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TABULATION.

	V	VI	XXII	XXV	
—	1 & 1!	0	0	0	$C > < S > < T.$
—	No Com	1	2	0	$C > < S > < Com.$
—	5 & 2!	1!	1 & 1!	0	$C > < S = T.$
—	No Com	2	1	0	$C > < S = Com.$
—	3	2	7	7	$C = T > < S.$
—	No Com	8	4	8	$C = Com > < S.$
—	No Com	2	1!	1	Com shows error of C.

W. H. WORRELL.

THE POETRY OF THE GREEK BOOK OF PROVERBS.

THE late Dr Blass stigmatized as a waste of time the search for verses and fragments of verse in the New Testament.¹ He admitted, however, that in this respect one book stood apart from the rest—the Epistle to the Hebrews. There not only did he note (in xii 13 ff) a faultless hexameter, followed almost immediately by two faultless trimeters, but (a far more essential matter) he discovered running through the Epistle ‘a carefully executed mutual assimilation of the beginnings and endings of sentences and clauses’. The general tendency is for the *στίχοι* to run in couplets, the concluding (and sometimes the opening) syllables of the second line having the same scansion as the corresponding syllables in the previous line. In the attention paid to the balance of final syllables the system is a sort of approach to rhyme.

In the Greek Old Testament two books must be exempted from the general stricture above mentioned. I have previously pointed out in this JOURNAL² that the couplet system is illustrated, perhaps even more strikingly than in Hebrews, in the Book of Wisdom. In the Greek version of the book of Proverbs that rhythmical device is not, so far as my observations have gone, represented to any appreciable extent. On the other hand, the number of complete or fragmentary hexameters and iambic lines in that book is far too numerous to be the result of accident. My attention was first

¹ *Gramm. of N. T. Greek* p. 297.² vi 232.

drawn to this many years ago by my friend the late Dr Redpath. He did not, however, I believe, place his observations on record, nor, to my knowledge, has the subject been handled by others. It may, therefore, be worth while setting out the evidence *in extenso*. The matter clearly has a rather important bearing on the reconstruction of the text of the 'LXX', which in this book has suffered a good deal of contamination.¹ One instance will suffice to illustrate the sort of critical problem which arises. The 'faultless hexameter' which Blass found in Hebrews (xii 13) is a quotation from Proverbs (iv 26):—

καὶ τροχίῳ ὀρθῶς ποιήσατε² τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν.

But in the MSS of Proverbs³ the line is different, and, unless it can be classed as anapaestic, unmetrical:—

ὀρθῶς τροχίῳ ποιεῖ σοῖς ποσίν.

Which of the two texts is the older?

It is not surprising that this particular book of the Greek Bible should be the one conspicuous instance of an attempt at metrical arrangement. Verse was the natural vehicle for proverbs. The metrical form helped to impress these household sayings on the memory. The grammarian Hephaestion, who wrote a manual on Greek metres, tells us⁴ that the metres employed for proverbs were the hexameter, the iambic, and the *versus paroemiacus*. A glance at the oldest collection which has come down to us (that of Zenobius, who lived under Hadrian⁵) will verify the statement. These metres are all largely represented in the Greek book of Proverbs. That Hellenistic Jews produced paraphrases of Scripture in Greek verse is well known. We have an instance of a hexameter collection of γνῶμαι extending to upwards of 200 lines, largely based on O. T. language, written in the Ptolemaic age by a Jew who sought to pass off his work as that of a much older composer of apophthegms, Phocylides of Miletus.⁶ We have a specimen shewing how a Jewish writer of the same period handled a Biblical subject in iambics in the considerable fragments preserved in Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius of the tragedy entitled 'the Exodus' (ἡ Ἐξαγωγή), written by the Alexandrian Ezekiel.⁷

¹ See Lagarde's *Anmerkungen zur gr. Üb. der Proverbien* (Leipzig 1863) *passim*. I am indebted to Professor Burkitt for the loan of this valuable book, now unobtainable. The British Museum does not possess a copy.

² ποιήτε N*P 17, W.-H.¹²¹.

³ Holmes and Parsons cite Thdt. iii 627 for the N.T. form, but Theodoret is merely quoting from Hebrews.

⁴ Teubner text p. 26.

⁵ Ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin in *Paroemiographi Graeci*, 2 vols., Göttingen 1839.

⁶ I have used the text of ps.-Phocylides contained in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* (1866) pt. ii p. 456. Cf. Schürer *H. J. P.* div. ii vol. iii 313.

⁷ Schürer *ib.* 225, Swete *Introd. to O. T. in Greek* 369 ff.

The majority of the fragments of verse collected below require no alteration or transposition of words to give them a poetical form. But it may be regarded as certain that in the course of transmission of the text scribes have obliterated the rhythm in other passages which now read like prose. The commonest error exhibited by the copyist of Greek poetry consists in 'arranging [the words] according to the order which they would have in prose; according to their grammatical construction',¹ in bringing together article and substantive, adjective and substantive, giving particles an early position in the sentence, and so on. If this happened in transcribing what was known to be poetry, still more liable to similar corruption would be the text of a work mainly in prose with an underlying poetical element which has hitherto generally eluded detection. Transposition of the MS order is therefore, under certain conditions, quite a legitimate procedure in the reconstruction of the original text. Lagarde, who as a rule does not seem to have noticed the versification in Proverbs, remarks on ix 11 πολλὴν ζήσεις χρόνον: 'den sicher beabsichtigten jambischen tonfall vernichtet 103 πολλοὺς χρόνους ζήσεις.'² Apart from transposition, I have not often indulged in the precarious task of conjectural emendation, which, I believe, is rarely called for. In what follows < > denote a conjectural addition or correction, () unmetrical words standing in a metrical context, / that words have been transposed. Figures below the words indicate the order in which they stand in the MSS.

HEXAMETERS

Complete or nearly complete hexameters.

The complete hexameters are few and rugged, though not rougher than many in pseudo-Phocylides or the old Greek proverb-writers. A high standard of versification would indeed be surprising. Greater regard seems to be paid to accent than to quantity. In particular, ω and η may be treated as short vowels. These licences are not peculiar to the translator, but are shared by him with other writers of this species of verse.

(1) ii 15 ὦν αἱ τρίβοι σκολιαὶ καὶ καμπύλαι αἱ τροχιαὶ αὐτῶν.

¹ I quote from the late Dr Walter Headlam's learned and copiously illustrated article 'On Transposition of Words in MSS' in the *Class. Review* xvi 243 ff. 'The order of the words,' he writes, 'is the very thing which [the Scholiasts] most often think requires elucidation; there is no form of note in scholia so common as τὸ ἐξῆς οὕτως, "the consecution is as follows".'

² On xvi 28 he writes: 'dass λαμπτήρα δόλου πυρσεύει κακοῖς nach einem tragiker klinge, fühlte Jäger.' I have not had access to Jäger's eighteenth-century work.

- (2) iii 13 (μακάριος ἄνθρωπος)
(ὁς) εἶπεν σοφίαν καὶ θνητὸς ὁς εἶδε¹ φρόνησιν.
(3) xxv 25 ὥσπερ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ψυχῇ διψῶσῃ προσηγνές,
οὕτως ἀγγελία² ἀγαθὴ κ γῆς μακρόθεν (ἦκει).

פניע נפש לך מירק מים Cold water to a thirsty soul.

