the book contains, and the one most affected by Greek influence. But this conception, rooted in the native soil of Jewish monotheism, branches out, not in the direction of Platonic dualism, but in that of Stoic monism. The most philosophical and the most Hellenic passage in the book is 7:22—8:1; and here, as in related passages (1:7; 12:1), it is not the Platonic doctrine of Ideas, but the Stoic conception of the World Soul that contributes to its development. Even here, however, the writer remains more Jew than Greek.[42] Wisdom, which is once called Power (1:3) and several times Spirit, is the agency through which God made and maintains the universe, rules human history for the ends of righteousness and love, and imparts to individuals knowledge, friendship with himself, virtue and immortality. There is undoubtedly a certain want of adjustment between the physical and the ethical qualities and functions of Wisdom, but the author's purpose to make it a unifying conception is unmistakable. As a semi-physical substance and energy it fills the world, making and holding together all things; while as the pure image and outflow of the goodness of God, it refuses to dwell in unrighteous men. Regarded as the immanence of God in the creation, it is described as an all-penetrating, all-moving, all-renewing energy, various yet one, mobile yet steadfast. Regarded as God's self-revelation and self-communication to men, it is characterized by moral qualities—righteousness, purity, and especially love. In both aspects Wisdom is the image of God; in one, of his power; in the other, of his goodness. In one view it penetrates all spirits, in the other it enters only into holy souls. No doubt the writer, though more Hebrew than Stoic, takes the physical aspects and activities of the Wisdom Spirit seriously. It literally fills and makes and rules all things (1:7; 7:22 ff.; 12:1). The formless matter of which God made the world he evidently conceives of as wholly penetrated and ordered and mastered by this Spirit. There is no hint that matter presents an obstacle to this creative energy of God, or produces any defect in the creation. The divine declaration that the world is very good is accepted without reserve (1:14), and demonstrated with enthusiasm. Only one thing stands opposed to this Spirit of God, and that is not matter, even in 9:15, and not the devil, in spite of 2:24, but always and everywhere the sin of man. Death, which is the author's summary word for all evil does not belong to God's purpose, and was not made by him.[43] Wicked men brought it upon them by their own deeds and choice (1:12–16; 2:23, 24). Nothing else excludes the presence or limits the potency of this divine Wisdom except the evil thoughts and deeds of man. Death is the only evil thing in the universe, and sin is the only cause of its presence.

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[42] The doctrine of Wisdom is expounded in 1:1-7; 6:12-25; chaps. 7—9 (especially 7:22—8:1); chaps. 10—11:1; cf. 12:1.

Wisdom, as the artificer of all things, knows and can reveal the mysteries of the physical universe (7:17–22*a*); but these, which occupy so large a place in books like *Enoch*, our author does not care to unfold. His interests are chiefly to set forth Wisdom as the way of personal salvation (1:1–7; chaps. 6–9), and to prove that it orders human life justly and with loving care for men (chaps. 10–19). It would lead us too far to show in detail how

[43] Contrary to *Sirach*, 11:14; 33:14, 15; yet see 39:29; 40:9, 10.

eagerly the writer contends that there is no problem of evil, that all is well with the world, that even if not in seeming, yet always in reality, the forces of the world are working together to the ends of justice and goodness. In the last section of the book (chaps. 10–19) an effort is made to prove from sacred history that Wisdom in reality rules all things graciously (8:1), and that the creation itself fights on the side of God (5:17, 20 ff.). The history of Israel, from Egypt to Canaan, exhibits the power, and especially the love, of God (11:21—12:2; 12:12–18, etc.). Through God's all-pervading Spirit all things are ordered "by measure, and number, and weight" (11:20), in ideal fitness for moral ends. Men are punished in ways exactly fitting their sin (*δι' ὧν τις ἁμαρτάνει διὰ τούτων κολάζεται*, 11:16). This principle is variously illustrated (12:24–27; 16:1; 18:4, 5), and is shown to be a principle of love even more than of justice. The righteous suffer only in obviously beneficent measure and manner (12:19–22; 15:2; 11:8–10; 16:4–11; 18:20–25). The physical creation acts with God in blessing and in punishment, in such ways that even the very thing that afflicts the wicked benefits the righteous (16:1 ff., 15 ff.; 19:6, 18–21). Beyond question the general view of the book is the thorough goodness of the creation, and the complete subordination of nature to moral ends through the all-penetrating and ruling Spirit. Formless matter meets us nowhere but in 11:17, and it is clear that material elements and forces do not block the way or limit the power of the divine government, but marvelously assist and further it. Philo, also, maintained the goodness of the universe, but in his view its perfection is seriously impaired by the matter of which God made it. In the *Book of Wisdom* the ruling contrast is decidedly not between matter and spirit, or body and soul, but between righteousness and sin.

What then of sin? What is its source, if not the "corruptible body" composed of "formless matter"? Sin appears to be simply a man's free choice of evil by which he renounces his true nature as a son of God and throws away his heritage of rulership and immortality.[44] The nature and growth of sin are described in connection with those types of incorrigible sinners, the Egyptians and the Canaanites. The plagues of the Egyptians and their destruction in the Red Sea, and the extermination of the Canaanites required justification as deeds of a God whose nature was distinguished above all by forgiving and saving love. The justification was found in the hopeless and final character of their wickedness. The sin of the Canaanites was especially heinous and deeply ingrained (12:3–6, 10, 11); yet the language that describes it contains no doctrine of original sin, nor any suggestion that either the devil or the material body was responsible for it. Even to them God gave room for repentance: *οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι πονηρὰ ἡ γένεσις αὐτῶν καὶ ἔμφυτος ἡ κακία αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἀλλαγῇ ὁ λογισμὸς αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, σπέρμα γὰρ ἦν κατηραμένον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* (12:10*b*, 11*a*). The inference is that God's forbearance toward these who were "due to death" (12:20), was only the greater proof of his strength (vss. 12–18), and that we, in imitation of God, ought to be lovers of men (vs. 19).

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[44] See 1:12, 16; compare 2:16–18; 2:21–24; 9:2, 3; 6:3, 4, 20, 21.

The fundamental sin, in our author's view, is not sensual passion, but idolatry. Idolatry issues indeed in all sorts of immoralities, but its root is ignorance of God; and this again seems to be traced to some inherent perversity or dullness of the mind, rather than to the bodily nature. "Foolish were [*ἦσαν* must be supplied on account of the following *παρῆν*] all men by nature [*φύσει*], and ignorance of God was with them" (13:1). It is of course possible with Grimm to interpret *φύσει* by 9:15, as referring to the body; but we should surely have a right to expect some hint of this in the elaborate discussion that follows, and no such hint is given. The visible world is good, not evil (13:1), and it is because it is so good, because of the beauty and grandeur of created things, that men have stopped with these and failed to see that they revealed the greater beauty of their invisible author (13:1 ff.). For this men are partly excusable (vss. 6, 7), but partly at fault (vss. 8, 9). The beauty of the world which should reveal God, is in fact a cause of idolatry. Another explanation of idolatry (14:12–21) traces it to images of a lost child, or of an absent ruler. These images are idealized, and finally worshiped. Then from this radical fault spring all sorts of immorality, at first as a part of worship, and then as an all-dominating wickedness (14:22–31): *ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἀνωνύμων εἰδώλων θρησκεία παντὸς ἀρχὴ κακοῦ καὶ αἰτία καὶ πέρας ἐστίν* (14:27). This is surely not the language of one to whom *ὕλη* or *σῶμα* is the beginning or principle and the cause of evil. That it is ignorance of God,[45] unbelief in him,[46] with the resulting idolatry, that is the root of sin and evil is no less evident in chapters 1, 2, where the author describes the contemporary form of the ancient sins of Egyptians and Canaanites. The denial of God and of the unseen is the fundamental creed of the ungodly (2:1–5, 22), and sensuality and cruelty are its results (2:6–20).

Here, however, we meet the famous sentence, "By envy of the devil death entered into the world, and they experience it who belong to his part" (2:24). The language of this verse belongs to another type of dualism, not the Hellenistic, but that which we find especially in the apocalyptical books of Palestinian Judaism. The foreign relations of this sort of dualism, if we are to look for them at all, belong rather in the Persian than in the Greek world. But does our author adopt the views of this school or tendency when he falls in this single verse into its language? No one has ever urged that Satan or demons had an important place in our author's theology. He has, in strict consistency, no room in his world for any divine being except God, or for any spirit except God's one omnipresent and omnipotent Spirit of Wisdom. He nowhere connects idolatry with demons, a connection easy and often made; just as he nowhere connects immorality with the body. Idolatry, that primary sin, is due to ignorance of God, and immorality is the result of idolatry. Of course if the author had denied the existence of a devil he would hardly have written this verse, or would have allegorized the story of the fall as Philo does. He touches for this once upon ideas capable of development into a pronounced dualism, and actually so developed by some Jews, but he does not adopt the dualism. The verse is of course a summary allusion to Genesis, chap. 3; but though it is the first definite identification of the serpent with the devil which we meet in Jewish literature, it is safe to affirm that our author was not the first to make the identification, for he has no special interest in it and makes no further use of it. It is quite evident that 2:23, 24 is exactly parallel in thought to 1:12–16. The fact that the devil tempted man belonged to the story as he had been taught to understand it, but does not explain or excuse man's sin; and it is man's sin alone which explains his death. Sin is the choice of death, and actually appears to be the cause that called it into being. The close likeness between the last lines of 1:16 and of 2:24 deserves attention. Supplying the line of 1:15 which is wanting in the Greek, we obtain *θάνατος* as the reference of *αὐτόν* and *ἐκείνου* in 1:16. Death is personified, as Hades is in 1:14, where it is said that he has no palace (or crown, cf. 5:16) on earth. The ungodly make Death their friend, *ὅτι ἄξιοί εἰσιν τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος εἶναι.* When now we compare this with 2:24, *πειράζουσιν δὲ αὐτὸν* [*θάνατον*] *οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου* [*διαβόλου*] *μερίδος ὄντες*, our impression is that the devil is scarcely more than the personification of death. Certainly death is his proper realm and portion. Our author maintains his doctrine that the universe is altogether good and wholly filled with the divine Spirit by denying that God made death (1:13; 2:23), and by denying its reality in the case of the righteous (3:1 f.). We may infer that a devil whose realm is dependent on sin, and manifests itself only in the self-destruction which sin brings upon itself, would be incapable of lifting himself up into serious rivalry with God, or becoming a menace to the author's monism. His being and reign border close on the non-existent. Our writer's mode of thinking made it quite possible for him to accept the reality of the devil of current thought and yet give him practically the value of a mere symbol of temptation and death. The distinction between the figurative and the literal in Jewish writing can seldom be made by a sharp line, and needs to be drawn with almost as much tact in the case of the writer of *Wisdom* as in that of Paul and the writer of the Fourth Gospel. It is of course possible to infer from this verse, 2:24, that the writer divided the universe between God and Satan; attributed sin and death, which God did not make, to Satan; and separated mankind into two classes, those who belong to God and those who belong to the devil. But as a matter of fact this is not his way of thinking. He expresses himself so explicitly as to God's sole activity and universal presence and rule through the Spirit of Wisdom, and as to man's sole responsibility for sin and death, that we confidently refuse to draw such inferences from a single verse, and because of it to class the book with *Enoch*, chaps. 1–36, and the *Assumption of Moses*. In just the same way we have seen how possible it is to infer from 9:15 that the writer adopted the Jewish Hellenistic type of dualism, dividing the universe between matter and spirit, making matter the source of evil, ascribing sin and death to the corruptible and defiling body, and regarding the soul as an immortal being temporarily imprisoned in the body. But the author in fact does not adopt and carry through this dualism any more than the other; and 9:15 is as isolated as 2:24. He expresses himself explicitly in regard to the nature of sin and death and the way of escape from sin and from mortality; and he does not locate sin in the body, nor attribute death to the body, nor prescribe a dying to the body as the way of salvation. There is in reality a close analogy between the two cases. There is quite as much ground for the former inference, which no one makes, as for the latter, which almost everyone accepts. I am bound to believe that the reason why the Hellenistic dualism is accepted as the doctrine of the book and the Palestinian (apocalyptical) dualism is rejected, lies not in anything in the book itself, but in the fact that it is a Greek book, and that in its conception of Wisdom it occupies a midway position between Proverbs, chap. 8, and the Logos of Philo. If 2:24 is a harmless use of current language which really says no more than 1:16, why should it be insisted that 9:15 must mean so much more than 9:5 and 7:1–6? In fact both passages illustrate this writer's habit of adopting modes of expression that belong to views of the world and types of religion different from his own. In this he is not indeed so different from other men; but one who is not a systematic thinker, and who finds it everywhere easy to slip into spiritualizing interpretations will go farther in this direction than others.

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[45] See 12:27; 13:1-9; 14:22; 15:11, 12; 16:16.

[46] Ἀπιστεῖν, 1:2; 10:7; 12:17; 18:13.

But if neither in his general view of the world nor in his conception of sin and evil does our author prove to be a Platonist, does it not remain true that his doctrine of the immortality of the soul is Platonic and harmonizes with, if it does not actually require, his acceptance of the Platonic doctrine of the soul's pre-existence? If in our book the immortality of the soul takes the place of the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection, and is maintained in contrast to the corruptible nature of the body it would seem natural to infer that the writer accepted the Greek distinction of body and soul, and that the pre-existence and the immortality of the soul, were with him as with Plato and Philo, inseparable parts of one view of the nature of man. We have, therefore, to ask whether his conception of immortality is of the sort that implies pre-existence, or agrees well with it, or at the very least permits it.

We notice at the outset that the writer's conception of immortality rests, as that of the rabbis did, primarily on Genesis, chaps. 1–3. The story of creation and the fall is taken to mean that God made man for dominion and eternal life, and that sin is man's free choice of death (*Wisdom*, 1:12–16; 2:23, 24). Not because in man a soul immortal by nature is united with a mortal body is the death of the body powerless to destroy the life of the soul; but because God, entering upon creation from the impulse of love (11:24–26), made man in his own image, is immortality man's destined end. Only his sin shuts him off from the goal. The writer's interpretation of the story of the fall shows his characteristic blending of the literal and the figurative. That he accepts the story as historical fact is a matter of course (2:24), but in effect the story means to him that each man who sins brings death upon himself, and that those who do not sin do not really die (1:12–16). Adam is not made responsible for the power of sin, nor for the reign of death. On the contrary, following a line of which *Sirach*, 49:16 is our first witness, Adam is thought of as an example of righteousness (10:1, 2). According to the principle of 1:15; 3:1, 2, Adam did not die. His repentance must have saved him from death. Cain was the first one in reality to die; and we find almost the thought of Philo[47] that Cain really killed himself, not his brother, because he killed the virtue in which true life consists (10:3). There is of course the literal sense in

[47] *Quod det. potiori insid. soleat*, 14.

which all men descended from Adam are mortal as he was (7:1), and all, good and bad, have the same lot in birth and death (7:6). But there is a reality in comparison with which this outward lot is only a seeming. The reality is that only sinners die.

Next, then, to the dependence of the author's doctrine of immortality on Genesis, chaps. 1–3, is to be put the resulting fact that his doctrine is not the immortality of the soul, but the immortality of righteousness and of righteous men. His text is: *δικαιοσύνη γὰρ ἀθάνατός ἐστιν, injustitia autem mortis est acquisitio* (1:15). With this our question might seem to be already answered. The immortality of righteousness is not the sort of immortality that involves a doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul. It is not the sort of immortality which the soul brings with it into the mortal body. It is the sort that man can gain by moral effort. This, however, does not excuse us from further study, for Plato and Philo also think that it is by philosophy that men are immortalized. It is possible on the basis of Platonism, to think of the soul as indestructible, and yet use the word immortality of a *blessed* life of the soul in communion with God.

Our next observation is that the doctrine of immortality is maintained in the *Book of Wisdom* in opposition to a definite denial of it by the "ungodly" (*ἀσεβεῖς*). They used in part the familiar arguments from appearances. Birth happens in an offhand way; life is short; death is certain, and no one ever escaped it (2:1, 2*a*). But they added a theoretical argument based on the nature of the soul (2:2*b*, 3): The breath of life in man is as insubstantial as smoke. His reason (*λόγος*) is a spark produced by the beating of the heart. When the spark goes out the body becomes ashes, and the spirit is dispersed like thin air (*τό πνεῦμα διαχυθήσεται ὡς χαῦνος ἀήρ*). Apart from these expressions the argument that death ends all is Hebraic in character, and is closely paralleled in Job and *Sirach*,[48] and especially in Ecclesiastes.[49] The verses before us (2:2*b*, 3) have in part Old Testament connections. Ecclesiastes 12:7 is reflected in vs. 3, but it is as clearly materialized here as it is spiritualized in IV *Ezra*, 7:78. The chapter depicts a degenerate type of Epicureanism, and vss. 2, 3 contain a defense of it in the form of a popular materialistic theory of the soul, the roots of which are in Heraclitus and Zeno. Now it is a striking disclosure of our author's point of view with reference to immortality that, although he states the theory of his opponents that the soul is a product of bodily functions and hence ends with the body, he yet offers no theory of his own in reply. We should expect him at least to affirm, if not to argue, that the soul is not produced by bodily processes, but is independent of the body and not involved in its dissolution. But neither here nor anywhere in the book do we find an argument or even an assertion of this kind. In the *Phaedo* (70, 77, 78) the same theory is stated, that the soul is of the nature of air or smoke, and will be blown away and dissipated when removed from the body; and over against it the independent and indestructible nature of the soul is proved. But the author of *Wisdom* meets the assertion that death is due to the material nature of the soul only by the assertion that death is due to nothing but sin. He makes no effort to disconnect the soul from the body, or to find in the nature of the soul a ground for belief in its immortality. He draws out the crooked thoughts and wicked devices of his adversaries at length (2: 6–20; cf. 5: 1–14). He finds the root of their fault in ignorance of God and the denial of his righteous rule and sure rewards (2: 22). He does feel the need of affirming and proving the reality and universal presence of the Spirit of Wisdom in the world. The immortality in which he believes belongs primarily to this Spirit (12: 1), and is imparted by it to men (6: 17–21; 8: 17; 15: 3); but it does not belong to the nature of the soul.

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[48] E. g., Job 7:7, 9; 14:10–12; 27:3; 34:14, 15; *Sirach*, 17:28 (23); 38:21; 44:9.

[49] See Grimm, p. 30, n. 3.

One is tempted to think that the author did not disprove the theory of 2: 2, 3 because he accepted it as true for those who uttered it. These are the perverse thoughts that separate men from God (1: 3), the words by which the ungodly call death to them (1: 16). Their final lot, as they themselves confess, is in accordance not only with their desert but with their expectation (5: 1–20). They expected to be as though they had never been (2: 2), and this is in fact their end (5: 9 ff.). Indeed in the proper sense of the word they have never lived at all (5:13), for only righteousness is life. "The ungodly shall be requited even as they reasoned" (3:10). It shall be to them according to their faith. Their death illustrates that fitness of the penalty to the sin which characterizes the rule of the divine wisdom.[48] The argument of the wicked that death ends all is their choice of death as their portion, and does not contradict the writer's faith that immortality can be gained by righteousness. The only difference between them is that, while they think that it is their nature, he declares that it is their sinful choice that makes hopeless death their final lot. He offers, not a theory that the soul is immortal, but a way of escape from death, open to any who will enter it.

Is it not, then, the soul in distinction from the body that he believes can attain immortality? This is neither to be affirmed nor denied hastily. It is really a difficult question to answer with confidence. It is of course commonly affirmed. Schwally, for example, says that the book knows no resurrection, but only an immortality of the soul;[49] and cites 6:19; 1:15; 3:4; 15:3; 8:13, 17, in proof of the statement that the phrase *τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους*, which Josephus uses in describing Essene doctrine, applies to the *Book of Wisdom.* The passages cited contain the words *ἀθανασία*, *ἀθάνατος*, *ἀφθαρσία*, but not one of them contains the word *ψυχή*, nor is this connection found anywhere else. These three words are favorite and characteristic words of our author. They are used of the destination for which God made man (2:23); of the hope of the righteous (3:4); of that which Wisdom imparts to those who love and follow her (6:18, 19; 8:13, 17), that which belongs, together with righteousness, to the knowledge of God (15:3); of the memory of virtue (4:1; cf. 8:13); and *ἄφθαρτος* is applied to the Spirit of God and to the Law (12:1; 18:4). It is scarcely an accident that these words are never used of the soul. The omission would be strange in the case of one whose eschatology rested on the contrast between a mortal body and an immortal soul. The contrasted word *θνητός* is used of man (7:1;

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[48] Compare *M. Sanhedrin*, X. 1: He who says that the resurrection of the dead is not to be derived from the Law has no part in the world to come. That is, He who denies the resurrection will not rise.

[49] *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 180.

9:14; 15:17); *φθαρτός* of an idol (14:8), and, in the one verse whose rights we are testing (9:15), of the body. The question whether in this verse *φθαρτὸν σῶμα* implies the *ἀφθαρτὸς ψυχή* which we look for elsewhere in vain is precisely the question before us.

The word *ψυχή* does occur in connection with the thought of the life after death in 2:22; 3:1, 13; 4:14; but the expressions used are not conclusive proof that immortality belongs to the soul apart from the body. The order of words in the phrases *γέρας ψυχῶν ἀμώμων*, *δικαίων δὲ ψυχαί, κ. τ. λ.*, *ἀρεστὴ γὰρ ἦν Κυρίῳ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ*, shows that the emphasis is not on *ψυχή*, as if in contrast to *σῶμα*, but on the characterizing words. It is the *blameless* soul, the souls of *righteous* men, the *God-pleasing* soul, that gains the reward. It is the wages of *holiness* for which men should hope (2:22). The subject of the verbs in 3:2 ff., though in form *ψυχαί*, is certainly in the writer's thought *δίκαιοι*.[50] In 4:14 it is clear that it is the man, not the soul, that is translated (cf. 4:10). Nor does any stress belong to *ψυχῶν* in the phrase *ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ ψυχῶν* (3:13; cf. 2:20; 3:7; 4:15). In all these passages the Old Testament meaning of nephesh, 'person,' is almost, if not quite, an adequate rendering of *ψυχή*. When it is asked, then, whether 9:15 does not imply the idea of an *ἄφθαρτος ψυχή* we have a right to hesitate. That this was the implication in the minds of those who first shaped the language of the verse, Plato and his successors, we have already fully acknowledged. That a Jew could adopt the language without this implication, Paul makes it easier for us to realize. Paul remained a Hebrew in his vigorous rejection of the Greek (Platonic) idea of the immortality of the incorporeal soul; yet he either quotes this very verse from *Wisdom* or says the same thing in similar language in a passage in which he is affirming resurrection in contrast to immortality (II Cor. 5:1–4). Unquestionably the opposite of *φθαρτὸν σῶμα* in Paul's view is *ἄφθαρτον σῶμα*. He hoped for a body not corruptible and earthly, not burdening the soul, but fitted for its highest and best life. The right to compare the writer of *Wisdom* with Paul is wholly independent of the current opinion that Paul knew and used the book. In antecedents and training, and in their modes of thought, the two men are somewhat related to each other; and at more points than one each of them helps us to understand the other. According to Paul the ψυχή is not the immortal part of man. Body and soul must both be spiritualized if man is to attain immortality. In *Wisdom* 6:17–21 the successive steps of the process of moral and religious discipline are traced by which man reaches the goal of immortality. Taking the passage in connection with others which speak of the indwelling of the Spirit of Wisdom in man (1:1–5; 7:27) we reach a conception not far from that of Paul, that it is the gift and indwelling of the divine Spirit that becomes in mortal man the power both of righteousness and of immortality (cf. 8:7, 17; 15:3).

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[50] Compare 4:7 ff.; 5:15 f.

Lest it should be objected that Paul's doctrine is solely the result of the resurrection of Christ and of the identification of the Spirit with him, it must be pointed out more fully how deeply our author's doctrine of immortality is rooted in the Old Testament. His doctrine is that righteousness leads to life and sin to death; and stated in this way it is at once evident that it is essentially a Hebrew doctrine. We have already noticed one of the Old Testament sources of our author's doctrine of immortality, namely Genesis, chaps. 1–3.[51] More than one inference could be drawn from the account of the fall. It might be said that Adam's sin brought death upon all his descendants, or that since all men have died, all must have sinned.[52] Our author adopts neither of these views, but denies that all men do in reality die. The righteous only seem to die, but are really translated into the presence of God (3:1 ff.).

That the word translation best expresses the process by which the righteous escape death is indicated by the writer's use of a second Old Testament source of his doctrine, the story of Enoch. This also was capable of being variously applied. By the majority the fact was simply accepted that Enoch, Elijah, perhaps Moses and a few others,[53] never experienced death, but were transported to

[51] Especially Gen. 1:26, 27 (cf. Ps. 8:6-10); 1:31; 2:7, 17; 3:19.

[52] IV *Ezra*, 7:48; Rom. 5:12.

[53] See IV *Ezra*, 6:26; *Syr. Apoc. Baruch*, 13:5; 24:2; 25:1.

Paradise, where they are still living in the body. In this there was no element of hope for the average man, though such exceptional cases enforced the thought of Genesis, chaps. 1–3, that man was made for immortality. But to our author Enoch's translation is a type of the death of the righteous, and especially the vindication of God's love and power in the case of their early death (4:7–19). According to this passage death is not preferred because it frees the soul from the burden of the body; it is not desired as the condition for the attainment of wisdom; but one who in youth has already attained that perfection in knowledge and character which is usually gained only by the discipline of a long life, having in the real sense reached old age while still young (4:8, 9, 13), may be taken out of this world that his virtue may not be harmed by the influence of evil men. His death is an ideal condemnation of those who live long and yet do not possess virtue (4:16).

A third Old Testament source of our author's doctrine is the often repeated faith of Law and Prophecy and Wisdom that life is for the righteous and death for the wicked.[54] Although the Psalms probably and the Proverbs certainly, contained no doctrine of a life after death, yet one who holds that doctrine can find abundant and satisfying expression of it in such passages as Psalms 16:11, 12; 34:21–23; 73:23–26, and in the conception of life and death in Proverbs.[55] Here as, in the preceding instances, the question is one of interpretation. The original writers evidently meant by life, long and happy and honorable life, rich in the experience of the favor of God; and by death, premature and unhappy death, and the absence of what gives life its higher worth. Dillmann well says,

> Such sentences are not exhausted by saying that wisdom and piety keep men from untimely death, and that sin and folly cast men down in misfortune and early death. Although this is certainly meant, yet there lies in such words the further thought that there is a death apart from bodily death, and a life in spite of bodily death. The absolute contrast which exists for the common consciousness between temporal life and

[54] Lev. 18:5; Deut. 30:15-20; Jer. 21:8; Ezek. 20:11, 13; *Sirach*, 15:17, etc.

[55] E. g. 1:31, 32; 2:18, 19; 3:22; 4:4–22; 5:5; 7:2, 26, 27; 9:18; 10:2; 11:4, 5, 7; 12:28; 13:14; 14:27, 32; 15:24, etc.

> temporal death is removed. There is a higher, truly immortal life within the temporal life, for which even the terrors of death have lost their power. From this the step is not a long one to the knowledge of a life *after* death, although in Proverbs this is not expressly affirmed.[56]

I quote the passage because it expresses quite exactly the position of the writer of *Wisdom.* He no doubt takes this last step, but he takes it from the ground gained in the Book of Proverbs, and not from any other line of approach; and for him the step seems—and is—a short one. Proverbs 8:35, 36 comes little short of being an adequate summary of our writer's doctrine of immortality, and was almost certainly in his mind when he wrote 1:11*b*, 12, 16. It reads: *αἱ γὰρ ἔξοδοί μου ἔξοδοι ζωῆς, καὶ ἑτοιμάζεται θέλησις παρὰ Κυρίου. οἱ δὲ εἰς ἐμὲ ἁμαρτάνοντες ἀσεβοῦσιν τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, καὶ οἱ μισοῦντές με ἀγαπῶσιν θάνατον.* The Greek language and atmosphere of the writer of *Wisdom* no doubt helped him to take such words of his Hebrew Scriptures in a more absolute sense than they were meant; but on the other hand his Hebrew instincts prevented him from taking the Greek phrases and conceptions which he adopted as literally as they were taken by Greeks. His doctrine of immortality is, in the end, far nearer to Proverbs 8:35, 36 than to Plato's *Phaedo;* and among those more nearly contemporary his relationship, in my judgment, is much closer to Paul than to Philo. His doctrine is not the immortality of the soul because of its nature, but the immortality of the righteous because of the justice and grace of God, and through the power of his indwelling Spirit.

Does this mean that in any sense comparable to the Pauline the *Book of Wisdom* teaches a doctrine of resurrection, rather than immortality? It is safe to say that one who admitted 9:15 into his book did not believe in the resurrection of the physical body; but other Jews besides Paul held to a resurrection in which the body was not earthly and corruptible, but starlike or angelic in nature.[57] Our author's language is anything but explicit. Siegfried confesses that immortality in this book vacillates between continued personal existence [3:1 ff.] and survival in the memory of posterity (8:13 [4:1]), or even the conception of an ideal communion of life with Wisdom (8:17 [15:3]) which the righteous enjoy in this earthly existence.[58] It should be added that his occasional use of Messianic language leaves us in final uncertainty whether he regarded the Messianic hope as a figure which found fulfilment in individual immortality, or as destined to be literally fulfilled on some definite future day of judgment. The destiny of the righteous to rulership, which is the essence of the Messianic hope, is a favorite conception of the writer's. He repeats it from Genesis 1:26, 28 (9:2, 3), and uses it to express the final goal of the righteous (3:7, 8; 5:15, 16; 6:20, 21; cf. 4:16; 5:1). In chap. 6 this rulership appears to be spiritualized. Kings who have misused their divinely given authority are instructed that true rulership can be gained only by the love and discipline of Wisdom, and consists in an incorruption which brings men near to God. Whether this is a future or, as perhaps in 8:17; 15:3, a present eternal life is not certain.

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[56] *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 399.

[57] See Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, pp. 358 ff.

The principal Messianic passage in the book is 3:7, 8. The whole passage 3:1–9, might mean that the souls of the righteous, when they return to God at death, are kept in that only half personal state in which the rabbis, as we shall see, conceived of souls as waiting in the divine treasury for the coming resurrection. Rest and peace and nearness to God describe their condition (3:1–3). Then the time of their visitation would be the resurrection, which would restore them to full life and activity in their destined calling as rulers of the world (3:7–9).[59] This may be the purpose for which the Lord safely kept them (4:17). If this is the writer's forecast, then 5:1–14 must describe the actual judgment of the wicked by the righteous. On the other hand it is at least equally probable that 3:7, 8 does not follow after 3:1–6 but is parallel with it, and merely asserts that their heavenly blessedness is the real fulfilment of the prophetic hopes for the righteous people. In that case 5:1–14 is only a dramatic counterpart to 2:1–28. The figurative meaning seems more natural in 5:15, 16, for verse 16 does not appear to follow after vs. 15 in time, but rather to unfold in the language of Messianic eschatology the blessedness and glory of the righteous with God. In the description of judgment that follows (5:17–23), in distinction from 3:7–8, they seem to have no part. The Messianic language of these passages may be one more instance of the author's facility in appropriating terms that do not properly belong to his own way of thinking.

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[58] Kautzsch's *Apokryphen*, p. 930*a*.

[59] Grimm interprets the passage as describing, first, the immortal blessedness of the righteous dead (vss. 1–6), and then the coming Messianic glory of the righteous who are still alive (vss. 7–9).

What is clear is only that the writer looked forward to a complete overthrow and final destruction of the wicked and to an immortal life of the righteous with God. The effort to define details will always be baffled by the vagueness of his language and by the habit of his mind, in which the outward and literal and the inward and spiritual pass over by indefinite gradations one into the other. The final overthrow of the wicked seems to be on earth, and their destruction in Hades (4:18, 19; 4:21—5:14; 5:17–23; 17:21). The end of the righteous seems to be the realization in communion with God in heaven of that life and dominion for which man was made. We are tempted to say, by the help of 15:8, 11, 16; 16:13, 14, that the writer thinks of the righteous as going with their souls to God, and of the wicked as going with their bodies to the dust (2:3). But this is beyond the evidence and is probably too definite, or too theoretical, for such a mind. The one certainty in regard to the wicked is that they die. We get the truest impression not from the slight intimation that they are conscious of suffering after death (4:18, 19),[60] but from the heaping up of words declaring that they have utterly gone and left no trace behind (5:10–14). They fall by their own deeds into the hands of one who destroys both body and soul (cf. 1:11; 12:6). But while the wicked shall die, and indeed have never really lived (5:13), the righteous through their righteousness and by the gift of the Spirit live and shall live.

The assumption that our author must have had a clear and consistent eschatology, and the effort to secure consistency and clearness either by rigorous interpretation or by literary analysis,[61] reveals a misunderstanding of the working of the Jewish mind in this region. Rohde[62] remarks that in the late period of Greek thought all the stages of development in regard to the continuance of the soul after the death of the body which had been reached in the course of time were present and valid at the same time, side by side. Much the same can be said of the Jewish eschatology, and the effort to obliterate this fact by literary analysis is largely a mistaken one.

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[60] Compare Job 14:22.

[61] The book has been declared composite of late by Wm. Weber, *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie* (1904), pp. 145 ff.; by Lincke, *Samaria und seine Propheten* (1903), pp. 119 ff., and by K. Kohler, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, art. "Wisdom of Solomon." The analyses do not agree, and the grounds are not convincing.

In spite, then, of remaining uncertainty at various points as to our author's conception of the life after death and even on the crucial question whether he held to immortality of the soul or to some form of resurrection, it is, I believe, certain that his view, both in form and in spirit, is more Jewish than Greek. It is clear, if I am not quite mistaken, that his conception of immortality is not of the sort that requires the pre-existence of the soul as its pre-supposition. In fact it is hardly of such a character as would admit that doctrine by its side. Immortality is not connected with the divine breath which gives man life and constitutes his soul or spirit (15:8, etc.); it is conferred rather by that divine Spirit of Wisdom which the mature man gains by moral effort and by prayer. It is not man's nature that decides whether he is to live or die, though the godless profess that it is (2:2, 3); it is his character. Immortality is at the same time man's moral achievement and God's gracious gift through his Spirit.

Plato and Paul are the two greatest champions of faith in immortality, and represent the two great lines of argument, or ways of approach. Plato argues from the nature of the soul, Paul from the character and purposes and spiritual operations of God. What has just been said indicates that the ideas of the *Book of Wisdom* on this subject are distinctly of the Pauline rather than of the Platonic type, and we are better justified in filling out the vacant places in his thought by a cautious use of Paul than by the use of Philo. The writer of *Wisdom* does not care for the philosophical or scientific questions: Is the soul immortal? Will the soul live on after the body dies? He is interested only in the religious questions: Will God save man from death? Can man attain immortality? The only sort of death with which he is concerned is the death which sin causes, the sort of death which already is, wherever sin is. The wicked only seem to live. And the only sort of immortality he cares about is that which rewards righteousness, and is already possessed by those in whom because of their righteousness the Spirit of Wisdom dwells, making them friends of God. The righteous only seem to die. In kinship to Wisdom is immortality.

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[62] *Psyche*, II, p. 379.

