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THE PROTOTYPE OF THE DIES IRAE

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The most famous of all medieval Latin hymns, known as the *Dies Irae*, which is attributed to Thomas de Celano,¹ the companion and biographer of St. Francis of Assisi, is based on the Latin version of Zeph. 1: 14-18. The *day of wrath* in the poem of Zephaniah, who may have been a great-grandson of a younger son of King Hezekiah of Judah, is the destruction of Jerusalem in 586. Nebuchadnezzar's army besieged the holy city for one year and a half. The Egyptians tried to force the Chaldeans to raise the siege, but their effort was fruitless: the Chaldeans returned and no doubt resumed the siege with renewed energy.

Zephaniah's poem seems to have been composed shortly before the fall of Jerusalem. Its burden is the same as the prediction in Jer. 36: 29: *The King of Babylon will certainly come and destroy this land, and will cause to cease from thence man and beast.* In the Maccabean hymn prefixed to the Book of Micah John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria in 107 B. C. is compared to a volcanic eruption: just as the mountains melt under JHVH like wax before the fire, the molten rocks flowing down in streams of lava like a waterfall, so Hyrcanus poured the stones of Samaria down to the valley (*Mic.* 58).² In Zeph. 1: 16^a the

¹ Died after 1253. Celano is a town of the Abruzzi, 73 miles E of Rome.

² For the abbreviations see above, p. 45.—ET = *Expository Times*.—FV = *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris, 1909).—JV = *The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text*, a new translation, published by the Jewish Publication Society of America (Philadelphia, 1916).—MK = Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon* (1902-1909).—MLN = *Modern Language Notes* (Baltimore).—OC = *The Open Court* (Chicago).—RB = Riehm-Bathgen, *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums*.—TAOC = *Actes du Scizième Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Athens, 1912).—UG = Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gûlgamisch-Epos* (1911).—VB = *The Holy Bible, edited with various renderings and readings* by Cheyne, Driver, and Sanday (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1887).

day of wrath is called a *day of blare and roaring* which denotes the subterraneous rumbling preceding or accompanying an earthquake.³ The *sound of the trumpet* and the *great shout* which made the walls of Jericho fall down (Josh. 6:5) referred originally to the same phenomenon: the statement that the trumpets were blown by the priests, and that the people shouted, represents a later embellishment (BB 362; *Mic.* 57,†).

Seismic catastrophes were regarded as a manifestation of divine power. When the Law was given at Mount Sinai, in northwestern Arabia, there was a volcanic eruption combined with an earthquake (JAOS 34, 425, n. 12). An earthquake is said to have occurred at the death of Jesus on the cross (Matt. 27:51). We call an overwhelming action of natural forces (French *force majeure*, Lat. *vis major* = an act of God; the Hebrew regarded a catastrophe as a *Day of Jahveh*). Originally this term had no eschatological significance (JAOS 34, 413)⁴ just as the terms *act of God* or *panic* have no religious meaning. Theophanies are associated in OT with volcanic eruptions. In the alphabetic psalm prefixed to the Book of Nahum we read that JHVH's wrath fuses all things like fire, the rocks are even set blazing; the mountains quake before Him, the hills at once start to totter; the earth before Him crashes, the dry land and all thereon dwelling; when He scolds at the sea, it is arid, and all the rivers are emptied (*Nah.* 8).

In Syriac this rumbling noise from the depth of the earth is called *turtāsā* which denotes also the rumbling noise caused by wind within the intestines, i. e. *borborygmus*, not *crepitus ventris* = *piditum*, *πορδή* (AJSLS 26, 2). Cf. *κορορυγή* = Heb. *lér 'a* and *qōwā* τοι *σεισμοῦ* = *qōl rāš gadōl*, Ezek. 3:13; also the Pauline *σαπυγῆ θοῶ* 1 Thess. 4:16 and the beginning of Chamisso's poem *Der Sturm: Der Ullen Schoss der dunklen Nacht durchdringen* = *Der Donneres Schmetterlein* (WZKM 23, 361). In French you say *clat de tonnerre* and *s'écarter à la tempête*.