So runs the original of the first line of this couplet, and the point to note is that it has no equivalent for ὥσπερ and προσηγνές, which seem clearly to be inserted merely to round off the verse. For the short η in διψῶσῃ (which is actually written διψωσι in cod. 297) we may compare

Ps.-Phoc. 197 . . . μηδ' ἐμπέσῃ ἄνδιχα νέικος,

and, for $\bar{a} = \alpha$ in the same position, the proverb (= our 'At Rome do as Rome does') in

Zenob. i 24 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοιον τελέθειν καὶ χώρα ἐπεσθαι.

(4) xxvii 1 οὐ γὰρ γινώσκεις τί τέτρεται ἢ ἐπιούσα

would be complete were τί replaced by ὅ τι. The line has previously occurred (with οἶδας for γινώσκεις) in iii 28, and finds a close parallel in

Ps.-Phoc. 116 οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τί μεταύριον ἢ τί μεθ' ὤραν.

Then we find lines just falling short of completeness by a syllable or two at the beginning. Here is practically a complete hexameter preceded by the end of an iambic line:—

(5) ii 16 f
νιέ, μή σε καταλάβῃ κακῇ
βουλή, ἢ ἴπολιπούσα³ διδασκαλίαν νεότητος.

(6) vi 21 (ἄφ)αψαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σῆ ψυχῇ διὰ παντός.

The δέ is an insertion, *metri gratia*, as in the parallel passage

iii 3 ἄφαψαι δ' αὐτὰς ἐπὶ σῶ τραχήλῳ.

This last appears to be an example of what I call 'Heads and tails' (see below).

(7) xv 6 (πολλή,) οἱ δ' ἀσεβεῖς ὀλορίζοι ἐκ γῆς ἀπολοῦνται.

(8) xix 4 . . . ἔννοι' ἀγαθῇ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτήν (ἐγγυεῖ).

Transposition, with in some cases a slight alteration, of words produces the following further instances.

† (9) vi 11 a ἦ δ' ἔνδεια δρομεὺς κακὸς ὥσπερ ἀπαυτομολήσει.

3 2 1

¹ (ε)ἶδεν MSS.

² Or ἀγγελία (δ').

³ ἀπολιπούσα should be read with N &c., not, *pace* Lagarde, ἀπολείπουσα of B &c. The tendency of correctors was to alter the o forms of the second aor. which were becoming obsolete; cod. A constantly alters -έλιπον to -έλειπον, *Gramm. of O. T. in Greek* p. 234.

- (10) vi 27 ἀποδήσει
t πῦρ τις ἐν(ι) κόλπῳ τὰ δὲ ἱμάτι' οὐ κατακαύσει ;
2 I
- (11) vii 9 ἦνίκ' ἂν ἡσυχία καὶ νυκτερινὸς ζόφος ἔσται.
2 I

So the Armenian Version according to Holmes and Parsons: the Greek MSS end the line with *νυκτερινὴ καὶ γνοφώδης*. For further verses in this dramatic episode see below.

- (12) viii 8 πάντα δικαιοσύνης μετὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου,
3 2 I
οὐδὲν ἐν(ι) σκολιῶν (τούτοις οὐ) στραγγαλιῶδες.
- (13) ix 18 a ἀλλ' ἀποπήδησον,¹ μηδ' (αὐτὸ) τὸ σὸν ὄμμα² πρὸς αὐτὴν
t στήσης³ ἀλλότριον γὰρ ὕδωρ οὕτως διαβήση.
5 2 4 I 3
- (14) xiv 4 οὐ δὲ γενήματα πολλὰ (τύχη), φανερά⁴ βοὸς ἰσχύς.
2 I
- (15) xxi 14 φειδόμενος δώρων ἰσχυρὸν θυμὸν ἐγείρει.
2 I 5 3 4

Heads and tails: hexameters incomplete in the middle.

In these instances the *στίχος*, designedly as it seems, begins and ends like a hexameter. The middle of the hexameter is unrepresented. Sometimes the hexametrical extremities are united, and there are no intervening words. Thus:—

- (16) iv 17 οἷδε γὰρ σιτοῦνται σίτ' ἄσβεβείας.
(17) xxv 3 οὐρανὸς ὑψηλός, γῆ δὲ βαθεία.

In the former of these instances the pronoun has no equivalent in the Hebrew, being apparently inserted, just as it is in (18) below, *metri gratia*. The latter instance finds an echo in Job xi 8, where the A text appends to ὑψηλὸς ὁ [om. ὁ B^C] οὐρανὸς the words γῆ δὲ βαθία (*sic*). These metrical tags were easily remembered, and have a way of repeating themselves.

At other times the hexametrical extremities are separated by unmetrical words intervening. Thus:—

- (18) i 5 τῶνδε γὰρ (ἀκούσας σοφὸς) σοφώτερος ἔσται.

The first two words, unrepresented in the Hebrew, recall (16) above; the last two similarly end a *στίχος* in ix 9, cf. σοφὸς ἔσται x 4a. The whole line was probably, in view of his laxity in the matter of long and short vowels, intended by the writer as a rough hexameter.

¹ μη χρονίσης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ may be a gloss on ἀποπήδησον.

² ὄμμα B^K is an obvious error (cf. xxiii 5).

³ So 109; ἐπιστήσης (cett.) may have come from xxiii 5.

⁴ No Heb. equivalent. The word is inserted *metri gratia*, as is e.g. ἀνδράσι in x 10, which easily falls into verse: (δμμασιν) ἐννεύων συναγεί (τοῖς) ἀνδράσι λύπας.

- (19) xiii 12 κρείσσον¹ ἐναρχομένοις (βοηθῶν καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ) εἰς ἐλπίδ' ἄγοντος.
 (20) xxiii 20 μὴ ἴσθι οἰνοπότης, (μηδὲ ἐκτείνου συμβολαῖς,) κρεῶν ἀγορασμοῖς.

Lagarde has shewn that συμβολαῖς is a duplicate rendering of the words translated by οἰνοπότης; the line may therefore once have been a complete hexameter.

- (21) xxix 1 κρείσσον¹ ἀνὴρ (ἐλέγχων) ἀνδρὸς σκληροτραχήλου, ἐξαπίνης γὰρ (φλεγομένου αὐτοῦ) οὐκ ἔστιν ἴσους.²
 (22) xxix 42 συνδόνας (ἐποίησεν καὶ ἀπέδοτο), περιζώματα τοῖς Χαναταίοις.

Hexameter endings: versus paroemiaci.

The instances of hexameter endings are very numerous. I will place in the forefront those consisting of the second half of a hexameter, the portion following the caesura. This half of the hexameter is metrically equivalent to the line which in anapaestic metre is known as the *versus paroemiacus*, the 'proverb verse'. The proverb verse seems, in fact, in its origin to have been an incomplete hexameter, and to have had no connexion with the anapaestic system. It is notorious that the paroemiac in Greek tragedy rarely, if ever, contains a proverbial saying. Greek proverbs, on the other hand, if metrical (as a large proportion of them are), are written in one or other of the two most familiar metres, hexameters and iambics; anapaests are unrepresented, unless the 'paroemiac' is to be regarded as such. We find proverbs consisting of complete hexameters or complete iambics; the more pithy of them are, however, compressed into a few words forming the beginning or the end of either of these lines. In the circumstances it is reasonable to regard the 'paroemiac', which is very common, as the latter half of a hexameter. The name was taken over as the designation of the concluding line in the anapaestic stanza, the scansion of which accidentally coincided with that of the semi-hexameter of the proverb-maker. This may be common knowledge, but I have failed to find any authoritative statement on the subject. In the Greek version of Proverbs there is a similar large use of hexameter endings and beginnings, but an almost complete absence of any approach to anapaestic rhythm. I have therefore classed the paroemiacs under hexameters. The translator in his fondness for this form of ending is certainly conscious that it had inherited a name which marked it as *par excellence* the most suitable

¹ κρείσσων MSS, except 103 in (19). In (21) the word may be inserted *metri gratia*.