My conclusion is that the Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul is not found in the *Book of Wisdom*. It is not the natural meaning of the one verse which is thought to assert it (8:20); it is not sustained by the two Platonic phrases (9:15; 11:17) which are adduced in its support; it has not its inevitable accompaniments, its roots and fruit, in the writer's views as to the world in general, which so far as they are not Jewish are Stoic in character, nor in his conception of the origin and nature of sin, nor in his view of death and his doctrine of immortality. It is not asserted that the book contains no idea of the pre-existence of the soul. A certain sort of pre-existence is implied in 8:19, 20; 15:8, 11, 16; 16:14; but it is not the pre-existence of the person, the conscious moral self; it is not of the Greek, but of the Jewish, type. A doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul of which no use is made to refute a current materialistic notion of the soul's nature (2:2, 3); with which the belief in immortality, though earnestly urged, stands in no relation; from which no theoretical or practical inferences are drawn in the direction of an ascetic suppression of the body; which has nothing to do with the theory of ideas; can surely not be called Platonic.

II. THE RABBINICAL DOCTRINE OF THE PRE-EXISTENCE OF THE SOUL

The limits of this essay do not permit a complete study of the conception of pre-existence in Jewish literature. In particular a critical study of Philo and Josephus cannot here be undertaken. There are, however, two reasons for bringing forward in some detail illustrations of rabbinical ideas on this subject. One is that the argument thus far has turned on a distinction between Jewish and Greek ideas of the soul; and on this and other subjects no literature is so well adapted as the rabbinic, to familiarize one with the ways of thinking characteristic of the Jewish mind. The other reason for introducing it is the currency here, as in the case of the *Book of Wisdom*, of what I must regard as a serious misconception. It is quite the accepted assumption of modern writers on Judaism that the pre-existence of the soul was a common doctrine of the rabbis, and that they meant by it practically what Philo meant, or what we ourselves mean when we use the phrase. The proof that is generally offered for this assumption is a reference to Weber's *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 212, 225 ff. I have elsewhere had occasion to criticize Weber's too dualistic (Platonic) account of the rabbinical doctrine as to the seat of sin;[63] and this criticism applies in part to his exposition of the doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul. I attempted to show that the rabbis did not adopt the Greek dualistic idea that the body is by nature, because made of matter, evil and the seat of the evil impulse, and that the soul is by nature pure and good, the seat of the good impulse. Their conception rather was that both good and evil propensities reside in the soul, or more strictly in the heart, the moral nature of man. The rabbis, in their doctrine of the *yeçer*, have to do with simple moral facts and forces, and not with metaphysical theories. Now there is, I believe just a little evidence of Greek influence in the rabbinical doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul as in the doctrine of the *yeçer*.

The ideas of the rabbis as to the relations of soul and body rested on the old Hebrew conception of the nature of man, not on the new Greek dualistic psychology. They had indeed provided themselves in the word גּוּף with an equivalent for *σῶμα*; and, especially on the basis of Genesis 2:7, had adopted נְשָׁמָה as its usual antithesis. They were able, therefore, to distinguish more clearly than Old Testament speech allows between the two parts of human nature. But their conception was not so much that of contrasted substances as of opposite origins; not that the guph was made of matter and the neshamah of spirit, but that the guph was from below, from the earth, and the neshamah from above, from God. The basis of their reflections on the relation of these two to each other and to the human personality is to be found not in scientific observations or in philosophical theory, but in a few often repeated texts of Scripture: first of all, Gen. 2:7; then as interpreting this, Isa. 57:16, with its suggestion that the life-giving breath of God is individualized, and that the individual "souls" are already made; I Sam. 25:29, furnishing the idea that God keeps the "souls" he has made, that is, the souls of the righteous, in a storehouse; then Job 12:10; Eccles. 3:21; 12:7, and a few other verses. The use made of such passages will appear from the quotations following.

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[63] "The Yeçer Hara, a Study in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin," *Biblical and Semitic Studies* (1901), pp. 93-156.

One of the most typical passages is the following morning prayer:

> When one awakes let him say, My God, the soul [נשמה] which thou hast given me is pure [טהורה]. Thou hast formed it [יצרתה] in me, and thou hast breathed it [נפחתה] in me, and thou dost keep it within me [משמרה בקרבי]; and thou wilt hereafter take it from me, and thou wilt give it back to me again in the [Messianic] future [עתיד לבא]. As long as my soul is within me I thank thee, O Lord my God, and the God of my fathers, ruler of all worlds and Lord of all souls. Blessed art thou who givest back souls to dead bodies [המחזיר נשמות לפגרים מתים] (*Berakoth*, 60*b*).

This prayer, as it is used in the Jewish Prayer Book today, may be taken to express almost any form of belief in the divine origin and destiny of the soul which the worshipers may hold, as we use verses from the Psalms to express our own faith in a life after death. But when we ask what conception of the soul this prayer was originally intended to express, it is surely evident that no Platonic or modern idea of pre-existence was in the mind of those who first shaped and used it. It rests upon the conception of man contained in Gen. 2:7. The neshamah is not the person, but is here, as uniformly in the rabbinical sayings, spoken of as something distinct from the "I," and objective to it. It is God's gift to the person, formed, or breathed, and kept in man by God. It always belongs to God and remains in his keeping (Job 12:10). When, at death, God takes this "soul" back, it is not the man's self that returns to the heavenly regions from which he came, but only the divine breath that animated and preserved his body during his earthly life. Yet this divine breath is so far individualized and connected with this man that when the time comes for him to be raised from the dead, God will give back the same neshamah to the same body,[64] and the man himself, the same man, will live again. In the whole passage the human person is thought of from the point of view of the body, not from that of the neshamah; in other words, its standpoint is that of *Wisdom* 8:19. Not only is it implied that the man's personality did not belong to the "soul" in its pre-existent state, but it is equally clear that the person does not go with the "soul" when God takes it back at death. All that one can hope and pray for is that God will keep his "soul" for him during his slumber in the grave, and give it back to him, that is, raise him from the dead and give him life again, in the age to come. The neshamah is still primarily the "breath of life" (Gen. 2:7). God is praised as the one who gives back "souls" to dead bodies; that is, as he gives souls to bodies that men may enter upon the earthly life, so will he do again that they may enter the new life of the Messianic age. The doctrine of resurrection which the passage contains is surely proof enough that we are in a Hebrew and not in a Greek world of thought.

A man's responsibility with reference to his soul is to return it to God pure as it came from him. On Eccles. 12:7, "and the ruaḥ returns to God who gave it," we read (*Sabbath*, 152*b*):

> What was given to you in purity, so give back to him in purity. Like a human king who divided royal garments among his servants. The wise folded them up and laid them in a chest; the fools did their work in them. After a time the king inquired after his garments. The wise gave them back to him clean, but the fools gave them back soiled. . . . . As to the wise, he ordered that their garments go into the treasure-house [אוצר], and that they themselves go to their homes in peace. As to the fools he ordered that their garments be sent to be cleaned, and that they go to prison. So says the Holy One as to the bodies of the righteous, "He enters into peace, they rest in their beds" (Isa. 57:2); and as to their souls, "They shall be bound in the bundle of life with Yahweh" (I Sam. 25:29). As to the bodies of the wicked he says, "There is no peace to the wicked" (Isa. 48:22); and as to their souls, "And the souls of thine enemies shall he sling out," etc. (I Sam. 25:29).

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[64] This marks an advance beyond the idea that underlies Ezek., chap. 37.

Remembering that this is strictly an allegory, not a parable, we notice how much more closely the man himself is associated with the body than with the soul. It is not the body, as we should expect, that is likened to a garment worn by the soul during the earthly life; but the soul is the garment lent to man by God during the earthly life, and at death, if it has not been defiled, it goes back into God's treasury, while the good man himself is thought of as resting with his body in the tomb.

We read on in *Sabbath*, 152*b:* R. Eliezer says: The souls of the righteous are kept [גנוזות] under the throne of glory, but the souls of the wicked are slung back and forth (I Sam. 25:29).[65] A similar saying is ascribed to R. Eliezer ben Jose ha-Gelili in *Sifre*, Num., § 139: The soul, as long as a man lives, is kept in the hand of the Creator (Job 12:10), and after death is taken to the treasure-house (I Sam. 25:29). But this [as the verse shows] is true only of the souls of the righteous. So Jose b. Halaphta interpreted the two phrases in Eccles. 3:21 of "the souls of the righteous which are kept in the divine treasury (I Sam. 25:29), and the souls of the wicked which descend into Sheol (Ezek. 31:13)."[66]

According to R. Meir[67] the place where souls are kept, both before and after their earthly life, is in the highest heaven, the seventh, with those things that are nearest to God. Here are the souls of the righteous [dead], according to I Sam. 25:29, and also the spirits and souls which are yet to be created [רוחות ונשמות שעתיד להיבראות] (Isa. 57:16). Here is also the dew with which God will hereafter awaken the dead (Ps. 68:10 [cf. Isa. 26:19])—a striking indication that the righteous dead have not reached their consummation when their "souls" have been received back into the presence of God. It is not they themselves that live there in the seventh heaven, but only their "souls." They are there after death only in the same impersonal or partial sense in which they were there before birth. Their real life and blessedness will not begin until God gives them back their souls again.

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[65] Compare *IV Ezra* 7:80.

[66] *Koheleth rabba*, on 3:21.

[67] *Hagigah*, 12*b*. For the attribution of this view to Meir, see Bacher, *Tannaiten*, II, 65; cf. *Aboth d. R. Nathan*, 37, 9.

The souls of all men are first in heaven, because all men are created by God, but only the souls of the righteous are in heaven after death, because only the righteous are to be raised from the dead.[68] When God puts souls back into their sheaths [i. e., in the resurrection], he will not put the souls of the wicked into their sheaths [i. e., they will not rise from the dead].[69]

But if the neshamah is not the man's self, but only one half of the man that is to be created, what is the significance of its pre-existence in the divine treasury, in the highest heaven, in nearness to God? It signifies first of all that the breath of life is God's gift to man, and that while one part of his nature is from below, the other is from above. But it means further that God has planned and fixed the number and lot of human beings. The souls kept in the divine chambers picture to the imagination the divine predestination of the life of all men and of each man. The pre-existence of the soul is more significant for the conception of God than for the conception of man; not the nature of the soul but the power of God is heightened by it; that is, it is Jewish, not Greek, in value. The life and lot of the soul both now and hereafter depend not on its natural constitution, on the question of its substance, whether perishable or imperishable, but altogether on God's keeping; and this is a question of the man's conduct, whether sinful or righteous. God says to man: "If you will keep my light (the Law, Prov. 6:23), I will keep your light (the soul, Prov. 20:27)."[70] "My daughter, the Law, is in your hand; your daughter, the soul, is in my hand (Job 12:10). If you will keep mine I will keep yours (Deut. 4:9)."[71] "The Law was given in forty days, and the soul of man is formed [נוצר] in the first forty days [after conception]. He who keeps the Law, his soul will be kept, and he who does not keep the Law his soul will not be kept."[72]

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[68] For different views on this point see Castelli, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, I (1889), pp. 325 ff.

[69] *Gen. rabba*, 26, 11: An interpretation of לא ידון רוחי (Gen. 6:3) by נדנה in I Chron. 21:27; see Bacher, *Die Agada der paläst. Amoräer*, I, 268; III, 129 f. It is attributed both to R. Joḥanan and to R. Aḥa.

[70] *Midrash Tehillim*, on Ps. 17:8 (Eleazar ha-Kappar; elsewhere cited in the name of Bar Kappara); see Bacher, *Tannaiten*, II, 509 f.

[71] See Bacher, *Amoräer*, III, 629, and n. 5.

[72] R. Joḥanan and R. Eleazar, *Menaḥoth*, 99*b*. Bacher, *Amoräer*, I, 234.

When God gives the soul to man it is, as we have seen, pure, and it is man's task to keep it so. "God says to man, You see that I am pure, and my dwelling is pure, and my servants are pure, and the neshamah which I give you is pure. If you give it to me as I have given it to you, it is well; but if not I will burn it before your face," as a priest would burn sacred things which had been made impure by one in whose charge they were left.[73] And with the destruction of his "soul" the man beholds his chance of living again forever lost.

It was said that Rabba bar Naḥmani uttered the words, "Pure, pure" as he died; and that a *bath qol* said, "Blessed art thou, Rabba bar Naḥmani, for thy body is pure, and thy neshamah went forth in purity" [שגופך טהור ויצאתה נשמתך בטהור].[74] Here as in *Wisdom* 8:19–20, is the idea of a pure body and a pure soul. The word טהור describes, of course, ritual, not ethical purity. What is meant by a pure body can be understood from Lev. 21:16–24; 22:4. The purity of the soul, as God gives it to man, belongs to it because it belongs to God, because it comes from above, and does not at all imply that it has received by creation or gained by choice a moral quality before its entrance into a human body. In the same ritual sense a certain impurity could be said to belong to the body because it belongs to the earth, or comes from below; but this does not mean that the body is the source or seat of moral evil. There is, I believe, no proof that the rabbis thought of the birth of man as the coming of a morally pure soul into a morally defiled and defiling body. Weber's summary statement on p. 225,[75] I have elsewhere shown to be an entirely unjustifiable hellenization of the rabbinical doctrine.

In the famous parable of the lame and the blind watchmen an answer was given to the question as to the relative responsibility of soul and body for sin. In *Sanhedrin* 91*ab* the story runs as follows:

Antoninus said to Rabbi, Body and soul can both free themselves from judgment. Body says, The soul has sinned, for from the day that it went forth from me I lie like a stone in the grave. Soul says, The body has sinned for from the day that I went forth from it I fly like a bird in the air. The answer is the parable of a king who had fine first fruits in his orchard, and set a lame man and a blind man to guard it. The lame man said to the blind, I see fine fruit in the orchard; come let me ride on you and we will get it and eat it. . . . . When the owner of the orchard came and asked them where the fruit was, the lame man said, Have I feet to walk with? The blind man said, Have I eyes to see? What does he do? He puts the lame man on the blind man and punishes them together. So God brings the soul and puts it into the body and punishes them together, according to Ps. 50:4, "He calleth to the heavens above, that is the soul, and to the earth, that is the body, that he may judge his people."

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[73] *Koheleth rabba*, on 12:7.

[74] *Baba Meziá*, 86*a*.

[75] "Nach der jüdischen Theologie ist der Leib des Menschen von Natur unrein, weil er irdisch ist, und macht auch die Seele, die vom Himmel her rein in ihn eingeht, durch die Verbindung mit sich unrein." The final clause is unobjectionable; namely, "aber die Seele ist nun verantwortlich für das Thun des Leibes." See my *Yeçer Hara*, pp. 98 ff.

According to this allegory it is not the body that involves the soul in sin, but rather the reverse. The soul suggests the transgression, and makes use of the body for its accomplishment. It is an excellent picture of the "evil-devising soul" and "the body bound as debtor, or subject, to sin," of *Wisdom* 1:4.

In *Lev. rabba*, 4, 5 (on Lev. 4:4, "If a soul sin"), the parable is told in much the same words, and to it is added another, of a priest who had two wives, one the daughter of a priest, the other of a (lay) Israelite. He left some dough with them which they made unclean. He reckoned only with the priest's daughter for the offense of which both were guilty, because she had been instructed in her father's house. So with soul and body when they stand before the judgment, God leaves the body and reckons with the soul. It answers, Lord we both sinned; why do you leave the body and reckon with me? God answers, The body is from below, from the place where they sin; but thou art from above, from the place where they do not sin before me.[76] Therefore I leave the body and judge with you.

The parable of the lame and the blind watchers is introduced, though not quoted, in *Mechilta*, ed. Friedmann, p. 36*b* (*Beshallaḥ, ha-Shirah*, 2) as follows: Antoninus asked Rabbi

בשעה שאדם מת והגוף כלה הקדוש ברוך הוא מעמידו בדין אמר לו עד שתשאלני על הגוף שהוא טמא שאלני על הנשמה שהיא טהורה אמר לו משל וגו'

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[76] הגוף מן התחתונים הוא ממקום שהן חוטאין את מן העליונים ממקום שאין חוטאין לפני.

Fiebig translates and interprets thus:[77]

> In der Stunde, wo der Mensch stirbt und der Leib zu Grunde geht: wie kann ihn (d. h. den Menschen) der Heilige – gepriesen sei er — vor Gericht stellen? (denn der Leib, der Sitz der Sünde, damit aber die Sünde überhaupt, ist ja vernichtet!). Da sagte er (d. h. der Rabbi) zu ihm: ehe du mich über den Leib befragst, der doch unrein ist [Note: Vgl. Röm. 7:8. Die Anschauungen des Paulus in diesem Punkt sind danach sowohl jüdisches als hellenitisches Gut jener Zeit.], befrage mich lieber über die Seele, die doch rein ist! (denn diese bleibt ja bestehen. Hier liegt also die eigentliche Schwierigkeit der Frage nach dem Gericht. Aber es ist zu antworten): Ein Maschal.

This interpretation is surely quite without justification. The parable itself gives no place for the idea of the body as the seat of sin, but makes the "pure" soul even more responsible for sin than the "impure" body. The passage means: In the hour when a man dies and his body perishes the Holy One makes him stand in judgment. [How can this be? How can he stand in judgment when his body has ceased to be?] Rabbi answers: Instead of asking me about the body which is unclean, ask about the soul which is clean [i. e., as the parable requires us to assume, it is more important to ask about the soul, which is from above, than about the body which is from below. The soul can be judged even if the body is at an end. But in fact soul and body will be reunited and judged together.]

The rabbis are never dualists after Plato's kind. It is man that sins, and man is neither body nor soul but the union of the two. And the contrast between body and soul was not so much a contrast between material and spiritual being as between earthly and heavenly origin. This is expressed in a popular interpretation of Genesis 2:7. When God created the world he made peace between things above [העליונים] and things below [התחתונים]. On the first day he created heaven and earth. On the four days following he alternated between heaven and earth. On the sixth he preserved the balance by creating man both from above and from below. He formed man dust from the earth (מן התחתונים), and breathed into his face the breath of life (מן העליונים).[78] In

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[77] *Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu* (1904), pp. 31 f.

[78] *Gen. rabba* 12, 8; *Lev. rabba*, 9, 9. See Bacher, *Amoräer*, I, 412. Rashi adopts this interpretation of Gen. 2:7.

Sifre, on Deut., 32:2 (§ 306, near the end) it is said that "all beings which are created from heaven have their nephesh and their guph from heaven; and all beings which are created from earth, their nephesh and their guph are from earth. Man is an exception, his nephesh is from heaven and his guph from earth. If he acts according to the will of his Father in Heaven he is like the heavenly (Ps. 82:6), if not he is like the earthly" (*ibid.*, vs. 7). The soul is not the man's self, but it is his dearest possession. As a man who has a king's daughter for his wife cannot do enough for her because she is the daughter of a king, so whatever a man does for his soul he thinks he has not done enough, because it is from above.[79] It is this heavenly origin of the soul which the word pure, טהור, expresses. The soul is elaborately compared with God himself. As God fills the world (Jer. 23:24), so the soul fills the body. As God sees, and is not seen (Zech. 4:10), so the soul. As God bears the world (Isa. 46:4), so the soul bears the body. As God endures after the world ends (Ps. 102:27), so the soul outlasts the body. As God is one in the world (Deut. 6:4), so is the soul in the body. As God is pure in his world (Hab. 1:13), so the soul is pure in the body [הנפש הזו טהורה בגוה].[80]

The reason why man should return his "soul" to God pure is first of all because it belongs to God and not to the man, and then because only if it is pure can it go back into the divine treasury to be kept and given again to the man hereafter.

The language used to describe God's giving of the neshamah to man is consistent with this view of the nature of its pre-existence, and not with any other. Weber remarks that the rabbis avoided the use of the word נפח (Gen. 2:7), and substitute for it זרק[81] (*Gen. rabba*, 14, *Sanhedrin*, 38*b*). This substitution, he says, is "without doubt" a sign that while the Bible is *traducianist* the Talmud and Midrash represent *creationism* and *pre-existence*.

Now, in fact נפח is retained in the morning prayer cited above. As an alternative expression יצר is there used, perhaps derived from Zech. 12:1.[82] This word, which suggests creationism, but not pre-existence, is used also in *Menaḥoth* 99*b* (see above), and Weber can only say that it must be understood according to the general view that the soul comes from above into human bodies as a personal hypostasis, already long finished (p. 228). But in the description of the seventh heaven we have met with an expression still less consistent with a real pre-existence. "Spirits and souls which are hereafter to be created [שעתיד להיבראות]" is indeed a strange description of pre-existent souls, if the soul and its pre-existence are to be taken in Philo's sense. An important saying, several times recorded, and ascribed to different authors, declares, on the basis of Isa. 57:16, that the Messiah will not come until all the souls which God has made, or intends to make, have entered into earthly existence. In the Talmud[83] the saying reads: אין בן דוד בא עד שיכלו כל הנשמות שבגוף. Bacher supposes גוף to be used here in the literal sense of body,[84] but it is usually taken in the figurative sense, according to which it was a name for the chamber (אוצר) in which God keeps souls. In that case the meaning would be: "The Son of David will not come until all the souls which are in the guph have been exhausted." In the Palestinian sources (*Gen. rabba*, 24, 4; *Lev. rabba*, 15, 1) the saying is given thus: אין מלך המשיח בא עד שיבראו (*Lev. rabba*, שיכלו) כל הנשמות שעלו במחשבה להבראות "The King Messiah will not come until all the souls are created [or finished] which rise in the thought [of God] to be created."

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[79] שהיא מלמעלה *Lev. rabba*, 4, 2.

[80] *Lev. rabba*, 4 (end); cf. *Berakoth* 10*a*.

[81] As זרק is commonly used in the O. T. of the ritual throwing of blood, it is tempting to suppose that the old association of the nephesh with the blood led to the use of the word in this connection.

If, now, we apply a Greek or modern measure, the two forms of this saying express two completely different conceptions, the Babylonian affirming and the Palestinian excluding the conception of the pre-existence of the soul. But if pre-existence meant to the rabbis essentially the divine predetermination of all human lives, and not the actual existence of the persons themselves in heaven, it would follow that the Babylonian form only expresses in a more pictorial fashion what the Palestinian expresses more literally. The free use of the word ברא to describe God's inbreathing of the soul at man's birth is therefore not evidence of conflicting opinions, but one of the many indications that the pre-existence of the soul was not thought of at all in the Greek sense.

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[82] ויצר רוח אדם בקרבו. So נתן is used in the prayer, in accordance with Isa. 42:5.

[83] *Jebamoth*, 62*a*, 63*b*; *Abodah Zarah*, 5*a*; *Niddah*, 13*a*. See Bacher, *Amoräer*, II, 172, n. 5, who ascribes the saying to R. Assi. It may go back to R. Jose. See Klausner, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes* (1904), pp. 37 ff.

[84] Bacher translates, or paraphrases thus, Der Sohn Davids kömmt nicht früher, als bis alle Seelen, die in's irdischen Dasein treten sollen, zu Ende erschaffen sind; and thinks R. Assi may have interpreted Isa. 57:16 thus: "for the Spirit (i. e., the Messiah) will delay only until I have created all souls."

Is there, then, no evidence that the pre-existing neshamah was, as Weber says, "a personal hypostasis" (p. 228) or a "truly living, active being" (p. 212)? The only proof that he adduces is the statement (*Gen. rabba* 8, 7) that when God thought of creating man he consulted with the souls of the righteous. This is R. Levi's interpretation of the difficult phrase in Genesis 1:26, "Let *us* make man in *our* image." It was but one among many interpretations of a verse which provided so dangerous a tool for polytheists. It was not an accepted interpretation,[85] and it does not at all bear the weight of Weber's inference. Nor is this sustained by the few other similar applications of the idea to solve exegetical problems. Thus Deut. 29:14[15] was thought by some to imply that the souls of coming generations were present at the making of the covenant in Moab.[86]

The way in which this pre-existence was pictured and the fact that it was no real pre-existence of the person may best be set forth by citing an exposition of Deut. 29:15 attributed to R. Isaac.[87] He said:

> The prophets who were to prophesy in the future,[88] in all their generations, received [their prophecies] from Mt. Sinai. As Moses said to the the Israelites (Deut. 29:15), not "he who does not *stand* with us today," but "he who is not with us today." These are the souls which are to be created, in whom there is as yet nothing actual, and of whom the word "stand" could not be used. Although they were not there at that time,

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[85] The reference was thought by others to be to the angels, or to heaven and earth, or to God's own heart. The latter view, that God consulted only with himself, was favored by vs. 27, where "his own image" is substituted for "our image." See *Gen. rabba*, 8, 3 ff., and *Sanhedrin*, 88*b*.

[86] See Bacher, *Amoräer*, I, 547 f.; II, 232. Compare III, 453, where a different interpretation is given.

[87] *Exodus rabba*, 28, 4; see Bacher, *Amoräer*, II, 232 f.

[88] מה שהנביאים עתידים [Bacher erroneously reads עומדים] להתנבאות.

yet each one received what belonged to him.[89] So Mal. 1:1 says "in the hand of Malachi (ביד, not בימי), because already this prophecy was in his hand from Mt. Sinai, but the permission to prophesy was not given him until this hour. Again, Isa. 48:16 means, From the day when the Tora was given at Sinai I was there and received this prophecy, but only now has God sent me and his spirit. Permission was not given him to prophesy until now. And not only did all the prophets receive their prophecies from Sinai, but also the wise men who stand in every age, each received his own from Sinai. So Deut. 5:19[22] says, Yahweh spoke these words unto all your assembly, with a loud voice, *and no more.*

To this may be added a saying of R. Assi (*Sabbath*, 146*a*): When asked about the proselytes, he said. Though they were not themselves present [at Sinai] yet their stars [the angels of their destiny?] were present,[90] as Deut. 29:14 says.

These passages represent in part an effort to explain a difficult passage (Deut. 29:14 [15] last clause), and in part the natural impulse to make the revelation at Sinai complete and final. The language used does not justify Weber's description of the pre-existent souls as "personal hypostases" or "truly living, active, beings," but explicitly excludes the literal and real presence of future generations, and only provides, through the conception of pre-existing neshamoth for a semi-actual, semi-poetic way of picturing the finality of the revelation at Sinai. The most, I think, that can be said is that we find here a slight and tentative movement toward connecting the person with the pre-existing neshamah, which is comparable to that of *Wisdom* 8:20; so that we are prompted to say that while *Wisdom* 8:19 represents the more natural Jewish mode of conception, verses 19 and 20 together still express certain tendencies of late Jewish thought about the relation of body and soul. We are not led beyond this by the picture of the conversation of Moses at sight of the soul of Akiba, in *Menahoth*, 29*b*.

[89] אלו הנשמות העתידות להבראות שאין בהם ממש שלא נאמרה בהם עמידה שאף על פי שלא היו באותה שעה כל אחד ואחד קבל את שלו With this compare the sentence on which Bacher bases his retention of the usual sense of the word גוף in the sentence cited above (p. 259): Because the souls were there and the guph was not yet created, therefore a *standing* is not here spoken of (Samuel b. Nachmani, *Tanchuma*, Niṣṣabim, near the end. Bacher, *Amoräer*, I, 547 f.; II, 172, n. 5, 232, n. 2).

[90] אף על גב דאינהו לא הוי מזלייהו הוה.

The union of soul and body is not even in this later Judaism the fall of the soul or its misfortune, or a mere incident interrupting its true life. It is that for which the soul exists, and it is that which constitutes the creation of the human personality.

> The upper beings [angels] are created in God's image and do not have offspring. The lower beings [animals] have offspring but are not created in God's image. I create man, says God, in my image like the upper beings, with offspring like the lower beings. If I created man like one of the upper beings he would live without dying; if like one of the lower beings he would die without living again. I will therefore make him belong to both the upper and lower order. If he sins he will die. If he does not sin he will live.[91]

This conception of man as partly of earth and partly of heaven, and of his destiny as depending on his deeds, not on his nature, is thoroughly characteristic of Judaism. Equally characteristic is the persistence of the doctrine of resurrection. To a belief in the pre-existence of the soul, such as Plato and Philo represent, belongs inevitably the belief that the soul is immortal, that its original incorporeal state of existence is more native to it, and higher, than its earthly life, and that the recovery of this is its final destiny. But all this is foreign to rabbinical teaching. Abundant proof is furnished by the citations Weber himself gives under the topic *Tod und Todeszustand* (pp. 336–40). He is obliged to say that "the connection of soul with body, that is, this earthly existence, was more highly prized in the consciousness of Judaism, and therefore more firmly held, than the hope of the union of the soul with God" (p. 340). Even here in the last clause the word "soul" is misleading. The rabbis did not hope for a union of their self-conscious personalities with God after death at all. Their hope was a new life in the age to come.

There is a long account of the death of Moses in a mediaeval *Midrash Petirat Mosheh*, which was incorporated in part in the *Deut. rabba*, chap. 11, though not originally belonging to it.[92] Although this account is much too late to be cited in proof of rabbinical ideas, and is in part out of line with the ruling spirit of Judaism,[93] yet it may not be out of place to summarize it here merely as an illustration of the long persistence of distinctly Jewish ideas of the relation between body and soul. When God declared that Moses must die (Deut. 31:14), he fasted and prayed with such power that it was thought that God would perhaps bring in the new age [the only thing that could annul the decree that Moses must die], until a *bath qol* said that the time for this had not come. God must close the gates of heaven lest the prayer move him from his fixed purpose. Moses prays that he may see the prosperity of Israel as he has seen its adversity; but if he may not cross Jordan that he may at least be left in this world, that he may live and not die. God answers, If I do not make you die in this world, how shall I make you alive for the world to come. Moreover, to grant his prayer would contradict Moses' own words in Deut. 32:39 (last line). Nevertheless Moses persists. He would be like a beast of the field, or like a bird, if he could but live and see the world. When the time came that he must die, God sent Gabriel to go and bring his soul [צא והבא נשמתו], but Gabriel would not see the death of one so strong. Michael would not see the death of his pupil. God must send the evil angel, Samael. He goes eagerly but is twice driven back in fear, although the souls of all men are given into his hand. At last God himself comes with three archangels, and Moses submits and is stretched out in preparation for death. But when God calls to his neshamah to come forth, saying, My daughter, one hundred and twenty years I ordained that thou shouldst be in the body of Moses. Now thy end is come, that thou shouldst go forth. Do not delay; then the neshamah answered: I know that thou art the God of all ruḥoth and of all neshamoth; the nephesh of the living and of the dead are given into thy hand. Thou hast created [ברא] me, and thou hast formed [יצר] me, and thou hast put me in Moses' body one hundred and twenty years. And now is there a body more pure [טהור] in the world than the body of Moses, in which was never seen any breath of stench, nor worm, nor vermin? Therefore I love him and am not willing to go forth from him. God answers, Go forth, do not delay. I will make thee to mount up to the highest heavens, and dwell under the throne of my glory near to Cherubim and Seraphim and the hosts. The neshamah answers, Two of these highest angels, Uzzah and Azael, descended from thy shekinah and corrupted their ways with the daughters of earth, until thou didst make them hang between earth and the firmament. But Moses has not known his wife since thou appearedst to him in the burning bush (Num. 12:1). I pray thee leave me in Moses' body. In that hour God kissed him and took away his soul [נשקו ונטל נשמתו] with the kiss of his mouth. Then God wept and said Ps. 94:16; the Holy Spirit said Deut. 34:10: Heaven wept and said Mic. 7:2αα; Earth wept and said Mic. 7:2αβ; Joshua wept and said Ps. 12:2; the angels of service said, He did the righteousness of Yahweh; the Israelites wept and said, And his judgments with Israel. All were saying Isa. 57:2, He enters into peace, they rest in their beds, he who walks straight forward; Prov. 10:7, The memory of a righteous man is for a blessing, and his soul is for the life of the world to come [זכר צדיק לברכה ונשמתו לחיי עולם הבא].

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[91] *Gen. rabba*, 8, 11.

[92] Text in two recensions in Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash* I, 115–129; VI, 71–78. Compare Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, 2d ed., p. 154 and note *e*, p. 265, note *b;* also article "Midrash Petirat Mosheh," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

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[93] The idea of the reluctance of the righteous to die does not go back to early rabbinical sources. Our earliest evidence of it is in the *Testament of Abraham*. See M. R. James' edition (Cambridge, 1862), and his discussion of this subject, pp. 64-70. The idea is found only in the older recension, A, chaps. 7, 8, 15, 16, 20; and James thinks it may go back to the *Assumption of Moses*. See Jude, chap. 9.

It would be hard to find a better summary of the Jewish doctrine of a future life than the last sentence, with its addition of the new to the old; the immortality of a blessed memory for this present world, and the neshamah kept in order that the man may live again in the world to come. The whole passage is most suggestive. The death of Moses, the most divine of men, was hard to explain; and the account here given of it enforces several lessons as to Jewish ways of thinking, which it is hard for western minds to grasp. The neshamah is a being, or a personification, quite distinct from Moses. In leaving Moses' body it is evidently being separated from Moses himself. Moses clings to life, but it is only the arrival of the world to come that could have brought him escape from death when its appointed hour was at hand. What is promised to Moses in order to counterbalance the evil and loss involved in death is that he will live again in the world to come; and death in this world is a condition of the gift of life in that. Even in view of this, life, even the life of animals and birds, seems better than death. It is to the neshamah, not to Moses, that a place is promised in the highest heavens, beneath the throne of glory; and the neshamah would prefer to remain in Moses' body, since sin has not entered there, while some of the highest angels fell.

We turn finally to the long passage from the *Tanchuma*, quoted by Weber (pp. 225–27) as proof of the general statement cited above, and as the text for his further exposition of the nature of soul and body and their relation to each other (pp. 227–31). The passage is late in its attestation,[94] and could not in any case be allowed to outweigh the older material already discussed. But while it seems to mark a certain progress in the direction of Philo as compared with the morning prayer quoted at the beginning, it is in fact still very much nearer to that prayer than to Philo, very much more Jewish than Greek, in its conception of the pre-existence of the soul. According to this passage the pre-existing souls are called also ruḥoth. They are said to be in the Garden of Eden, but this seems to be contradicted by the fact that the angel has to show the soul, after its union with the human seed, but before birth, the Garden of Eden and the blessedness of the righteous there, as well as Gehenna and the torments of the wicked; and also by the fact that God assures the soul, reluctant to leave its heavenly abode, that it will enter a more beautiful world than it leaves. But the soul objects that it is pure and does not wish to enter this "impure seed." To this the answer is that God formed this soul for nothing else than to enter this seed. It is evident that though the soul, as from God, is ceremonially pure, and though conception involves ceremonial impurity, yet the soul's coming into the body is in no sense a fall or indeed a moral choice in any sense. It is that for which alone the soul was made. It is evident also that the soul brings with it no moral character, no personal quality, from its pre-existence. Righteousness or unrighteousness, which is the only thing that God does not predetermine about the coming man, is wholly future when the soul enters the body. It is only human life that furnishes the opportunity for such obedience to the Law as shall win the reward of Paradise. Moreover, such memory of the other world as the soul brings with it into this, is due not to its pre-existence as a soul, but to the visit it makes after union with the human seed, to the places of reward and punishment. Even this memory it loses at birth. The reluctance of the soul to leave its abode is only like the reluctance of the babe to leave the womb. It pictures the fact that man does not enter human life of his own will, but by compulsion.[95] All this is far from Hellenic; and the passage, late as it evidently is, turns out to be little more than proof of the persistence of the distinctive Jewish conception of the relation of body and soul. Man is even here first of all body, that which is "formed in the mother's womb," and the soul though it has a longer pre-existence than the body, comes into it as a stranger from without. We have here only a more pictorial representation of the familiar Jewish conception that man is in part from above, in part from below, and that he determines by his deeds to which realm of being he will finally belong. Once more I would say that while the standpoint of the morning prayer is that of *Wisdom* 8:19, that of this last passage is more nearly that of *Wisdom* 8:20, but is still better expressed by the two verses in their connection. The reading of these later Jewish sayings serves, I venture to think, to confirm our impression of the Jewish, the un-Hellenic, character of those verses, with their hesitation between the two forms of expression, the first impulse to associate the "I" with the body, the failure fully to identify it with either body or soul, the absence of any thought that the union of soul with body is unnatural. If our interpretation of these verses seemed strange and improbable when we had Plato or Philo in mind as a standard, it seems, I am sure, natural when we look back at it through the atmosphere of simple Judaism. Of course I do not mean that the *Book of Wisdom* contains nothing but rabbinical Judaism. It is a Greek book and could not have been written in Hebrew. We cannot even assume that its author shared the rabbinical idea that the reunion of soul and body, the resurrection, is necessary to a true life of man after death. His ψυχή may have been a somewhat more independent and personal being than the neshamah of the rabbis, but I think not much more; and so far as pre-existence is concerned he seems to me to have had nothing but the Jewish conception, namely this: The neshamah, which God has created, remains his and in his keeping before and during and after the life of man. It is not the man's self, the person, but is an individualization and personification of that breath or spirit of God which is the life of the man, and, uniting with the earthly body, makes him a living being. The pre-existence of this neshamah was no doubt thought of as real; but since it was not the man himself, its pre-existence was of more significance for the conception of God than for that of man. It expressed the idea that God foreknows and has predetermined the number and lot of all men; and it is substantially this same idea, and not a different one, that is expressed when it is said that God has fixed the number of men who are to be born, or that at conception or during the pre-natal period of each man's existence he creates or forms the neshamah within him.