⁴Contant E. Selin, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus* (1912) p. 59 and p. 62 of J. M. P. Smith's commentary on Malachi 1907, Mal. 3:23, 24 and 19, 20 are later additions to 3:1 and 5. The messenger in Mal. 3:1 is Ezra (JHFC, No. 316, p. 27). Mal. 3:22 is a misplaced gloss to 2:2, just as *ἡ θύρα τοῦ ἔθνος* = *ἡ ἐκείνη* after the title *massā el-Isra'el bē'iaq mal'abō*, the utterance of the tool of Israel through His messenger (*debar* is a gloss to *na'ā*, and *lahuē* a gloss to *el* is a misplaced gloss to 2:2 cf. JBL 36, 148). Nor is it true that Amos (JBL 35, 287) is the creator of the ethical conception of the day of JHVH: the tetrastich Am. 5:18-20 is a gloss to 8:1, 5, 8-9. Cf. below, p. 157

At the terrible Messina earthquake on Dec. 28, 1908 the sea retired, and then a great wave rolled in (EB¹¹ 8, 819^a). In the case of volcanic activity on the sea-floor shoals of dead fishes may float around the center of eruption (EB¹¹ 28, 188^b). Therefore Zephaniah says: *I'll sweep away all, says Jahveh, from the face of the land: man and beasts, and birds of the air, and the fish of the sea.* The terrific heat and the dense clouds of smoke ascending from the burning city will drive the birds away. Also *the day of clouds and fogs, the day of darkness and gloom* in the fourth hexastich alludes to the conflagration of the city, and in the last line but one of the poem we read that the whole land will be devoured by the fire of JHVH's passion (cf. Jer. 34:2. 22). In the seventh year of the reign of Herod (31 B. C.) there was an earthquake in Judea, which brought great destruction upon the cattle in that country (EB 1150). A large earthquake may entail a loss of life greater than that which takes place in many wars (EB¹¹ 8, 824^b).

Zephaniah says, JHVH has prepared a great feast and invited His guests, *i. e.* the wild beasts and birds of prey, hyenas and vultures (cf. Jer. 34:20). *Zābh* denotes a *slaughter*, and a slaughter is a sacrifice and a feast (EB 4217, 42).⁵ *Hiqdš qērā'āy* means literally *He has caused those whom He has invited to be clean*; Assyr. *quddušu* is a synonym of *ellu*, clean (BAL 104. n. 2; Numbers, SBOT, 44, 34) and Arab. *qādusa* = *ṭāhura*. If a man is invited to a feast, he cleans himself. Here the vultures and hyenas prepare themselves for the feast: they preen their plumage and whet their beaks; grind their teeth and lick their chops and paws. The Chaldeans are not the invited guests; they are the slaughterers and carvers. Grotius (1644) correctly said: *Convivae hic sunt aves, et ferae, et canes.* He also referred the visitation of the sons of the king and all the princes to the execution of the sons of Zedekiah and the high officials at Riblah, *i. e.* Arbel near Magdala at the northwestern end of the Sea of Galilee (Mic. 29, n. 37; JBL 35, 287).

⁵ In certain parts of Germany (*e. g.* in Leipsic) the killing of hogs is called *Schlachtfest*, just as in certain parts of England the killing of the family-pig is known as *hog-feast*. In Augusti-De Wette's *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments* (Heidelberg, 1810) *Schlachtfest* is used in Zeph. 1:7. 8. J. D. Michaelis (1779) has *Schlachtfest* for Heb. *zābh* in Is. 34:6.

The view that Zephaniah's poem predicts the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 was advanced also (1782) by J. D. Michaelis, although C. F. Cramer (1778) had suggested a reference to the Scythian invasion, and (1828) by the Catholic theologian J. A. Theiner. König in his *Einleitung* (1903) assigns the Book of Zephaniah to the decad after the death of Josiah in 609, but practically all modern exegetes believe that the Day of JHWH in Zephaniah refers to the inroad of the Scythians c. 625.⁶ The Scythians, however, went along the Mediterranean, they did not invade Judah; and, even if they had attempted to besiege Jerusalem, the city would not have been frightened: it took the Chaldeans a year and a half to reduce the city; Titus' great siege in 70 A. D. lasted 143 days (DB 2, 588^b). EB 2417 says: The whole Judean plateau is isolated, and Jerusalem commands it: army after army of the great empires crossed the plains below, and left this mountain town alone; EB 2426 we read: Alexander (EB¹¹ 15, 392^b) is not likely to have turned back from Gaza on Jerusalem with Egypt still unsubdued . . . The struggles between Ptolemy and Antiochus for the possession of Palestine appear to have been limited to the seaboard.