² The *i* in *ἴσθαι* may be short in late poetry (L. and S.). Cf. the conjunction of *ἐξαπίνης* (a form more suitable for hexameters than the usual LXX *ἐξάπνα* or *ἐξάιφνης*) and *ἀνάτας* in vi 15.

medium for a writer of maxims.¹ The fact that one phrase has for him become stereotyped, recurring as a sort of refrain in four passages, puts out of the question the possibility of undesigned coincidence.

- (23) x 3 ζῶν δ' ἀσεβῶν ἀνατρέψει.
 x 28 } ἐλπίς δ' ἀσεβῶν ἀπολείται.
 xi 23 }
 xv 6 καρποὶ δ' ἀσεβῶν ἀπολοῦνται.

In ii 22 ὁδοὶ δ' ἀσεβῶν ἐκ γῆς ὀλοῦνται probably the text is at fault (read ἀπολοῦνται). Cf. Job viii 13 ἐλπίς γὰρ ἀσεβοῦς ἀπολείται (ὀλείται A). Other examples of this ending are:—

- (24) i 26 = 27 ἔρχηται ὕμιν³ δλεθρος.
 (25) iv 27 b αὐτὸς δ' ὀρθὰς ποιήσει τὰς τροχιάς σου.

The last instance, practically a complete line, recalls the hexameter form of iv 26 as cited by the *auctor ad Hebraeos* (xii 13). The Greek version of Proverbs has, besides τροχία, an alternative word for '(cart-) track' (ἄγος), namely ἄξων. This is not necessarily an indication of a plurality of translators. The choice of words made it possible to keep the hexameter rhythm when τροχία was useless for the purpose:—

- ii 18 παρὰ (τῷ) ἄδη⁴ τοὺς ἄξωνας αὐτῆς.
 (26) vi 10 (ὀλίγον μὲν) ὑπνοῖς, ὀλίγον δὲ κάθησαι.⁵

The refrain is repeated with a slight variation in

- xxiv 48 ὀλίγον νυστάζω, ὀλίγον δὲ καθυπνώ,

and is followed in both passages by an imperfect senarius.

- (27) x 11 πηγὴ ζωῆς ἐν χειρὶ δικαίου.
 (28) xi 20 προσδεκτοὶ δ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἄμωμοι.

Πάντες is inserted *metri gratia*; we should follow codd. 109, 147, 157 in rejecting ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν at the end of the line as a Hexaplaric gloss. The refrain recurs in

- xxii 11 δεκτοὶ δ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἄμωμοι | χεῖλεσι ποιμαίνει βασιλεύς.
 (29) xxiv 14 ἐλπίς σ' οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει.
 (30) xxiv 35 τὴν δ' ἔξοδον⁶ οὐκ ἀπένηψεν.

¹ Hephaestion (*loc. cit.*) objects to the name because it was not the exclusive metre for proverbs; his Scholiast defends it.

² Insert δέ with A 68, 103, 106, 109, &c.

³ For accent see Monro *Homeric Grammar* p. 86.

⁴ μετὰ τῶν γηγενῶν is a doublet; Lagarde considers παρὰ τῷ ἄδη to be the older rendering.

⁵ μικρὸν δὲ νυστάζεις is a doublet, omitted by V (= '23'), 109 and the Armenian VS.

⁶ αὐτοῦ is doubtless a later insertion.

(31) xxv 22 ὁ δὲ Κύριος ἀναποδώσει.¹

(32) xxvii 27 τὴν ζωὴν σῶν θεραπόντων.

To these instances we should probably add

(33) xiv 9 ὀφλήσουσιν² καθαρισμόν.³

The following are examples of semi-hexameters (3 feet), just falling short of the full *versus pharoemiacus*.

(34) vi 8' c τιμήσασα προήχθη.

(35) vi 18 (ἐπι)σπεύδοντες κακοποιεῖν.

(36) x 6 καλύψει πένθος ἄωρον.

(37) xi 16 γυνὴ μισοῦσα δίκαια.

(38) xi 22 γυναικὶ κακόφρονι κάλλος.

(39) xiv 10 οὐκ ἐπιμίγνται ὕβρει.

(40) xxii 29 παρεστάναι ἀνδράσι νωθροῖς.

(41) xxiv 50 οὐκ ἐνεκίμπλασαν αὐτήν.

(42) xxiv 54 (καὶ) ὁδοὺς ὄφews ἐπὶ πέτρας
(καὶ τρίβους) νηὸς ποντοπορούσης
(καὶ ὁδοὺς ἀνδρὸς) ἐν νεότητι.

Here the translator's apparent intention is to set out, as it were, in tabular form the 'three things which are too wonderful for me', by giving each of them a separate hexameter ending; there are 'yea four', but the fourth has defied his efforts. In the middle half-line concerning the ship 'in the heart of the sea' (ים בלב) we have a Homeric reminiscence:—

Od. xi 11 τῆς δὲ πανημερίας τέταθ' ἰστία ποντοπορούσης.

(43) xxvii 19 ὁμοῖα πρόσωπα προσώποις (cf. verse 17).

The foregoing instances amply suffice to establish that the hexameter endings at the close of the *στίχοι* are the result of design. If all the examples falling short of three feet were added, the total would be brought well up to a hundred. At the risk of wearying the reader and for completeness I will add those which I have noted amounting to at least two feet. The following are between two and three feet:—

(44) vi 8 a ὡς ἐργάτις ἐστίν.

(47) ix 3 κρατῆρα λέγουσα.⁴

(45) vi 24 γυναικὸς ἐπ'ἀνδρου.

(48) x 3 οὐ λιμοκτονήσει . . .

(46) viii 21 ἀγαπῶσιν ὑπαρξεν.

(49) x 4 πενία ἄνδρα ταπεινοῖ.

¹ The added words *σοι ἀγαθά* may be due to a scribe's unwillingness to leave the direct and indirect object unexpressed; *ἀγαθά* has no Heb. equivalent and is omitted in cod. V.

² So cod. 149; *ὀφειλήσουσιν* cett.

³ Also xiv 21 ἐλεῶν (δὲ, om. 295) πτωχοῦς μακαριστός. *Μακαριστός* is written *metri causa* at the end of a *στίχος* (xvi 20, xxix 18), *μακάριος* (the usual LXX word) in an earlier position.

⁴ The last word inserted *metri gratia*: cf. i 11.