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[94] This passage, *Tanchuma Pikkude* 3, like the one last cited, should not be used for the Talmudic period. It is not a part of the original Tanchuma, and is probably very late. See Buber, *Midrasch Tanchuma*, Introduction, pp. 55*b*, 56*a*.

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[95] Cf. *IV Ezra* 8:5.

It is not too much to say, in view of rabbinical usage, that there is a strong presumption that the pre-existence of souls when it appears in other Jewish books is to be understood in this impersonal, or only half personal, sense; that it magnifies God rather than man; that it does not carry with it, as full personal pre-existence does, a guarantee of immortality; in other words that it does not make resurrection unnecessary. It does not lie within the scope of this essay to carry such an investigation through in detail, but a few illustrations may here be added.

One of the most explicit statements is that of the *Secrets of Enoch* 23:5: "For every soul was created [Bonwetsch, *bereitet*] before the foundation of the world." But even apart from the distinction between "created" and "prepared"[93] it is probable that these are "souls" in the Jewish and not in the Greek sense. The preceding verse suggests this, and elsewhere the thought expressed is that the number and lot and place of men are fixed (49:2; 53:2; 58:5; 61:2). Moreover, the eternal life which the righteous are to inherit (50:2), although it is an incorruptible form of existence (65:8–10), is not the mere continuance of the "soul" which was made from the beginning, but is the transformation of the man (body and soul) into an angel-like glory; for Enoch's transfiguration (chap. 22) is certainly typical of the resurrection of the righteous.[94]

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[93] On this see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 104 ff., 245 ff.

The *Apocalypse of Ezra* insists on the dogma of predetermination. The longed-for consummation can neither be hastened nor delayed. All is by measure and number (4:37; cf. *Wisdom* 11:20). The fixed number of the souls of the righteous who are waiting in their chambers (*promptuaria*) for their reward must be filled (4:35, 36). This can only describe the interval between death and the resurrection. But the following verses (40–42) seem to refer to the souls of men unborn which were committed to the earth "from the beginning," kept in chambers in sheol, and brought forth by the earth as a mother from her womb, only in a determined order, and at a fixed time. The book therefore seems to contain a doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, but that it is in the Jewish and not in the Greek sense is clear from what is said of the birth of man and of his death and of the resurrection. In 3:4, 5 (cf. 8:7–14) we find a thoroughly Jewish paraphrase of Gen. 2:7. Man is emphatically derived "from the earth." The earth is the mother, and at God's command produces man (5:48, 49, 50; 7:62, 63, 116). With increasing age her offspring are less vigorous (5:51–55). Death is described as a giving back of the soul (7:75), or in almost Hellenistic terms as a separation of the soul from the body (7:100), the corruptible vessel (7:88). But to read a Philonic type of Judaism into the book on account of these phrases, or even because of the praise of abstinence (7:125), would be a serious mistake. It is true that in this elaborate "teaching concerning death" (7:78 ff.) the soul appears to carry the personality with it to a greater degree than the rabbinical sayings lead us to expect of a Jew. Yet even here the incorporeal existence of the soul is distinctly a partial existence, an intermediate state of waiting between life in this world and life in the world to come. Like the rabbinical

[94] Compare 22:8-10 with Paul's "not unclothed but clothed upon" II Cor. 5:1-4. See further as to the Hellenistic character of this book, *The Yeçer Hara*, pp. 154-56.

interpretation of I Sam. 25:29 is the idea that the souls of the wicked wander about, while those of the righteous are kept in chambers (7:80, 85, 91, 93, 95, 101). Rest and peace in general characterize their existence in these habitations, though they may also complain of the delay of their reward (4:35, 36). They have escaped the corruptible, and they will hereafter inherit the incorruptible (7:88, 96, 97). Whether these chambers are the same that they occupied in sheol before birth (4:41, 42) would seem doubtful. At all events as they were then waiting for their real life to begin, so are they now again waiting for a new beginning. They do not indeed rise to another earthly life in the Messianic time (7:28); but after it, when God creates the new, incorruptible world, they will rise. According to 7:32 it would appear that the body from the earth or dust, and the soul from its chambers, would be reunited. If so, some such transformation of the body from a corruptible to an incorruptible nature as the *Secrets of Enoch* describes must be assumed, for the new life of the righteous in the age to come is of an angelic nature (7:96, 97, 125). As in the rabbinical view, therefore, all souls must be born before the Messianic age can come; and the souls of the righteous are kept in safety and peace in the divine treasury for the life of the world to come. Death belongs to this world and to sin, and life belongs to the coming world and to righteousness.[95] As there is no proper doctrine of the immortality of the soul but only of the keeping and waiting of the soul for resurrection, so we may safely infer that there is no true (Platonic) doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul in this book."[96]

The Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* contains the same ideas of a determined number of souls, and a place prepared for each (23:4, 5; 48:6), of treasuries in which the souls of the dead are kept (21:23; 30:2, 3), and of resurrection as including the body from the earth (42:8; 50:2) as well as the soul from the chambers (30:1, 2), and as involving a transfiguration of the earthly and corruptible nature into a glorious form, angel-like and star-like, fitting them for the immortal world (50, 51).

[95] See 3:7-8, 26; 7:21, 48; 7:11-13, 113.

[96] See a further discussion of the nature of the dualism of *IV Ezra* and *Apoc. Baruch* in *The Yeçer Hara*, pp. 146-51.

PERSIAN WORDS AND THE DATE OF OLD TESTAMENT DOCUMENTS

JOHN D. DAVIS

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The Persian conquest under Cyrus the Great and his successors exerted an immediate influence upon the languages of the West. Persian civilization and political domination were quickly reflected in the speech of the peoples who were suddenly brought into close touch with the men from the eastern highlands. This fact is evident from contemporary literature. It is accordingly proposed in this paper to institute a comparison, and by citing the Persian words which up to the present time have been found in western documents dating from the end of the sixth century before Christ and from the fifth century, to determine, as far as possible, whether the Jewish narratives relating to this period stand on the same footing with the literature of other peoples of the time in respect to the use of Persian words, and thus to discover the date of composition with which the Persian coloring in these Jewish records is compatible.

For the purposes of this inquiry considerable material is available. There are the inscriptions in various languages prepared by command of the Persian monarchs to record the glories of their reigns, royal decrees proceeding from the same high source and the official correspondence of the provincial governors with the imperial court. From Babylonia come numerous business documents written in the Semitic dialect that was current in the busy marts of trade at the head of the Persian Gulf. Greece offers noble literary works; especially the historical writings of Herodotus and Thucydides, and poems by Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, and Aristophanes. The *Anabasis* of Xenophon also reflects the language of this age, although it was not written until the opening years of the fourth century.

I

The efforts of Ezra and Nehemiah in behalf of the struggling colony at Jerusalem, and the beautiful devotion which Queen Esther showed to her doomed fellow-countrymen, belong to the history of the fifth century B. C. They were events in the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia and rulers of almost the whole civilized world from the year 486 to 425 B. C. The Jewish narratives of these deeds (Ezra, chaps. 7–10; Nehemiah; Esther) are written almost exclusively in Hebrew; but the copy of a letter of Artaxerxes accrediting Ezra is in Aramaic (Ezra 7:12–26), and other correspondence with Artaxerxes, recorded in Ezra 4:8–23, is likewise in Aramaic. The vocabulary which is employed contains about twelve words which are certainly of Persian origin, and about nine others the source of which is still under debate.

These Jewish writings contain three terms, relevant to the present inquiry, which are connected with a king in his more personal surroundings: kether, a crown (Esther 1:11; 2:17; 6:8), bîthān, a palace (Esther 1:5; 7:7), and pardēs, a forest or park (Neh. 2:8). Kether is believed by many scholars to be of Persian origin. Now it not only found employment in the Hebrew of Esther in reference to the Persian king, but it reached the Greeks also in the same century in the form κίταρις (Ctesias, *Persika*, 47). Bîthān is found in Hebrew in the description of the palace garden at Shushan, and there only. It is not certain that the word came from Persia; but, be that as it may, long before the days of Esther the word found employment in the Semitic language of Babylonia. It gained currency among the Babylonians soon after the Persian conquest of their country, as early as the days of Cambyses and Darius at least (Strassmaier, *Cambyses* 63:4; 133:3; *Darius*, 98:2; 179:7; see *BA*, III, 212). Another Persian word, like bîthān denoting a great building, and belonging to the vocabulary of imperial courts, is apadana, a palace or arsenal. It appears in Semitic Babylonian in an inscription of Artaxerxes II (405–361 B. C.), referring to a building of the sort erected by Darius the Great at Susa (Bezold, *Achämenideninschriften*, XII and 44; Schultze, *ZDMG*, XXXIX, 48–50; cf. Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*, *s. v.* bîthân; see also Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 3te Reihe, Band I, 2; and Dan. 11:45). The word pardēs, borrowed from the Persian, "might have reached Israel through Solomon's connection with the East" (Driver, *Introduction*^{10}, 449; see Eccles. 2:5; Song of Sol. 4:13). It was known to the Jews of the fifth century through the existence of the royal Persian forest or timber preserve in the neighborhood of Jerusalem (Neh. 2:8). But long before the time of Nehemiah the term had gained currency among the Semites of Babylonia also, and it figures in a business document of the reign of Cyrus in the form par-di-su (Strassmaier, *Cyrus*, 212:3). The word was introduced into Greek also as early at least as the time of Cyrus the Younger's rule over the provinces of Asia Minor, for he had "a great *paradeisos* full of wild beasts" in Phrygia (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 2. 7). Thus two of these words used by the Jews were current among several peoples under Persian domination even before the days of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther; and the use of the third, and of yet another belonging to the same sphere, is attested in the immediately succeeding years.

The Jewish narratives aforesaid contain three titles of Persian officials. The name naturally traveled with the office. Nehemiah, the governor of Judea, is called tiršāthā; the viceroys in the provinces are entitled satraps, ʼ^{a}ḫašdarp^{e}nîm (Ezra 8:36; Esther 3:12); and the royal treasurer is called gizbār (Ezra 7:21). That the Persian titles crossed the border with the officials who bore them, and at once found admission to the language of the foreigners, has other abundant attestation. The name for treasurer had likewise gotten into the speech of the Babylonians. A fragment of it may be read on a mutilated document of Darius' reign (521–486 B. C.), gan-za-b[ara] (Strassmaier, *Darius*, 296:2; compare Zimmern, *ZA*, X, 6, 63). Other Persian names of the sort had also found entrance into the Semitic Babylonian: for example, magus in the form ma-gu-šu (Behistun Inscription of Darius, 18, 20, 23, 29, 90; see *ZDMG*, XXIII, 233); also in the early part of the fifth century the Persian names of office da-ta-ba-ra, 'judge,' pa-ti-pa-ba-ga, and us-tar-ba-ri (Hilprecht, *Babylonian Expedition*, IX, 28). A similar introduction of Persian titles took place in the Greek language. Magus and the magi are often mentioned in the pages of Herodotus (e. g., i. 101), and Herodotus and Ctesias venture to use magos in composition with a Greek word (Herodotus, iii. 79; Ctesias, *Persika*, 15). Satraps, officials mentioned in the books of Ezra and Esther, appear frequently in the contemporary history of Herodotus (i. 192; iii. 128), and the word "satrapy" is used by Thucydides (i. 129). The Persian honor, and with it the Persian title, of being enrolled among the benefactors of the king, orosaggai, was bestowed upon a Greek of Asia Minor (Herodotus, viii. 85), and was also known in Athens (Sophocles, *Fragment* 193). So far, then, as Persian official titles are concerned, the Hebrew records of the fifth century before Christ are exactly like the contemporary writings of Babylonia and Greece.

The Jewish narratives have occasion to refer to the transaction of the public business of the Persian state, and in this connection use Persian words for treasury, gᵉnāz (Ezra 7:20; Esther 3:9); for various documents, pithgām, a decree (Esther 1:20); pathšegen and paršegen, copy of an archive (Esther 3:14; 4:8; 8:13; and Ezra 7:11; Kautzsch, *Aramäische Grammatik*, § 64; Gildemeister, *ZKM*, IV, 208; Lagarde, *Armenische Studien*, § 1838; Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 22); ništᵉvān, a letter (Ezra 4:18, 23); for law, dāth (Ezra 8:36; Esther 2:12); and in reference to the postal service the technical terms 'ᵃḥaštᵉrānîm, 'used in the king's service,' and rammākîm, 'studs' (Esther 8:10, 14). Of these seven or eight words two had long been current in the Semitic language of Babylonia. The term for law was used in the form da-ta in records of the reign of Darius (Strassmaier, *Darius*, 53:15). The word for treasury, gᵉnāz, was probably introduced by traders from Persia who visited the bazaars of Babylon, for it is used by the prophet Ezekiel, writing in Babylonia about 588 B. C. (cf. 26:1). He mentions "treasuries (i. e., chests) of rich apparel" (27:24). The word is found in Semitic Babylonian also, as early as the reign of Darius, in the compound gan-za-ba-ra, as noted above. To the Greek language the Persian postal arrangements gave in this century the word ἄγγαρος, whether its origin is Persian or not, meaning a mounted courier, and *ἀγγαρήιος*, the postal system (Herodotus, iii. 126; especially, for both words, viii. 98). Even Aeschylus employs the word when he tells how beacon sent beacon by a courier of fire to bear the news (*Agamemnon*, 282; Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 22). Again the vocabularies of the three languages, Greek, Hebrew, and Semitic Babylonian, are alike in respect to the adoption of Persian words.

Persian measures also came into use in the conquered provinces. The gold coin, daric, it is thought, was introduced in this manner into the commerce of the West. The name together with the money was current there in the fifth century. The word is found in the Hebrew of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles;[1] and in Greek was employed in Asia Minor (Herodotus, vii. 28), and at Sparta, in an inscription which is believed to antedate the year 416 B. C. (*ZA*, II, 51), and at Athens (Thucydides, viii. 28).[2] The Persian word artaba, a measure of capacity equal to about twelve gallons, appears in Semitic Babylonian speech as early as the sixth year of the reign of Cambyses (Strassmaier, *Cambyses*, 316:1, 6, 9, 18), and is mentioned by Herodotus as in use in the province of Babylon (i. 192). The Persian farsang, equivalent to three miles and a half, was quite familiar to the Greeks in the form *παρασάγγης*, particularly because of its use to indicate distances on the great post-road between Sardis and Susa (Herodotus, v. 52; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 4. 1 ff.), and from its being the standard imposed upon the Ionians in the assessment of their lands for the imperial taxation (Herodotus, vi. 42). From its association with the post-road, this measure of distance was used as far west as Attica during this period in the sense of a messenger (Sophocles, *Fragment* 127). Thus again in respect to Persian words these Jewish documents relating to the fifth century B. C. exhibit the linguistic phenomena of other non-Persian writings of the period.

Naturally many Persian implements and articles of dress were

[1] In favor of distinguishing between '^{a}darkōn (I Chron. 29:7; Ezra 8:27) and darkamōn (Ezra 2:69; Neh. 7:70–72), Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, pp. 196 f.

[2] A like word, dariku, denoting a measure of capacity, is met with in the language of Babylonia even before the Persian conquest (Strassmaier, *Nabuchodonosor*, 432:7; *Nabonidus*, 623:8; *Cyrus*, 123:9; 316:10; see Zehnpfund, *BA*, I, 634; Ziemer, *BA*, III, 460).

made known to the West by the trader and the traveler. Some commodities went in advance of the Persian conquest, others came with the Persian occupation. In the group of Jewish writings now under consideration bûṣ, fine linen, and karpaś, a white stuff, are mentioned in connection with the hangings which adorned the palace of Xerxes (Esther 1:6). Bûṣ, if indeed it was brought from Persia, reached Babylonia before the Persian armies, for it is used by Ezekiel. It had found its way as far west as Greece by the time of Artaxerxes, being used in the form *βύσσος* by Empedocles in the middle of the fifth century. Still other words of this class gained access to Greece. The people of the West laughed at the anaxurides or wide trousers of the Persians and at their saraballa (Herodotus, i. 71; v. 49; see Bähr; also Dan. 3:21; Kautzsch, *Aramäische Grammatik*, §§ 62, 64; Marti, *Grammatik der biblischen-aramäischen Sprache*, Glossary); they remarked the turbans, kurbasia (Herodotus, v. 49; vii. 64; Aristophanes, *Birds*, 486), the thick rug, kaunakēs (Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1137; see Andreas-Marti), the scimiter, akinakēs (Herodotus, iii. 118, 128; iv. 62; vii. 54), and the battle-axe, sagaris (Herodotus, i. 215; iv. 5, 70; vii. 64). All these words were borrowed from the East. In addition should be mentioned probably sandal, sandalon and sandalion (Herodotus, ii. 91), though this word had been naturalized in Greece of old (*Homeric Hymns*, "Mercurius," 79).

Thus, with the exception of two words which are reserved for the second part, and of which at any rate the Persian origin is disputed, all the indisputably Persian words and others with some appearance of Persian birth have been examined, that appear in the biblical narratives which tell of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, except Purim. Evidently the diction of these writings exhibits such traces of Persian influence as mark the language and literature of foreigners living within the bounds and on the border of the Persian empire in the fifth century before Christ.

II

In the earlier part of the Book of Ezra, in the section devoted to events which took place between the first year of Cyrus and the second year of Darius, i. e., between 538 and 515 B. C. (chaps. 1–6, except 4:6–23), there are eight words which scholars hold with greater or less assurance to be of Persian origin. They are gizbār, 1:8, tiršāthā, 2:63, and dark^{e}mōn, 2:69, in the Hebrew narrative of events in Cyrus' reign; and ništ^{e}vān, 5:5, g^{e}nāz, 6:1, pithgām, 5:7, in the Aramaic account of certain affairs of Darius' reign (the latter word occurring again in a decree of Darius, 6:11, and still again, 5:11, in a written report made by officials of the Persian government to Darius, in which report also g^{e}nāz, 5:17, already cited from 6:11, and 'āsparnā, 5:8, are found) and paršegen, 5:6, in the indorsement on this report.

The narrative in its present form, as it is found in the Book of Ezra, is not older than the reign of Artaxerxes (465–425 B. C.), but it incorporates older records (Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums;* Boyd, *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, XI (1900), 414–437). And the occasional presence of Persian words is a proper phenomenon of such a writing, both in its narrative portion and in the original sources. Only three of the Persian words, it will be noticed, appear in the references to events of Cyrus' reign. One is daric, the gold coin already discussed. The two others, gizbār and tiršāthā, are Persian official titles. The name went with the office. And one of them, gizbār, occurs in a Babylonian document of the decade immediately after Cyrus (see above, p. 275). The other Persian words, five in number, are found in records, original or translated, that in part belong and in part refer to the times of Darius. The propriety of a Persian element in the diction is apparent from the nature of the documents (compare the manner in which the Persian word apadana, already cited, obtained employment in a record of Xerxes written in the Semitic Babylonian); and is, moreover, attested by the still larger number of Persian words which have already been cited from documents written in the Semitic dialect of Babylonia and dating from the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius (pardisu, artabi, magušu, gizbār, data, databara, ustabari, patipabaga). It is evident that the Semitic speech of Babylonia was already interlarded with Persian words.

There is some evidence also that the form of expression was being affected by Persian influence (Hilprecht, *Babylonian Expedition*, IX, 36).

Included among the Persian vocables in the former part of the Book of Ezra is one noun, 'āsparnā (compare Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 10), and in the rescript of Artaxerxes (Ezra 4:6–23) are two more, which are rendered adverbially; namely, 'āsparnā, 'diligently,' 'adrazdā, 'exactly,' and 'aphtōm, 'in the end, finally.' The Persian origin of each of these three words has been called in question (Kautzsch, *Aramäische Grammatik*, § 64; Fried. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, 151 f., and in Baer's *Daniel*). However that may be, it is at any rate worthy of notice that these three words occur only in the Aramaic sections of the Book of Ezra; 'āsparnā, namely, in the report of the Persian governor to Darius (5:8), the rescript of Darius in reply (6:8, 12), the record of the execution of the royal command (6:13), and with 'aphtōm and 'adrazdā in the two rescripts of Artaxerxes (4:13, 'aphtōm; 7:17, 21, 26, 'āsparnā; 7:23, 'adrazdā). That is, in addition to the note recording the execution of the royal order, they are found only in letters of Persians to Persians, or in credentials given by Persians and intended for exhibition to Persian officials. They are found in ostensible copies or translations of Persian documents, and that, too, in the international language of the time.

This review has become a practically exhaustive citation of the Persian words which have been discovered up to this time in the Semitic inscriptions of Babylonia dating from the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ, and in Greek literature acknowledged to belong to the fifth century.[3] It is quite certain that many more Persian words will be revealed in the Babylonian speech as the tablets are brought to light. It has become clear, we think, that the diction of the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther exhibits such traces of the Persian influence as properly belong to contemporary documents written within the bounds of the Persian empire and concerning imperial affairs.

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[3] Since this article was finished for publication, a number of Persian words have come to light in Egyptian documents of the fifth century before Christ. From them the foregoing exposition has already received enrichment.

III

The third part of the present inquiry relates to the Book of Daniel. For reasons which will presently become apparent, the time is opportune for prolegomena only, for a preliminary survey, for the preparation of a programme to be followed in the investigation, for a determination of the problems to be solved. The Book of Daniel contains Persian words, in fact it contains more than do the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther combined. The book begins with an account of events which occurred in the earlier part of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Conceivably, of course, it may embody notes or other records made at the time when the occurrences or visions took place. But at any rate the material is arranged; and the book was certainly not thus organized until after the fall of the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar and the accession of Cyrus to the Babylonian throne in the year 539 B. C. So much, critics of all schools admit; for the narrative of both history and vision is brought down into the reign of Cyrus (1:21; 6:28; 10:1). The earliest date, therefore, that can possibly be thought of for the composition of the Book of Daniel is the closing years of the prophet's life, during the leisure that came to him after his final retirement from public service, in the reign of Cyrus, shortly before the year 530 B. C.

This date is doubtless compatible with the use of the two, or possibly three or four, Persian words which occur in the Hebrew portion of the book: pathbāg, 'a portion of food doled out daily from the royal kitchen' (1:5), 'appeden, 'building' (11:45; see above p. 274), and perhaps part^{e}mîm, 'nobles' (1:3), and melṣār, 'steward' (1:11, 16); but Assyrian origin is ascribed to melṣār by Fried. Delitzsch in Baer's *Daniel*, p. xi, and to part^{e}mîm by Haupt, *American Journal of Philology*, XVII, 490. The propriety of these Persian words in a writing from the pen of the aged Daniel himself can scarcely be questioned. It is vouched for by the occurrence of other Persian words in Semitic literature of the time, written in Babylon and its vicinity; such as g^{e}nāz, 'treasury,' used by Ezekiel, pardisu, 'forest, or, park,' in an inscription of Cyrus' reign, artabe, a measure of capacity, and perhaps bîthān, 'palace,' in inscriptions of Cambyses' reign

(529–521 B. C.), and data, 'law,' and the official titles ganzabara, 'treasurer,' and databara, 'lawyer,' attested as current in Babylonia as early as 520 B. C.

The archaeological problem presented by the Persian words, and, it may be added, by the words of Greek origin, belongs to the Aramaic section of the book, chap. 2:4 to 7:28. At the outset of the investigation, the fact that officials in the decree of Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonian are enumerated under Persian titles admits of no other plausible explanation than that this record was penned after the Persian occupation of Babylonia, and a sufficient time after the conquest for these titles to have become familiar to the people of the lower Euphrates valley. The references to Cyrus in the book and this linguistic phenomenon are so far in agreement.

The presence of these official titles and other Persian words in the Aramaic section is adequately accounted for, *First*, on the theory that the Book of Daniel was written originally in its present bilingual form and by an author who lived in the troubled Maccabean age. It is equally intelligible, *secondly*, on the theory that the book was originally written in Hebrew, and that the Aramaic section is a fragment of a translation or of a Targum of the Hebrew (Lenormant, *La Divination* (1875), p. 174; *Chaldean Magic* (1877), p. 14; compare Wright, *Daniel and His Prophecies* (1906), p. xx, but apparently differently elsewhere, e. g., pp. 46, 53; Introduction, p. 193, both of whom ascribe the authorship of the book to Daniel; Bevan, *Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1892), p. 27; Prince, *Critical Commentary* (1899), p. 13, both of whom regard the original as Maccabaean; Haupt in Kamphausen's *Book of Daniel*, critical edition (1896), p. 16; Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2te Reihe (1899), p. 211, note). The book, it is held, was rendered into Aramaic with close literalness or in expository expansion. In the course of time a large portion of the Hebrew document was lost, and the gap was restored from the Aramaic version. The Persian words, and the traces of contact with the Greeks seen in the names of certain musical instruments mentioned in 3:5, may belong solely to the translation, and not have been found in the original

Hebrew. So far as the diction is concerned, the translation into Aramaic may have been made as early as the time of Alexander the Great (Lenormant), or even in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, as is abundantly evident from the brief survey of Persian influence upon the languages of the West in the fifth century before Christ. At that period too, the Aramaeans of the West held close intercourse with the Greeks. The peculiarities of diction are also accountable for, *thirdly*, on the theory that the Aramaic section, so much at least as is comprised in chaps. 2–6, is an independent composition, penned in Aramaic, and written one, two, or three centuries before the time of the Maccabees (Eichhorn, *Einleitung*[4] (1824), §§ 615*c*, II, 619, time of Ezra and Nehemiah; Herbst, *Einleitung* (1840), 104 f.; Strack, in Zöckler's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften* (1883), I, 165; and Meinhold, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches Daniel* (1888), p. 70, before 300 B. C.; Wildeboer, *Litteratur des Alten Testamentes* (1895), pp. 436, 443. It is mainly in connection with the fourth theory that the linguistic phenomenon demands rigid investigation: namely, *fourth*, that the Book of Daniel was written, essentially in its present form, by the great man of God whose name it bears. In view of the diction can Daniel have been the author? Only an indirect method is available to answer this question. In default of Aramaic literature written in Babylonia during the early Persian period, recourse must be had exclusively to documents written in the Semitic Babylonian, but even in this indirect way scholarship is coming measurably nearer a final determination of this particular point.

ARAMAIC INDORSEMENTS ON THE DOCUMENTS OF THE MURAŠÛ SONS

ALBERT T. CLAY

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ALBERT T. CLAY

The tablets upon which these Aramaic inscriptions appear belong to the archives of the Murašû Sons of Nippur.[1] They are records of business transactions conducted by the sons and grandsons of Murašû, namely Ellil-ḫâtin, Ellil-šum-iddin, Rîmût-Ninib, Murašû (the latter two being sons of Ellil-ḫâtin), and Murašû (son of Ellil-šum-iddin). In addition, the archives contained a number of documents which had been written in the interest of their servants or slaves and servants of slaves. The documents are dated in the reigns of Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.), Darius II (424–404 B.C.) and in the first year of the reign of the following ruler, Artaxerxes II. This is practically the same period covered by the Aramaic papyri and ostraca found at Assuan in Egypt, which have recently been published by Sayce and Cowley. The Aramaic script used in the Murašû documents is strikingly similar to that found in the records discovered in Egypt.

That the Aramaic language, in this age, was used generally for diplomatic purposes and was the intercommercial language in the marts of trade in Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Egypt, and Palestine is now well recognized. That in this age also it was the language extensively spoken in Babylonia, is a reasonable conjecture in the light of many known facts.[2]

The inscriptions were scratched or written on the edge or on other uninscribed portions of the unbaked clay documents. This was done either by the scribe who wrote the cuneiform document, or the keeper of the archives. The fact that some appear to have been written before the clay was hard (see below) makes it reasonable to conjecture that the same scribe who wrote the Aramaic, wrote the cuneiform. In many instances he held the cuneiform document upside down. When the uninscribed portion of the tablet upon which he wrote the reference note was below the center of the document, he usually reversed the tablet so that he could hold it more conveniently in writing the indorsement. Some are lightly, while others are heavily, incised. A large number were written with a black fluid after the clay had become hard. In some instances, however, the clay was evidently not entirely hard, for the pen or instrument which was used to apply the fluid cut into the surface of the tablet.[3]

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[1] About seven hundred and thirty documents were discovered in May, 1893, in the archives room of this house or family, by Dr. J. H. Haynes, the Director of the third expedition of the University of Pennsylvania to Nippur. Of these one hundred and twenty have been published under the title *Business Documents of Murašû Sons of Nippur*, Vol. IX of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, by H. V. Hilprecht and A. T. Clay; and one hundred and thirty-two in Vol. X, by A. T. Clay. On the discovery and character of these documents, cf. also Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, pp. 398 f.

[2] Cf. Clay, *BE*, Vol. X, p. 10; *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, p. 396; and Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 10.

It is not improbable that every document of these archives originally contained a reference note written in Aramaic. These in the majority of instances, especially those that had been written with fluid upon the hard tablet, have disappeared wholly or in part, by reason of the fact that they have been buried in more or less damp earth for over a score of centuries. In consequence some indorsements are exceedingly indistinct, and are practically valueless, because it is impossible to distinguish between the characters of the inscription, and the black spots or stains with which many of the tablets are covered.[4] Although the tablets generally are well preserved, some inscriptions that were lightly incised have more or less disappeared, because the surface of the unbaked clay had become slightly rough by reason of exposure. The cuneiform writing, being more deeply engraved, did not suffer to the same extent. On the whole, these writings or scratchings are tenfold more difficult to read and reproduce than the cuneiform texts. In some instances the documents have even been studied and published without detecting that they contained indorsements.

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[3] Cf. Clay, *BE*, Vol. X, pp. 6 f. Cf. also the important and interesting monograph by Messerschmidt in *OLZ*, 1906, "Zur Technik des Tontafel-Schreibens," pp. 45 ff.

[4] These were caused by a precipitation of hydroxides of manganese and iron from solution in water from the soil. The character of the clay, which contains more than 32 per cent. of calcium carbonate, has caused the precipitation. Cf. my *BE*, Vol. X, p. 1.

These Aramaic inscriptions are known in legal parlance as indorsements—filing indorsements—or reference notes, for the convenience of the keeper of the archives, or the person in whose interests they had been written. In many instances they describe the nature of the document, e. g., "Document of Enmaštu-uballiṭ concerning 15 kors of dates." More frequently only the name of the obligor is given, e. g., "Document of Lâbâši." The fact that the documents belonged to the archives of the Murašû Sons made it unnecessary to mention the name of the individual in whose interests the document was written, whether as a receipt, record of a debt, lease, etc. In only a few instances do we find the name of the obligee or payee. One of these (No. 29) is in the interest of a slave of the house.

Two of the indorsements (Nos. 5 and 8) appeared in Vol. IX. Five, which are here published for the first time (Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, and 10), are also on tablets of the same volume.[5] Twenty-three appeared in Vol. X,[6] but the rest are from unpublished documents.

These Aramaic inscriptions are valuable in that they offer us new lexicographical material. In some instances they enable us to restore certain data in the documents which are mutilated or fragmentary. But especially valuable is the light thrown upon the actual pronunciation of certain cuneiform ideograms or combinations of characters. For instance, we learn that the deity which is written KUR-GAL in Sumerian, is not to be read šadû rabû or Bêl, but Amurru; NIN-IB is not to be read Adar, Nindar, Nin-Uraš or Nisroch, but Enmaštu; and EN-LIL is not to be read Bêl, but Ellil.

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[5] It was first intended to publish the seals, "dockets," etc., in a separate volume, but after I had made the copies of the cuneiform texts for Vol. IX, the coeditor inserted the two inscriptions, as well as a part of a third, containing simply שטר (cf. *BE*, Vol. IX, No. 54). It should be mentioned that several other tablets of Vol. IX (Nos. 3*a*, 31, 32*a*, 47, 49, 54), besides the five additional indorsements here published, contain inscriptions, but I am unable to read more than these, owing to the fact that they are exceedingly indistinct and only partially preserved.

[6] After the appearance of the volume these were discussed by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, pp. 203 f., to whom I sent a complete set of photographs. Further study of all the texts has enabled me to improve in a number of places the copies of those published in both volumes, which makes it unnecessary to apologize for the republication of them together with those here published for the first time. I expect to present also an additional number of indorsements in the texts of my forthcoming volume, which belong entirely to the neo-Babylonian period.