The Scythians would not have been able to capture Jerusalem, although the inhabitants were no longer faithful worshipers of JHWH : they had adopted the Babylonian worship of the stars, especially of the Queen of Heaven ($\text{6 } \eta \text{ βασίλισσα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ}$, Jer. 44: 17 i. e. Istar-Venus; instead of *bē-malkām*, referring to *ḡḡhā haš-šamāim*, in v. 5 we must read *bē-malkaiām*. They had adopted also foreign raiment and foreign superstitions: they leaped over the threshold, as the Philistines did according to 1 S 5: 5. In Syria it is still regarded as unlucky to tread on a threshold; in Upper Syria the bride is sometimes carried across the threshold by the friends of the bridegroom.⁷ The sons of the king and all the princes in Jerusalem perpetrated violence and fraud, defiling the house of their Lord (Jer. 34: 15. 11. 18).

⁶ For the Scythians cf. Aleš Hrdlička, *The Races of Russia in Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. 59, No. 11 (March, 1919) p. 3.

⁷ See EB 5061. 2. Klostermann's reading *sippim* instead of *sē'ippim*, 1 K 18: 21 (JBL 17, 109) is impossible (see *Mic.* 95). *Sippim* would never have been corrupted to *sē'ippim* (cf. AJSL 22, 197, 1. 15; *Est.* 52, 1. 12; 61, 1. 6). Nor can we adopt Vogel's (*apud Grotium*) interpretation of Zeph. 1: 9a, *qui per portas irruunt ut vi exspolient domos aliorum*.

Jerusalem is doomed: there will be a cry from the Fishgate, a howl from the second city, *i. e.* the northern part of the city. The Fishgate in the middle of the second northern wall may have been the entrance by which the Tyrians brought fish to Jerusalem (Neh. 13:16). Jerusalem is defended on the E, S, and SW by natural fosses; the attack is therefore expected from the north. There will be a howl from the inmates of The Pit,⁸ *i. e.* the secondary head of the Tyropæon valley between the eastern and western hills of Jerusalem, SW of the Temple hill (see the maps facing EB¹¹ 15, 332). All merchants will perish. None will escape; the city will be searched with a great light. Zephaniah is represented with a lamp in his left hand, but we need not suppose that the Chaldeans searched the city with lights: the burning houses provided ample illumination. The whole city will be a huge torch (*nerôṭ* is *pluralis intensivus*; **Ⲭ** has *μετὰ λύχνον*, **Ⲥ** *ba-šcrâgâ*, **ⲧ** *bē-nabrâštâ*). The Jerusalemites did not expect any intervention of **ⲚⲓⲮⲏ**, they did not think that He could either help or harm them, just as Epicurus did not believe in divine interference (*Eccl.* 6). They had settled on their lees, but now the bright wine will be separated from the deposit, and will be racked into a clean cask: the upper strata will be deported, and the dregs will remain (Jer. 52:16). In Jer. 48:11, 12 (*Mic.* 94) we read:

Moab was quiet from its youth,
and settled on its lees;
It was not poured from vessel to vessel
or filtered through a strainer.
Therefore its taste was not changed,
and its flavor not improved.

The hemistich *nor filtered through a strainer* (Heb. *uē-lô zuqqâq bē-misnân*) has been displaced in the received text by the explanatory gloss *it did not go into exile* (Heb. *u-ḥag-gôlâ lô ḥalâk*).

⁸ Lit. *mortar* (VHOK 232). We call the part of the floor of an exchange where a special kind of business is carried on a *pit*: we speak of a *grain-pit* or a *provision-pit*. Formerly the orchestra or parquet in a theater was designated as the *pit*. EB 2412, l. 7 says that the second head of the Tyropæon is a kind of dell or theater-shaped depression (*cf.* *κοίλον*, Lat. *cavea*). John Evelyn uses *theater* in the sense of *basin*, circular reservoir. A hill near Honolulu is called The Punchbowl.