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (50) xiii 20 | σοφοῖς σοφὸς ἔσται ¹ . | (56) xviii 13 | λόγον πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι. | |
| (51) xiv 12 | } εἰς πυθμένα ἄδου. | (57) xxii 21 | ἀγαθὴν ὑπακούειν. ² | |
| = xvi 25 | | (58) xxiii 27 | ἀλλότριος οἶκος. | |
| (52) xiv 23 | ἔνεστι περισσόν. | (59) xxiv 64 | ὃ καλῶς διαβαίνει. | |
| (53) xiv 32 | (ὄσ)μότητι δίκαιος. | (60) xxiv 77 | καὶ κρῖνε δικάϊως. ³ | |
| (54) { | xv 10 | ὑπὸ τῶν παριόντων. | (61) xxv 18 | τόξενμ' ἀκιδωτόν. |
| | cf. ix 15 | τοὺς παριόντας. | (62) xxviii 28 | στένουσι δίκαιοι. ⁴ |
| (55) { | xvi 7 | ποιεῖν τὰ δίκαια. | (63) xxix 45 | σοφοῖς νομοθέσμως. |
| | cf. xxi 7 | πράσσειν τὰ δίκαια. | | |

The following are two feet only:—

- | | | | |
|---------------|---|-----------------|----------------------------|
| (64) iv 12 | οὐ κοπιάσει. | (73) { xix 13 | (ὀδ)ῶν ἀπολείται. |
| ? (65) iv 24 | μακρὰν ἄψωσαι. | (74) { xxiii 28 | (συντόμ)ως ἀπολεί-
ται. |
| (66) vii 26 | οὓς πεφόνευκεν. | (75) xxviii 8 | καὶ πλεονασμῶν. |
| (67) viii 1 | σοι ὑπακούσῃ. | ? (76) xxix 7 | νοὺς ἐπιγνώμων. |
| (68) xiv 15 | εἰς μετάνοιαν. | (77) xxix 29 | οὐκ ἀπορήσει. |
| (69) xvi 12 | (έτοιμάζε)ται θρόνος
ἀρχῆς. ⁵ | (78) xxix 33 | ταῖς θεραπαίαις. |
| (70) { xix 7 | ἄφρονι τρυφή. | (79) xxix 46 | ἤνεσεν αὐτήν. |
| (71) { xxvi 1 | ἄφρονι τιμή. | | |
| (72) { xxvi 8 | ἄφρονι δόξαν. | | |

Hexameter beginnings.

These are far less numerous than the endings. The στίχος opens with the first half of a hexameter in i 10 (omitting νίε), v 16, 20 μὴ πολὺς ἴσθι πρὸς ἄλλοτριαν, vi 4^b, 20, 25^c, xi 29^b, xxiii 2^c, xxviii 12^b.

Consecutive hexameters.

The dramatic scene of the seduction of the young man by the harlot abounds in fragments of poetry. After what looks like a senarius in the earlier part of her address

† vii 15 τὸ σὸν πρόσωπον (ἐκ)ποθοῦσ' εὔρηκά σε
2 3 4 I

there follow fragments of several consecutive hexameters:—

16 ἀμφιτάποις δ' ἔστρωκα τοῖς ἀπ' Ἐγύπτου,⁶
17 (καὶ δ') ἔρραγκα⁷ κρόκῳ τὸν δ' οἶκόν μου κινναμῶμ⁸.

¹ σοφὸς ἴση of B, which Lagarde adopts, is an accommodation of the text to the M. T. For συμπορευόμενος (2^o) we should read συρρεμβόμενος with 68, 109, 147, &c.: cf. vii 12 βέμβεται. ² Perhaps a paroemiac: γνώσιν (τ') ἀγ. ὑπ.

³ A paroemiac, if with N we read διάκρινε.

⁴ The next line, without ἐκείνων (cf. cod. V), is a rough hexameter.

⁵ The last word inserted *metri gratia*: cf. i 11.

⁶ Αἰγύπτου MSS. One hesitates to fill the blank with κλίνην μου from the previous line.

⁷ διέρραγκα (έρραγκα Chrys.) τὴν κούτην μου MSS.

⁸ κινναμῶμ MSS. For the spelling see L. and S.

often come in clusters. Note the metrical endings to the preceding *στίχοι*: . . . *κατώρθωσεν πόλις*, . . . *ἀσεβῶν κατεσκάφη*, and in the next verse

ἀνὴρ δὲ γλωσσος (ἀποκαλύπτει) βουλὰς ἐν συνεδρίῳ,¹

and, with transposition,

πνοῆ δὲ πιστὸς πράγματ' (ἐγ)κρύπτει . . .

The convenient phrase *ἐνδεῆς φρενῶν* recurs at the end of a *στίχος* in vii 7, xii 11, xv 21, xviii 2, xxiv 45. The verb in (10) suggests that the same hand is at work in the next instance:—

(11) xii 8 *(ὁ)² γνωθροκάρδιος δὲ μυκτηρίζεται.*

Traces of iambs underlie the lines immediately following (in v. 10 *ἀνελεήμονα* should be pronounced or written *ἀνηλεήμονα*, for which there is authority), and then, by transposition of one word, we have

(12) xii 11 a *οἶνων ὅς ἐστιν ἡδὺς ἐν διατριβαῖς.* Cf. (3).

(13) xiii 10 *(ἀνὴρ) κακὸς μεθ' ὕβρεως πράσσει κακά,*

the next line ending . . . *ἐπιγνώμονες σοφοί.*

(14) xxiv 45 *(χῶς)³ ἀμπελῶν ἀνθρώπος ἐνδεῆς φρενῶν.*

Transposition of words, with minor alterations, produces a large number of instances, extending sometimes to several consecutive lines. I feel convinced that a good deal of transposition has taken place in the MSS on the principle stated in Dr W. Headlam's paper. I do not lay stress on any further emendations suggested, and think it may be lost labour to attempt to complete the verses. It seems unquestionable that the translator consciously imparted an *iambic ring* to portions of his version, but the impression produced is that he was content with a partial approximation to poetry, and did not always trouble to produce finished lines. We must, however, allow for the possibility that his work is based on an older poetical source. I will revert to this later.

t (15) i 3 *(δέξασθαι) στροφᾶς λόγων τε καὶ λύσεις αἰνιγμάτων.*
2 3 1

The last three words are added in a group of cursives (68, 109, 147, &c.). Their source is presumably Wis. viii 8 (unless there is an older source behind both passages), but that would not absolutely preclude their having stood in the original text of the Greek Proverbs, which is, I believe, the later book of the two.

t (16) i 23 *πνοῆς (δὲ) ῥῆσιν (τῆς) ἐμῆς προήσομαι.*

(17) iii 15 *εἴγνωστός ἐστι πᾶσιν ἐγγίζουσιν (οἱ).⁴*

¹ ἐν συνεδρίῳ a free rendering, *metri gratia*. The large use of *συνεδριον* in this book is noteworthy.

² The addition is perhaps unnecessary. For an iambic proverb lacking the initial syllable cf. *Zeὺς κατεῖθε χρόνιος εἰς τὰς διφθέρας*, *Paroem. Graeci* i p. 37.

³ MSS καὶ ὥσπερ.

⁴ MSS πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐγγίζουσιν αὐτῆ. Cf. (8) above.