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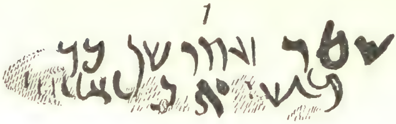

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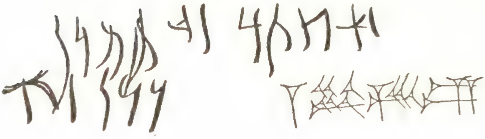

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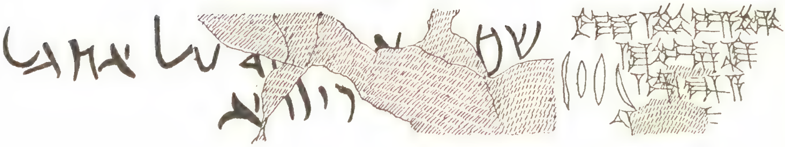

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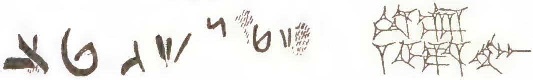

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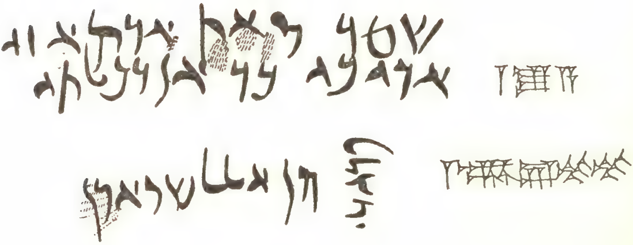

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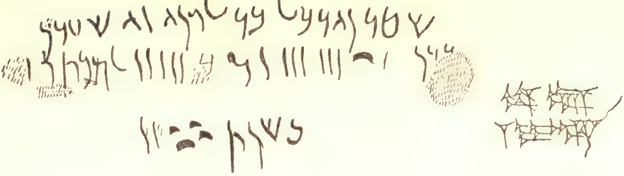

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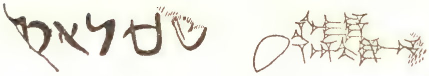

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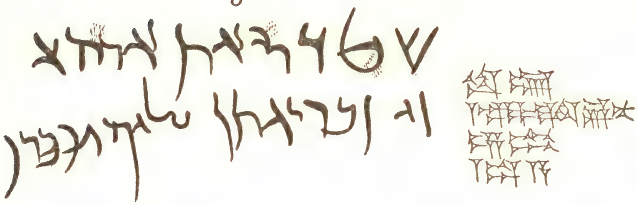

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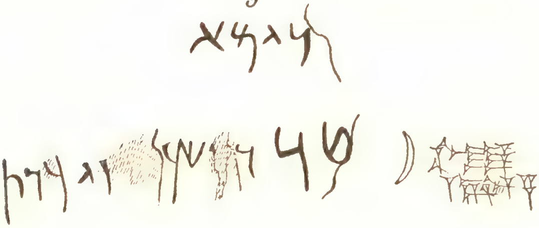

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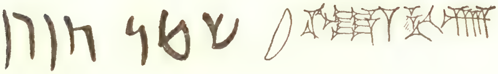

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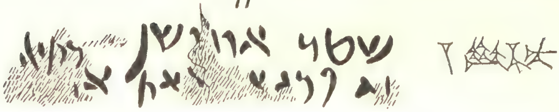

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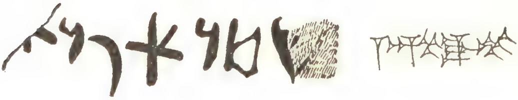

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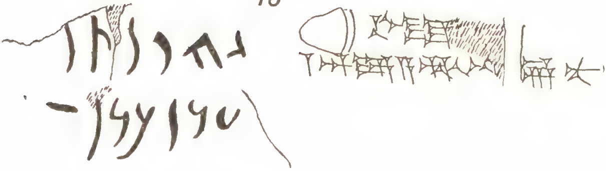

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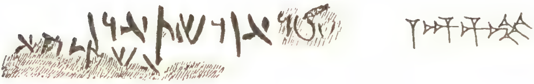

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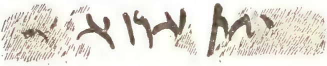

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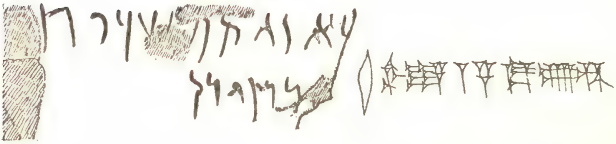

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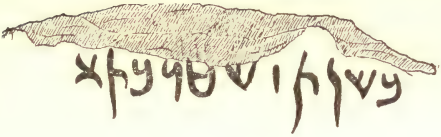

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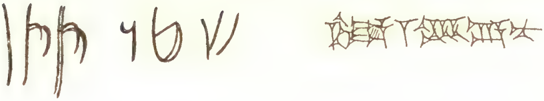

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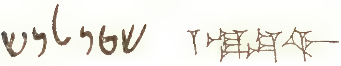

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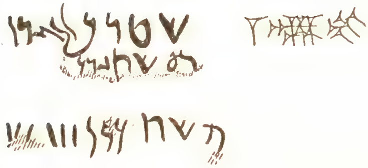

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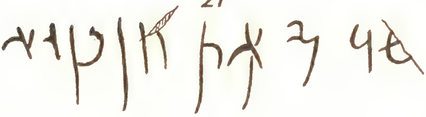

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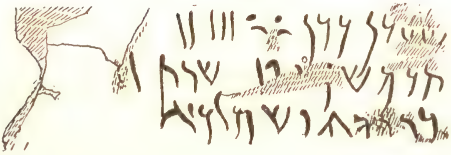

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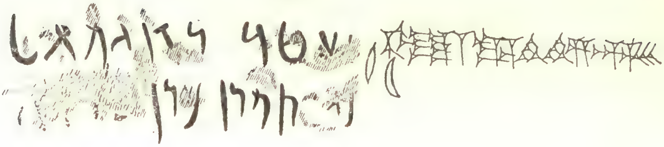

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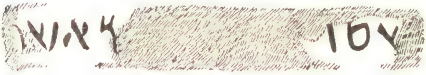

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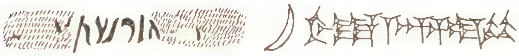

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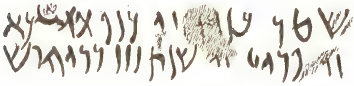

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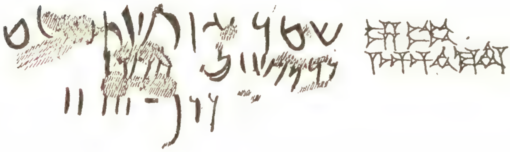

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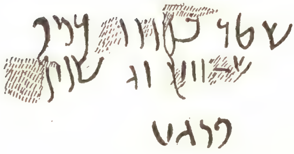

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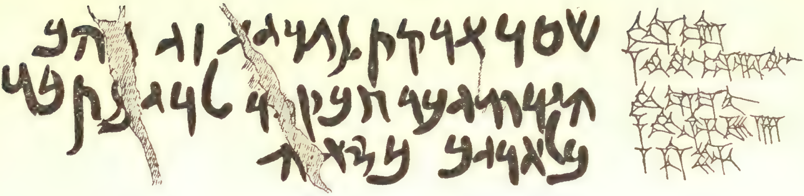

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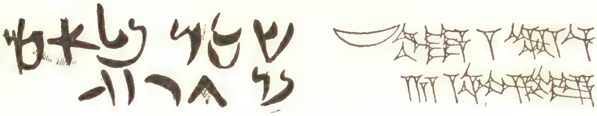

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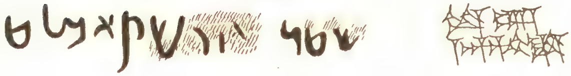

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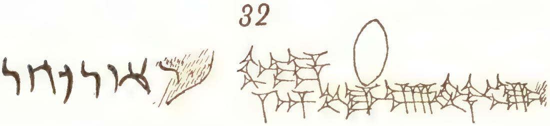

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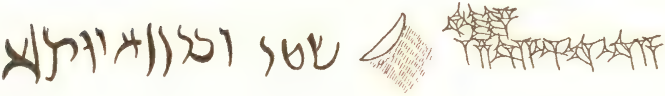

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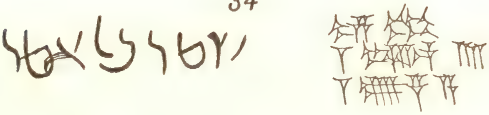

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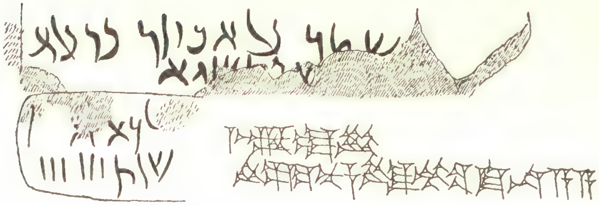

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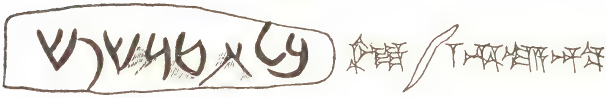

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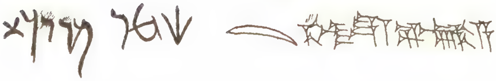

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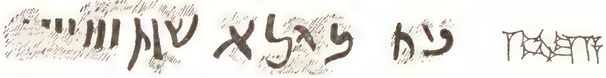

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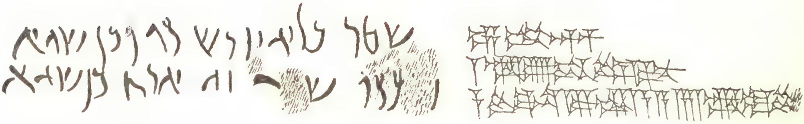

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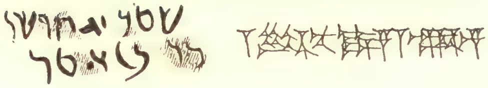

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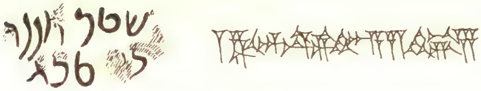

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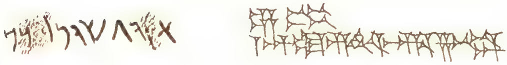

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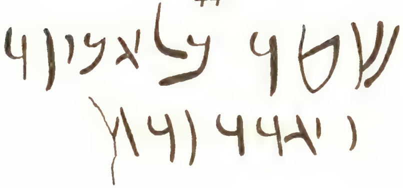

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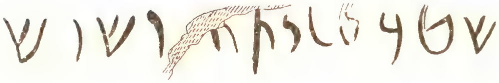

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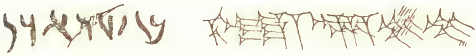

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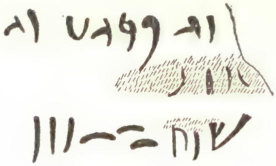

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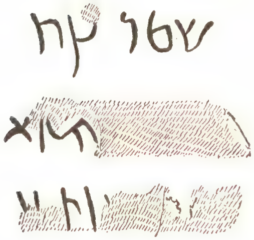
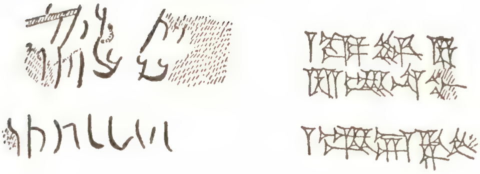
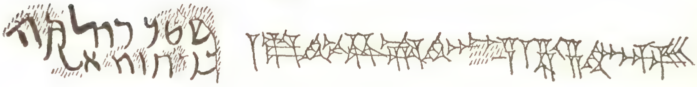


49



50



No. 1

The cuneiform text is published in *BE*, Vol. IX,[7] No. 2, but not the Aramaic indorsement. Artaxerxes, 10th year, Adar 22d day. It is written with black color on the left end.[8]

שטר אחושן בר
בלש(?)אב(?) לאלל[התן]

"The document of Aḫušunu, son of Bêl-šum(?)-ibni(?), for Ellil-ḫa-tin."[9]

The indorsement enables us to restore the name Aḫušunu in the text; but the name of the individual's father remains uncertain. On אלל = EN-LIL = Ellil, the god of Nippur, cf. the writer's article in *AJSL*, July, 1907.

No. 2

CBM,[10] 6132. Artaxerxes, 29th year, 11th day. Incised upside down on the reverse.

אחתר זי תמרן
כרן ׀ ת

"Aḫê-utîr concerning 100 kors (GUR) of dates."

The tablet reads:

"100 kors of dates . . . . property of Ellil, by the order of Ellil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû, Ardu-Ellil, son of . . . . , Širiqtim-NINIB, Aplâ, son of Kalbu . . . . son of . . . . bi-ia, have received from the hand of Aḫê-utîr, slave of Ellil-šum-iddina, in Nippur; at the gate Kalakku, they have been paid."[11]

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[7] *BE*, Vol. IX, refers to *Business Documents of Murašû Sons*, Vol. IX of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, by Hilprecht and Clay. *BE*, Vol. X is by Clay.

[8] In his description of this text Professor Hilprecht wrote: "L. and Lo. E. contain each 2 lines of a much effaced Aramaic inscription written with black color." If the Lo. E. contained originally an inscription, it has completely disappeared, for only black spots are visible. On these cf. my *BE*, Vol. X, p. 1.

[9] In the translation of the Aramaic, the transliterations of the proper names are given from the cuneiform text.

[10] *CBM* refers to the accession Catalogue of the Babylonian and General Semitic Section of the Archaeological Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

[11] 100 GUR suluppu . . . . ša Ellil ina ki-bi ša ^{m}Ellil-šum-iddin [aplu ša] ^{m}Mu-ra-šu-ú ^{m}Ardu-Ellil [aplu ša] ^{m}Širiqtim(-tim)-NINIB Aplâ aplu ša ^{m}Kalbu . . . . bi-ia ina qât Aḫê-utîr ^{h}gal-la ša . . . . ina Nippuru^{ki} ina bâb Ka-lak-ku maḫ-ru-' êṭirû-'. The seal of Ardu-Ellil is on the reverse.

The Aramaic כרן (which is the plural of כר), confirms the suggestion made by Winckler (*KAT*^{3}, p. 340) that כר is the same as the Babylonian GUR.

The last character of the indorsement, owing to the contents of the tablet, must mean "100." It is different from other known Aramaic characters having the same value. Cf. Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik Atlas.*

No. 3

CBM, 5186. Artaxerxes, 34th year, 20th of Elul. It is written upside down on the reverse.

שט[ר סאה] די על אחיל
[. . . . .]ו(?)צרא

The names written alongside of the thumb-nail marks on the tablet, which can be partially restored by the help of the Aramaic are: Aḫi-ia-li, Šu-lum-Bâbili, Iš-ra-a, and a fourth, which from the Aramaic, may be Uṣurâ.

No. 4

Cuneiform inscription was published, *BE*, Vol. IX, 64, but not the Aramaic. Artaxerxes, 38th year, 11th of Shebet. Incised on lower edge.

שטר שיטא

"Document of Ši-ṭa-'."

The Aramaic shows that the name is not to be written Šida' (*BE*, Vol. IX, p. 71).

No. 5

BE, Vol. IX, 66*a*. Artaxerxes, 39th year, 19th of Tishri. First two lines are incised on reverse; last line on lower edge.

שטר סאת ארקא די
אריבי בר אנדבלתי
מן אללשואדן

"The document of the land-rent of Eribâ, son of ^{f}Andi-Bêlti. Payment from Ellil-šum-iddin."

Cf. *AJSL*, July, 1907, for a full discussion of this inscription by the writer.

No. 6

Cuneiform inscription published, *BE*, Vol. IX, 108, but not the Aramaic. Artaxerxes, 41st year, 21st of Kislev. Lightly incised on upper edge; last line on lower edge.

שטר נידבל בר לבני די שערן
כרן ־III III I ל III II למרחסו[ן]
בשנת = = II

"Document of Nâ'id-Bêl, son of La-ba-ni concerning the barley, 16(?) kors, and 1 ox(?). On the 5th (day) of Marchesvan, in the 42d year."

The Aramaic shows that the name La-ba-ni is not to be read Lamani (*BE*, IX, p. 62). שערן means "barley," cf. שערין. It here represents ŠE-BAR. In Assyrian inscriptions it also represents ŠE-PAT-MEŠ; cf. Johns, *ADD*, III, pp. 212 f.

Before the numeral "10" in the second line, there is an additional faint stroke. Unfortunately the amount of grain, which was recorded in the document, is not preserved, so that it is impossible to ascertain whether this was made intentionally. Following the numeral is a peculiar character which may represent a fraction of a GUR, or it may represent alpu ummannu of the text. מרחסון written with ס instead of the usual ש, is to be noted. Payment was to be made in the 42d year of the reign, but about two months after the document was written, the reign came to a close.

No. 7

Cuneiform inscription published *BE*, Vol. IX, 68, but not the Aramaic. Artaxerxes, 39th year, 21st of Marchesvan. Incised on right edge.

שטר אור[אטר]

"Document of Amurru-êṭir."

For the determination of the reading, אור = Amurru for ^{d}KUR-GAL, see my *BE*, Vol. X, p. 8, and *BE*, Vol. XIV, p. viii; also Peiser, *Urkunden aus der Zeit der dritten Babylonischen Dynastie*, p. viii.

No. 8

BE, Vol. IX, 71. Artaxerxes, 40th year, 3d of Ab. Incised on reverse.

שטר סאת ארקא
די נבואתן עלי מגן בר נ

"Document of the land-rent of Nabû-it-tan-nu in connection with Mukînâ(du-a) son of N[abû-it-tan-nu]."

The last seven characters were regarded as a proper name by Professor Hilprecht, which he read ימגוברך (cf. *BE*, Vol. IX, p. 29). Cf. also עלים read by Dr. Lidzbarski *Ephemeris*, I, p. 503. The last character is נ, not ך, and the fourth from the end is ן, not ו. It will be observed that in my copy of this inscription I have made the latter character extend below the line. The half-tone reproduction (*BE*, Vol. IX, Pl. VIII) of the tablet, which is all I possessed in copying this inscription, clearly indicates that it should be thus reproduced. עלי is the older form of על as in Hebrew. The inscription upon which this indorsement is written reads:

"26 kors of dates of the harvest of the field(s), which are in the towns Bît-Zabin and Gadibatum, for the 38th and 39th years, due to Nabû-ittannu, son of Šišku, which were at the disposal of Ellil-šum-iddin son of Murašû, Nabû-ittannu received from Ellil-šum-iddin. He has been paid."

Witnesses:

Ninib-êṭir, son of Nâdin-šum; Ninib-nâdin, son of Nâṣir; Nâdin-šum, son of Ša-pî-kalbi; Bêl-aḫu-iddina, son of Bêl-nâ'id, Kinâ son of Ninib-gâmil; Ninib-aḫu-iddina, son of Bêl-aḫu-iddina."

The name of the scribe Ubar, son of Nâdin, and the date follow besides the seal (kunukku) of Nabû-ittannu, and the seal-ring (unqu) impression of Mukînâ(du-a). The name of the witnesses I have given because of what follows.

The name accompanying the seal-ring impression du-a, Professor Hilprecht regarded as a variant of Ki-na-a, the name of a witness; cf. *BE*, Vol. IX, p. 10. Cf. also his editorial note in my *BE*, Vol. X, p. 55, under the name Mukîn-aplu(du-a).

That my reading Mukîn-aplu in Vol. X, is correct, cf. *BE*, Vol. XV, p. ix. That Mukînâ is the correct reading of DU-a in the tablet under consideration is proved by the Aramaic indorsement מגגן. For the use of ג in Aramaic for the Babylonian *k*, cf. סגן for šaknu in indorsement No. 40. The abbreviation נ for נבואתן is without parallel in these indorsements except בלא for בלאבצר in No. 35.

No. 9

CBM, 5172. Artaxerxes, 40th year, 29th day. Left end of tablet wanting. Incised at top and center of reverse.

רימא
[ש]טר רמשכן זי כפ֯ת

"Rêmia. Document of Rêmu-šukun concerning the . . . ."

The scribe first wrote רימא, which represents Rêmia, the abbreviated form of the name Rêmu-šukun with the "kose suffix," after which he wrote the full name. The Aramaic inscription confirms my reading of this name Rêmu-šukun, in *BE*, Vol. X, p. 61, as against Ga-šur and Šangû(?) of Vol. IX. The last character of the final word seems to be ת. If it were פ we could read כספ, which is mentioned in the document.

No. 10

Cuneiform inscription published in Vol. IX, 87, but not the Aramaic. Artaxerxes, 41st year, Sivan 24th(?) day. Written with black color on lower edge.

שטר חנון

"Document of Ḫa-nun."

No. 11

CBM, 5153. Artaxerxes, 41st(?) year, 18th of Tishri. Lightly incised on obverse.

שטר אחושן
זי פריע כאת ארקא

"Document of Aḫu-šu-nu concerning the payment of the land rent."

The tablet on which this indorsement is written reads:

"Rent of the entire field for the 41st year of Artaxerxes, the king, for the fief land of Aḫušunu, son of Nidintum, and Taddannu, son of Iddiia, which is at the disposal of Rîmût-NINIB, son of Murašû. Aḫušunu, son of Nidintum, and Taddannu, son of Iddiia, the Arabian, received the rent of that field from Rîmût-NINIB, son of Murašû. It has been paid."[12]

No. 12

CBM, 5505. Artaxerxes, 41st year, month Adar. Upper right and lower left corners wanting. Incised on reverse.

שטר אורא[דן]

"Document of Amurru-iddin."

Cf. note under No. 7.

No. 13

CBM, 12924. Artaxerxes. Date broken away. First line is incised upside down at the bottom of the reverse. Second line is incised on the right end.

יהונתן
[ש]ערן כרן־

"Ja-a-ḫu-u-na-tan-nu. 10 kors of barley."

The name יהונתן in Aramaic for the cuneiform Ja-a-ḫu-u-na-tan-nu is interesting in that it confirms the identification of יהו with Ja-a-ḫu-u (=Jāḫô). Cf. my remarks in *BE*, Vol. X, p. 20.

No. 14

Vol. X, 29. Darius, 1st year, 20th of Tishri. Incised on upper edge.

שטר אנושתאדן
אשתמ(?)ח(?)א

"Document of Enmaštu-iddin."

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[12] GIŠ-BAR eqli gam-ri ša šattu 41(?) ^{kan} ^{m}Ar-taḫ-ša-as-su šarru ša ^{iṣu}qaštu ša ^{m}Aḫu-šu-nu aplu ša ^{m}Ni-din-[tum u] ^{m}Tad-dan-nu aplu ša ^{m}Id-di-ia ša ina pân ^{m}Ri-mut-NINIB aplu ša ^{m}Mu-ra-šu-u ^{m}Aḫu-šu-nu aplu ša ^{m}Ni-din-tum u ^{m}Tad-dan-nu aplu ša ^{m}Id-di-ia ^{h}ar-u-ba-ai GIŠ-BAR eqli šuátu ina qât ^{m}Ri-mut-NINIB aplu ša Mu-ra-šu-ú ma-ḫir e-ṭir.

On the "Origin and real name of NIN-IB," cf. my discussion in *JAOS*, Vol. XXVIII, first half, 1907. The second line is unintelligible to me; cf. also *Ephemeris*, II, p. 204. The translation of the tablet follows.

"Unto the second day of the month Ab, year first of Darius, king of countries, the harvest (namely), which, as the apportionment of Rîmût-NINIB, son of Murašû, had been set apart, he gave to NINIB (Enmaštu)-iddina, son of NINIB-êṭir, to gather in. If on the second day of the month Ab, first year of Darius, that harvest he has not completely gathered in, the produce as much of it as should have been delivered, NINIB (Enmaštu)-iddina shall turn over to Rîmût-NINIB from his own possessions, and there shall be nothing for him, together with the farmers, as regards the balance of the harvest."

No. 15

BE, Vol. X, 46. Darius, 1st year, 2d of Tishri. Inscribed faintly in black color on reverse.

. . . . גת אריזא . . . .

The two names of individuals upon whom the obligation rested are, Mannuluḫa-a, son of A-dar-ri-El, and Šamaš-nu-ur-ri-' son of I-qu-pa-'. The few Aramaic characters which are preserved to me are meaningless.

No. 16

BE, Vol. X, 52. Darius, 1st year, 21st of Tishri. Incised on upper edge.

. . . . א זי קם שכוה
[ב]ר חירן

" . . . which is against Ša-ku-ú-ḫu son of Ḫi-'[-ra-an]."

All that is preserved of the second name in the cuneiform is Ḫi-' and the beginning of a character which may be er. In *BE*, Vol. X, p. 71, I read the name זירק (?), but I am now inclined to follow Lidzbarski and interpret what remains differently. I prefer, however, to read חירן instead of חירק, which is found as a Palmyrene name. Cf. Cook, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 266. While the last character can be read נ, it must nevertheless be remarked that it can also be read ק.

If the above translation for קם=קדם, 'against,' is correct, the omission of ד is due, either to a scribal error, or the ד has been assimilated.[13] There is no room for the character between ק and מ. In indorsement No. 22, קדם occurs with the same name, Šakûḫu. For קדם having the meaning 'against,' cf. Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts*, p. 142.

No. 17

BE, Vol. X, 56. Darius, 1st year. Incised upside down on the reverse.

בשנת | שטר בתא

"In the first year, the document concerning the house."

The document is a receipt for the rent of a house which was paid. The beginning of the cuneiform text, as well as the date, is broken away. Cf. *BE*, Vol. X, p. 7, note 2.

No. 18

CBM, 5137. Darius, 2d year, 16th of Ab. Lightly incised upside down on the reverse.

שטר תתן

"Document of Tattannu."

On the name, cf. *BE*, Vol. X, p. 64, note 3.

No. 19

BE, Vol. X, 59. Darius, 2d year, 3d of Marchesvan. Written upside down in black color on the reverse. Faintly preserved.

שטר לבש

"Document of La-ba-ši."

No. 20

BE, Vol. IX, 60. Darius, 2d year, 25th of Kislev. Written in black color. The first two lines are on the right end. The third line is on the left end.

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[13] In this connection Professor Montgomery has called my attention to the preposition קַמֵּי, in Rabbinical Aramaic, for קדמי.

שטר בלאדן
[?]שתידר
משח כרן III III

"Document of Bêl-iddin . . . . , six kors of oil."

משח is written in the Aramaic for the cuneiform NI-GIŠ = šamnu. Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris*, II, p. 207) restores the second line אנושתיתן, because there is a certain NINIB-iddin among the witnesses. This is untenable, because the names of witnesses do not occur in the indorsements, and there is not enough room on the tablet for the characters restored by him. Perhaps it is the Aramaic equivalent of ^{h}sipirri ša ^{h}abarakku, the title of Bêl-iddin.

No. 21

CBM, 12864. Darius, 2d year, 30th day. Lightly incised on the reverse. Only the upper part of the tablet is preserved.

שטר סאת הנבניא

"The document of the rent of the ḫinbania (?)"

No. 22

CBM, 6133. Darius, 1st year. Only the lower third part of the tablet is preserved. Lightly incised on obverse.

שערן כרן = = III II
קדם שכוח שנת II
בדריהוש מלכא

"45 kors of barley against Šakûḫu. Year second in the reign of Darius, the king."

The record of the transaction and the date on the reverse are totally wanting. Some of the names of witnesses on the reverse are preserved. The indorsement shows that the document recorded an obligation resting upon a certain Šakûḫu, perhaps the same individual who is mentioned in No. 16.

No. 23

BE, Vol. X, 68. Darius, 3d year, 2d of Tishri. Incised on reverse.

שטר רחימאל
זי תמרן כרן[= =]

"Document of Ra-ḫi-im-El concerning [forty] kors of dates."

The document reads:

"40 kors of dates, the price of one mine of silver, for the second year of Darius, to be paid to Ribât, son of Bêl-erba by Raḫim-El son of Taddi'. In the month Marchesvan, year third, the dates, namely 40 kors, in the measure of Ribât, in Nippur, at the Kalakku gate he shall pay."

On AN-MEŠ = אל and not אלי in the name Raḫim'-El (AN-MEŠ), cf. note under indorsement No. 50.

No. 24

BE, Vol. X, 74. Darius, 3d year, 28th of Marchesvan. Incised on upper end.

שטר .... דאשר

No. 25

CBM, 5514. Darius, 3d year, 1st of Adar. Faintly written with ink on reverse.

[שטר] אנושתא[בצר]

"Document of Enmaštu-abu-uṣur."

No. 26

BE, Vol. X, 78. Darius, 3d year, 1st of Adar. Lightly incised upside down on reverse.

שטר בנת זי כסף הלכא
זי פריע זי שנת ||| דריהוש

"The document of the gift of silver (as the) tax which is the payment for the third year of Darius."

Dr. Lidzbarski read the last word of the first line, מלכא. To Professor Montgomery belongs the credit for suggesting that the letter ה is written upon ש. The scribe doubtless had the word

שקל in mind after he had written כסת. This gives us הלכא, which corresponds to the Babylonian ilki written in the text.

Since publishing Vol. X, I have examined carefully once more the tablet, and have improved the copy of the previous word. It doubtless is to be read כסת, although the upper part of the ס is wanting. This probably is due to the fact that the surface of the tablet at this point is slightly raised, and that before it was perfectly hard the upper part of the character was injured.

The second word of the first line is not the name of the individual who received the money which was paid, as suggested in *BE*, Vol. X, p. 44*b*, and to which Professor Hilprecht added an editorial note: "[Docket and name probably to be read בלכני (= Bêl-kînâ)]."[14] The word is to be restored בנ[ת]; cf. Nos. 28 and 50. It appears that בנת here refers to the nidintum which was required by the crown from the estate. The cuneiform inscription reads:

> "10 shekels of silver the later gratuity (nidintum), the tax of the third year of Darius the king, of the 'udu of Ribât son of Bêl-erba, slave of Rîmût-Ninib, son of Murašû, which, with their families Ellil-mukîn-aplu, son of Nâṣir, from Ninib-uballiṭ son of Mušêzib, has received."

No. 27

BE, Vol. X, No. 87. Darius, 4th year, Tishri. Inscription on lower edge.

שטר אנושת[ב]לט
בר משזב תמרן
כרן — III II

"Document of Enmaštu-uballiṭ son of Mušêzib, fifteen kors of dates."

The name in the second line I did not read in Vol. X. Lidzbarski wrote (*Ephemeris*, II, p. 204), "Unter שטר steht vielleicht noch ein Wort mit שזב; vielleicht aber auch Zahlstriche mit einem ב dahinter." The name is to be read משזב, but it is not found in the cuneiform text of the tablet. Ninib(Enmaštu)-uballiṭ is simply called the ardu of Ribât, who is an ardu of

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[14] The name of the recipient in the document is to be read Ellil-mukîn-aplu and not Bêl-kînâ. Cf. my *BE*, Vol. XV, p. ix.

Rîmût-NINIB. But in Vol. X, 55:1, 9; 73:4; 77:9; 78:7 there is a certain NINIB-uballiṭ son of Mušêzib. By the help of the last reference (i. e., No. 78), we are able to identify this individual as the same, by reason of the fact that he acts as agent, or rather pays the indebtedness of Ribât son of Bêl-êrib, the ardu of Rîmût-NINIB, son of Murašû.

The last word of the second line is certainly תמרן because of the following line considered in connection with the first line of the cuneiform text, which reads: "15 kors of dates."

No. 28

CBM, 5152. Darius, 4th year, 4th of Tebet. The first two lines are lightly incised and written with black color on the lower edge. The last line is on the left edge.

שטר בנה ז[י] כסף
ש[=] ||| | זי שנת[||| |]
פריע

"Document of the gratuity of 24 shekels of silver as the payment for the [fourth] year."

On בנה cf. note under No. 26. For ש as an abbreviation for שקל, cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, p. 209, and Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 16. The restoration "24 shekels" is based on the cuneiform text which records the payment of "$\frac{1}{3}$ of a mine and 4 shekels."

No. 29

BE, Vol. X, 99. Darius, 5th year, 18th of Iyyar. Deeply incised upside down on reverse.

שטר ארקת נגריא זי יהב
הידורי בר הבציר לריבת בר
בלאריב בסאה

"Document concerning the lands of the carpenters which Ḫi-'-duri-' son of Ḫab-ṣir had given to Ri-bât son of Bêl-êrib for rent."

In commenting on my transliteration (*BE*, Vol. X, p. 27) Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris*, II, p. 207) says: "Es ist zweifelhaft, ob in חבצר zwischen ח und צ ein Buchstabe steht." Let me say that the text surely contained י because of the space between the two characters, and the slight indications of that letter which are preserved. On סאה having the meaning 'rent,' instead of 'measure,' its usual significance, cf. my *BE*, X, p. 27.

No. 30

BE, Vol. X, 104. Darius, 5th year, 11th of Veadar. Deeply incised on reverse.

שטר בלאטר
בר גוזי

"Document of Bêl-êṭir son of Gu-zi-ia."

No. 31

CBM, 5508. Darius, 5th year, 13th of Veadar. Faintly preserved in black color on upper end.

שטר אנושתאבלט

"Document of Enmaštu-uballiṭ."

No. 32

BE, Vol. X, 105. Darius, 6th year, 10th of Sivan. Faintly incised on reverse.

[שט]ר אורפחר

"Document of Amurru-u-paḫ-ḫir."

No. 33

BE, Vol. X, 106. Darius, 6th year, 10th of Sivan. Incised on reverse.

שטר זבדננא די קנא

"Document of Za-bid-Na-na-a concerning the *Kleinvieh*."

In Vol. X, p. 26, I translated די קנא "concerning that which he acquired." Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris*, II, p. 207) followed by translating: "der erworben hat," to which he added: "Zu קנא sei bemerkt, dass der Kontrakt von der Übernahme von Vieh handelt, vgl. מִקְנֶה." Inasmuch as the document is a record of sheep and goats delivered to an individual for stock-raising (cf. translation, *BE*, p. 26), it is not unlikely that קנא means *Kleinvieh*. I am also led to make this suggestion because verbs with the exception of יהב in No. 29, are not used in these indorsements. In corroboration of this Professor Montgomery has suggested that as ק of ארק in these early Aramaic inscriptions = צ (cf. also מוקא = מוצא and perhaps רקי = רצה in the Senjirli inscription) קנא, therefore, = later Aramaic ענא (or עאן) = Hebrew צאן,[15] the etymology of which is uncertain. This seems quite plausible in view of the Phoenician (Punic) מקנא, 'property' (in cattle, i.e., *peculium*). This, however, may be from קנא 'to acquire,' like the Hebrew מִקְנֶה from קנה, but it is not improbable that the relation of קנא and מקנא is to be compared with the Latin *pecus* and *peculium*. To satisfy this equation, צ must represent original ض, cf. the Arabic ضَأْن. For a possible root of this nature, cf. Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, *s. v.*

No. 34

CBM, 5512. Darius, 6th year, 10th of Sivan. Slightly incised upside down on reverse.

שטר בלאטר

"Document of Bêl-êṭir."

No. 35

BE, Vol. X, 115. Darius, 6th year, 5th day of month(?). First two lines incised on reverse; last two on upper end.

שטר בלאבצר בר בלא
[סגן] שמתכנוא
[די ה]לכא די
שנת III III

"Document of Bêl-abu-uṣur son of Bêl-abu-uṣur, chief of the Šu-mu-ut-ku-na-aja, concerning the tax of the sixth year."

Only בלא of the father's name is written on the reverse. The remainder may have been written on the edge, or next line which is injured, or it may be an abbreviation of the full name; cf. the abbreviation in No. 8. The word in the third line Lidzbarski restored [מ]לכא and added: "gehört wohl nicht zum Datum." As the document is a payment of ilki "taxes," the word unquestionably must be restored [ה]לכא (cf. Nos. 26 and 48).

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[15] Cf. צנַאֲכֶם, Num. 32:24.

No. 36

BE, Vol. X, 116, Darius, 6th year. Deeply incised on lower end.

בלאטרשוש

"Bêl-êṭir-Šamaš."

On the name, cf. *BE*, Vol. X, p. 43, note.

No. 37

BE, Vol. X, 120. Darius, 7th year, 15th of Nisan. Written in black color on obverse. Very faintly preserved.

נבורפא

"Nabû-ra-pa-'."

No. 38

BE, Vol. X, 121. Darius, 7th year, 20th of Nisan. Incised on obverse.

שטר מרדכא

"Document of Mar-duk-a."

No. 39

BE, Vol. X, 125. Darius, 7th year, 22d of Marchesvan. Written upside down in black color on reverse.

בל(?)ת ביבא שנת ||| ||| |

". . . . of Bi-ba-a, year seventh."

No. 40

BE, Vol. X, 126. Darius, 7th year, 28th Marchesvan. Incised lightly on reverse.

שטר בלאצרש סגן בנשיא
ז[י] כסף ש[=]− די ארק בנשיא

"Document of Bêl-u-ṣur-šu, chief (šaknu) of the Ba-na-neša-aja, concerning 30 shekels of silver, for the land of the Ba-na-neša-aja."

In making the restorations in the last line, and in translating ש = שקל, cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, p. 209. Cf. also Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 22.