The second line of the last hexastich of Zephaniah's *Dies Irae* says that the blood of the inhabitants will be spilled like dirt, and their marrow like dung. Their dead bodies will cover the ground like manure. In the meaningless *l'chûmâm* we must transpose the *h* and *m*, reading *l'-mohâm*, i. e. *moh*, marrow (Job 21:24) preceded by the emphatic *l'*, verily (JBL 29, 104; *Mic.* 40,*; AJP 40, 71, n. 27).

Zephaniah's poem consists of five hexastichs with 3 + 2 beats in each line. The stichic arrangement in *Kittel's* Hebrew Bible is inadequate. The view that Zephaniah is not a great poet, and his style prosaic (Reuss, J. M. P. Smith) is based on an imperfect understanding of the poem. Only thirty lines in c. 1 are genuine; cc. 2, 3 is Maccabean apart from 2:1-3 which represents a euphemistic liturgical appendix to Zephaniah's poem in c. 1 (see below, p. 153).

Zephaniah's poem may be translated as follows:

ZEPHANIAH'S PREDICTION OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

(586 B. C.)

- i 1, 2 aI'll sweep away all, {says JHVH,
 from the face of the land:}β
 3 γMan and beast, andδ birds of the air,
 and the fish of the sea.
 4 I have stretched out my hand against Judah
 and Jerusalem's dwellers:
 5 I'll cut offγ {the name of}θ Baal {}
 () along with the priests,()
 Those who bowx to the host of heaven
 andλ swear by its queen,
 6 But have turned back from JHVH
 and have not sought Him.
- ii 7 Silence before ρJHVH!
 JHVH's day is near,
 &JHVH has prepared the feast,
 has bidden His guests.
 8a ρI'll punish {} [the sons of the king]
 and {} [all the princes]
 9b Who fill the house of their Lord
 with violence and fraud;

- 9^a I'll punish all that leap
over the threshold,^π
- 8^b And all that array themselves
in foreign raiment.
- iii 10 ^ρThere is a cry from the Fishgate,
a howl from the New Town.^τ
- 11 Ay, howl, ye inmates of The Pit!
all dealers^υ are destroyed.^φ
- 12 ^χWith a great torch I'll search ^ψJerusalem
and punish all lords
That have settled upon their lees
and say in their heart:
JHVH will not do a good thing
or anything bad.
- 13 Their wealth will be for booty,
their houses ruins.^ω
- iv 14 JHVH's great day is near,
ay, near and imminent.
The sound of JHVH's day is bitter,
e'en warriors shriek.^θ
- 15^a A day of wrath is that day,
15^b a day of stress and anguish,
16^a A day of blare and roaring,
15^c a day of crash and smash,
15^e A day of clouds and fogs
16^c o'er the lofty battlements,
15^d A day of darkness and gloom
16^b o'er the fenced cities.
- v 17 I'll beset them^{αα} so that they walk like
[blind men
when the enemy prevails.^{ββ}
Their blood will be spilled like dirt,
ay, their marrow like dung.
- 18 Neither their silver nor their gold
will be able to save them

^θ Döderlein *apud Grotium* (1776) says: *etiam fortissimi anxie clamabunt.*

On the day of the wrath of JHVH,
 on the day of His anger.
 [] {The whole land will be devoured}
 {} [by the fire of His passion.]
 γγHe'll surely work destruction
 on δδthe dwellers of the land.εε

- (α) 1, 1 JHVH's word which came to Zephaniah ben-Cushi ben-Gedaliah
 ben-Amariah ben-Hezekiah,ζζ king of Judah
- (β) 3 I shall cut off the men from the face of the land,ηη says JHVH
- (γ) I shall sweep away (δ) I shall sweep away (ε) the (ζ) 4 all of
- (η) 4 from this place (θ) the remnant of (ι) the parsons
- (κ) 5 on the roofs (λ) those who bowθθ to JHVH and
- (μ) 6 and have not resorted to JHVH (ν) 7 the Lord (ξ) for
- (ο) 8a and it will come to pass on the day of JHVH'S feast that
- (π) 9a on that day (ρ) 10 and it will come to pass on that day, says
- (σ) 10 the sound of (τ) and a great crash from the hills [JHVH
- (υ) 11 people (φ) all those that weighed out money were cut off
- (χ) 12 and it will come to pass at that time (ψ) accus.
- (ω) 13 They will build houses, but will not inhabit them;
 They will plant vineyards, but will not drink their wine.
- (αα) 17 the men (ββ) they sinned against JHVH
- (γγ) 18 for extermination (δδ) all
- (εε) 2, 1 Bow yourselves and bend to the L. ord, ye[α] sinful people!
 2 Ere Fate descend upon you like a peregrine.(.)κκ
 3 Seek Him,λλ all ye humble of the land, perform His order!
 Seek righteousness, seek humility, perhaps ye'll be shield-
 οδ.μμ
- (ζζ) 1, 1 in the days of Josiah ben-Amon
- (ηη) 3 that is, the (θ) (wicked) with the ruins, (ι)
- (θθ) 5 those who swear (υ) 3 who are
- (κκ) 2, 2 Ere there come upon you (the day of) JHVH's blaze of wrath.
 Ere there come upon you the day of Jahveh's wrath.
- (λλ) 3 JHVH (μμ) on the day of JHVH's wrath.