- t* (18) iii 34 ὑπερηφάνουσ(ιν) ἀντιτάσσεται (θεός).¹
t (19) iv 3 ff κἀγὼ γὰρ υἱὸς (ἦν)² ὑπήκοος πατρὶ
t κἀν (τῷ) προσώπῳ μητρὸς (ἡγαπημένους),³
t ἔλεγόν (τε) κἀδίδασκον οἱ (γονεῖς) λόγος
t ἡμέτερος εἰς σὴν καρδίαν ἐρειδέτω·
t (τὰς) ἐντολὰς φύλασσε, μὴ (πιλαθάνου).⁴
t (20) iv 27 f ὁδοῦ κακῆς δὲ (τὸν) σὸν ἀπόστρεφον πόδα·
ὁδοὺς γὰρ ἐκ (τῶν) δεξιῶν οἶδεν θεός,
(δι)εστραμμέναι δὲ εἰσιν ἐξ⁵ ἀριστερῶν.
(21) v 20 f . . . ἀγκάλαις τῆς μὴ ἰδίας·
t ἐνώπιον γὰρ εἰσιν ὀφθαλμῶν θεοῦ . . .
(22) vi 13 f . . . σημαίνει⁶ ποδί,
t . . . διδάσκει⁶ δακτύλων ἐννεύμασιν,
(δι)εστραμμένη δὲ⁷ καρδιά τεκταίνεται
. . . συνίστησιν πόλει.
t (23) vii 21 πολλῇ δ' ἀπεπλάνησε (τόνδ')⁸ ὁμιλία,
t ἀπὸ χειλέων βρόχουσι(ί) τ' ἐξώκειλέ (νιν).⁹
t ἐπηκολούθησεν δὲ κεφφωθείς . . .
Cf. on this passage what is said above under *Consecutive hexameters*.
t (24) ix 18 b . . . κἀπὸ πηγῆς μὴ πῆγης ἀλλοτρίας,
18 c . . . ἵνα πολὺν ζήσης χρόνον
t ζωῆς δ' ἔτη σοι προστεθήσεται¹⁰ . . .
(25) x 27 φόβος (θεοῦ τοι)¹¹ προστίθησιν ἡμέρας.
t (26) xxv 6 μηδ' ἐν δυναστῶν (τοῖς) τόποις ὑφίστασο.
(27) xxv 10 a (χάρις καὶ φιλία) ἐλευθεροῦ
(τήρει)¹² σεαυτῷ μὴ¹³ πονείδιωτος γένῃ,
t ἀλλ' (ἦ) φύλαξον εὐσυναλλάκτως ὁδοῦς.

No transposition or emendation is made in the remaining instances. The following are examples of what I have called *Heads and tails*.

- (28) viii 5 νοῦσατ' ἄκακοι πανουργίαν.
(29) x 18 οἱ δ' ἐκφέροντες (λοιδορίας) ἀφρονέστατοι.¹⁴
(30) xiii 1 υἱὸς πανούργος ὑπήκοος πατρὶ.
(31) xxix 27 βδέλυγμα δ' ἀνόμω κατευθύνουσ' ὁδός.

¹ MSS Κύριος, M. T. Νῆπ, ὁ θεός in the N. T. citations. The translator presumably read Νῆπ, which he constantly renders by θεός; see an art. by Dr Redpath in *J. T. S.* vii 608. ² MSS ἐγενόμην. ³ MSS ἀγαπώμενος.

⁴ As in iii 1. MSS here have μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ.

⁵ So N: or read αἰ ἐξ with the rest of the MSS.

⁶ + δὲ MSS.

⁷ Insert δὲ with NA V, 68, & c.

⁸ MSS αὐτὸν.

⁹ MSS αὐτόν.

¹⁰ So codd. 109, 147, 157, 254, 260 for προστεθῆ: cf. ix 11.

¹¹ MSS Κυρίου: see note on (18) above.

¹² MSS ἄς τήρησον.

¹³ MSS ἵνα μὴ.

¹⁴ Perhaps intended for a rough line.

Iambic endings.

An initial foot or more is wanted in—

- (32) i 21 . . . ἐπ' ἄκρων¹ τειχέων κηρύσσεται.
 (33) iii 22 a . . . ἐπιμέλεια τοῖς σοῖς δοτέοις.
 (34) v 10 . . . ἄλλοτριοὶ σῆς ἰσχύος.
 (35) xvii 16 (ἵνα τί) ὑπῆρξε χρήματ' ἄφρονι;
 (36) xviii 3 . . . εἰς βάθος κακῶν, καταφρονεῖ.
 (37) xx 4 . . . ὀκνηρὸς οὐκ αἰσχύνεται.
 (38) xxii 29 . . . βασιλεῦσι δεῖ παρεστάναι.
 (39) xxvii 22 . . . ἄφρον' ἐν μέσῳ συνεδρίῳ.²
 (40) xxviii 18 . . . πορευόμενος ἐμπλακῆσεται.

The following consist of the latter half of the line, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet following the caesura, and are therefore comparable to the paroemiacs. I place first three recurrent instances, one of which is important.

- (41) vi 29³ }
 xvi 6 } . . . οὐκ ἀθρωθήσεται.⁴
 xvii 5 }
 (42) xi 21 } . . . χειρὶ⁵ χεῖρας ἐμβάλων . . .
 xvi 6 }
 (43) xx 21, 24 } . . . ταμεῖα (οἱ εἰς ταμεῖα) κοιλίας.
 cf. xxvi 22 v.l. }
 ? (44) i 11 . . . κοινώνησον αἵματος.
 (45) ii 14 . . . ἐπὶ διαστροφῇ κακῇ.
 (46) vi 23 . . . λύχνος ἐντολῇ νόμου.
 (47) ix 12 . . . μόνος ἂν ἀντλήσεις κακά.
 (48) xv 7 . . . ἀφρόνων οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς.
 (49) xvi 18 . . . (πρὸ δὲ) πτώματος κακοφροσύνη.⁶
 (50) xxiv 6 . . . καρδίας βουλευτικῆς.
 (51) xxiv 64 . . . εὐόδως πορεύεται.
 (52) xxvi 11 a } . . . ἐπάγουσ' ἁμαρτίαν.
 = Sir. iv 21 }

The phrase in example (43) εἰς ταμεῖα κοιλίας has an important bearing on the date of the translation. The shorter form ταμεῖον is unattested in the papyri before the first century A. D.; the correct ταμεῖον is invariable in the third century B. C., and occurs once in the second. For the first century B. C. evidence is wanting; that is the earliest date at which

¹ Omit δὲ with V, 252.

² συνεδρίου BN &c.

³ With the words immediately preceding we get another complete line: γυναῖκ' ὑπανδρον, οὐκ ἀθρωθήσεται.

⁴ An alternative rendering, possibly by another hand, is οὐκ ἀτιμώρητος ἔσται, xi 21, xix 2, 6, xxviii 20.

⁵ The δὲ in the second passage is omitted by nine cursives (68, 106, 149, &c.).

⁶ Following a 'head and tail': πρὸ συντριβῆς (μὲν) ἤγειται ὕβρις.

ταμῆον is likely to have been written.¹ Ταμ(ε)ῖα in these passages has the support of B^N and of some cursives which elsewhere prove themselves trustworthy.² The metre also favours the text. If the reading is right, it goes to confirm the inference, which I have elsewhere drawn from another orthographical detail,³ that the Greek version of Proverbs is not older than 100 B.C. This instance further suggests that the translator himself is responsible for the partial versification, and that he is not culling excerpts from an older collection entirely in verse.

It would be tedious and is unnecessary to catalogue the examples of στίχοι with an iambic ending of 3 feet and under, which would bring the total number of lines and fragments in this metre well over 100.

Iambic openings of lines, like hexameter openings, are fewer than endings. Among other instances we have:—

(53) vii 11 ἀνεπτερωμένη δέ (ἔστιν) κᾶσωτος . . .