The place-name, of which Bananešaja is a gentilic, was read in Vol. IX, p. 75, Ibni-Nergal (KAK-UR-MAḪ without det. ^{m} and ^{d}). This indorsement corroborates my reading, Ibni-nešu or Bani-nešu. The place-name really occurred in both volumes, written Ba-ni-šu, or Ba-na-nešu, *Const. Ni.* 603; cf. Hilprecht, Vol. X, p. 68. This name is probably to be identified with Banesa (Oxyrrhyncus) in Egypt; cf. the Babylonian place-names near Nippur: Ḫazatu (Gaza), Ḫaśbâ (Heshbon), etc.

No. 41

BE, Vol. X, 131. Darius, 11th year, 21st of Elul. Written with black color on reverse. Faintly preserved.

שטר אחושן
בר בלאטר

"Document of Aḫu-šu-nu son of Bêl-êṭir."

No. 42

BE, Vol. X, 132. Darius, 13th year, 29th of Tishri(?). Written with black color, upside down on reverse.

שטר חנני
בר טבי

"Document of Ḫa-an-na-ni-' son of Ṭâbi-ia."

No. 43

BE, Vol. X, 55. Darius, 1st year, 28th of Nisan. Faintly incised on reverse.

אד(?)גשירזבד

"Ad-gi-ši-ri-za-bad-du."

No. 44

CBM, 12882. Darius, year(?), 15th of Iyyar. First line written on reverse, second on upper end.

שטר בלאבצר
וארדנרג[ל]

"The document of Bêl-abu-uṣur and Arad-Nergal."

The indorsement enables us to restore the name of the first mentioned, as well as the first element of the latter, which are wanting in the contract, as it is fragmentary. The name of the father in the document is Bêl-e-ṭe-ru who is mentioned also in *BE*, Vol. X, 115:13.

No. 45

CBM, 12856. Darius, year (?), 20th of Ab. Incised on reverse.

שטר ב(?)לותא(?) ושוש

"Document of Bêl(?)-ma-(?)-ta-' and Šamaš-ai."

The reading of the Aramaic of the first name is uncertain. Only ta-' is preserved in the cuneiform text.

No. 46

CBM, 12931. Small fragment. Date is wanting. Incised upside down on reverse.

בלשואדן

"Bêl-šum-iddin."

No. 47

CBM, 5240. Artaxerxes, 33d year, 17th of Nisan. The first two lines are written with black color on the right end. The third is on the lower end.

זי פריע זי
שנת = — |||

". . . . of the payment of . . . . year 33d."

No. 48

CBM, 12929. Darius, 7th year, 26th of Tammuz. First line is incised on upper end; second, which is perhaps a continuation, is on the left end.

שטר בנח
[זי] הלכא
[זי] שנת ||

"Document of the gratuity . . . . of the tax for the second year."

No. 49

CBM, 4998. Artaxerxes, year(?), 20th of Nisan. First two lines incised lightly on left end. The third is on the reverse, which is very faintly incised on an erasure.

. . . . ת כציר
בר בלנציר
לאללחתן

". . . . of Kaṣir son of Bêl-naṣir. To Ellil-ḫatin."

No. 50

CBM, 12826. Darius, 11th year, 21st of Elul. Written with black color upside down on reverse. Faintly preserved.

שטר דחלתה
בר חזהאל

"Document of Da-ḫi-il-ta-' son of Ḫa-za-'-El."

It is to be observed that in this inscription the breath is reproduced in Aramaic by ה, whereas in No. 42, י is used; and א in No. 4.

This indorsement, as well as No. 23, throws light on the pronunciation of the divine element אל in West Semitic proper names, which is especially welcome in view of the theories which have been propounded in connection with the Babylonian writing AN^{pl} for this element, and its actual pronunciation in the West Semitic dialect. The explanation offered by Professor Hilprecht in our *BE*, Vol. IX, p. 19, for the peculiar use of MEŠ after ilu and Šamaš in foreign names, is that it was "employed for expressing a sound which appeared to the Babylonian mind as one of their own plural endings . . . . " and they rendered "î, the pronominal suffix of the first person singular in these foreign names for their own plural ending ê, later pronounced î, 'my god,' and Šamšî, 'my sun,' by ilî (ilu^{pl}), 'gods,' and ^{d}Šamaš,^{pl} 'suns.'"

In *BE*, Vol. X, p. 13, it was shown by the writer that ilu in these West Semitic names does not have the pronominal suffix when the element was final, and the theory was advanced that the scribe adopted this writing to indicate the idea of plurality as represented by the Hebrew אלהים. Inasmuch as the word for 'sun' in Aramaic and Hebrew is שֶׁמֶשׁ, which in Aramaean names appeared as Il-tam-meš, I transliterated names compounded with ^{d}UD-MEŠ = Šameš (-MEŠ) as against Šamši of *BE*, Vol. IX.

Professor Hilprecht, in his editorial preface to my volume, accepted the latter view, and also the view that MEŠ after ilu does not represent the first person pronominal suffix; but concerning ilu^{pl}, he took issue with my explanation, and propounded a new theory, namely: that it is only the *scriptio plena* for ili, 'god,' which the scribes actually heard in West Semitic names. Let us weigh carefully the arguments adduced in support of this theory.

Professor Hilprecht says: "This points to a very extensive use of the vowel *i* as an ending of the absolute case among certain Western Semitic tribes instead of the *u* generally preferred in Arabic and Assyrian. The cuneiform texts from the time of the Hammurabi Dynasty to the end of the fifth century corroborate it." On examination of Dr. Ranke's *Personal Names of the So-called Hammurabi Dynasty*, which is to "furnish the necessary material," it will be found that the foreign names of his list, most of which are West Semitic, that end in *u* or *um* are five to one ending in *i*, *im*, or *e*. And also that those ending in *a*, or in a consonant, are about as numerous as those ending in *i*, *im*, or *e*. In this connection it will be interesting to note several names: Ja-aš-bi-i-la, Bu-un-taḫ-tu-un-i-la, Ranke, *loc. cit.*, written Bu-un-taḫ-un-i-la, Bu. 91–5–9, 2184, and Ilu-ma-i-la, Ranke, *BE*, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 6.

Further, this will not hold good for the West Semitic names of the Murašû archives. By actual count, not taking into consideration those compounded with Jâma, it will be found that those ending in *a* outnumber those ending in *i*; while also a number of the latter are to be explained as having the first person pronominal suffix. If these are eliminated, there are more ending in *u* than in *i*. Moreover, it is scarcely possible that Western

Semites pronounced their names as represented by the cuneiform, i. e., they did not double the final consonant, to which they added the case vowel. For example, the name in cuneiform El-na-tan-nu, is written in Hebrew and Aramaic אלנתן. Cf. also Ja-a-ḫu-u-na-tan-nu, which is written יהונתן in indorsement No. 13. Cf. also Ellil-ia-a-ḫab-bi with the Aramaic אליהב. The traditional pronunciation as preserved by the Hebrews, as well as by the LXX, corroborates this. It is not impossible that the cuneiform scribe doubled the consonant perhaps in order to indicate the long vowel or accented syllable; but the final vowel, being short and unimportant, doubtless was not heard. Proof for this assertion would be found in such variants in the same documents as Nabû-za-bad-du written Nabû-za-bad, or Ad-gi-ši-ri-za-bad-du, written Ad-gi-ši-ri-zab-du. The final vowels of names like Ba-ri-ki, Ḫa-bi-si Mi-in-ia-mi-i-ni, Za-bi-ni or A-qu-bu would naturally be explained as being influenced by the preceding vowel. Also the consonants ר, ב, and sometimes כ (cf. however, Mannu-iqabu and Bêl-barakku), have a predilection for *i*, whereas ד, מ and נ prefer ordinarily the *u* vowel. The vowel *i*, in the absolute case cannot therefore "be regarded as a peculiarity of West Semitic proper names."

The same writer views NI-NI in a similar light, that it was used to secure a pronunciation for the "last vowel similar to that of the Babylonian plural ending in *ê* resp. *î*." As I have not been able to find a single example of a West Semitic name with NI-NI as an initial or final element, there is no need of considering the argument in this connection.

"To establish the pronunciation of AN^{pl} as ili = אלי, beyond any reasonable doubt," the writer quotes two names, the first is AN-ia-di-nu, Johns *ADD*, 345 E, 1, and AN^{pl}-a-di-nu, Evetts, *Neriglissar* 66, 7, and claims that they show "that AN^{pl} must be read Ili to complete the verbal form iâdînu required by the first writing." It is to be observed that one name is written by a scribe in Assyria and the other in Babylonia. Even if the names are considered to be equivalent one with the other, the absence of the י of ja-di-nu in the second name (i. e., a-di-nu) is not without parallel in West Semitic names, cf. the imperfect verbal form in Ja-a-ḫab-bi-el or Ellil-ja-a-ḫab-bi, alongside of Iš-ri-bi-Ja-a-ma, or Ig-da-al-Ja-a-ma; but it is more probable that they are different names, the first being El(AN)-ia-di-nu (i. e., the imperfect), and the second El(AN$^{\text{pl}}$)-a-di-nu for Elladinu, a name like Šameš-la-di-in (i. e., having the precative). Cf. an exactly parallel case, El(AN)-in-dar, written for El(AN or AN$^{\text{pl}}$)-li-in-dar, which is next to be considered.

The name Ellindar is written in three ways in *BE*, Vol. X, AN$^{\text{pl}}$-li-in-dar, AN-li-in-dar and AN-in-dar. It should be noticed that the first mentioned is not the name of the man who bore the name as written in the last two examples. Professor Hilprecht says: "In order to read the last writing correctly, we have to read AN as ili (Ili-in-dar, i. e., Ilindar = Il-lindar = Ili-lindar.") It seems to me, that this example which is offered "to establish the pronunciation AN$^{\text{pl}}$ as ili = אלי beyond any doubt," is very strong evidence that my theory is correct. Reading El for AN as well as AN$^{\text{pl}}$ would give us Ellindar in the first two examples and Elindar in the third, which appears much more plausible than "Ilindar = Il-lindar = Ili-lindar."

The examples of Greek transliterations of a very late time quoted from Dussaud and Macler, *Mission dans les Régions Désertiques de la Syrie Moyenne*, pp. 301 ff., like 'Αμβριλιου 'Αμρίλιος must surely be ascribed, with Lidzbarski, to Roman, or some other kind of influence (cf. *Ephemeris*, I, p. 331), especially when we note the fact that in every instance (as far as I have examined) the LXX transliterates Hebrew names ending in אל with ηλ; cf. Εσριηλ, Ναθαναηλ, Αβδιηλ, etc. Moreover, the Massoretes have not in a single instance in any way indicated the existence of an overhanging vowel, as they have done in other cases, e. g., in אַתְּי or הָלַכְתְּי.

Professor Hilprecht regards אל at the end of West Semitic names as "defective writing" (p. xiii). If that were true, we should expect *scriptio plena* אלי at least occasionally. In vain we look in the Hebrew, Aramaic, Sinaitic, Safaitic, Nabatean, Phoenician, etc., for a single example. And on the other hand, if AN$^{\text{pl}}$ is to be read ili, would we not expect some scribe, in some quarter, in the early or late periods, to have written at least once i-li phonetically, especially as there could be no question as to its meaning, because AN-MEŠ actually possesses the value ilê or ilî. Further, if the *scriptio plena* is אלי, or if there was "a very extensive use of the vowel *i*, as an ending of the absolute case," how could the Hebrews distinguish between this peculiar final *i* and the pronominal suffix of the first person singular, as well as the termination of the gentilics and patronymics? Finally, the following names fully determine the question. Ia-aḫ-za-ar-AN, Ranke, *Personal Names*, is written Ia-aḫ-za-ar-i-il, Ranke, *BE*, Vol. VI, Part I, 10:6. Compare also Ja-aš-ma-aḫ-i-el, Ranke, *loc. cit.*, 1:17. Cf. also Su-mu-la-ilu written Su-mu-li-el, Ranke, *loc. cit.* And what is true of the element when final must also be true when it is initial.[15] This, it seems to me, is sufficient to demonstrate that אל as a divine element in West Semitic names is not *scriptio defectiva* for אלי, and, also, as I have maintained,[16] that the theory that AN^pl at the end of these West Semitic names stands for El (not ili) is correct.

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[15] On the joining vowel י when אל is initial, cf. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* pp. 75–86.

[16] Cf. *BE*, Vol. IX, p. 13.

[17] The list does not include the numerals.

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A HYMN TO THE GODDESS BAU

J. DYNELEY PRINCE

A HYMN TO THE GODDESS BAU

J. DYNELEY PRINCE

The following hymn to the goddess Bau of Lagash, consisting of thirty-two lines, is one of a number of early Sumerian unilingual religious texts, setting forth addresses to the gods Bêl, Nergal, Adad, Sin, Bau, Ningirsu, etc. The texts of all these hymns are published for the first time in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, Vol. XV, Plates 7--30. The text of the present hymn appears in the same volume, Plate 22.

Several of these poems have the peculiarity of what may be termed the constant refrain. Thus, in the following text, four distinct refrains are to be observed: viz., obv. 1–7: BAR MU-BA-E-GA-ÀM 'it is decreed,' strengthened in line 8 by the closing of the phrase with the words: BA-BIR-BIR-RI 'it is duly apportioned,' BIR being purposely chosen, not only on account of its philological connection with BAR 'apportion,' but also undoubtedly for phonetic reasons: obv. 12–15 end in MU-UN-MA-AL 'it *is*' or 'it is fully perfect;' rev. 2–6 all close with the words MU-NI-IB-XA-LAM-A 'shall it be destroyed?,' while in rev. 7–8 there is an interesting example of deliberate reduplicative assonance with a strengthened verb-form: 7, ŠUB-BI BA-NI-IB-TE-EN; 8, ŠUB-ŠUB-BI U-BA-NI-IB-TE-EN-TE-EN (see below commentary on these passages). Similar refrains occur for example, in XV, Plate 17 (13930), 6, DIRIG-GA-ZU-NE DIRIG-GA-ZU-NE 'when thou art full,' referring to the moon, and especially lines 12–13, DIRIG-GA-ZU-NE DIRIG-GA-ZU-NE BI-ŠÀ-A-ZU-NE ZA-E DIRIG-GA-ZU-NE 'when thou art full, when thou art full, when thou speakest favorably, when thou art full,' etc. The same phenomenon is seen also in XV, Plates 15–16 (29631) in a number of passages.

These very evident instances of assonance show most clearly the phonetic character of Sumerian. It should be noted that a translation with commentary of XV, Plates 10, 15–16, 17, and 19 is shortly to appear in the doctor's dissertation (Columbia) of Rev. F. A. Vanderburgh.

The goddess to whom the hymn of Plate 22 is addressed was a most important deity in ancient Babylonia. The king of Lagash, Ur-Bau, 'man of Bau,' incorporated her name with his own and was a particular devotee of her cult. So also the monarchs Urukagina, Gudea, and others consecrated themselves to her service and worship. Bau, the consort of Ningirsu, the tutelary deity of Girsu and of Uru-azagga, quarters of the later Lagash, is identified in the present hymn with Gula, obv. 17, the goddess of healing and life, and also with Sun-na, obv. 19, the goddess of irrigation. As Professor Jastrow has pointed out (*Religion*, 60) these places were probably originally independent cities, which sets this hymn comparatively late in the city-history of Lagash. According to the present text, Bau was essentially the deity of 'increase'= A-NUNUS-SA, obv. 1–8; of 'plenty'=GA, obv. 17; of vegetation, obv. 14; and of human generation, obv. 15. Her will makes her divine power able to perfect all procreative functions (obv. 10–15). In this connection should be noted the fact that the act of speaking the *word* really constitutes creation—a peculiarity which is characteristic of all Semitic religions.

In harmony with these ideas is the probable derivation of her name; i. e., BA 'give, dispense'+U 'plants, vegetation' (cf. on obv. 14); BA-U means 'the giver of vegetation.' It is highly improbable that the word Bau has anything to do with the Hebrew בֹהוּ, as suggested by Hommel, *Semit. Völker*, 382 (see also Jastrow, *Religion*, 60). The Hebrew word בֹהוּ is exclusively used with תֹהוּ and is probably to be regarded as a mere rhyme on תֹהוּ, i. e., תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ. This expression then must perhaps be considered as belonging to the same class of words as English *zig-zag*, *hodge-podge*, *ding-dong*, etc. Precisely the same rhyming assonance appears in the Turkish colloquial yaghmur-maghmur 'much rain' (yaghmur='rain'); karish-marish 'a mix-up' (karishmak 'to mix'), etc.

This Bau-hymn, whose translation and explanation, so far as is known to the present writer, are here attempted for the first time, contains many difficulties, some of which, as our knowledge of ancient Sumerian advances, may be better explained in subsequent translations. The writer will be content if this exposition may serve as an instigation to other scholars to take up the study of these very difficult texts.

NO. 85005. A HYMN TO THE GODDESS BAU

OBVERSE

1. Eri a-nunus-sa bar mu-ba-e-ga-àm(A-AN).
For the city plenteous increase is decreed.

2. Eri-mu Gir-su-(ki) a-nunus-sa bar mu-ba-e-ga-àm(A-AN).
For my city Girsu plenteous increase is decreed.

3. Še-ib ki Sir-bur-la-(ki) a-nunus-sa bar mu-ba-e-ga-àm (A-AN).
For the inclosure of the land of Sirburla plenteous increase is decreed.

4. Eš (AB) è-ninnû-mu a-nunus-sa bar mu-ba-e-ga-àm (A-AN).
For the house of my temple of Ninnû plenteous increase is decreed.

5. Dul Ninâ-(ki)-na-mu a-nunus-sa bar mu-ba-e-ga-âm (A-AN).
For the habitation of my Ninâ plenteous increase is decreed.

6. Še-ib udu-mà(elippu) Ninâ-gan-(ki)-mu a-nunus-sa bar mu-ba-e-ga-àm(A-AN).
For the inclosure of the ship of light of my fruitful Ninâ plenteous increase is decreed.

7. Mutin bar Sir-bur-la-(ki)-a a-nunus-sa bar mu-ba-e-ga-àm(A-AN).
For the wine, the portion of Sirburla, plenteous increase is decreed.

8. Eri-mu nunus-sa-bi ba-bir-bir-ri.
For my city its increase is duly apportioned.

9. Gir-su-(ki) za-gin i-i ba-dim-dim-e.
Girsu with noble alabaster is strengthened.

10. Eri šab-bi-ta udu in-ga-a-an-dug(KA),
In the midst of the city, when I utter the word,

11. Gir-su-(ki) bar-ga-ta Dimmer lig ki-azag-ga-mu.
In Girsu with disseminated plenty the mighty divinity of my shining place.

12. Šab-ba bàra babbar-ra-na mu-un-ma-al.
In the midst of his brilliant shrine is fully perfect.

13. Mu ma ru-na-mu šu-na mu-un-ma-al.
In order to make firm my land, his hand is fully perfect.

14. Šega(A-AN) mu-uš-(xul?)-la-šù(KU) mu-un-ma-al.
The rain for the joyful (?) tree is fully perfect.

15. Dam ur-sag-gal-la-šù(KU) mu-un-ma-al.
The spouse for her lord is fully perfect.

16. Ga-ta an-bi-ta nam-ma-ra-ê(UD-DU).
With fulness from her heaven cometh forth.

17. Ga-ta Dimmer Gu-la è-bi-ta ba-ra-ê(UD-DU).
With fulness the goddess Gula from her dwelling cometh forth.

18. E-gi(=NIN) eri me-a dug(KA)-ga-a. . . . .
The lady of the city am I, when I utter the word,

19. Damal-ga-ta Dimmer Sun-na dug(KA)-ga-a. . . . .
When with rich fulness I, as the deity of irrigation, utter the word,

20. Im-ku sa-sa(DI-DI) im-gaba. . . . .
The lordly storm going forth splitteth asunder.

21. . . . . -mu a-a-mu sag-šab du. . . . .
. . . . my father, the leader who riveth asunder, goeth(?).

REVERSE

1. . . . . gal Dimmer Mu-ul-lil-e sal. . . . .
. . . . the god Bêl. . . . .

2. Eri-mu tik-ku-a mu-ni-ib-xa-lam-a?
Shall my city be proudly destroyed?

3. Gir-su-(ki) tik-ku-a mu-ni-ib-xa-lam-a?
Shall Girsu be proudly destroyed?

4. Sir-bur-la tik-ku-a mu-ni-ib-xa-lam-a?
   Shall Sirburla be proudly destroyed?
5. Udu-mà(elippu) Ninâ-gan-(ki) tik-ku-a mu-ni-ib-xa-lam-a?
   Shall the ship of light of fruitful Ninâ be proudly destroyed?
6. Ninâ-(ki) tik-ku-a mu-ni-ib-xa-lam-a?
   Shall Ninâ be proudly destroyed?
7. Siba šub-bi ba-ni-ib-te-en?
   Shall any ruler, causing it to fall, annihilate it?
8. Siba šub-šub-bi u-ba-ni-ib-te-en-te-en?
   Shall any ruler, causing it to fall to the ground, utterly annihilate it?
9. Mu-lu sar-ra-a eri-mu a-mà-mu a-na gal-lu-bi?
   The one who shall overwhelm my city, who shall inundate me, what is he?

. . . .

10. Er(A-ŠI)-lim-ma Dimmer Ba-u-xi.
    A hymn of Bau.
11. Dimmer Ad-da-mu.

COMMENTARY

The Eme-sal character of the above hymn is shown by the following words: viz., ga for EK. gar, lines 1–7; še-ib for lipittu 'structure,' 3; šab-bi-ta, with the -b complement for EK. and also ES. sag, 10 and 12 = šab-ba; mu-uš, probably for EK. geš 'tree,' 14; e-gi = NIN, 18; mu-lu for EK. gulu, Rev. 9.

OBVERSE

Line 1.—Eri is ES. for EK. uru 'city;' cf. P.[1] 105.

A-nunus-sa: a is probably abstract prefix before nunus 'progeny, increase,' although a may mean 'seed' (cf. P. 4 f.). Note nunus-sa, without the prefix a-, in line 8. Nunus, Br. 8175, is the well-known Sumerian word for 'offspring;' note Br. 8177: lîpu 'offspring;' 8178: pilû 'increase,' synonym of 8179: pir'u 'offspring.' Note also that pilû = our sign can be applied to increase of wine; p. ša karâni (see below on line 7). In Br. 8181, NUNUS-SA = pilû ša BI = šikari 'increase of strong drink,' showing the same combination as occurs in this inscription, where, however, -SA is evidently merely the phonetic complement of NUNUS. That the NUNUS-word and sign are clearly connected with generation is shown in Br. 8100: NUNUS-TI, lit. 'generation of life' (TI) = Sem. uru '*pudendum feminae*,' II, 30, 18*e*.

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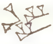
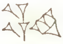
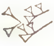
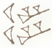
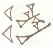
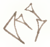
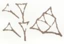
[1] P. means J. D. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon with a Grammatical Introduction.* Parts I (1905); II (1906); III (1907). Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

That the sign  =  seems apparent from the following analysis suggested by Dr. Robert Lau:

 =  =  = = (Thureau-Dangin, 283).

So that can perfectly indicate and , especially if it be remembered that is very close to , which = . The combination  simply means 'many ( ) people' ( ), hence 'multitude, offspring.'

In the verbal combination BAR MU-BA-E-GA-ÀM(=A-AN), BAR must be the object of the verbal root GA and MU-BA-E- are the prefixes, while the suffix ÀM(=A-AN) is merely a strengthener. That is, BAR + GA (ES. for GAR = šakânu 'establish, make') means 'establish, decree.' On BAR see particularly, P. 53–54: BAR = 'cut, divide,' hence 'decide,' and note BAR 'portion,' line 7.

On the very numerous Sumerian verbal compounds of this class, which remind the philologist so strongly of Turkish combinations such as, for example, intikhâb etmek 'make election' = 'elect,' see Leander, *ZA*, XVIII, 390–93.

Line 2.—Girsu was originally distinct from, but later undoubtedly a quarter of, Lagash, the goddess Bau's city (see Jastrow, *Religion*, 56–57 and also below on lines 3 and 5).

Line 3.—ŠE-IB(ES.) = lipittu 'inclosure, fence, wall.' See also on line 6. This lipittu in this connection is probably a pun on libittu 'brick-work,' which is indicated in EK. by GAR, Br. 11190. Therefore, ŠE-IB here must mean 'inclosure, structure.' Perhaps ŠÊB is composed of ŠÀ 'heart, middle,' + IB, UB 'inclosure'(?). Cf. ŠÊM, Br. 8892 = 'middle' and especially = xalxallatu 'ring, flute;' inclosure of metal or wood. Note in Br. 8893: UB = uppu 'inclosure, district.' Is Semitic apâpu 'inclose' a loan form from Sumerian UB, IB, or conversely?

The word KI, following ŠÊB, is probably merely 'place,' specifying Sirburla, which itself is a synonym of the city-name Lagash (cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.*, 57, note 1; Amiaud, *Rev. archéologique*, 1888, on Sirpurla).

Line 4.—Eš-È-NINNÛ(50)-MU 'the house of my Temple of NINNÛ.' È-NINNÛ here evidently indicates the chief temple of Lagash, sacred to Bau and to her great consort NINGIRSU, the special deity of the king Gudea. The numeral NINNU = xanšâ 'fifty' was probably sacred to Bau, as it was to Ninib, Br. 10036, to Bêl, Br. 10037, and to Ea, Br. 10038. Eš = AB = 'house.'

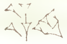
Line 5.—DU, or fuller form DUL = šubtu 'dwelling,' Sc. 25 (see. P. 85, on DU).

NINÂ, like Girsu, was a quarter of Lagash and had a temple È-NINNÂ (cf. Jastrow, 57, 635). See also below on line 6. ^{il}NINÂ-ki-NA-MU, the NA is merely the phonetic complement showing the reading NI-NÂ, which seems to indicate that -KI was not pronounced.

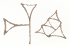
Line 6.—ŠE-IB; see above on line 3.

UDU-MÀ can only mean 'light-ship' and refers to the well-known sacred ship of Bau (Jastrow, 655) called also "ship of the brilliant offspring," which harmonizes with the expression found here "ship of light." According to Nebk., I. R. 54, c. iii, line 10, many gods had such sacred ships which were often studded with jewels and in which the deities were frequently carried in procession on festal occasions (I. R. 55, c. iv, 1–2). The origin of this custom of dedicating sacred ships to gods must perhaps be sought in the absolute dependence of the ancient Babylonians on water; i. e., rivers, canals, ditches, etc. Significant in this respect is also the ancient Egyptian custom of using sacred ships. Egypt was, of course, peculiarly dependent on the Nile for its sustenance. Jastrow (655) calls attention to the interesting survival of the same idea in the *Maḥmal*, the annual Khedivial gift to Mecca of a tabernacle in the form of a ship. It is possible that the Hebrew Ark of the Covenant was primitively a similar ship (thus also Jastrow).

On GAN = GAN in NINÂ-GAN, cf. P. 121. GAN = primarily 'fulness,' I translate 'fruitful.'

Line 7.—"For the wine, increase is decreed." Note in this connection pilû (= ) ša karâni 'increase of wine;' pilû ša šikari 'increase of strong drink,' cited Muss-Arnolt, 803*b*, which seem to be exact parallels with the present passage. See above on line 1. MUTIN is Eme-sal for EK. GEŠTIN 'wine;' cf. P. 247–248.

Line 8.—This line ends the sentence, summarizing the preceding statements. Note NUNUS-SA + 3 p. suffix -BI, without the prefix A- seen in the preceding lines.

BIR = BIR, Br. 196, must be cognate with BAR = BAR 'apportion, divide;' BAR also has the value BIR, Br. 1724, although not usually. Cf. BIR =  'subdivide' and see P. 60 *s. v.* BIR = BIR. The reduplication BIR-BIR-RI in this passage indicates a *thorough* apportionment.

Line 9.—ZA-GIN = uknû 'shining, brilliant,' and is applied to crystal especially, but is also a synonym of çipru 'alabaster, marble,' which seems more appropriate here.

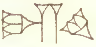
I-I (not TUR-TUR, owing to the context) must be a reduplication of I = na'âdu 'be exalted,' 3980; hence I-I 'noble.'

DIM-DIM = RAP-RAP which according to P. 78, *s. v.* DIM, can denote 'strength.' It is possible, however, that this is merely a phonetic writing for ES. DIM = EK. GIM = GIM 'make, construct.' In this case, we have a paronomastic association, so common a phenomenon in Sumerian, between the two words.

Line 10.—ŠAB-BI-TA 'from its midst' is ES. = Br. 7982: ŠAB-BA; with which compare the form ŠAB-BA in line 12. The EK. full form of ŠÀ 'heart, midst' is ŠAG, Br. 7981. This ŠAG also appears in ES.

UDU = ûmu 'day' must = 'when' here.

IN-GA-A-AN-DUG(KA) 'when I speak' is probably first person, owing to the following line KI-AZAG-GA-MU 'my shining place' with the suffix -MU of the first person. The element GA-A-AN is usually written GA-AN; cf. Br. p. 544.

Line 11.—BAR-GA-TA probably means 'with (TA) the apportionment (BAR; see on line 1) of plenty' (GA). Note that GA = GA usually means 'teat, udder, milk' (P. 111), but GABA, the longer form of another GA-word, also shortened to GA, can mean duxxudu 'be plenteous.' Note that GA = , Br. 6317, also = malû 'be full.' Cf. on line 16 *s. v.* GA-TA.

DIMMER LIG 'the mighty god' (LIG = KAL 'mighty') probably alludes to NINGIRSU, the consort of Bau. Note that AN.KAL also = Bêl, Br. 6191, and PAPSUKAL, Br. 6192.

KI-AZAG-GA-MU 'my shining place' gives the personal determination to the entire sentence, as -MU must = 'my.' This is perhaps an allusion to Uru-azaga, lit. 'shining city,' a quarter of Lagash (see Jastrow, 57).

Line 12.—ŠAB-BA. See above on line 10.

BÀRA 'shrine;' see P. 55 for full discussion.

BABBAR usually means 'sun,' but can also mean piçû 'white, bright,' Br. 7788. The reading BABBAR is employed here, as shown by the complement -RA, evidently because of the assonance with the preceding BÀRA 'shrine.'

I read the verb MU-UN-MA-AL from ES. MAL = bašû 'be,' Br. 6811; = šakânu 'be established,' Br. 6818. MAL can also mean gamâlu 'be perfected,' Br. 6812 and malû 'be full,' Br. 6814, the latter perhaps being a Semitic pun on the value MAL. The sense 'be perfected' comes, of course, from the idea, 'be, exist *par excellence*.' The syllable MA-AL might be read BA-AL, as the two characters BA and MA are often written identically, but in this inscription, the writer distinguishes his BA carefully from MA, as written here. Note in lines 1 ff. If the syllable were really BAL, it could be regarded as a spelled-out form of BAL = 'break into, penetrate, be strong' (see P. 50).

Line 13.—MU MA RU-NA-MU 'for the making firm of my land.' This is very difficult. MU is probably the preposition MU = aššu 'in order to,' Br. 1226. MA, I regard as the ES. form for mâtu 'land,' Br. 6774. The fuller form is MA-DA = mâtu; literally 'strong land' (see P. 228 *s. v.* MA = MA). RU means chiefly nadû 'lay down, establish,' especially 'a dwelling,' when used with šubtu 'dwelling' (see Muss-Arnolt, 646*b*). Also note Br. 1433: RU = nadû. The original full form may have been RUN, as we have what seems to be the phonetic complement -NA following RU.

ŠU-NA 'his hand,' means 'his power.'

Line 14.—ŠEGA = A.AN 'water of heaven' = 'rain.' See P. Part III, on šeq.

I regard MU-UŠ as the ES. form for EK. GEŠ 'tree.' The sign following this is unclear, but may have been XUL = XUL = xadû 'rejoice,' Br. 10084; P. 180, but this is not certain. It may also have been a plant-name with determinative MUŠ = GEŠ.

Line 15.—'The wife is perfect (i. e., satisfying) to her husband' fittingly caps the climax of these deeds of power.

Line 16.—This line seems to begin a new paragraph. On GA-TA 'with fulness,' see above on line 11.

NAM-MA-RA-Ê rather than the more usual NAM-BA-RA-Ê, as the character is quite distinct from the BA written elsewhere in this document. See for example, lines 1 ff.; rev. line 8. That NAM can be used with the prefix MA- is not surprising, as NAM also occurs with MUN = NAM-MUN and with MIN = NAM-MIN, Br. p. 538*a*. Hence I read here NAM-MA-RA-Ê although NAM-BA- would be more natural and more common. NAM does not always denote the negative and the context precludes a negative meaning here. Cf. especially IV. R. 20, 2, obv. 3–4: NAM-TA-E-GAL(IK) = taptî 'thou openest;' IV. R. 16, 39–40*a*: NAM-XA-BA-RA-TAR-RU-DA = lirûrûšu 'may they curse him.'

Line 17.—Gula is merely another name for Bau in this passage (see Jastrow, 60).

BA-RA-Ê(UD-DU) 'she goes forth;' see Br. 7873.

Line 18.—The scribe has written in E-GI as the pronunciation of NIN here. E-GI is a value for KU, Br. 10501, rather than for NIN and with KU, E-GI means 'greatness.' See P. 96 *s. v.* EGI. That EGI means 'lady' = NIN here is incontrovertible.

ME-A, evidently 'I am.' This is the ES. form for EK. MÊN, used of all three persons. See Prince, *Introduction*, II, §4, 71.

DUG-GA-A . . . . was probably followed by -MU = 'when I speak.'

Line 19.—DAMAL is the ES. form of DAGAL 'wide, roomy, extensive.' See P. 69, *s. v.* DAGAL.

The goddess SUN-NA is interesting. The sign, also with value GUL (see P. 162), means 'pour, inundate.' Note Br. 8959: GUL = nartabu 'irrigation.' The SUN-value here is confirmed by the -NA complement. Note that the word GUL means, with this sign, 'destroy,' from idea 'inundate destructively,' but with SUN it seems to mean exclusively 'irrigate, water.' According to Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, XVII, 39, Lagash had a temple to a deity NIN-SUN, which is mentioned in a valuable list of temples of Lagash. It seems probable from the present passage that Bau identifies herself with this god also. See above Introduction on this hymn.

Line 20.—IM-KU. IM 'storm' is to be read IM here and not NI, as the scribe has taken special pains to indicate the pronunciation IM, as in line 18 with NIN, pron. E-GI. I regard KU as meaning 'lordly.' See P. 210–211.

SA-SA = DI-DI probably means šutêçû 'going forth,' Br. 9564, and qualifies the lordly storm.

IM-GABA . . . . may indicate some part of paṭâru 'split,' a natural meaning with storm. See P. 113, *s. v.* GABA = GAB.

Line 21.—'My father' may allude to Anu the father of Bau. SAG 'head' means clearly ašaridu 'leader,' Br. 3509.

ŠAB means baqâmu 'tear asunder,' Br. 5667.

DU — DU may be a part of DU = alâku 'go.'

REVERSE

Line 1.—The line is too mutilated to interpret.

Line 2.—TIK-KU-A seems to mean 'proudly,' i. e., TIK = kišâdu 'neck,' Br. 3215, passim; KU or GU can mean 'lordly' (see P. *s. v.* KU, 210–211); and A is the complement. The entire expression probably means 'with proud or lordly neck.'

MU-NI-IB-XA-LAM-A 'it is destroyed' with the passive expressed by the infix -NIB-; viz., 'shall one destroy IT?' For XA-LAM-A, cf. Br. 11850: XA-LAM = xulluqu 'destroy.'

The key to the meaning of lines rev. 1–8 is given by rev. 9, where a question is clearly indicated by A-NA 'what?' These lines must all be rhetorical questions such as the biblical question: "What is man that thou art mindful of him and the son of man that thou shouldst consider him?" Ps. 8:4.