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

צפניה

מֵעַל-פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה ^β :	אֶסְפָּא אֶסְפָּא-קָל (נֶאֱמַר-יְהוָה)	1,2 i
וּרְגֵי הַיָּם :	גָּאֲרָם וּבִהְמָה ^δ עֹרֶף-שָׁמַיִם	3 ^a
וְעַל-זְיוֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם	גָּטִיתִי יָדַי עַל-יְהוּדָה	4
() עֲמִי ^α (א) הַכְּהֲנִים :	וְהִכְרַתִּי ^η [אֶת-שֵׁם] θ הַבַּעַל []	
וְאֶת-הַנְּשִׁיבָעִים בְּמַלְכָתָם :	וְאֶת-הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲוִיִּים ^κ לְצַבֵּא הַשָּׁמַיִם	5
וְלֹא רִרְשָׁהוּ ^μ :	וְאֶת-הַנְּסוּגִים מֵאַחֲרַי יְהוָה	6
כִּי-קָרֹב יוֹם-יְהוָה	הֵם מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה	7 ii
הַקָּרִישׁ קָרְאִיו :	הַקֵּיץ יְהוָה הַזֹּכֵחַ	8 ^ε
וְעַל- [] כָּל הַשָּׂרִים :	וּפְקַדְתִּי עַל- [] בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ []	8 ^a
חֲמַס וּמְרִמָּה :	הַמִּמְלָאִים בֵּית-אֲדֹנֵיהֶם	9 ^η
עָלִי הַמִּפְתָּן ^π :	וּפְקַדְתִּי עַל-כָּל הַרוֹלְגִים	9 ^a
מַלְבוּשׁ נֹכְרִי :	וְעָלִי כָּל הַלְּבָשִׁים	8 ^θ
וַיִּלְלָה מִן-הַמִּשְׁנָה ^τ :	צַעֲקָה מִשְׁעַר הַרְגִים	10 iii
כִּי-נִדְמָה כָּל-כְּנַעַן ^φ :	הַיְלִילוּ יִשְׁבֵי הַמִּכְתָּשׁ	11
וּפְקַדְתִּי עַל-הָאֲנָשִׁים ¹¹ :	אֶחֱפָשׁ ^ψ יְרוּשָׁלַם בְּנִירוֹת	12
הַאֲמָרִים בְּלִבָּם	הַקִּפְאִים עָלַי יִטְרִיחֶם ¹²	
וְלֹא יִדְעוּ :	כִּי-לֹא יִטְיֵב יְהוָה	
וּבִתְיָהֶם לִשְׁמָחָה ^ω :	וְהָיָה חִילָם לַמִּשְׁקָה	13 ^a
קָרֹב וּמְהֵרָא-מֵאֵד ¹³	קָרֹב יוֹם-יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל	14 iv
צָרָח גַּם-גְּבוּר :	וְקוֹל יוֹם-יְהוָה מְרָר ¹⁴	
יוֹם-צָרָה וּמְצוּקָה	יוֹם-עֵבֶרָה הַיּוֹם הַהוּא	15 ^b ^a
יוֹם-יִטְאָה וּמִשְׂאָה	יוֹם יִשׁוּפָר וְתִרְוַעָה	15 ^c .16 ^a
עַל-הַפְּגוֹת הַגְּבוּהוֹת	יוֹם עֵנָן וְעֶרְפֶּל	16 ^c .15 ^e
עַל-הָעָרִים הַבְּצוּרוֹת :	יוֹם חִטְכָּה וְאַפְלָה	16 ^d .15 ^d
כִּי-אוֹיֵב יִגְבֵּר ^{ββ} :	וְהִצְרִיתִים ^{aa} וְהִלְכוּ כַעֲוָרִים	17 v
וְלִמְחָם כְּגִלְלִים :	וְשִׁפְךְ דָּמִם כַּעֲפָר	