(54) viii 30 καθ' ἡμέραν δ' εὐφραϊνόμεν . . .

(55) ix 16 ὅς' ἔστιν ὑμῶν ἀφρονέστατος . . .

cf. (56) xxiv 25 ἀφρονέστατος γάρ εἰμι . . .

(57) xiv 1 σοφαὶ γυναῖκες ἔκο(δόμησαν οἴκους).

(58) xxiv 67 ἐὰν πρόη σεαυτὸν (εἰς εὐφροσύνην).⁴

(59) xxvi 19 ὅταν δὲ φωραθῶσιν . . .⁵

Consecutive lines. To those produced by transposition, &c., quoted above we may add these fragments:—

(60) v 4 . . . ἠκονημένον | μᾶλλον μαχαίρας διστόμον . . .

(61) xix 4 f . . . οὐ σωθήσεται. | ὁ κτώμενος φρόνησιν . . .

In both the hexameter and the iambic portions one small grammatical point—the use or omission of the article before a possessive pronoun or before an adjective used substantively⁶—is governed by metrical considerations. Contrast the following:—

Hexameters.

ix 18 a τὸ σὸν ὄμμα πρὸς αὐτήν. ii 10 εἰς σὴν⁷ διάνοιαν.

xxv 2 καὶ μὴ τὰ σὰ χεῖλη. vi 21 ἐπὶ σῆ ψυχῇ διὰ παντός.

xxvii 27 τὴν ζωὴν σῶν θεραπεύοντων.

¹ *Gramm. of O. T. in Greek* i 63 ff.

² In passage (1) 157, in (2) 109, 157, 295, in (3) 147, 149, 157, 159, 295.

³ *Gramm. of O. T.* i 61. Οὐδεὶς is used throughout the book to the exclusion of οὐθεὶς, which was almost universal in the Ptolemaic age until about 130 B.C., when it began to go out of fashion.

⁴ So A^N V, 68, 106, 109, 147, &c. Their text, as producing an approximate (or rather, since *o* and *ω* are used interchangeably, a complete) senarius, is preferable to ἐν εὐφροσύνη of B &c.

⁵ So A 68, 106, 149, &c.; ὀραθῶσιν of B &c. is obviously inferior.

⁶ Note, too, the omission of the article in Hex. (17) above.

⁷ τὴν male B.

xvi 7, xxi 7 ποιεῖν (πράσσειν) τὰ xi 16 γυνὴ μισοῦσα δίκαια.
δίκαια.

Iambics.

iii 22 a ἐπιμέλεια τοῖς σοῖς ὀστέοις. iv 4 εἰς σὴν καρδίαν.
v 10 ἀλλότριοι σῆς ἰσχύος.

The position of the dependent personal pronoun before or after its governing word is, in the hexameters, affected by the same considerations; evidence in the iambic portions is wanting. Contrast:—

viii 1 σοὶ ὑπακούσῃ. xxii 21 προβαλλομένοις σοι.
xxiv 14 ἔλπεις σ' οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει. viii 8 τοῦ στόματός μου.
xxii 28 οἱ πατέρες σου.
xxiv 49 ἡ πενία σου.

Final αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, &c., are very useful in hexameter endings:—

e. g. ii 18 τοὺς ἄξονας αὐτῆς, vii 11 οἱ πόδες αὐτῆς, xxv 5 θρόνος αὐτοῦ,
xxvi 10 ἔκστασις αὐτῶν.

What explanation are we to give of the phenomena? Were the half-verses ever complete? Are they the *disiecta membra* of an original work or works written entirely in verse? The late Dr Redpath, if I remember right, was inclined to adopt some such view, though I do not think that he had formulated any definite theory. One hypothesis may, I think, at once be set aside, namely that the version which has come down to us was ever wholly in verse. Large portions of it are unmetrical, and the text of some of these prosaic portions is attested in the earliest known citations from the Greek Proverbs in the pages of Philo and the N. T. It is difficult to suppose that the translation, which we have seen reason for thinking was not made before 100 B. C., had within about a century after its production undergone such radical change. And if the bulk of the version was in prose, it is improbable that the translator (like Dante in *La Vita Nuova*) on occasions *altogether* abandoned prose for poetry, interspersing large patches of the latter in two different metres; that he attempted with varying success to impart a poetical colouring to the whole seems more natural.

Another possible explanation has more to recommend it. It might be thought that our translator made use of an older verse translation or paraphrase of select passages from the book of Proverbs, or perhaps rather two translations, one in hexameters, the other in iambics, and that he incorporated phrases from one and the other in turn. Some warrant for a belief in the existence of a lost collection of proverbs, partly Biblical, partly unscriptural, written in iambic metre, has been found in a passage in the N. T. I refer to the allusion to the uncleanly habits of the dog and the sow in 2 Pet. ii 22 *συμβέβηκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς*

παροιμίας Κύων ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέραμα, καὶ Ὑς λουσαμένη εἰς κύλισμὸν (v. l. κύλισμα) βορβόρου. The reference to the dog seems clearly derived from Prov. xxvi 11, though not from the LXX, which has here a quite different and purely prosaic rendering: ὡσπερ κύων ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμετον καὶ μισητὸς γένηται. The sow has no equivalent in the Hebrew or Greek book of Proverbs; its origin has with much probability been traced to a parable in the Story of Ahikar about a pig which went to the bath with people of quality and on coming out went and rolled in a muddy ditch.¹ It has often been pointed out² that the pair of proverbs in 2 Pet. runs easily into iambic trimeters:—

ἐπ' ἴδιον ἐξέραμ' ἐπιστρέψας κύων
λελουμένη δ' ὕς ἐς κύλισμα βορβόρου.

Here then, it might be thought, is a relic of a lost iambic collection of miscellaneous proverbs, in which the Biblical dog was associated with the unbiblical sow, just as in Proverbs LXX the canonical parable of the ant is reinforced by that of the bee (vi 8 a). Again, we have to account for Blass's 'faultless hexameter' (not from LXX) in Heb. xii 13:

καὶ τροχιάς ὀρθὰς ποιήσατε τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν,

which might be regarded as a survival from a lost hexameter collection. But the *auctor ad Hebraeos* has just before (xii 5) quoted two verses from Proverbs LXX *verbatim*, and it is therefore probable that he is quoting from it again, only more freely. The hexameter is produced by conversion of the singular verb (which in the O. T. occurs in the address to 'my son') into the plural, and by transposition of two words. The plural is necessary to the N. T. writer in order to adapt the citation both to his readers and to the immediately preceding citation from Isaiah. That he threw the line, unconsciously perhaps, into hexameter form is in keeping with his proclivity for rhythm. A 'tendency to fall into iambic rhythm' has likewise been noted as a 'feature of the style of 2 Peter',³ together with a preference for grandiose language. The iambic ring⁴ of 2 Pet. ii 22 and the rare words ἐξέραμα and κύλισμα may therefore be explained without recourse to the hypothesis of a lost collection of proverbs in iambic metre made by a Jew of Alexandria. Such a collection *may* very well have existed; but the point to be

¹ *The Story of Ahikar*, ed. Conybeare, Rendel Harris, and Mrs. Lewis (Camb. Univ. Press 1898) lxv f. As Rendel Harris points out, the story of the pig 'going to the bath' explains and justifies the middle voice (λουσαμένη) in 2 Pet.