In lines 3–6 the same names of Lagash are repeated as occur in obv. 2–6, the idea being "Can any part of my great city Lagash ever be destroyed by an enemy?"

Line 7.—SIBA must mean 'ruler' here. It originally denoted 'shepherd,' Br. 5684: reû 'shepherd.'

ŠUB-BI must mean maqâtu 'fall.' Br. 1432. ŠUB-BI is perhaps a hanging clause preceding the finite TEN = balû 'annihilate,' Br. 7714.

Line 8.—So in this line we find a rhetorical repetition of line 7 with reduplicated forms ŠUB-ŠUB-BI and TEN-TEN = bullû 'utterly destroy,' Br. 7716. Note the strengthened verbal prefix UBANIB as contrasted with BANIB in line 7 (see above, Introduction).

Line 9.—SAR-RA-A = kašâdu 'conquer, overwhelm.' 4319, evidently participial, as is also A-MÀ-MU 'he who inundates' me; viz., Br. 11510: A-MÀ-MÀ = mê raxâçu 'inundate, said of waters.'

A-NA is minû 'what?' Br. 11434.

GAL(IK)-LU-BI is GAL = bašû 'to be' + phonetic complement LU + -BI = suffix of the third person singular.

This last line, as remarked above on line 2, rev., gives the key to the meaning of the whole reverse.

Line 10.—'A hymn of the goddess Bau;' where the final -XI represents the genitive ending = XE = GE = KIT.

In the combination ER(A-ŠI)-LIM-MA, the sign read LIM is really LIB = kûru 'woe' (thus Lau and see P. 223). Hence ER-LIB(M)-MA must mean 'a woful lamentation' = 'a penitential psalm.'

Line 11.—DIMMER AD-DA-MU. Has this any connection with Br. 6662, DINGIR DA-MU = 'Bau' and 'Gula'?

GLOSSARY

A-A 'father,' obv. 21.

AD-DA-MU, with god-sign, perhaps = Bau, rev. 11. See *s. v.* DAMU.

A-ZAG-GA 'shining,' obv. 11.

-ÀM = A-AN, verbal suffix, obv. 1–11.

A-MÀ 'inundate,' rev. 9.

A-NA 'what?' rev. 9.

A-NUNUS-SA 'increase,' obv. 1–7. See *s. v.* NUNUS-SA.

È 'house,' obv. 17.

E-GI ‘lady,’ obv. 18.
E-NINNÛ, temple-name, obv. 4.
EŠ ‘house,’ obv. 4.
ERI ‘city,’ obv. 1–8, 10, 18, rev. 2, 9.
ER-LIM-MA ‘hymn,’ rev. 10.
U-BA-NI-IB, verbal prefix, rev. 8.
U-BA-NI-IB-TE-EN ‘annihilates,’ rev. 8.
UDU ‘when,’ obv. 10.
UDU-MÀ ‘ship of light,’ obv. 6, rev. 5.
UR-SAG-GAL ‘lord, husband,’ obv. 15.
BABBAR ‘brilliant,’ obv. 12.
BA-NI-IB- = verbal prefix, obv. 7.
BÀRA ‘shrine,’ obv. 12.
BA-RA- = verbal prefix, obv. 17.
BA-RA-E = UD-DU ‘goeth forth,’ obv. 17.
BAR ‘portion,’ obv. 1–8, 10.
BAR-GA-TA ‘with disseminated plenty,’ obv. 11.
BA-U, with god-sign, rev. 10.
BA-U-XI, with god-sign and genitive sign -XI, rev. 10.
-BI = suffix 3 p., rev. 9.
BIR-BIR-RI ‘apportion,’ obv. 8.
GA ‘plenty, fulness,’ obv. 11, 16, 17, 19.
GA, short for GAR ‘make,’ obv. 1–8.
GABA ‘split,’ obv. 20.
GAL-LU ‘to be,’ rev. 9.
GAL-LU-BI, with suffix = ‘to be’ = ‘he is,’ rev. 9.
GAN ‘fruitful,’ obv. 6.
GIR-SU, city-name, obv. 2, 9, 11, rev. 3.
GU-LA, with god-sign, obv. 17.
DAM ‘spouse,’ obv. 15.
DAMAL ‘rich, plenteous,’ obv. 19.
DA-MU = Bau. See on rev. 11 and *s. v.* ADDAMU.
DIM-DIM ‘strengthen,’ obv. 9.
DIMMER LIG ‘mighty divinity,’ obv. 11.
DUG = KA ‘speak,’ obv. 10, 18, 19.
DUL ‘dwelling,’ obv. 5.
ZA-GIN ‘alabaster,’ obv. 9.
XA-LAM-A ‘destroy,’ rev. 2–6.
-XI, sign of genitive, rev. 11. See *s. v.* BAÛ-XI.
I-I ‘noble,’ obv. 9.
IM ‘storm,’ obv. 20.
IN-GA-A-AN- = verbal prefix, obv. 10.
IN-GA-A-AN-DUG(KA) ‘I speak,’ obv. 10.
KI ‘place,’ obv. 3.
-KI, suffix after city-names, not pronounced. See on obv. 5.
KI-AZAG-GA ‘shining place,’ obv. 11.
KU ‘lordly,’ obv. 20, rev. 2–6 in TIK-KU-A, *q. v.*
KU = -ŠÛ, postposition ‘for,’ obv. 14–15.
LIG = KAL ‘strong, mighty,’ obv. 11.
LIM ‘woe,’ rev. 10.
MA ‘land,’ obv. 13.
MÀ ‘ship,’ obv. 6, rev. 5.
MA-AL ‘be perfect,’ obv. 12–15.
ME-A ‘to be’ = EK. MÊN, obv. 18.
MU = aššu ‘in order to,’ obv. 13.
MU-LU ‘the one who,’ rev. 9.
MU-UL-LIL-E, with god-sign = Bêl, rev. 1.
MU-UN, verbal prefix, obv. 12–15.
MU-NI-IB- = verbal prefix, obv. 2–6.
MU-UN-MA-AL ‘is perfect,’ obv. 12–15.
MU-UŠ ‘tree,’ obv. 14.
MUTIN ‘wine,’ obv. 7.
NAM-MA-RA, verbal prefix, obv. 16.
NAM-MA-RA-Ê = UD-DU ‘cometh forth,’ obv. 16.
NINÂ, city-name, obv. 5, rev. 6.
NINÂ-GAN ‘fruitful Ninâ,’ obv. 6, rev. 5.
NUNUS-SA ‘increase,’ obv. 8. Cf. on A-NUNUS-SA.

Sag = ašaridu 'leader,' obv. 21.
Sa-sa = DI-DI 'going forth,' obv. 20.
Sar-ra-a 'overwhelm,' rev. 9.
Siba 'ruler,' rev. 7, 8.
Sir-bur-la, city-name, obv. 3, rev. 4.
Sun-na, with god-sign, obv. 19.
Ru-na 'make firm,' obv. 13.
Šab 'rive asunder,' obv. 21.
Šàb 'midst,' obv. 10, 12.
Še-ib 'inclosure,' obv. 3, 6.
Šega = A-AN 'rain,' obv. 14.
Šu 'hand, power,' obv. 13.
Šù, postposition 'for' KU, obv. 14–15.
Šub-bi 'cause to fall,' rev. 7.
Šub-šub-bi 'cause to fall,' rev. 8.
Te-en 'annihilate,' rev. 7.
Te-en-te-en 'annihilate utterly,' rev. 8.
Tik-ku-a 'proudly' rev. 2–6. See on ku.

THE ASSYRIAN WORD NUBÂTTU

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON

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In my paper on "A Passage in the Babylonian Nimrod Epic," published in *AJSL* for October, 1899 (XVI, 30 ff.), I discussed the word nubâttu at some length; since that time much additional material has become accessible which, though confirming my interpretation of the passage then under discussion, casts new light upon the subject. While the noun bîtu, 'house,' is of very common occurrence, the verbal stem, occurring in the cognate languages in the meaning, 'to pass the night, lodge,' does not seem to have been recognized in Assyrian.[1] It is to be found, however, in two instances cited in Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* (p. 165) under the stem consonants באת, where it is conjecturally defined as meaning 'to wallow' (sich wälzen). The first of these is from IV R, 60*, C, where we read (rev. 8–9): ina rubçia abît kî alpi, ubtallil kî immeri ina tabâštânii̯a, 'I lodge like an ox in my stall; like a sheep I am befouled with my excrement.' In the parallel passage, IV R, 22, No. 2, 16–19, nadû is used instead of bâtu. The second instance cited by Delitzsch is to be found in III R, 41, col. II, 24, where it is said that the sufferer from the wrath of Ishtar, kima kalbi libta'ita ina rêbit âlišu, 'shall make his lodging like a dog in the market-place of his city.' As a matter of fact the verb is by no means rare in Assyrian, though it is only fair to state that nearly all the cases known to me occur in texts published since the appearance of Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch*. In Harper's *Letters*, No. 433 (= 79–7–8, 138), rev. 13–14, we read: mûšu anni'u ina libbi elippi tabiʻat, anînu ina muxxi nâri nibi'at maççartaša ninâçar, 'tonight thou shalt pass the night in the ship, and we shall pass the night by the river keeping watch.' In Part XXII (1906) of the *Cuneiform*

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[1] Except by Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, in his *Late Babylonian Letters* (see pp. xxxv, 201, 217), where the cases occurring in *CT*, XXII are given, and nubâttu is doubtfully referred to this stem—"nubâttum (√ba'âtu?)" (p. 217). I only saw Mr. Thompson's book after the completion of this paper, in which no alteration has been made, except the addition of this note.

Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc. in the British Museum (usually cited as *CT*), No. 18, ll. 14–16, we have mînáma anâku aganna abâta, 'why do I stay here;' and *ibid.*, No. 222, ll. 6–9: ammêni ina pânika anâku u mârâte̯ia ina çummî ša šipirtu abâta, 'why am I and my daughters kept waiting for a letter from you?'—literally, 'why do we stay before thee in want of a letter?'

In a number of passages the verb occurs in connection with nubâttu, always with the negative, and in all these cases the context shows that the phrase nubâtta bâtu means 'to spend time, delay.' Four examples occur in Harper's *Letters*. H. 399 (= 67-4-2, 1), a letter from the king to Bel-ibni, omitting the formula of greeting, reads as follows: ina muxxi Mušezib-Marduk, mal ûmêšu iterba ina pânii̯a, xarrâna ina šêpišu altakan; nubâtti ina Ninua ul ibît. The text is written in Babylonian characters and Delitzsch, who discusses it, *BA.* I, 236 ff. (cf. *HW*, 326), reads ikît and thus misses the sense. The text may be rendered: 'with regard to Mushezib-Marduk, he always has access to me. I have sent him on an errand;[2] he has not been delaying in Nineveh.' Again in H. 360 (= K. 1250), obv. 11–16: kî ^{am}emûqu ša bel šarrâni belii̯a adî Dûr-îli iqterba, nubâtta ul ibittû, sikipti Bel arrat îlâni Nabû-bel-šumâte u belê xîṭu ša ittišu uçabbatûma ana bel šarrâni belii̯a inamdinû, 'when the troops of the lord of kings, my lord, reach Dûr-îli, without delay they will seize that abandoned of Bel accursed of the gods, Nabû-bel-šumâte, and the villains that are with him, and give (them) to the lord of kings, my lord.' In H. 462 (= K. 1374), obv. 10–14, we have: ana ^{am}qadê ana muxxi elip mullu lašpura adî muxxi ša enna ixxisûnu. Ûmu ša ikašadûni, nubâtta ul ibittû, elip mullu mala inamšúni gabbi ana ekalli ušébila, 'I have sent to the Qadû officials for a freight (?) ship, but they still hold back. The day they arrive, without any delay, as fast as the ship can go, I shall send all to the palace.' In H. 833 (= K. 982), obv. 15–16: nubâtta ul ibit[tu] . . . . ana pân šarri belii̯a, 'without delay to my lord the king,' though the context is mutilated, is evidently a case in point. A number of examples are to be found in *CT*, Part XXII. They are as follows: No. 83, ll. 9–12, qapdu qapdu, nubâttum lâ tabâta, V çâbê šupra, 'quickly, quickly, without delaying, send five men;' and, *ibid.* ll. 16, 17, qapdu . . . . šupur, nubâtti . . . . lâ ibâta 'send quickly, without delay.' No. 89, ll. 8–16, ^{sal}Nubtâ adî pâni[i̯a] ina libbi . . . . tallika . nubâttum ina pânii̯a ul tabât, ana axii̯a ašaparaš, 'the woman Nubtâ has come to me in . . . . Without letting her delay with me, I shall send her to my brother.' No. 126, ll. 18–20, Bunene-epuš nubâttum ina pânikunu lâ ibâta, 'let not Bunene-epuš delay with you.' No. 149, ll. 33, 34, ana Bel-da'ân(?) qibî batka[3] elippi liçbat nubâttum lâ . . . . ibâtum, 'tell Bel-da'ân(?) to repair the boat without delay.' No. 176, ll. 7, 8, mâruka nubâtti lâ ibâta xanṭiš likšudu, 'let your son come quickly, without making any delay.' In view of all this it seems safe to conclude that the noun nubâttu is derived from the verb bâtu, 'to lodge, pass the night,' etc., and as the plural nubâtâtum occurs in a contract tablet (Str. *Nbn.* 351, 26), it would appear to be a feminine form. In the passages quoted nubâttu is of course the 'inner object' of the verb. Since Professor Haupt has shown (*AJSL*, XXII, 258) that בית, 'house,' is ultimately derived from the preposition ב, the primitive meaning of bâtu would be 'to turn in,' and nubâttu would originally mean 'a turning in,' whence the secondary meanings 'stay (in a place), delay, rest,' etc., are readily deduced. Thus, in the *Nimrod Epic* (p. 147, l. 301; p. 148, l. 319), ana šelašâ KAS.BU iškunû nubâttu means 'every 30 double leagues they took a rest,' properly, 'made (their night's) lodging.'

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[2] Cf. H. 716 (= K. 31), obv. 14-16: Enna ina pânât nišê gabbi, kî allika ina šêpi šarri belii̯a, açça̧bat, 'Lo! I was arrested before all the people, though I was going on the king's errand.' Similar cases occur elsewhere, especially in *CT*, XXII, where they are quite frequent.

In a number of instances nubâttu signifies 'evening,' properly, '(time of) turning in, going to rest,' and for this meaning of the word the following passages may be cited: III R, 66, obv. 10*d*, ina ûmi šerti nubâtti šumâtešunu (ša îlâni) tazákar, 'daily, morning and evening, thou shalt pronounce the names of the gods.' H. 9 (=K. 618), rev. 8, kal ûmi ši'âri nubâtti, 'every day, morning and evening.' H. 15 (= K. 1197), rev. 9, mûšu ša ûmi XI KAN ina nubâtti dullu, 'on the night of the 11th, at evening, the work (shall be performed).' H. 23 (= K. 602), obv. 18–20, ûmu anni'u etapaš; ina nubâtti Arad-Ea ina gušur ekalli ippaš, 'it shall be done today; in the evening Arad-Ea shall do (it) on the palace roof;' and, *ibid.*, rev. 1, ašáṭar ina ši'âri ina nubâtti, 'I shall write (the tablets) morning and evening'—i. e., I shall work at them early and late. H. 24 (= K. 626), rev. 11–12, the exorciser adî innasaxúni ši'âru nubâttu ippaš 'shall perform (his incantations) morning and evening until (the disease) is expelled.' In this sense, therefore, nubâttu is a synonym of lîlâtu and šimêtan.

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[3] For batqa.

Nubâttu also occurs as the designation of a special religious occasion. In the hemerology for the intercalary month of Elul the 3d, 7th, and 16th days are designated as nubâttu Marduk u Çarpânîtum (IV R, 31, 11, 28*a*, 27*b*). The same was the case in the month of Marchesvan (*ibid.*, 33*, 12, 28*a*, 21*b*), and probably in all the months, since Ashurbanapal (IX, 11) calls the 3d of Ab the nubâttu of Marduk. On these days, at night, the king made offering before Marduk and Sarpanit. It can hardly be accidental that each of these days is followed by an ûm AB. AB of Nabû and Tashmet, divinities closely associated with Marduk. It is true that the 4th and 8th days are called ûm AB. AB of Nabû, and only the 17th is styled the ûm AB.AB of Nabû and Tashmet (IV R, 32, 16, 39*a*, 31*b;* 33*, 16, 38*a*, 29*b*), but on all these occasions the king makes offering, at night, both to the god and his divine spouse. Light appears to be cast upon the ûm AB.AB, a term which Zimmern (*Šurpu*, 8, 25) renders 'festal day,' by two texts published in Harper's *Letters*. In H. 113 (= K. 501) we read (obv. 15–17): ûmu IV KAN ša arax Âru Nabû Tašmetum ina bît erši erubû, 'on the 4th of Iyar Nabû (and) Tashmet entered the bedchamber,' and further on (rev. 11–13) ṭêmu assakan, niqêšunu u[kânû ina] pân Nabû Tašmetum ina bît erši, 'I shall order their offerings to be placed before Nabû and Tashmet in the bedchamber.' The text is somewhat mutilated, but it is clear that the sojourn of the divine spouses in the bedchamber began on the 4th of the month, the day designated in the hemerologies as an ûm AB.AB, that it lasted for some days, and that on such occasions it was customary to make offerings to the gods. H. 366 (= 82–5–22, 96) is more explicit; there (obv. 6 ff.) we read: ina ši'âri, ûmu IV KAN, ana bâdi Nabû u Tašmêtum ina bît erši irrubû. Ûmu V KAN ša tûssu[4] ša šarri ušâkulû. . . . . ištu ûmu V KAN adî ûmu X KAN [îl]âni ina bît erši šunu. . . . . Ûmu XI KAN Nabû uççâ, 'tomorrow, the 4th (of the month), Nabû and Tashmet will enter the bedchamber. On the 5th they shall be given to eat of the king's food (offering). From the 5th to the 10th the gods (remain) in the bedchamber. On the 11th Nabû goes forth.' It will be noted that we have here all the essentials of an oriental wedding—the introduction of the bride, the refreshments offered to the newly wedded couple on the following morning, and the seven days of the marriage feast (Judg. 14: 12, 17) or the "seven days of the bride" (Gen. 29: 27). With this may be connected the ceremony of "preparing the couch" of the god, the ritual for which is given in the text K. 164, published, in transliteration, in *BA*, II, 635. The priestess officiating at this ceremony was called "the bride" (kallâtu). The "preparation of the couch" seems to have taken place on the day before the union of the spouses. H. 65 (= K. 629) contains an account of this ceremony as performed at Calah, and it is there stated (obv. 8–10): ûmu III KAN ša arax Âru ^{al}Kalxi eršu ša Nabû takkarar, Nabû ina bît erši errab. Ûmu IV KAN saxâršu ša Nabû, 'on the 3d of Iyar, at Calah, the couch of Nabû will be prepared, (and) Nabû will enter the bedchamber. On the 4th (will take place) the 'going about[5] of Nabû.' Then follows an account of the procession in honor of the god.[6] In the hemerologies it will be observed that the 4th of the month was the ûm AB.AB of Nabû (and Tashmet), while the 11th (IV R 32, 1*b*; 33*, 51*a*) is designated as šalâm manzalti ša Tašmêtum

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[4] Written tus-su, for tût-su. I take tûtu for a contracted form of te'ûtu, 'food' (*DHW*, 697), ušâkulû is 3d pers. plur.—impersonal.

[5] I. e., 'procession.' I formerly read (l. 10) GUR = târu and 'return,' but GUR also = saxâru and this seems to suit the context better.

[6] See my *Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, Part I, pp. 153 ff., where this text is translated, and attention is called to the passage in Herodotus (i. 181) relating to the bedchamber of the god Bel (= Marduk) of Babylon.

Çarpânîtum, 'completion of the sojourn of Tashmet and Sarpanit,' in exact agreement with the account given in H. 366, cited above, where it is said that Nabû and Tashmet remain in their chamber until the 10th of the month, and that on the 11th Nabû goes forth. As AB is ideogram for aptu, 'abode,' or bîtu, 'house, chamber,' it is possible that AB.AB, whatever its Assyrian equivalent may be, referred to the entry of the gods into their nuptial chamber, and it may have been the name of some ceremony peculiar to the occasion. During their sojourn together there was an ûm AB. AB on the 8th of the month, marked, according to the hemerologies, by the presentation of offerings at night to the divine pair (cf. H. 113, rev. 11–13, cited above). The fact that an ûm AB. AB also occurred on the 17th of the month[7] probably indicates that on this day the god paid a second visit to his spouse.

The close connection of the nubâttu with the ûm AB.AB has already been pointed out. Each ûm AB.AB of Nabû and Tashmet immediately follows a nubâttu of Marduk and Sarpanit; both occasions were marked by nocturnal offerings to the divine spouses; and the 11th of the month is the šalâm manzalti not only of Tashmet, but of Sarpanit as well. All this would seem to indicate that the occasions were of a similar nature, and that Marduk and Sarpanit came together every month in the same way as Nabû and Tashmet. In Arabic bâta means not only 'to pass the night, lodge,' but also 'to marry' and, although in Assyrian no instance of the use of the verb in this sense is known to me, it is possible that nubâttu may here mean the '(nuptial) sojourn' of Marduk with his spouse. Perhaps, however, it is safer to render nubâttu Marduk u Çarpânîtum, 'the evening of Marduk and Sarpanit,' where nubâttu would have about the same meaning as German *Feierabend.* Special ceremonies doubtless marked such occasions, and the term nubâttu probably designated both the occasion and the attending ceremonial. In any case it should be noted that the occasion pertained specially to the cult of Marduk who is styled bel nubâtti in *Maqlû* 2, 157–58; 7, 18–19. The question naturally arises whether the weddings of the gods were celebrated every month, which at first sight seems unlikely, or whether the spouses were merely brought together monthly, the outward forms of a wedding being observed in order to symbolize the nature of the event. On the other hand the solar character of Marduk is well known, while the name of Sarpanit, "the silvery bright one,"[8] may well indicate that she was originally a moon goddess, and the monthly marriage of the sun and moon would be altogether appropriate.[9] The occurrence of the first nubâttu, marking the beginning of the wedding week, on the 3d of the month, near the time of the monthly conjunction of the sun and moon, would seem to favor this view. An interesting parallel is to be found in Greek mythology, where the marriage of Helios and Selene, who like Sarpanit was a goddess of matrimonial fertility, is represented as occurring at the time of the new moon; and the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of these divinities appears to have been dramatically represented at the Eleusinian Mysteries.[10]

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[7] I. e., a week after the 10th day which completed the wedding week. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (5th ed., London, 1871), II, 241, states that, in Egypt, custom required the husband to refrain from visiting his bride for a week after the completion of their marriage.

The well-known passage II R, 32, 12, 13*ab* (+ *CT*, XVIII, pl. 23, ll. 12, 13) reads as follows:

[ûm] ki-is—pi	bu—ub-bu—lum
ûm nụ-bat-ti: do (i.e. ûm kispi)	ûm i-dir-ti: do (i.e. bubbulum)

These expressions need not, however, be taken as exact equivalents, they need only be synonyms in so far as they coincide in some particular point or points. Ûm kispi means a day upon which food offerings were made to the shades of the dead. I have already discussed this term in *AJSL*, XVI, 33–36, and to the examples there given may be added Zimmern, *Bab. Relig.*, No. 52 where kispê are offered to the family ghosts (ekimme kimti). As Jastrow has pointed out (*Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 581), such offerings were made not merely from motives of piety, but to deprecate the ill-will of the dead.[11] Since ûm nubâtti appears here as a synonym of ûm kispi, it must have had some connection with the cult of the dead, and this probably lies in the fact that offerings to the dead formed an important part of the nubâttu ceremonial. In this sense an ûm nubâtti would also be an ûm kispi. It should be borne in mind that Marduk, who is styled bel nubâtti, is also called šar âšipûti (*Maqlû, loc. cit. sup.*) and bel âšipûti (IV R, 49, 60, 70*a*; 56, 13*b*), the king or lord of the âšipu rite, which included the exorcism and propitiation of the shades of the dead. Moreover, Marduk was 'the merciful one who loves to quicken the dead' (IV R, 29, 24), 'the ruler of dead and living,'[12] and his nubâttu would thus be a particularly appropriate occasion for the offering of kispê.

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[8] See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 121 ff.

[9] I owe this suggestion to Dr. Jastrow.

[10] See Roscher, *Über Selene und Verwandtes*, pp. 75 ff., where other parallels are cited.

[11] With regard to the ekimmê or spirits of the dead, see Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, I, xxvii ff.

Jensen has shown (*Kosmologie*, 91, 106, 502) that bubbulu was the term applied to the day or days of the moon's disappearance at the end of the lunar month. In a single passage bubbulu seems to be brought into connection with the 30th day of the month. IV R, 23, col. I, 3–4, we have: Nusku mâr šelašê bubbulu (= UD. XXX. KAN UD. NÁ. A. AN), but what this means is by no means clear. Mâr šelašê seems here to be an epithet of Nusku, but the connection of bubbulu is obscure. On the other hand, the bubbulu of Sin certainly fell upon the 29th of the month. In the hemerologies for Second Elul (IV R, 33, 45*b*) and for Marchesvan (IV R, 33*, 39*d*) the 29th day is designated as bubbulu ša Sin; in Knudtzon's *Gebete* (No. 43, obv. 2, 3) the 29th of Sivan is called ûm bubbuli ša arxi annî; and in the astrological report in IV R, 58, No. 14, the bubbulu of Sin falls upon the 29th[13] apparently of Kislev. The Babylonian months contained either twenty-nine or thirty days, the actual number in each case being determined by observation,[14] and the ûm šelašê, the day marking the completion of a full month of thirty days would seem to have been observed as a festival of importance. In a text cited by Bezold, in his review of Brünnow's *Revised List* (*ZA*, IV, 433), Sin is called îl UD. XXX (še-la-šu-u) KAN, 'the god of the thirtieth day,' and in an incantation published in King's *Magic and Sorcery* (No. 1, p. 3) we read

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[12] Muštêšir mîtu u balṭu (King, *Magic and Sorcery*, No. 6, 99; No. 10, 8).

[13] Pinches' *Texts* (No. 2, obv. 4) and in Thompson's *Reports* (No. 85, obv. 4) the day is given as XXIV KAN, but in IV R, 58, No. 14 it is XXIX KAN, in agreement with the other passages cited above.

[14] See Thompson's *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, II, xix–xxii.

(obv. 16–18): Sin šûpû E.KUR išallûkáma tamêt îlâni tanádin, bubbulu ûm tamêtika pirišti îlâni rabûti; ûm šelašê isinnaka, ûm tašîlti îlûtika, 'Sin, glorious one of Ekur, they question thee and thou givest the utterance of the gods. The bubbulu is the day of thy uttering the mystery of the great gods; the thirtieth day is thy festival, the day of joy of thy godhead.' The two occasions are here contrasted, not coincident. That the bubbulu did not coincide with the ûm šelašê is also shown by *Šurpu* 8, 25–26, and King's *Magic and Sorcery* No. 61, 11–12, where nubâttu, ûm AB.AB, bubbulu and ûm šelašê are enumerated as separate and distinct days. As a matter of fact, the moon's invisibility at the end of the lunar month lasts for several days, but in practice the Babylonians appear to have fixed upon the 29th as the bubbulu of Sin, and it is evidently an occasion of special solemnity. It was, as we have just seen, the day on which the oracle of Sin was consulted, and it was the day on which the Igigi and Anunnaki fell down in adoration (innešeru) before the god (IV R, 33, 46*b*).[15] On this solemn occasion Sin was doubtless regarded as being in closer touch with the spirit world, if he did not actually visit the realm of the dead, with whose cult the Anunnaki were certainly connected,[16] and the offering of kispê would here again be most appropriate. It is significant, as Jensen has pointed out (*Kosmologie*, 502), that a bubbulu of Nergal, the lord of the dead, occurred on the 28th of Second Elul (IV R, 33, 33*b*), and it may also be noted that the 28th of Marchesvan (IV R, 33*, 28*d*) was the bubbulu of Adad, a god closely connected with both Sin and Nergal.[17]

The expression ûm idirti, 'day of mourning,' or 'day of sorrow,' given in our text as a synonym of ûm kispi, ûm nubâtti, and bubbulu, would seem to be properly a descriptive epithet applied to these days, in allusion to their connection with the cult of the dead.

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[15] Cf. the hymn to Sin IV R, 9, 57, 60: kâtu amâtka ina šamê izzakarma, Igigi appa ilábinû; kâtu amâtka ina erçitim izzakarma, Anunnaki qaqqaru unaššaqû.

[16] See Morgenstern, "The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion," *Mittheilungen der V. A. Gesellschaft*, 1905, 3, pp. 93, 116, 117.

[17] Jastrow, *Religion*, pp. 158, 159, 163, 164.

A MS OF ABŪ HIFFĀN'S COLLECTION OF ANECDOTES ABOUT ABŪ NUWĀS

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD

A MS OF ABŪ HIFFĀN'S COLLECTION OF ANECDOTES ABOUT ABŪ NUWĀS

Duncan B. Macdonald

In the *Catalogue d'une collection de manuscrits arabes et turcs appartenant à la maison E. J. Brill à Leide*, now in the library of Princeton University, one MS (no. 171, p. 27) is entered thus: "حكاية ابى هفان || Contes du temps de Haroun ar-Rachîd. (677) || Belle écriture. 41 feuillets." This would suggest a tale of the *Arabian Nights* type, with Abū Hiffān as hero. As a matter of fact it is a collection of anecdotes about Abū Nuwās, each containing an extract or extracts from his poems, and each introduced by ابو هفان قال. There is no title, colophon, or date, but the accompanying photographic reproductions will show the character of the collection and may give a clue to the date of the manuscript.

In the limited apparatus of MS catalogues accessible to me I can find no other trace of this book or of any other book of Abū Hiffān. It seems to be a *unicum* both of work and author. But there can be little question as to the identity of either. The *Fihrist* gives both, and from references in the *Aghānī* and elsewhere it is evident that Abū Hiffān was a prominent literary figure in the Baghdad of the middle of the third century of the Hijra. That the date of his death was unknown was probably Ibn Khallikān's reason for not including him among his aʿyān, and the same reason may have operated elsewhere.

His full name was Abū Hiffān ʿAbdullāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥarb al-Mihzamī. In the short article on him in the *Fihrist* (p. 144, l. 26) he is given a place among the muḥdath poets, and called a hander-down of stories and poems and an author of collections (akhbārī, rāwiya, muṣannif). Of his books are given *The Book of Four on the Stories of the Poets* and *The Book of the Art of Poetry;* the latter is called large, and a part had been seen by an-Nadīm. But in the article (p. 160) on Abū Nuwās (d. A. H. 200) the stories about him and a selection of his poems are said to have been edited (ʿamila) by Abū Hiffān. This work may have been a part of the *Book of Four*, and is plainly our MS.

The following are the other references to him in the *Fihrist*. P. 116: He knew al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān (killed 247), al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255), and Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq the Qāḍī (d. 282), and noted their common love for books. P. 125: He corresponded and exchanged satires with Abū-l-ʿAynā' (d. 280 odd). P. 129: Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd (killed 296) wrote a *Book of Four* in imitation of that of Abū Hiffān. P. 143: Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyà b. ʿAlī (d. 300), one of the Āl al-Munajjim and a Muʿtazilite theologian who held a majlis much attended by theologians, included him in his *Kitāb al-bāhir* on stories of poets of both the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid Dynasties. According to Masʿūdī (*Murūj*, VIII, 225) Abū Hiffān composed laudatory verses on another member of this family, ʿAlī b. Yaḥyà, brother of Abū-l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Yaḥyà, known as Ibn an-Nadīm the Muʿtazilite. The information in the *Fihrist* (p. 143) on the Āl al-Munajjim has not enabled me to disentangle the exact relationship here.

In the *Nuzha al-alibbā* of Muḥammad al-Anbārī (d. 577) is the only other formal notice (pp. 267 ff. of lithog. of Cairo, 1294) of Abū Hiffān which I have found. But it informs us only that he was a pupil of al-Aṣmaʿī, that يموت بن مزرع was his rāwī, and adds two anecdotes illustrating his readiness in improvising epigrammatic verses.

In the preface by Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan (or ʿAlī b. Ḥamza) al-Iṣbahānī to his recension of the *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās, he quotes Abū Hiffān once only. On page 15 of the Cairo edition of 1898 he gives on his authority a story of how al-ʿAttābī (? Abū ʿAmr Kulthūm, d. 208), after he turned to religion, forbade the reciting of the poems of Abū Nuwās, and how he was grievously deceived on one occasion.

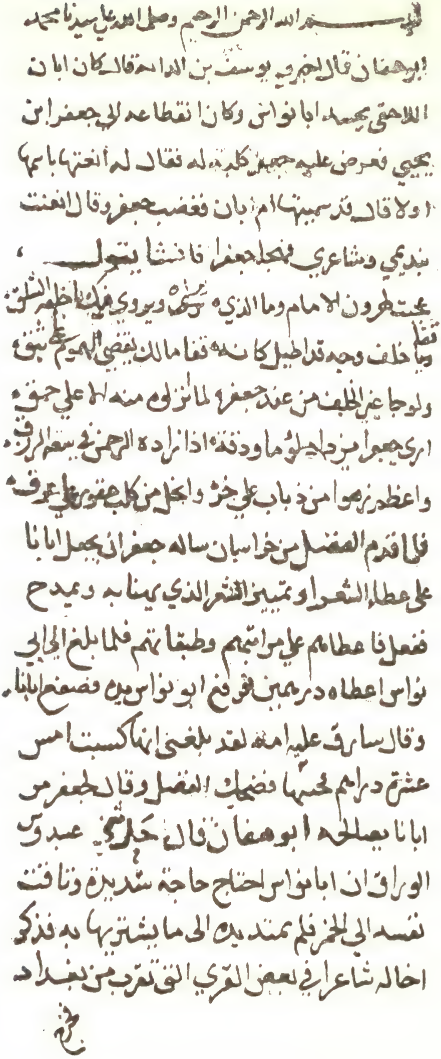
Ibn Khallikān also refers to him once, telling (*Biogr. Dict.*, I, 68) how he satirized the Mu'tazilite Chief Qāḍī Ibn Abī Duwād. De Slane adds (p. 73, note 29) a reference to the Khaṭīb's *History of Baghdad;* but from that we learn only that he was born at al-Baṣra. The date of his death is not given.

Yāqūt (*Geogr. Dict.*) has two references. In III, 932, he quotes from him a line referring to the Day of Fayf ar-rīf, and IV, 306, a story handed down from Abū Muʿādh, brother of Abū Nuwās.

In the *Aghānī* there are several references, but these are of value only as showing the circles in which he moved and who were his contemporaries. In Vol. II, p. 179, is a report from Abū Hiffān of how he had been present one day at a somewhat festive majlis of one of the chiefs of the Turks, who amused the company by the queer names under which he called for certain songs. In Vol. IV, p. 92, is another report of how he was present on a graver occasion when Ibn al-ʿArābī (d. 231) misquoted a verse badly, gave it the wrong author, and explained it absurdly in defense of his misquotations; on all which Abū Hiffān comments acidulously. In Vol. VI, p. 18, Abū Hiffān recounts a long, unsavory, but evidently well-known anecdote, directly from Ḥusayn b. aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk (of frequent mention in the *Aghānī;* d. under al-Muntaṣir or al-Mustaʿīn [247–51] at almost 100 years of age) of what befell the latter with al-Ḥasan b. Sahl and a ghulām of his. In Vol. IX, p. 88, how Abū Hiffān brought to Hārūn ar-Rashīd (d. 193) a slave girl, and the trouble that followed in Hārūn's harem with Zubayda. Here Abū Hiffān, in rearing and training a promising slave girl, plays apparently the same part as is ascribed to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, e. g., in the *Fakhrī*, p. 183 of Cairo edition. In Vol. XI, p. 2, is a very pointed comment on the poems of the Āl Abī Ḥafṣa. They began as hot water and gradually cooled until those of Mutawwaj, the last of the house, were frozen. In Vol. XVII, p. 7, is the story of a threatened hijā-warfare between Abū Hiffān and Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd, and how it was averted. Finally, in Vol. XX, p. 65, is a Rabelaisean anecdote from him, of a majlis at which he was present. It has no dating value.