<p>לא-יוכל להצילם ביום אפו באִישׁ קנאתו את-הַיִּשְׁבִּי הָאֲרִיזִי: 66</p>	<p>גם-כספם וגם זהבם ביום עֲבַרְתָּ יְהוָה וְתֹאכַל כָּל הָאָרֶץ וְיֹאכְנָן בְּהִלָּה יַעֲשֶׂה</p>
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1.1 (a) דבר יהוה אשר היה אל צפניה בן-בושי בן-נדריה בן-אכריה בן-חנניה: כרך הוורד:
 (b) והבית את האדם כיצר פני האדמה *הקח* נאם יהוה (7) י: אכף (8) אכף
 (c) ה (9) 4 בר (10) מן המקום הזה (11) את שאר (12) הכמרים 15 (13) על הנגות
 (14) המשתחיים *הח* ריהיה י (15) ואשר יא בקשו את יהוה (16) 7 ארני (17) כי
 (18) יהיה ביום זבח יהוה (19) ביום הוא (20) והיה ביום הוא נאם יהוה
 (21) קור (22) ושבר נרוד מהנביעת (23) 11 גם (24) נברתו בר נטיירי 18 ככף
 (25) יהיה בעת ההיא (26) את (27) 13 יבני בתים ורא ישבו-בם
 ונטעו ברימים ורא-ישתו את-ימים

17 aa רארם (33) ריהיה חטאי (37) 18 כי כרה (38) כל
 2.1 התקישטי וקרי יא דני הנני [a] הנכבר (ε)
 2 בטרם ודת-חק עריכם בנן עֵבֶר (1) κκ
 3 בקשיה *לל* כר-עניו ארין [b] משפטו פיערו
 בקשו-צדק בקשו יעניה אירוי תכתרו *μμ*

1.1 (5) ביום אשיהו בן-אמון (77) י: והירשעים י: את-ה מכשריה (1) *ה*(88) הנשבעים
 2.2 כטרם רא-יבוא עריכם (ים) חרו-אף יהוה (1) אשר 3 (α)
 3 את יהוה כטרם רא-יבוא עריכם יום-אף יהוה: (μμ) ביום אף יהוה

¹ For the reading 'ummi' cf. the remarks on *minni*, *AJSL* 19, 133; see also Dillmann² § 167, 3; *VG* 497, 1, 7.

² We must not substitute *haš-ša'nannim*; see my paper *The Son of Man in The Monist*, vol. 29, p. 124.

³ For the etymology of *šamarim* see *JSOR* 1, 91.

⁴ For *mīmahkē mōd* see *ZDMG* 58, 623, 1; *JBL* 29, 101, n. 46; 37, 214, 216, n. 8.

⁵ Also in *Lam.* 3: 19 we must read 'onjī u mērōri, my stress and my bitterness, and in *Lam.* 1: 7 u mērōrah which is a gloss derived from 3: 19.

⁶ For *kamarim* (or *kōmarim*) see *AJSL* 32, 66, 74, 75.

⁷ For *nīlīlī luf* see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 280; cf. *MNL* 32, 407 and n. 9 to the paper cited in n. 11.

⁸ For 'anūqī see *AJP* 40, 65, n. 7.

⁹ We must transpose *muššalūt* and *reš'īm*. For similar confusions of the scribes cf. *Mic.* 24. We need not read *muššalūt*, although we have *muššalim* in *Jer.* 18: 23 (and *Ezek.* 21: 20; see Kautzsch's *AT* ad loc.). *Muššāl* means prop. *tumble down*. This stem is identical with Arab. *kāsila*, to be lazy; cf. German *tragi*, lazy, and our *to drag*, to move on languidly; see *JAOS* 22, 10, n. 5; *AJP* 27, 160, n. 2; contrast GB³ 356a.