² See in particular the interesting remarks of Dr Bigg in his introduction to the Ep. in the *Int. Crit. Comm.* 227 f.

³ Bigg in *I. C. C.* 227.

⁴ This, as was pointed out to me by the Rev. E. D. Stone, extends to the introductory words which with a slight change might be written τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐξέβη παροιμίας; but obviously this introduction could not have formed part of the hypothetical poem.

emphasized is that the theory of a lost poem or poems lying at the back of the Greek book of Proverbs does not help to account for the phenomena which it presents.

For (1) internal evidence proves that *the hexameter and the iambic fragments* in Proverbs LXX are the production of a single hand. The two metres have a common vocabulary and the same phrases recur in both. Compare the hexameter endings—

x 11 . . . πηγὴ ζωῆς ἐν χειρὶ δικαίου
xix 4 . . . ἔννοι' ἀγαθὴ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτήν

with the iambic line—

xvi 22 πηγὴ ζ(ό)ης ἔννοια τοῖς κεκτημένοις.

**Ἐννοια* occurs twelve times in this book, but only once again in the 'LXX' proper. Compare again:—

Hex. xxii 29 . . . παρεστάναι ἀνδράσι νωθροῖς
Iamb. xii 8 . . . νωθοκάρδιος δὲ μυκτηρίζεται.

Νωθοκάρδιος is a *ἀπ. λεγ.*; *νωθρός* occurs only twice again, in Sirach. Again:—

? *Hex.* xxix 7 . . . νοῦς ἐπιγνώμων
? *Iamb.* xiii 10 . . . ἐπιγνώμονες σοφοί.

The adjective (4 exx.) with the substantive *ἐπιγνωμοσύνη* is peculiar in LXX to this book. Again:—

t *Hex.* xxix 23 τοὺς δὲ ταπεινόφρονας δόξη (θεὸς αὐτὸς) ἐρείδει
t *Iamb.* iv 4 . . . εἰς σὴν καρδίαν ἐρειδέτω.

**Ἐρείδειν* occurs nine times in Proverbs, only once elsewhere in LXX.

The same conclusion is suggested by another line of reasoning. The hexameter fragments not infrequently come in clusters, and the iambs similarly tend to fall into groups in consecutive *στίχοι*. Were this invariable, it would lend some support to the theory that the translator worked with two older poetical collections before him, using first one and then the other. But not seldom we find a fragmentary hexameter and a fragmentary senarius in the parallel members of one and the same Hebrew verse. This again suggests that a single hand is responsible for the two metres; a piecing together of distinct sources within a single sentence is highly improbable. Thus we have:—

v 20 f (H.) μὴ πολὺς ἴσθι πρὸς ἄλλοτριαν, (μὴδὲ συνέρχου)
(I.) ἀγκάλαις τῆς μὴ ἰδίας.
t ἐνώπιον γάρ εἰσιν ὀφθαλμῶν θεοῦ . . .
xxii 29 (I.) . . . βασιλεῦσι δεῖ παρεστάναι,
(H.) (καὶ μὴ) παρεστάναι ἀνδράσι νωθροῖς.
xxiv 48 (H.) . . . ὀλίγον νυστάζω, ὀλίγον δὲ καθυπνῶ,
(I.) ὀλίγον δ' ἐναγκαλιζομαι χερσὶν (στήθη).¹

¹ The first η is probably, as elsewhere, treated as a short vowel.

xxiv 64 (I.) (τρία δέ ἐστὶν ἄ) εὐόδως πορεύεται,
(H.) (καὶ τέταρτον) ὁ καλῶς διαβαίνει.

Parallel instances of the collocation of the two metres in the balancing clauses of a sentence occur in the collections of Greek secular proverbs. Thus:—

(H.) οἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὺς ἵππος αἰδιῶ,
(I.) ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις.¹

Is it then possible that the translator had before him, not two poems, but a single collection written in the two metres? No; internal evidence suggests further (2) that *the hand responsible for the metrical portions is that of the translator of the whole (or the bulk) of the book*. For the characteristic vocabulary of the metrical portions reappears in passages which are, and probably always have been, unmetrical. An examination of the use made throughout the book of such words as *εῖρέδειν*, *σκολιός*, *τεκταίνειν*, *ὑπαρξίς* will illustrate this. Again, in numerous passages with a metrical ring which is obviously intentional it would be difficult or impossible to complete the broken lines. For instance, the three consecutive hexameter endings in xxiv 54 serve a definite purpose (see above on Hex. (42)), but it is extremely improbable that the lines were ever spun out to their full length. The book, as we have it, doubtless contains many later glosses and accretions, but the versification is fairly evenly distributed over the whole of it, so that it is probable that the bulk of our text goes back to the original version. The versification, it should be added, extends to those portions which are peculiar to the Greek text.

We are driven therefore to the conclusion that the translator, sporadically, in places where he could readily do so without departing too widely from his original, imparted a metrical colouring to his work. He was mainly concerned to give the *στίχοι* a metrical ending; more rarely he gave them a metrical opening; on occasions he wrote a complete line or couplet; in passages where the string of detached proverbs was replaced by a connected and dramatic narrative, such as that of 'the strange woman' (chap. vii), there may originally have been several consecutive lines of poetry.

His procedure in fact seems closely to resemble that of the old Greek proverb-writers. We can trace in the *Paroemiographi Graeci* the stages in the growth of the metrical proverb: first the purely prosaic maxims, then the rugged jingles aping poetry, the faulty or faultless half of a hexameter or senarius, usually the latter half (i. e. the paroemiac or the portion of the senarius following the caesura), and last, the complete line or couplet, not always immaculate. For the purpose of com-

¹ Zenobii Cent. vi 22 ap. *Paroem. Graeci* i p. 167.

parison I have roughly analysed the proverbs in the oldest collection preserved, the six 'centuries' of Zenobius. Zenobius quotes in all 552 proverbs, of which at least 160 are metrical and perhaps 380-390 unmetrical; some of the approximations to metre may have been overlooked. The metrical proverbs may be divided as follows:—

<i>Hexameters.</i>		<i>Iambics.</i>	
Perfect (or approximately)	21	Perfect (or approximately)	48
Endings. Paroemiacs (perfect) ¹	10	Endings. Over 3½ feet ⁴	4
Paroemiacs (approx.)	10	3½ feet ⁵ (or approx.) ⁶	15
Between 3 and 2 feet ²	10	Between 3 and 2½ feet ⁷	20
Beginnings. 2½ feet ³	6	Beginnings. Over 2½ feet ⁸	7
'Head and tail'	(?) 1	2½ feet ⁹	8
	58		102

The most interesting of these are the crude and illiterate attempts at verse, which betray their plebeian origin. A jingle with a metrical ring is a sufficient substitute for metre. The vowels η and ω, and the diphthongs ει and οι may be treated as short; ε and ο may be long. Similarly, in our language, 'A stitch in time saves nine' fails to achieve rhyme where 'There's many a slip', &c., succeeds. The following are approximations to complete lines:—

Hex. . . . Αἰγίεες οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι.
κλαίει ὁ νικήσας, ὁ δὲ νικηθεὶς ἀπόλωλεν.

Iamb. δευῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον.
δὶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν αἰσχροὺν προσκρούειν λίθον.