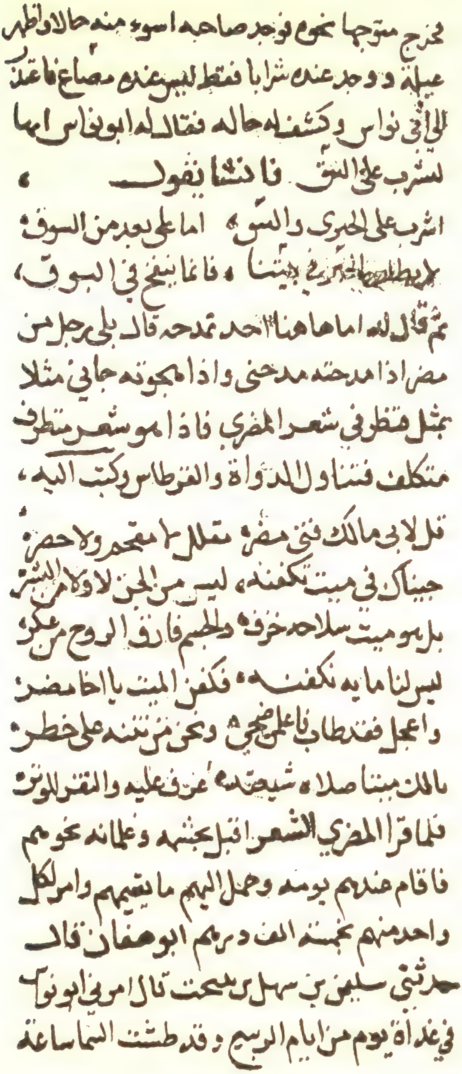
The photographic reproductions of the first three pages may now be left to speak for themselves. The anecdotes are of the social literary type common in the *Aghānī* and of the character we should expect in connection with Abū Nuwās. It may be doubted whether much of historical or literary value could be squeezed from them. But the book seems genuine, is apparently unique, and deserves at least to have attention called to it. It should certainly be used by any future editor of the *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās.

1



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد
ابو هفان قال اخبرني يوسف بن الداية قال كان ابان
اللاحقي يحسد ابا نواس وكان انقطاعه الى جعفر بن
يحيى فعرض عليه جعفر كلبة له فقال له انعتها بابيها
او لا قال قد سميتها ام ابان فغضب جعفر وقال انعت
نديمي وشاعري بمجلسي فانشا يقول ،
بحبت هرون الامام وما الذي يسيّه ويروي ملكنا ناظم السلوق
تقلّ يا خلف وجه قد اطيل كانه قفا مالك يقضي الهموم على بثق
ولو جا غير البخل من عند جعفر لما نزلوا منه الا على حمق
ارى جعفرا من داخل لوما ودقة اذا زاده الرحمن في سعة الرزق
واعظم زهوا من ذباب على خرء وابخل من كلب عقور على عرق
فلما قدم الفضل من خراسان ساله جعفر ان يجعل ابانا
على عطاء الشعراء وتمييز الشعر الذي يمنا به ويمدح
ففعل فاعطاهم على مراتبهم وطبقاتهم فلما بلغ الى ابي
نواس اعطاه درهمين فتوقف ابو نواس عنه فصفع ابانا
وقال سارق عليه امنة لقد بلغني انها كسبت امس
عشرة دراهم لحسبها فضحك الفضل وقال لجعفر من
ابانا يصلحه ابو هفان قال حدثني عبدوس
الوراق ان ابا نواس احتاج حاجة شديدة وتاقت
نفسه الى الخمر فلم تمتد يده الى ما يشتريها به فذكر
اخا له شاعرا في بعض القرى التي تقرب من بغداد
فخرج

2



فخرج متوجها نحوه فوجد صاحبه اسوء منه حالا واظهر
عيلة ووجد عنده شرابا فقط ليس عنده مصباح فاعتذر
الى ابي نواس وكشف له حاله فقال له ابو نواس انما
نشرب على الشق فانشا يقول ،
اشرب على الجدي والشق ، اما على بعد من السوق :
ربطنا الجدي في بيتنا ، فانما يسرح في السوق ،
ثم قال له اما هاهنا احد تمدحه قال بلى رجل من
مصر اذا امدحته مدحني واذا اهجوته جاني مثلا
بمثل فنظر في شعر المصري فاذا هو شعر متطرف
متكلف فتناول الدواة والقرطاس وكتب اليه ،
قل لابي مالك فتى مضر : مقال لا متهم ولا حصر :
جيناك في ميت نكفنه ، ليس من الجن لا ولا من البشر :
بل هو ميت سلاحه خرق ، والجسم فارق الروح من عكر :
ليس لنا ما به نكفنه ، فكفن الميت يا اخا مضر :
واعجل فقد طاب يا على صحو ، ونحن من نتنه على خطر :
ما الذ بيننا صلاة شيعته ، عرف عليه والنقل والوتر :
فلما قرا المصري الشعر اقبل بحشمه وغلمانه نحوهم
فاقام عندهم يومه وحمل اليهم ما يقيمهم وامر لكل
واحد منهم بخمسة الف درهم ابو عثمان قال
حدثني سليمن بن سهل بن بحث قال امرني ابو نواس
في غداة يوم من ايام الربيع وقد طشت السما ساعة

3

فلما طلع علي من الباب انشا يقول ـــ ٭

ما مثل هذا اليوم في طيبه ٭ عطلا من لهو ولا صبحناه
فما ترى فيه وماذا الذي ٭ تريد في ذا اليوم ان تفعله
هل لك ان تغدو على قهوة ٭ تسرع في المرء اذا اسرعاه
ما وجد الناس ولا حدثوا ٭ للهم شيا مثلها مدفعاه

قال فقلت له ما كان ليساعدني على هذا اليوم غيرك انم فان عندي ما يقيمك اياما فاقام عندي فلما كان وقت العشا الاخرة وقد وقدته الكووس فلم تدع فيه حركة الا ازالتها عن جهتها انشا يقول

باح لساني بمضمر السر ٭ وذاك اني اقول بالدهر
وليس بعد الممات فارحة ٭ وانما الموت بيضة العقر

ثم قال لي اكتم علي والمجالس بالامانه

ابو هفان قال وحدثت ان ابا نواس مر بجارية على باب قصر وهي واقفة مع صاحبة لها فتاوه ابو نواس فقالت الجارية لصاحبتها اظن ذا الفتى ذا شجن ٭ فانشا يقول ـــ ٭

سحبت طرفي في الارض خوفا ٭ ان اجيل طرفي عرضة للفتنه
ان كنت لا انظر من حيث ما ٭ انظر الا نحو وجه حسن
تزرع في قلبي الهوى ثم لا ٭ يحصل في كفي غير الحزن
اندري التي قالت لاختها ٭ اني ارى هذا الفتى ذا شجن
قلت نعم ذو شجن عاشق ٭ قالت لمن قلت لتمثال المنى ٭

قالت

THE CYLINDER AND CONE SEALS IN THE MUSEUM OF THE HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

WILLIAM HAYES WARD

THE CYLINDER AND CONE SEALS IN THE MUSEUM OF THE HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

William Hayes Ward

By the good kindness of M. E. Pridix, chief trustee of the Department of Antiquities, in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, I have been allowed to receive plaster casts of all the cylinder and other seals from Babylonia, Assyria, and the neighboring regions, which belong to the treasures of the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg, with the privilege of publishing such of them as I choose, in the work I have been preparing, now practically completed, on the subject of the cylinder seals for the Carnegie Institution. I have thus received casts of nearly two hundred cylinder and other seals, Assyrian and Sassanian. A very few of these had previously been published, particularly by M. Lajard, in his *Culte de Mithra*, published in 1847, but other interesting seals have never yet seen the light.

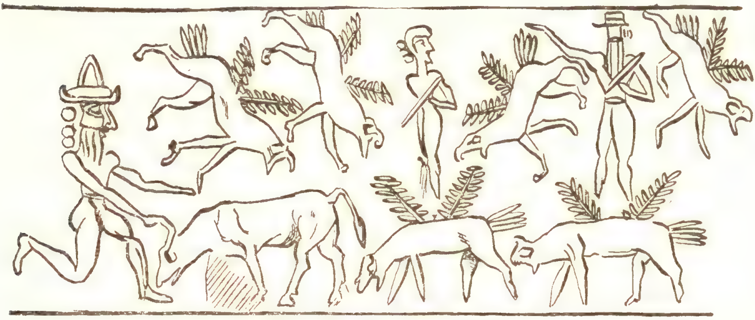


Fig. 1.—The Hermitage

Of these latter, one of the most peculiar is shown in Fig. 1. It is about 33 mm. in height, and 23 mm. in diameter. It is thus a rather large and stout cylinder, of the size that prevailed at or before the time of the Elder Sargon. It gives us a design, not unknown, but yet infrequent, of a god and a goddess standing each on a so-called "dragon" which has the head and the body, wholly or in part, of a lion, with the wings and the tail of an eagle. There is a second scene, however, in which a god, naked like Gilgamesh, but with a god's high headdress, and in profile, on one knee, grasps a bull by the horn. But what is peculiar is, that the field above is occupied by four additional dragons, each represented as walking downward. They seem to have no special reference to the three deities figured on the cylinder.

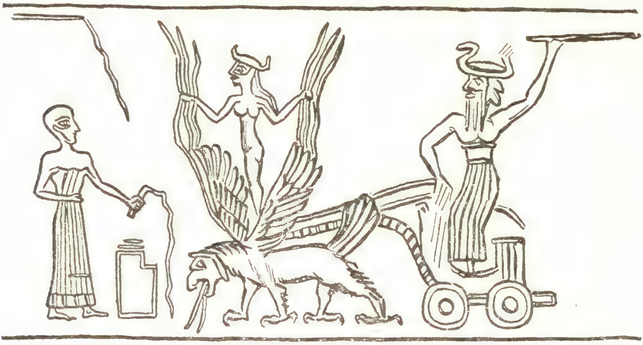


FIG. 2.—The Hermitage

I have said that cylinders which show us the deities thus related to dragons are infrequent. A museum is fortunate that has one or two among a thousand selected cylinders.

These cylinders show two types, the one in which the male god rides in a chariot, and the other in which the two deities stand each on the dragon between its wings. Of the first type, by far the finest specimen is that shown in Fig. 2, and first published by me in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XIV, pp. 94–105. It is very archaic, and of shell. The god rides in a chariot with four solid wheels (without spokes), and brandishes a whip. He is decently clothed, but the goddess, who stands between the wings of the dragon drawing the chariot, is unclad, and lifts thunderbolts in each hand. Before these deities stands a worshiper who pours out a libation about an altar of the most archaic form, having a step, or shelf to hold an offering, while other offerings, perhaps cakes or loaves, are on the top of the altar.

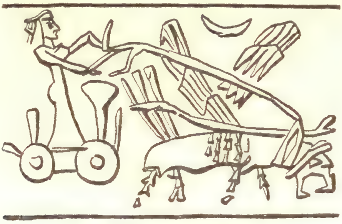


Fig. 3.—Berlin Museum

Only one other cylinder is to be found in the museums, in which the god is drawn by a dragon harnessed to a chariot. It is thus shown in Fig. 3. Again the chariot has four solid wheels.

In other cases either the god alone stands on the dragon between its wings, or there are two dragons, and the goddess stands on the second dragon, as in Fig. 1. The finest one of this type is shown in Fig. 4, and it resembles the cylinder from the Hermitage, in that it has the two scenes, although it lacks the goddess on the dragon. But she appears in quite a different rôle; as the goddess who controls the storm, as in Fig. 2, she carried the thunderbolts. She happens to stand over the kneeling god who stabs the bull with a short dagger, which makes it clear that the god in Fig. 1 holds a dagger, although the worn cylinder does not make this

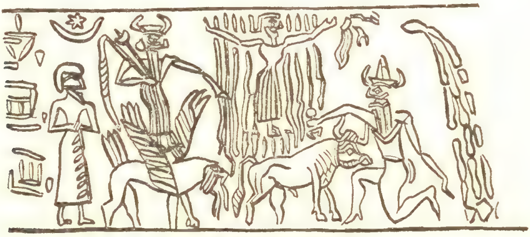


Fig. 4.—British Museum

clear. The god standing on the dragon carries a whip and a club in one hand, while the other probably holds a cord attached to a ring in the nose of the dragon, which may be regarded as illustrating the question of Yahveh to Job, 41:1, 2:

> Canst thou draw Leviathan with a fish-hook?
> Or press down his tongue with a cord?
> Canst thou put a rope into his nose?
> Or pierce his jaw through with a hook?

What Job could not do the god can do; and on the later cylinders it is not unusual to see Adad leading a bull by a cord through its nose. On this seal we also see the water poured out from one of the "bottles of heaven" (Job 38:37). There is also an illegible inscription in linear characters.

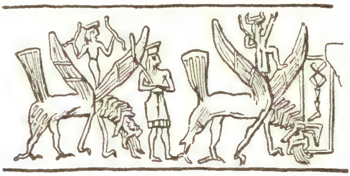


FIG. 5.—British Museum

One other illustration may be given of the deities on a dragon. It is seen in Fig. 5. Here the god has one foot lifted, much in the attitude and dress of Shamash climbing the mountains of sunrise. He has a curved weapon, a sort of scimitar, as also does the third deity who stands between the two dragons. The nude goddess carries a thunderbolt in each hand.

There are but two other cylinders known which are of this type, and they are both very rude, and they add nothing. But there are two or three other cylinders of a somewhat later date, of about the time of Gudea, in which a goddess (without the god, and no longer nude, but fully clad in a flounced garment) sits on a dragon or stands on two small dragons.

A point of difference to be noticed between these figures of the dragon is the fact that in some cases what may be the tongue protrudes from the mouth, although sometimes the appearance is as if the creature were vomiting. That it is a divided tongue may be gathered from Gudea, Cyl. A 26; 24:25 (Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königs-inschriften*, p. 119): "A monster, a dragon with its tongue hanging out . . . . "

The god and goddess here represented as in triumph over the dragon, or dragons can hardly be Marduk and Zarpanit, although it is doubtless Marduk who fights the dragon in the later Assyrian bas-reliefs and seal cylinders. But these cylinders we are considering belong to a period much earlier than the emergence of Marduk as the chief champion of the gods, at the time of the sovereignty of Babylon under Ḫammurabi. At an earlier period Enlil, of Nippur, occupied this rôle, and earlier still as King has shown, Ea was the champion who fought for the gods. We may then consider these deities as Enlil and his consort Belit, or even as Ea and Damkina. The fact that two dragons are represented, one with the god and one with the goddess, may doubtfully suggest that Tiamat in the myth was accompanied by her consort Kingu. But we can by no means be assured that the myth as we have it in literary form is precisely what is here represented. Indeed, in the later Assyrian art the dragon was distinctly masculine. It may have been Apsu, the god of the Deep, who was represented by the dragon, at least originally, when Ea was in the conflict. As here we have the god, very likely Enlil, riding in the chariot on land, so in extremely archaic art we have a god riding on a sea monster who takes the form of a boat, and who may be Ea, as in Fig. 6.

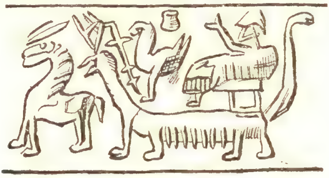


Fig. 6.—The Hague Museum

The Hermitage cylinder, Fig. 1 has six dragons. What the supernumerary dragons mean I hardly venture to conjecture. They may be the monsters who accompanied Tiamat, or they may be simply duplications to fill up the vacant spaces.

Another peculiar, even unique, design which appears on one of the cylinders in the collection of the Hermitage, is shown in Fig. 7. The design showing a culprit, or prisoner, half man and half bird, brought by force into the presence of the sun-god for judgment and punishment, is not unfamiliar, although it is of early, and nearly the earliest, antiquity. This more usual form we see in Fig. 8, except that it is very rare to see the god seated in the boat in which he sails through the heavens. But in the present case instead of the bird-man, the upper part human, and the lower part probably an eagle, we have the head of a lion, and the body human, unless the feet are those of a lion. This lion-man is not

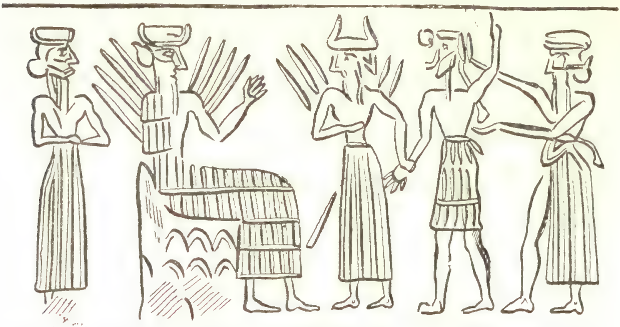


FIG. 7.—The Hermitage

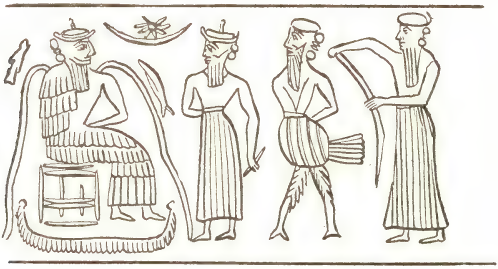


FIG. 8.—Metropolitan Museum

unknown elsewhere, and appears to be related to Nergal. We have a myth of the eagle punished for his crime in slaying the young of the serpent, but any myth which precisely represents the capture and the trial of the eagle before Shamash is not known to us, and much less one in which the lion is thus brought to trial. But the earliest cylinders that are found on hematite, and which may be as old as Sargon I, yet hardly of the most archaic period, represent sometimes the lion and sometimes a dragon devouring a man who is kneeling and unresisting, as in Fig. 9. So far as it is the dragon, here considered as one of the evil spirits, who is guilty of this offense, we might, but not very confidently, conjecture that it was for this crime that he was subdued by the god as shown in the cylinders first considered; and it is possible that it is the lion thus culpable who is punished in this Hermitage cylinder. But in such scenes as Fig. 9 in which the lion and the dragon appear as powers hostile to man, it is quite as likely that we see those evil spirits called utukku, gallu, lubartu, etc., against which so many magic incantations were directed, and which are sometimes described as lions. It is well to include here Fig. 10, from the cylinders of the Hermitage, although it was long ago published by Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. XXIX, 2. We have seated Shamash, with streams and fish, and the bird-man, usual to this design. But this is one of the rare cases in which the officer who brings the culprit is bifrons, one face looking respectfully toward the god, while the other turns to watch his prisoner. The bifrons is found mainly on cylinders of this age, although it appears in one or two cases on Hittite cylinders which

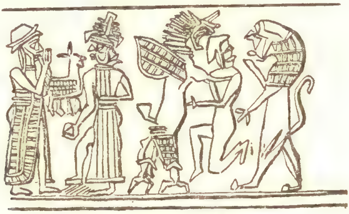


FIG. 9.—Metropolitan Museum

represent the presentation of the dead soul to the god of Hades. Menant is right in regarding the bifrons as a convention occasionally employed to indicate that the officer leading the prisoner is both paying attention courteously to the god, and at the same time watching the prisoner behind him. In this cylinder we have another curious feature; the last figure carries a bag over his shoulder, much as Perseus carries the head of Medusa. We may regard him as bringing an offering, but this is hardly likely. On a seal in my possession a corresponding figure brings to the god the bird-man, slung by the feet from a stick on his shoulder. It is quite as likely that in the myth the bag had something to do with the capture of the bird-man.

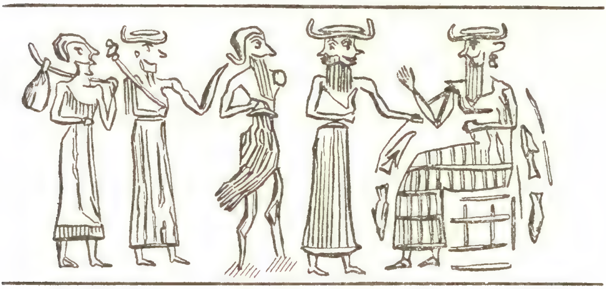


FIG. 10.—The Hermitage

For the inscription, and for an element in the design, it is well to call attention to Fig. 11, of another cylinder of the Hermitage. Here we have the not unusual scene of the seated god receiving a worshiper led to him by his attendant goddess. What is unusual is that before the seated god there stands a rampant goat, which looks as if leaping into the god's lap, or, it may be, in an attitude of worship. It is not unusual to have a small indeterminate animal which looks like a short-tailed monkey or jackal in front of a seated god, but such a case as this would suggest that in these cases the animal is a goat. In several cases of cylinders as old as Gudea, or older, we see a bull in the same attitude which suggests that then the seated god is thus indicated to be Sin. We do not know that the goat is particularly associated with any god; but the goat-fish and the ram are peculiar to Ea, and it may be that Ea is here designated. The form of the seated god is conventional for various gods, as Shamash, Ningirsu, etc.

It will be observed that as the goat stands next to the god, so a bird like a crane, or goose, or stork, stands next to the goddess. This bird is frequently attached to Bau on the earlier large cylinders; but it is not likely that this is Bau, unless the god is Ningirsu. But it is not usual, I think, for Bau to take the inferior rôle of attendant to her consort. She seems to be, like Ishtar, of a primary rank.

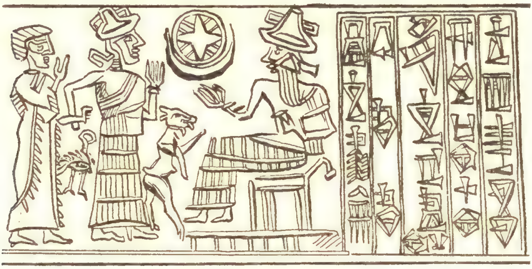


Fig. 11.—The Hermitage[1]

A cylinder of the most archaic period we have in Fig. 12. On these cylinders no form of writing is to be expected. They are often, as in this case, long and of narrow diameter, and in two or even three registers. The designs are few and simple. In this case we have the two deities, who cannot be identified, but who are probably the god and his wife, seated and facing each other. Between them we often have a stand with a vase on it from which they drink through a long tube. Occasionally there is a gate near them. This hardly looks like a gate and may be a sort of rude altar. Before one of the deities stands a nude worshiper. The birdlike form of the heads is characteristic of the early period.

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[1] The five-line inscription reads as follows:

[1] ḪU-UKU-ILI [2] PATESI of Mash, [3] governor of Madka, [4] since he crushed [5] Unu, the servant of Zimi.—Price.

The lower register shows one of the other frequent designs on these archaic seats. It is a monstrous eagle, which may have the

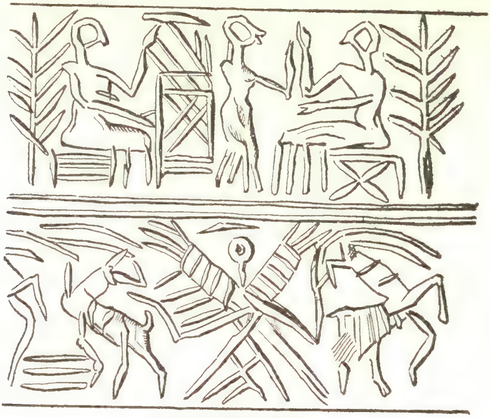


FIG. 12.—The Hermitage

head of a lion, seizing with each of its talons an animal, here an ibex. The fabulous bird was developed into what has been recognized by Heuzey as the eagle of Lagash, and which appears on the standard of that city. It probably had the Sumerian name of IM-GIG, as shown by Thureau-Dangin.

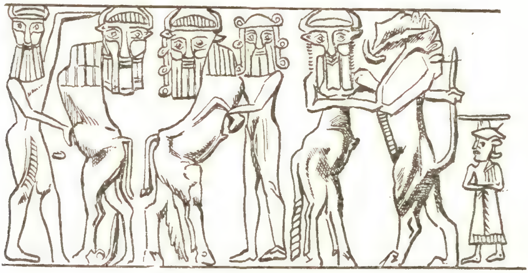


FIG. 13.—The Hermitage

In Fig. 13, we have an unusually complete illustration of the elements to be found in the cylinders of an early, but not usually the earliest, period, belonging to the Gilgamesh type. We have Gilgamesh in front view, repeated, also the human-headed bull against which he fights, and also Eabani fighting a lion. There is also a small figure of the worshiper, with space above it for a single name, but unoccupied. When Gilgamesh and Eabani are both represented on a cylinder Eabani fights the lion, while Gilgamesh attacks the more dangerous bull, or the human-headed bull. In the later cylinders of this type, of the period of Sargon I, the bull is the huge water buffalo of Southern Babylonia, now found there, and at its best, only in domestication; while on the earlier cylinders the bull is the equally dangerous bison of the forests of Elam.

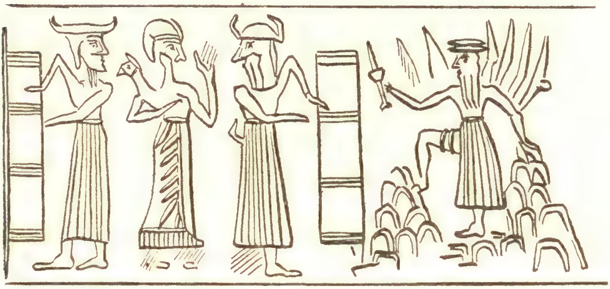


FIG. 14.—The Hermitage

One of the most characteristic scenes which we meet in the early cylinders is shown in Fig. 14. The sun-god Shamash comes out from the gates of the morning and, with his hand resting on one mountain, steps his foot on another. The two porters turn the head back as if to receive the worshiper who brings a goat in sacrifice. This differs from the cylinders of the type only in that the weapon carried by the god is not the usual notched sword, but a sort of dagger, perhaps. The notched sword recalls the earliest stone period, when the weapon of wood was fitted with flint teeth. The rays about the god mounting the hills do not often appear, although sometimes shown as here.

One of the most puzzling cylinders in the museum of the Hermitage is seen in Fig. 15. Here we have a figure who appears to be Gilgamesh in the astonishing attitude of carrying a goat as offering to a goddess who stands, not on two lions as might have been expected, but on two long-necked animals which might be those which belong to Marduk and Nebo. This animal is a winged composite creature, a sort of dragon, but very different from the dragon we have been considering, and has, as M. Heuzey has shown, the head of a serpent. It appears on seals that are as old as Gudea, and thus older than the emergence of Marduk and Nebo as principal gods, though later identified with them. It may originally have belonged to Ningirsu and Ningishzida, and been transferred when their worship ceased to prevail.

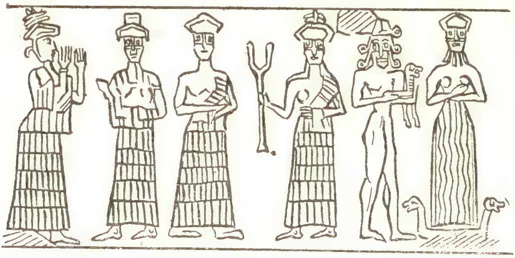


Fig. 15.—The Hermitage

If I may judge from the cast this cylinder is genuine, and the composition does not suggest forgery; but beside the unusual animals on which one goddess is standing, and the strange appearance of Gilgamesh in the attitude of a worshiper, it is also very unusual to see the breasts of the four goddesses *en face* so clearly modeled. And it is not possible to recognize any one of the goddesses, except the one in profile at the left. She has the conventional attitude of the subordinate goddess who represents frequently Aa, wife of Shamash, or Shala when figured with her consort Ramman. There are goddesses in plenty who might be represented by the other figures, but hardly such principal goddesses as Ishtar, Bau, or Gula.

Fig. 16 *a*, *b*, *c*, has an interest because of the shape of the cylinder, which, instead of the usual longitudinal perforation for

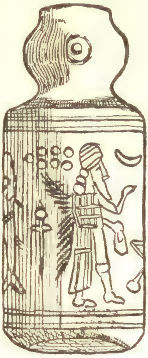


FIG. 16*a*
The Hermitage

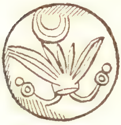


FIG. 16*b*

the wire or cord by which it was suspended, has the end extended to form a stone handle, with the perforated hole across the end. We never find this shape in the Babylonian cylinders, but it is found occasionally in the Hittite cylinders, and was sometimes borrowed from that region for Assyrian cylinders such as this seems to be. This cylinder, which is not very carefully engraved, illustrates the new elements that came into use when the Assyrian style prevailed. We have here the winged disk of Ashur, although by a confusion of thought it sometimes represented Shamash, the sun. In place of the extended hand of the human-bodied gods, this winged disk has what in the more elaborate examples is a cord, reaching outward from under the wings, and which is grasped by the worshiper. This may be compared with the rays ending in hands from the sun-disk as worshiped by its Egyptian Heretic King. Also quite new in the Assyrian period is the protecting spirit, or genius, clad in the skin of a fish which forms a sort of cap or helmet for his head. Equally new is the protecting spirit to the left, whose wings had probably a northern or western origin among the people who were parts of the Hittite confederacy. The baskets which they carry, and the entire attitude can be explained only by considering those elaborate Assyrian

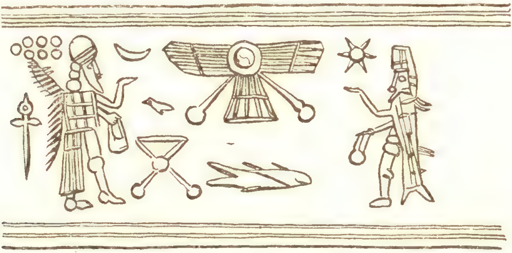


FIG. 16*c*.—The Hermitage

cylinders and bas-reliefs on which such figures stand before the sacred tree, better the tree of life, in which the lifted hand has taken the fruit from the tree to put it in the basket, thus assuring the portion of life and fortune for the possessor of the seal. Here the tree is missing, but the winged disk that belongs over it is there and so are the guardian spirits. The fish is common on these seals, although its meaning is not quite clear. The seven dots are the sibitti, the gods Igigi. We notice also the border-lines which never appear on the true Babylonian cylinders. This cylinder is figured by Lajard, Pl. XVII, 8.

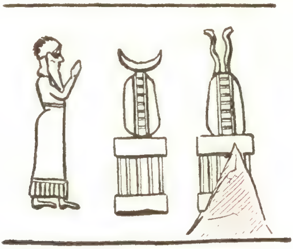


FIG. 17.—The Hermitage

In Fig. 17 we have a good example of the late Babylonian type of the second empire of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. These cylinders are usually large, following a shape and size that came in with the Kassite period. The objects represented are a worshiper and the emblems of his gods, in this case the crescent of Sin and the thunderbolt of Adad; but instead of the simple column surmounted by the emblems which we should find on the Assyrian and western seals we have the extraordinary and enigmatic constructions shown here. We cannot but compare these emblems with those of the gods which we see on the kudurrus of the Kassite period. But here the divine seat (mušab) is modified, and instead of the turban above it we have the oval object with the ladder-like design along its length. I cannot conceive what this can represent unless it be a modified and corrupted form of the turban, and used to support the particular emblem of the god.

In Fig. 18 we come to what is distinctly of the Persian period. This is evident from the elongated wings of the winged disk, and might be gathered from what we may take for the fire-altar, although the upper portion looks more like a plant with its bud. A plant of that shape is not unfamiliar, however, but without the column; and I have been inclined to see in it the famed Silphium which was such an article of commerce, or some similar plant. The ibex, so frequently seen on the cylinders, requires no comment. The wild boar is less common, although the Babylonian god Ninshakh carried the name of this destructive animal, as Nergal was the god of the lion. Two cylinders of the same period in the Metropolitan Museum show the hunting of the wild boar, one of them (Fig. 19) with dogs. Yet another cylinder in the same Museum has simply fifteen swine divided in three registers of five each. But in this last case the cylinder is probably not Persian, Babylonian, or Assyrian, but belongs to one of the outlying provinces.

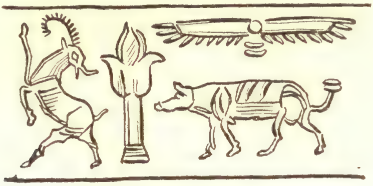


Fig. 18.—The Hermitage

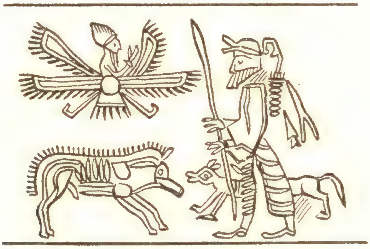


Fig. 19.—Metropolitan Museum

Another cylinder, which we may call Syro-Hittite, or perhaps Syro-Phoenician, is shown in Fig. 20. It has the extraordinary design of a winged goddess with twisted legs. She is nude, and raises her hands toward the winged disk above, in an attitude not unfamiliar in certain composite figures under the winged disk, as if supporting it. On each side of her stands an attendant, nude, female figure. The remainder of the design is taken up with an elaborate tree of life, with a deer, a sphinx and an ibex on each side of it, as they are frequently seen on the Syro-Hittite cylinders.

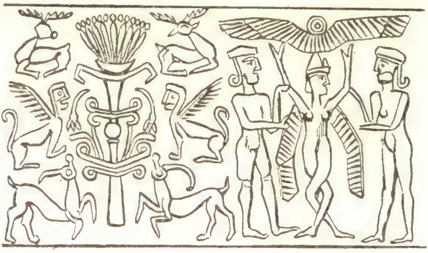


FIG. 20.—The Hermitage

I recall but one other cylinder which shows us this goddess with the twisted legs, that seen in Fig. 21; although very likely the goddess in a seated attitude, with crossed legs, not winged, and lifted by two stalwart, nude, male figures seen in *Catalogue de Clercq*, No. 357, may be the same. In Fig. 21, but not in Fig. 20,

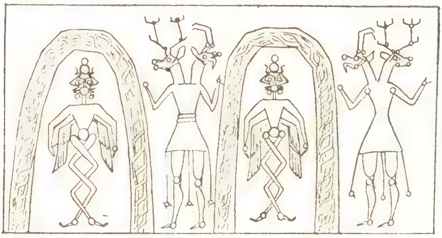


FIG. 21.—British Museum

the goddess is provided with an extra joint in the legs. There is no means of learning what goddess is intended, or what is the meaning of the twisted legs. We may conceive that it indicates her virginal character, as against the idea of wantonness conveyed in Ezek. 16:25. The attendant figures in Fig. 20, the body human and with two heads, one of a stag and one of an ibex, are utterly foreign to the art of Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia, and must have come, through the influence of an Egyptian suggestion, from a Mesopotamian or Syrian source of a comparatively late period, as indicated, among other things, by the Persian shape of the winged disk. The arch about the goddess in Fig. 21, while composed of squares, yet is derived from the guilloche or rope-pattern, of Hittite art, which is yet a perversion of the Mycenean scroll pattern.

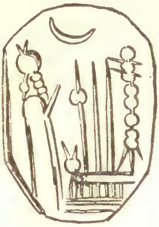


Fig. 22
The Hermitage

Of the so-called Assyrian cone-seals a very few require notice. The great majority of these seals show great paucity of design, perhaps the majority of them having nothing else than a worshiper before the columns or asheras, of Marduk and Nebo.