The following appears to be a 'head and tail':—

ἀντὶ κακοῦ κυνὸς ὄν ἀπαιτεῖς.¹⁰

But the numerous approximations to the paroemiac furnish the quaintest instances:—

ἄλλος βίος, ἄλλη δίαιτα.

¹ e. g. ἀγαθὴ καὶ μᾶζα μετ' ἄρτον : ἔφυγον κακόν, εὔρον ἄμεινον.

² e. g. ἄλλ' οὐκ αὖθις ἀλώπηξ : Ῥαδαμάνθυνος ὄρκος : σύκον ἐφ' Ἑρμῆ.

³ e. g. πάντα λίθον κίνει : σὺν δὲ θεοὶ μάκαρες.

⁴ e. g. ἀγροίκου μὴ καταφρόνει βήτορος : φθεῖς ὡσπερ εἰς Δῆλον πλέων.

⁵ e. g. κανθάρου σοφώτερος : οὐκ ἄνευ γε Θεσέως.

⁶ e. g. βατράχοις οἰνοχοεῖς : Λίνδιοι τὴν θυσίαν.

⁷ e. g. τάλαντα Ταντάλου : Ἴλιος κακῶν.

⁸ e. g. ἄρκτου παρούσης ἵχνη μὴ ζήτει (η = ι as in exx. in Prov. LXX above) : εἰ μὴ δύναμο βοῶν, ἔλαυν' ὄνον : ὑγιέστερος κρότανος (Κρότ.).

⁹ e. g. γλαῦξ (γλαῦκ') εἰς Ἀθήνας : Διὸς Κέρρινθος.

¹⁰ Examples of 'Heads and tails' in iambic metre occur in Menander's γνῶμαι (οφ. αἰ.), e. g. μὴ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος . . . ἀεὶ πειρῶ βλέπειν : νέμεισιν φυλάσσου μηδὲν . . . ὑπερφρονῶν.

ἄλλοι κάμον, ἄλλοι ὄναντο.¹
 ἀλώπηξ οὐ δωροδοκεῖται.
 βουῶς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ κοιεῖται (? transpose ἐφ' ἐ. β. κ.).
 Διομήδεις ἀνάγκη.
 ἐκτὸς πηλοῦ πόδας ἔχεις.
 Λυδὸς τὴν θύραν ἔκλεισεν (?)
 λύκος περὶ φρέαρ χορεύει (?)
 οὐθ' ἕεται οὐθ' ἠλιούται.

All the features which are found in the collection of Zenobius reappear in fact in the Greek book of Proverbs. The translator employs the two metres which by long tradition had been considered appropriate for these homely maxims.² He shews the same partiality as the old proverb-writers for half-lines, beginning or ending at the caesura, and in particular for metrical *endings*; the same disregard for nice distinctions between long and short vowels. On the whole he uses the iambic metre slightly more often than the hexameter. We may be certain that he was quite familiar with many of the old secular proverbs; it is sufficient to quote vii 22 κύνων ἐπὶ δεσμούς,³ xxiii 31 γυμνότερος ὑπέρου.⁴ As we have seen, he probably produced his version in the first century B. C. and in the first half of the century, about the time when Tarrhaeus of Crete and Didymus of Alexandria were engaged in putting together their collections of proverbs, upon which Zenobius subsequently drew.⁵ If we had any reason to doubt that Alexandria was his home, we could infer that he was a city-dweller from the fact that, in common with the translator of the latter half of Jeremiah, a 'neighbour' (שׁוֹכֵן) is for him a πολίτης, a 'fellow-citizen'.⁶

The partial versification pervading the Greek version serves a practical purpose of some importance in textual criticism, though its utility in this respect is limited by the fact that it is only partial. Absence of metre is obviously no infallible criterion for detecting later interpolations and corrections in a work in which the prosaic element predominated from the first. But (I will conclude by attempting to sum up some of the uses to which this metrical test may legitimately be put): (1) absence

¹ Cf. Jo. iv 38 ἄλλοι κεκοπιάκασιν κτλ., following close upon two other proverbs, 35 τετράμηνός ἐστι χώ θερισμός ἐρχεται, and 37 ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ σπείρων καὶ ἄλλος ὁ θερίζων = ἄλλοι μὲν σπείρουσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀμύσσονται Diogen. ii. 62 (*Par. Gr.* i p. 205). This little group of three Greek proverbs attributed to Christ within the compass of four verses is curious.

² An occasional anapaestic line like viii 15 δι' ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσιν may be accidental; another rendering would hardly be possible.

³ Cf. κύνων ἐπὶ δεσμά, Zenob. iv 73.

⁴ γυμνότερος ὑπέρου λόγος παλαιὸς φησὶν Eustath. (*ap. Paroem. Gr.* i p. 228); cf. γυμνότερος λεβηρίδος etc. Zenob. ii 95.

⁵ *Paroem. Graeci* i xii ff.

⁶ In xi 9, 12, xxiv 43; but elsewhere in Prov. φίλος.

of metre does become a criterion where a choice has to be made between two 'doublets', one of which has a metrical ring and the other has not. Thus, in i 14, the first of the doublets, *κοινὸν δὲ βαλλάντιον κτησώμεθα πάντες*, is, on account of the hexameter ending, besides other reasons, to be preferred to the second, *καὶ μαρσίπιον ἐν γενηθήτω ἡμῖν*; we should perhaps go further and adopt the order of words in cod. V, which gives the sentence an iambic opening as well, *βαλλάντιον δὲ κοινὸν κτλ.* For, (2) where there is a diversity of readings affecting the order of words, that reading which produces rhythm, especially a rhythmical conclusion to a sentence or sense-line, is to be preferred to a variant which lacks rhythm and places the words in their simplest prosaic order or in the order in which they stand in the Hebrew original. (3) Where there is no variant reading, but the language is poetical and transposition of words prosaically arranged will produce a complete or fragmentary verse, transposition is generally legitimate, notwithstanding the lack of MS authority. (4) Where a hexameter or iambic ending occurs *near the close* of a sentence or sense-line, there is some ground for suspecting that any appended unmetrical words are an interpolation.

Judging by metrical tests, I should infer that the minuscules 109, 147, 157 possess a high value in this book; the group 68, 161 &c., and cod. V are also important. Occasionally the original text seems to be preserved in the Armenian Version; it is perhaps significant that Proverbs was the first book of the Greek Bible to be translated into that language.¹

H. ST J. THACKERAY.

אָרַם AND אַרְמֹן.

OF words in the Old Testament which have apparently a fixed and settled meaning, one which occurs pretty frequently is the word אָרַם, generally rendered by 'palace' or 'castle'. In the Authorized Version it is translated 'palace' in 31 places out of 32 in which it occurs ('castle' once only). And the Revised Version is almost equally uniform, giving 'palace' 28 times and 'castle' 4 times (with *margin* 'palace' 3 times). But there is no like uniformity in the most ancient versions. The renderings of the LXX comprise *θεμέλιον* (10 times), *χώρα* (6), *βᾶρις* (5), *ἄμφοδον* (2), with *οἶκος*, *πόλις*, *γῆ*, *λαός*, *ἄντρον*, *πυργόβαρις*, and *ἐναντίον* once each, while in two passages there is no word which certainly answers to it. In the Vulgate there is not quite the same variety. *Turris* occurs 4 times, *templum* once, *urbes* once; more often it falls

¹ Swete *Introd. to O.T.* 118.