But in Fig. 22 we have, next to the worshiper, the column of Marduk, rudely, as often, engraved with the drill to make a circle instead of the spear-point when cut with the free hand; then the double column of Nebo, and then a third column, the identification of which is not yet possible to me. It does not occur frequently, but we occasionally have it, as we have that of Sin shown by his crescent, and of Adad by his thunderbolt surmounting the column. Under the three asheras is the animal properly belonging only to Marduk and Nebo.

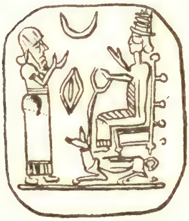


Fig. 23
The Hermitage

Another cone-seal of more unusual design is given in Fig. 23. Here the worshiper stands before the seated goddess who is identified by her dog with the curled tail as Gula. It is only in the Northern Kingdom, and the adjacent countries that we find the high-backed chair precisely like the old-fashioned rush-bottomed chairs of our grandmothers' chambers. There may be some confusion between Gula and Ishtar here, for the knobs back of the chair, and perhaps adorning the top of her tiara, represent the stars seen with the seated goddess on the cylinders. There are two Ishtars, one of Nineveh and the other of Arbela, and we do not know whether they were differently figured; one certainly was standing. We shall probably do better, notwithstanding the stars, to connect this seated goddess, here Gula, with Belit or the Mother Goddess Ma, of Asia Minor. The identification of the deities of one religion with those of another is hazardous and confusing.

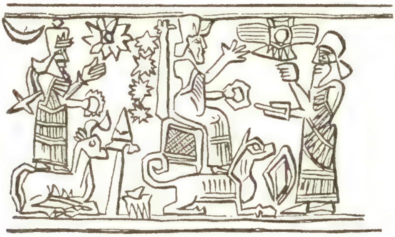


FIG. 24.—Berlin Museum

What is quite peculiar here is that the dog is led by a cord attached to the collar about his neck. I have not observed that before, but Adad frequently holds his bull by a cord attached to a ring in his nose as described in Job. 41:2. The crescent of Sin on this seal is plain enough, but the rhomb below it yet needs explanation. Since Lenormant's time it has been regarded as the female emblem, but I know of no reason for attaching it to ancient symbolism. The Assyrian and Babylonian art was never vulgar, any more than was the Persian. The phallus is never figured as it was in Egypt, and it is hardly likely that the rhomb represents the vulva. It may have come, with other motifs from the Egyptian, and may represent the eye. On a cylinder in the Berlin Museum, Fig. 24, we have this seated goddess with her dog, instead of the more usual lion, associated with Adad and his bull. Here the stars are fully developed and it is natural to call the goddess Ishtar, although the dog indicates Gula.

One other interesting cone-seal is shown in Fig. 25, *a* and *b*, where we see on one side of the cone the two columns of Marduk and Nebo, and on the other two gods, of whom the lion-headed one may be Nergal; the other cannot be identified. The former is precisely like what we have seen in Fig. 7; but there it can hardly be Nergal. At any rate, we know of no myth in which he was haled before a god for judgment. There is another cone seal in the Hermitage which gives the same two figures, but one on each side of the seal.

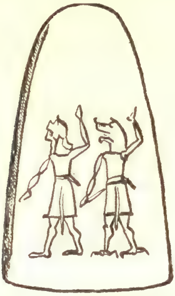


Fig. 25*a*.—The Hermitage

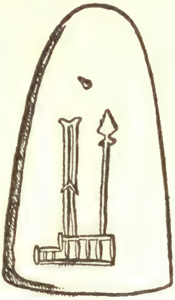


Fig. 25*b*.—The Hermitage

Of the many Persian and Sassanian seals in the Hermitage collection only one is here given, in Fig. 26. It is an excellent example of the fire-altar, with the king, one may suppose, or a priest, standing by it in an attitude of worship, and repeated for symmetry. The altar is much like that seen on a cylinder in Fig. 27 with which should be compared the more elaborate, but different, fire-altar in Fig 28.

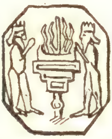


Fig. 26.—The Hermitage

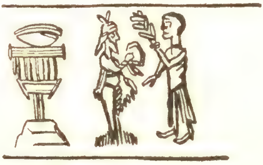


Fig. 27.—Metropolitan Museum

It is greatly to be desired that the large collections in the British Museum, the Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Berlin Museum, and the Metropolitan Museum should be published in heliogravure. Only one large collection has as yet been made accessible to scholars, that belonging to the late M. de Clercq, although a few small public and private collections have appeared, like those of The Hague, the Joanneum of Graz, the Cypriote cylinders collected by di Cesnola, and those belonging to M. Pauvert de la Chapelle and Sir Henry Peek. Great treasures are yet hidden in museum-drawers and unavailable to scholars.

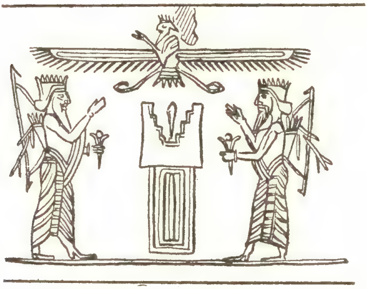


FIG. 28.—Bibliothèque Nationale

SOME CASSITE AND OTHER CYLINDER SEALS

IRA MAURICE PRICE

SOME CASSITE AND OTHER CYLINDER SEALS

IRA MAURICE PRICE

INTRODUCTION

The development of the science of Assyriology in its broadest sense has brought to the front in recent years the cylinder seal. These little remnants of the great civilizations of the past bear a very definite and specific message to students of the Orient. They touch every phase of the public and private life of the men and women who administered the affairs of the state, of religion, and of the social sphere. They carry on their faces the ruling superstitions and mythologies that so largely influenced the life of the times. They gleam with the names of the divinities who were reverenced and worshiped by the leaders of state and religion. They give us hints as to the relative importance of the divinities in different periods of history. The proper names found on them reveal, now and then, the period of history to which they are to be assigned.

Another province of investigation likewise gathers some hints from these bits of precious stones, viz., language. The variety of combinations of ideographs and syllables is something quite confusing. Some of these seals are written wholly in the non-Semitic tongue, others are good Semitic inscriptions. In both we find instructive variations and combinations that give the seals a unique value as revealers of linguistic peculiarities and brief succinct statement.

Another feature of the study of seal cylinders has attracted the attention of artists. How did they execute their work on the hardest of stones? What kind of tools enabled them to cut such fine, sharp lines as we discover on the majority of the better preserved seals? And then, again, whence came the great variety of material used for seals? There was an abundance, apparently, of precious stones for all such purposes.

These were found, prepared, and used with a facility that bespeaks the steady progress of art in those early civilizations. Their presence today, though seemingly of slight importance, promises, from a comprehensive study, some extremely valuable results touching the national, religious, social, and commercial life of every period of pre-Christian history in the Babylonian valley.

The seal inscriptions presented in this article are some of the collection gathered by Dr. William Hayes Ward for his forthcoming work to be issued by the Carnegie Institution and were kindly placed by him in the hands of the writer. As will be seen, they are both Semitic and non-Semitic, and belong mainly to the Cassite period of history.

I have given fac-similes of the text in every case. And immediately thereunder, I have transliterated each inscription, and translated it, sometimes provisionally, giving only such notes as would seem to be necessary to justify the accompanying translation. If anything within the inscription seems to be of especial interest it is discussed immediately thereafter, thus completing the study of each individual inscription before proceeding to the next. Some of the texts are so brief and difficult that little can be made out of them except a proper name or two. Still these may be a clue at some future time to an important discovery.

It will be seen that most of these inscriptions are now published for the first time, and thus form an addition to the extant seal cylinder literature.

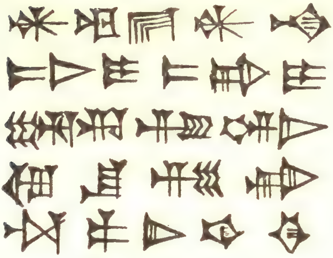
The Cassite seal cylinders herein presented represent some of the longest seal inscriptions of the period. They constitute a class quite unique in character, being composed in characters representative of Babylonian rather than Assyrian cuneiform writing. The inscription, too, is more important than the mythological figures which are reduced in almost all such cases to a minimum of space. We are just beginning to ascertain the real value of these seals, and as soon as they shall have received the attention due them, they will doubtless introduce us to a side of official life in Babylonia about which we have known very little.

In the reading of some of these seals I must express my gratitude to Mr. L. W. King of the British Museum for his kind suggestions and help.

INSCRIPTIONS, TRANSLATIONS, AND NOTES

No. 1

(Field Museum, Chicago)



[1] ^{dingir}Nin-Ê-an-na
[2] tab-ni-i tab-bi-i
[3] uṣ-ri gi-im-li[1]
[4] ù šu-zi-bi[2]
[5] arad pa-li-iḫ-ki

[1] Oh, goddess of Ê-an-na, [2] thou hast made (him), thou hast called (him); [3] guard (him), protect (him), [4] and spare (him for a long life), [5] the servant who fears thee.

This beautiful little seal is the gist of simplicity. It is an appeal to the goddess of Ê-an-na. She is addressed as the creator and the caller of the suppliant, and on these grounds is appealed to, to guard, protect, and spare him for a long life.

Ê-an-na was a temple frequently mentioned in many of the oldest inscriptions of Babylonia. It was a heavenly temple in Lagash, built by E-an-na-tum for the goddess Inninna (cf. Stèle of Vultures, Col. IV, 5, 6; V, 26–29). Dungi built a temple of Ê-an-na for Inninna (*CT*, XXI, Pl. 10, No. 90,887). Gudea built such a temple for the same goddess (*Déc.* Pl. 13, No. 1);

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[1] gamâlu = 'protect,' 'keep,' 'preserve,' *DAL*, pp. 221 f.

[2] √ezêbu, 'rescue,' 'save,' 'deliver,' 'spare.'

as also did Bur-Sin, king of Ur (*CT*, III, No. 12,156). Sin-gâšid likewise erected an Ê-an-na in Uruk to the goddess Inninna (*CT*, XXI, Pl. 12, No. 90,267). When we come down to later Babylonian times we find that Nebuchadrezzar built a temple at the very side of the wall of Babylon to Nin-Ê-an-na (EIH, IV, 44–48; V R. 34, II, 9–11; cf. *PSBA*, XXII, 359, l. 14).

These references confirm the view that the temple of Ê-an-na was the temple of the goddess Inninna so often referred to in the earlier periods of history. Cf. *Šurpu*, II, 168.

If, however, we should read, Nin-lil-an-na, and translate: "Oh, goddess Belit, the exalted," we should then probably regard this Belit as a consort of Bel.

The position of Belit in the pantheon of Babylonia, as the consort of Bel, would give added significance to the reading of this seal cylinder.

She is described under several different names on the material available for our study. Being the consort of Bel she is called "the mother of gods" (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 294, Rem.); "the governess of the gods" (II R. 55, *a–b*, 9–19); "the governess of the heavens" (*BA*, Vol. II, p. 634); "the governess of the living" (III R. 66, *b*, 7); "the great governess" (II R. 49, *c–d*, 6). As a variant for her name in Asurb. X, 52, we find ilat Ištar, probably making her an equivalent to the goddess of the underworld. She was also worshiped under the name of NIN-ḪAR-SAG, "the goddess of the great mountains," which accords with the appellation of Bel as "the god of the great mountain" (V R. 44, *c–d*, 41).

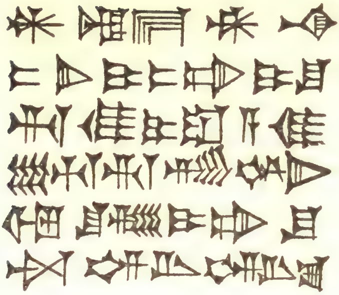
The temple of Belit was in Nippur where she was worshiped by the earlier rulers of the country.

For a full list of references, cf. Muss-Arnolt, *Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, p. 170*b;* and a full discussion of her attributes, Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (1905), pp. 55 f.

Her popularity is attested by a large number of proper names, even in later Babylonian, in which her name is a constituent element; cf. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, pp. 37, 38.

No. 2

(British Museum)



[1]$^{\text{dingir}}$Nin-Ê-an-na
[2]tab-ni-i tab-bi-i-šu
[3]ri-mi-i ra-a-mi
[4]uṣ-ri gi-im-li
[5]ù šu-zi-i-bi-šu
[6]arad IM-TUK IM-TUK[3]-ZU

[1]Oh, goddess of Ê-an-na, [2]thou hast made, thou hast called him, grant (him) favor, [4]guard (him), protect (him), [5]and spare him (for a long life), [6]the servant who devoutly reverences thee.

No. 2 is almost the same as No. 1, with some peculiar additions. The second line adds a suffix as an object to the second verb, and the fifth line one to its only verb, both referring to the suppliant. The third line is new, not being found in No. 1. The last line is written ideographically, but is equivalent to the syllabic Semitic word that makes up the fifth line of No. 1. The import of the seal is practically the same as that of No. 1, setting forth the pre-eminence of the goddess in determining the origin, life, and destiny of the suppliant.

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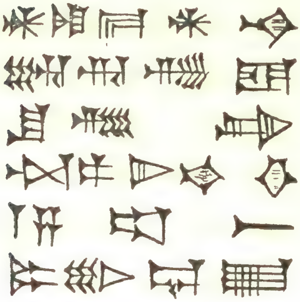
[3] IM-TUK = palâḫu 'fear,' 'reverence,' 'worship,' cf. *DAL*, pp. 804 ff.

No. 3

(W. H. Ward, No. 1162)



[1] $^{\text{dingir}}$Nin-Ê-an-na
[2] uṣ-ri gi-mil
[3] šu-zi-bi
[4] arad pa-li-iḫ-ki
[5] $^{\text{m}}$Za-ab-ru
[6] ablu In-dim-ge

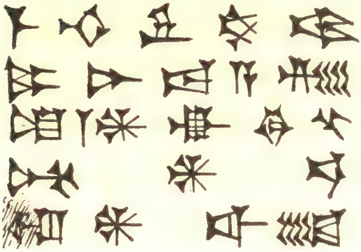
[1] Oh, goddess of Ê-an-na, [2] guard, preserve, [3] spare (him for a long life), [4] the servant who fears thee, [5] Zabru, [6] the son of Indim.

This seal, though dedicated to the goddess of Ê-an-na, has nothing to say about her creative or elective powers. It merely appeals to her ability to guard, preserve, and prolong the life of the suppliant. On this seal we find the name of the owner or dedicator of it. While these three seals (1–3) are dedicated to the same goddess, they were probably the property of different persons, who largely followed the conventional forms for the execution of their inscriptions. Their language is Semitic, and their grammatical forms are substantially regular, even though the thought is greatly condensed.

It is fortunate that three seals so nearly the same should be brought together and presented in the same pages; and seals, too, that reveal so many powers of the goddess of Ê-an-na, the goddess Innina.

No. 4

(No. 97, Mrs. Rowe)



[1] ME-NA-RU-UP-TUM
[2] martu Ba-a-zi
[3] NIN ^{m}AK-DI-KUD
[4] amat ^{dingir}BABBAR
[5] ù ^{dingir}Mar-tu

[1] Menaruptum, [2] daughter of Bazi, [3] lady of Nabû-daian, [4] handmaid of the god Shamash [5] and of the god Adad.

This seal belonged to a woman who may have been an attendant in the temple service. Her mother (apparently) is mentioned because of her prominent place in the worship of Nabû-daian (Nebo judges). This deity figures in late Babylonian.[4] This was also the name of an Assyrian king about 1250 B. C., whose name doubtless signified his reverence for and dependence upon the god Nebo, and his part in the affairs of men.

The god translated Martu is now generally conceded to be syllabic or symbolic reading for Adad, who appears in some of the earliest literature in connection with Shamash. On this seal the two are mentioned together as gods whom this damsel served. The mention of the two together has its justification in the fact that the sun (Shamash) and the storm-god (Adad) must work together in producing for man and beast the necessary sustenance for life. Where one is worshiped for his benevolence toward mankind the other should not be omitted. For a full discussion of the attributes of Adad, cf. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens* (1905), pp. 146–50. The presence of women in the temple and temple worship is especially noticeable in the laws of Ḫammurabi. She is there named "votary" and has laws prepared to meet her own peculiar conditions. She might have been dedicated by her father to Marduk of Babylon (law No. 182), in which case she was entitled to one-third of his estate on his death. She was exempt from taxes (No. 182). She usually lived in a convent, where she was amply protected by law (No. 110). She was free to marry, but there were specific regulations respecting her property rights (Nos. 145–47), and her estate could not be mortgaged or alienated (No. 178). For other regulations see *The Laws of Ḫammurabi*, Nos. 127, 180, 181, and 193.

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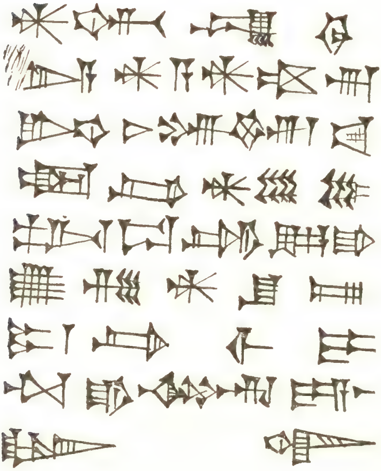
[4] Cf. K. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (1905), p. 257.

No. 5

(Metropolitan Museum, No. 391)



[1]dingir ADAD U MAḪ-DI
[2]GALU ŠEḲ-ŠEḲ ḪE-NUN
[3]GALU TE-DÙ SUD ŠÀ-NUN ZU
[4]AKA-BI AN-ŠE-TIR
[5]PA + KAB + DU BI GAR UKU-GA
[6]U-ZI-AN-ŠU-TUḪ
[7]DUMU BI-ŠI-I
[8]NITA BUR-NA-BU-RI-IA-AŠ
[9]LUGAL KIŠ

[1]To the god Adad, the exalted lord,[5] [2]who causes the rain to fall[6] in great abundance, [3]who brings down[7] the high,[8] who lifts up the spirit of thy great ones, [4]whose gift[9] is the grain,[10] [5]which yields[11] wine and sustenance for the people. [6]U-zi-an-šu-tuḫ, [7]son of Bishi, [8]servant of Burnaburiash, [9]king of Kish.

This is an admirable seal-cylinder apparently of the time of a Bur-na-bu-ri-ash. Two Cassite kings of this name ruled in Babylonia. The first succeeded Kadashman-Bel about 1400 B. C., and was a contemporary of Puzur-Asshur of Assyria, and of Amenophis III of Egypt. Little is known of his reign. He was a builder of temples, as seen in the fact that he erected at Larsa a temple to the sun-god.[12] The so-called Bur-na-bu-ri-ash II, according to Clay,[13] ruled twenty-five years. He was a contemporary of Amenophis IV, and sent to the latter several Babylonian letters.[14] The city Kish, of which he is said to have been king, was probably located northeast of Babylon, not far from Cutha.

The translation is, of course, quite provisional because of the strangeness of some of the combinations of signs. The deity to whom the seal is dedicated is Adad, the thunderer, the weather god, upon whose activity depended the crops of the field, and the consequent prosperity of the nation. The notes at the bottom of the page point out the authority for the several uncertain renderings. The reading of the name of the owner of the seal is quite uncertain, though we must find here a proper name.

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[5] MAḪ-DI = tizkaru, 'high,' 'exalted,' 'lofty,' *DAL*, 1150*a*.

[6] ŠEḲ-ŠEḲ = zanânu, 'rain,' 'pour down water,' cf. Br. 11399, and 11402.

[7] TE = diḫu, 'throw,' 'pull down.'

[8] DÙ = êlû, 'high,' II R. 30, 18*g*.

[9] AKA = râmu, 'gift,' 'present,' *DAL*, 967*b*.

[10] AN-ŠE-TIR = ašnan, Br. 7484; *DAL*, 116*b*; cf. AN-ŠE-TIR-AN-NA = ašnan; Meissner, *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme*, No. 385; cf. No. 384.

[11] PA + KAB + DU = šarâḳu, 'give,' 'bestow,' 'yield,' *DAL*, pp. 1117 ff.

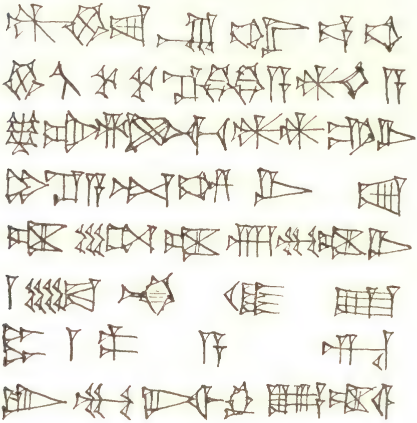
[12] Cf. I R. 4, XIII.

[13] *BE*, XIV, pp. 3–5.

[14] Cf. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 220 f.

No. 6

(Metropolitan Museum, No. 392)



1 $^{\text{dingir}}$ŠA-ZU EN GIR[15] BABBAR[16]-ŠAR
2 DI[17]-KUD KUR-KUR SI-DI-DI[18]-A AN-KI-A
3 SI-GA NAM-TI DINGIRENE BUR[19]-TUK
4 EL[20]-A NITA' IM-TUK-ZU
5 ḪE-GÚB ḪE-NUN-MU ḪE-TUK
6 $^{\text{m}}$TU-NA-MI-GE
7 DUMU $^{\text{m}}$PA-A-RI
8 GALU MU-NI-PAD UKU ḪE-ŠI[21]

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[15] GIR = gašru 'mighty,' 'strong,' cf. Br. 9183.

[16] BABBAR = pisû 'light,' 'brightness,' cf. Br. 7788.

[17] The original here reads ŠA, which is evidently a scribal error for DI, as the entire context seems to point out.

[18] SI-DI-DI = šutêšuru 'make or establish right,' Br. 3463.

[19] BUR = bûru 'child,' 'son,' 'offspring,' cf. *DAL*, p. 187*a*.

[20] EL=alâlu 'make brilliant,' 'glorious,' cf. Br. 11174; *DAL*, p. 466.

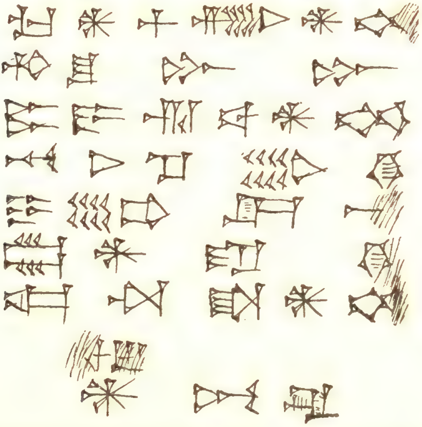
[21] ŠI = napâšu 'become broad,' 'extended,' 'enlarge,' 'increase,' cf. Br. 9278; *DAL*, p. 710.

[1]To the god Marduk, the mighty lord, light of the multitudes, [2]judge of (all) lands, who establishes right in heaven and on earth, [3]giver of life to the gods, his own offspring. [4]Make glorious the servant who fears thee, [5]may he be illustrious! may his name be magnified! may he be wise! [6]Tunamige, [7]son of Pâri, [8]a man called (to his position) by the people, may he increase!

This seal cylinder is one of those found by General di Çesnola in Cyprus. It was published by Sayce in *TSBA*, Vol. V (1877), pp. 443, 444. Since that far-off day we have discovered and identified many new signs, and can therefore give a more correct rendering of all old Babylonian inscriptions. This inscription, large for a seal cylinder, was prepared in praise of the god Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon. To him are assigned an array of brilliant attributes and powers, which he employs in dealing with the peoples of the world, his own creatures. Because of the noble attributes and character of Tunamige, he is said to have been named by the people (for his position, whatever it may have been). Marduk's[22] position in the days of Ḫammurabi was that of a mediator between the people and his father Ea.

No. 7

(W. H. Ward, No. 1004)



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[22] For a full discussion of the attributes of Marduk, cf. Jastrow, *Babylonische Religion*, pp. 110–15.

[1]MA-AN-BAR-GI-NI-$^{\text{dingir}}$-MAR[DUK]
[2]BIR ŠU-BU-BU
[3]DUMU I-RI-BA $^{\text{dingir}}$MARDUK
[4]ZER I-SI-IN$^{\text{ki}}$
[5]i-li-da- . . . .
[6]KA $^{\text{dingir}}$RA$^{\text{ki}}$
[7]SAG-ARAD ŠA $^{\text{dingir}}$MARDUK
[8]ù
[9]$^{\text{dingir}}$GU-LA[23]

[1]Ma-an-bargini-Marduk [2]the diviner[24] [3]son of Iriba-Marduk [4]family of Isin [5]born[25] [6]at Babylon, [7]chief servant of the god Marduk [8]and [9]the goddess Gula.

The inscription on this seal is full of interest. The proper name in the first line contains the name of the god Marduk. The combination of the second line points out that this personage belongs to the barû-priest or diviner class, an individual of prime importance in the ritual of the Babylonian religion. For a full discussion of his functions and a mass of other references see Zimmern.[26] The third line contains another name in which Marduk is one of the constituent elements. The fourth line mentions that ancient city to which frequent reference is made, but of which we know so little, Isin, as the home of the family of Iriba-Marduk. The fifth line seems to have some such sense as that given it in the translation, the last sign, however, being uncertain. Babylon, of course, seems to be one of the cities with which this family was connected, and Marduk and Gula are named as the divinities especially reverenced by the owner of the seal.

Of the divinities mentioned on this seal Gula is identical with Bau (V R. 31, *a–b*, 58; IV R. 32 *b*, 39–40) the consort of Ningir-su, that is, Ninib. Gula is then the consort of Ninib, and occupies the same place in the pantheon of Ḫammurabi, that Bau[27] does in the galaxy of divinities of the Gudean period. The presence of her name on this seal probably locates it about Ḫammurabi's day. The mention of Isin likewise sets it back to a time prior to the fall of that ancient center of religious and political power in lower Babylonia.

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[23] The peculiar position of the ù $^{\text{dingir}}$GULA between the seated figure and the suppliant indicates probably that these should follow the last line of the inscription engraved in solid column, just as indicated in the transliteration and translation.

[24] BIR ŠU-BU-BU = barû (V R. 13, 44*d;* cf. also Br. 2034) 'seer,' 'diviner,' 'magician,' a title that designates this personage as belonging to the official class. Cf. H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion*, pp. 82–89.

[25] The meaning of the fifth line is problematical. The form, if derived from alâdu is peculiar, still the sense seems to be served by the meaning given it in this rendering.

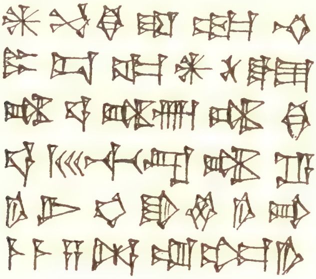
[26] H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion*, pp. 82–89.

[27] Cf. Jastrow, *Babylonische Religion*, pp. 58 f.

The use of Marduk as a constituent element of proper names in Babylonian, especially in the new Babylonian period is attested by the occurrence of about three hundred such names in the lists of Tallqvist.[28]

No. 8

(British Museum)



[1] dingir DIM[29]-KI-RA-DUR-NA
[2] IBILA[30] SAG dingir KUR-GAL-GE
[3] ḪE-BABBAR ḪE-NUN ḪE-DI
[4] UD-MEŠ TI-LA ḪE-DIRIG[31]
[5] GAR-TUK DUG-GA ŠÀ-GAR-BI
[6] ME-ME IŠIB TAG-ŠID NE-GAR

[1]To Dim-ki-ra-dur-na, [2]chief son of Amurru[32] [3]may he be illustrious! may he be great! may he be victorious! [4]With days of life may he be blessed! [5](and) with rich abundance for his necessities![33] [6]*As a charm*,[34] (this) seal was made.

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[28] *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, pp. 99–110.

[29] For this reading, cf. Amiaud and Mechineau, *Tableau comparé*, No. 151; also Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme*, Nos. 12 and 155; Gudea Cyl. B, XII, 12.

[30] IBILA = aplu, Br. 4118; cf. *AJSL*, XVIII, p. 154.

[31] DIRIG = atâru 'add,' 'increase,' 'multiply,' *DAL*, 133*a*.

[32] dKUR-GAL = Amurru, Clay in *BE*, XIV, viii; *JAOS*, XXVIII, p. 140.

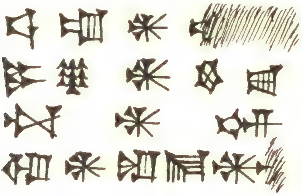
[33] ŠÀ-GAR = bubûtu 'hunger,' 'need,' 'necessity,' Br. 8085.

[34] ME = šiptu 'exorcism,' 'incantation,' 'charm.'

This little seal contains some difficulties and uncertainties. The reading of the proper name in the first line is not certain, though the second sign is fixed by Gudea, Cyl. B, XII, 12. The last line, too, has some obscurities. The use of ME twice and of the term (ā) which designates stone, abnu, gives us a hint that this tablet may have been used as a charm or exorcism, if the proposed translation be correct. The proper names here are quite unique, if properly translated. Amurru figures as the one deity named. The whole inscription is written in ideographic or non-Semitic form.

No. 9

(W. H. Ward, No. 888)



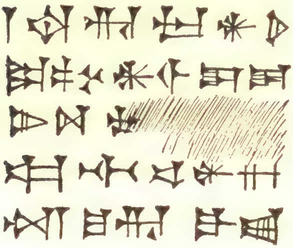
[1] UD-UM $^{\text{dingir}}$ . . . .
[2] DUMU SIG $^{\text{dingir}}$ŠÀ-ZU
[3] NITA' $^{\text{dingir}}$ADAD
[4] Ù $^{\text{dingir}}$Nin-Ê-an-n[a]

[1]Udum . . . . [2]son of Iddin-Marduk, [3]servant of Adad, [4]and Belit, the exalted.

Though only four lines in length, we find on this little seal the names of three divinities, and a fragment of a fourth. They were all prominent in the pantheon of Babylonia in the Cassite period, and full sets of references for their study have been cited in the preceding pages dealing with the seals of this article.

No. 10

(Henry Swoboda of Bagdad [chalcedony])



1 ^{m}Te-ri-ma-an-gar
2 DUMU ^{m}Giš-kur-an-ši-da-da[35]
3 NI-ḲA-MA . . . .
4 SAG-TI[36]-UD[37]-dingir IŠTAR
5 ARAD ^{m} KU-RI-GAL-ZU

[1]Terimangar [2]son of Giškuranšidada [3] . . . . [4]chief official of the shrine of Ištar [5]servant of Ku-ri-gal-zu.

This seal specifies the owner as the servant of one of the great kings, or one of the same name, of the Cassites who ruled about the first half of the fourteenth century B. C.[38] The loss of the third line breaks seriously into the sense of the seal, and leaves us quite in the dark as to what it could have been. Just such seals as this one give us little hints at the regal life and personages of these early periods.

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[35] DA-DA, a very frequent constituent element of proper names in the RFH texts.

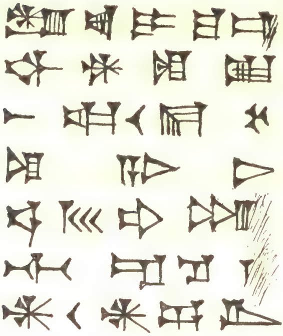
[36] SAG-TI — rêšu, 'head,' 'chief officer,' 'official,' Br., *Index*, p. 58.

[37] Ú = kiṣṣu, 'residence,' 'dwelling,' 'shrine,' *DAL*, 425*b*.

[38] Kurigalzu I began to reign 1410 B. C.

No. 11

(Henry Swoboda of Bagdad [porphyry])



[1] dingir En-zu-i-ku-un
[2] pašišu[39] dingir Nin-lil
[3] AŠ-SAG ú Ê-kur
[4] NIN-A-NI-IR
[5] UD-MEŠ-BI . . . . . SUD[40]
[6] TI-LA SI-A[41]
[7] dingir Bel dingir KAL TUK[42]

[1]Sin-i-ku-un, [2]*the priest* of Belit, [3]exalted son, lord of Ekur,[43] [4]may his goddess [5]his days cheer [6]and life prolong! [7]The god Bel, the god Kal-tuk.

If the first sign in the second line is as read it is somewhat defectively written, though the sense accords fully with such an hypothesis. The presence of the name Belit and Ekur and Bel displays some interesting religious facts. These two divine names have been already referred to as constituting two of the chief divinities of Nippur, the seat of their temples.

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[39] Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches*, No. 211.

[40] SUD = arâku, 'prolong,' 'extend.'

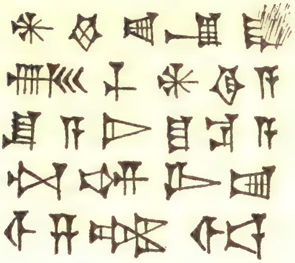
[41] SI-A is used in the sense of 'prolong' (Br. 3729); SIG-GA is used in the sense of enêšu 'go into a state of decay' (Br. 3384); cf. En-an-na-tum (*SA*, p. 52, *b*), Col. II, 4; cf. *Rim-Sin*, No. VIII, 35, which may be read: 'In future (DIRIG) days, when that platform foundation and that temple shall have fallen into decay,' etc.; cf. also *Rim-Sin*, No. XI, 12.

[42] KAL-TUK, Br. 6228.

[43] For full set of references on Ê-kur, see *DAL*, p. 37.

No. 12

(British Museum)

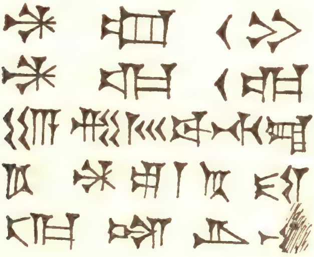


[1] dingir ŠA-ZU[44] EN-GE
[2] NUN-MEŠ BAR AN-KI-A
[3] NIN-A-NI-ŠÙ SIG[45]-A
[4] NITA' IM-TUK[46]-ZU
[5] IGI-ZA ḪE-ŠIG[47]

[1] To the god Marduk, lord of [2] the mighty, ruler of heaven and earth, [3] to his sovereignty it (this seal) is dedicated (given). [4] Servant who fears thee, [5] may thine eyes be favorable (toward him).

No. 13

(Bibliothéque Nationale, No. 776)



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[44] Marduk, the god; cf. Cyprus seal, No. 6, l. 1.

[45] SIG = ḳâšu, 'give,' 'present,' 'devote,' etc.; cf. *DAL*, p. 934*b*.

[46] IM-TUK = palâḫu, 'reverence,' 'worship,' 'serve.'

[47] ŠIG = damâḳu, 'be favorable to,' 'show favor,' Br. 9445; *DAL*, *s. v*

[1] $^{\text{dingir}}$ŠID Ú ŠER[48]
[2] $^{\text{dingir}}$SAG Ú SAG
[3] KAR[49] ZI-MEŠ BA-TI-LA
[4] GAR AN-GUR $^{\text{dingir}}$ GAR-ZU(!)
[5] SAG- . . . . . TUK- . . . .

[1] To the god Marduk, the brilliant lord, [2] the firstborn god, the firstborn lord, [3] who preserves in safety the souls of the living, [4] [5]

The peculiar signs and combinations in the fourth and fifth lines are puzzling. The unconventional method of writing SAG, for instance, leads us to expect some forms quite out of the ordinary.

[48] ŠER = namâru, 'shine,' 'be brilliant.'

[49] KAR = eṭêru, 'surround,' 'cover,' 'preserve in safety.'

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