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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE SONG OF HANNAH AND OTHER LESSONS AND PSALMS FOR THE JEWISH NEW YEAR'S DAY.

I PROPOSE in this paper to put together some notes on the passages of Scripture which, in the primitive Jewish services, were (or seem to have been) associated, whether as lessons or as Psalms, with the New Year festival, in Jewish terminology *Rosh Hashanah*, or the Feast of Trumpets, which was observed on the first day of the sacred autumnal month of Tisri, the opening of the civil year.¹ I shall, in the first place, attempt to reconstruct the history of the evolution of the first and second lessons for that day, appointed to be read respectively from the Law and the Prophets. I shall then append some notes on the Psalms which tradition assigns to the same day, indicating points of connexion with the lessons. I shall conclude by considering some other Psalms which, though not definitely allocated to *Rosh Hashanah*, may from their contents and position be conjectured to have been at one time associated with it. In this connexion I shall shew reason for believing that the Psalter was arranged for a triennial cycle. In research of this kind much must remain obscure, but there is sufficient evidence to justify the general conclusion that Lessons and Psalms for any particular festival reacted on each other, and that the text of both was liable to be affected by the ritual for the day. The Scriptures began to be used for worship before their text was finally fixed, and passages selected for special occasions cannot be fully interpreted without regard to their setting in the order of the services. In this way, I venture to think, we may account for the divergent forms in which the Song of Hannah has been transmitted.

Our oldest authority for the lessons appointed for *Rosh Hashanah*, as for other festivals in the Jewish calendar, is the tractate *Megillah* in the Babylonian Talmud. The Mishna in that treatise mentions only the lessons from the Law, and not more than one for each feast. These are in general taken from Lev. xxiii, which consists of a catalogue of

¹ I am not primarily concerned here with the ecclesiastical or spring New Year (1 Nisan), though some traditions came to be transferred from 1 Tisri to 1 Nisan.

feasts with directions as to ritual. From that chapter all the primitive lessons were apparently taken.¹ For our feast the Mishna prescribes:—

‘On *Rosh Hashanah* “In the seventh month on the first day of the month”’ (i. e. Lev. xxiii 24).²

The Gemara gives us fuller information, naming three first or Torah lessons, and two second or prophetic lessons (*Haphtaroth*).³

‘On *Rosh Hashanah* [the Torah lesson is] “In the seventh month”⁴ and the Haphtarah “Is Ephraim my dear son?”⁵; and according to others “And the Lord visited Sarah”⁶ and the Haphtarah is in “Hannah.”⁷ And now, when there are two days [for the feast], we adopt on the first day the latter alternative, and on the second we read “And God did prove Abraham”⁸ and for Haphtarah “Is he a dear son?”⁹’

New Year Lessons from the Torah.

(1) The *primitive special lesson* for *Rosh Hashanah* was then Lev. xxiii 24 f, which runs:—

‘In the seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall be a solemn rest unto you, a memorial of blowing-of-trumpets, an holy convocation.⁹ Ye shall do no servile work; and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD.’

The distinctive feature of the festival as here described is the blowing of trumpets (or rather rams’ horns), which is to serve as a ‘memorial’ or ‘reminder’. The trumpet-blowing on this and other occasions was, according to the explanation in Num. x 9 f (P), intended to arouse the attention of God, to keep Him in remembrance of Israel.¹⁰ It may be

¹ See Dr Büchler’s articles in the *J.Q.R.* v 420, vi 1, with an article by the present writer, ‘Primitive Lectionary Notes in the Psalm of Habakkuk’, in *J.T.S.* xii 191.

² בראש השנה 'בחדש השביעי באחד לחדש'.
³ בראש השנה 'בחדש השביעי' ומפטירין 'הבן יקיר לי אפרים' ויש אומרים 'ויהוה פקד את שרה' ומפטירין בחנה והאידיא דאיכה תרי יומי יומא קמא כיש אומרים למחר 'והאלהים נסה את אברהם' ומפטירין 'הבן יקיר'.

⁴ Lev. xxiii 24.

⁵ Jer. xxxi 19 (E.V. 20; LXX xxxviii 20).

⁶ Gen. xxi 1.

⁷ Some portion of I Sam. i or ii, not necessarily Hannah’s Song.

⁸ Gen. xxii 1.

⁹

שבתון וקרן תרועה מקרא-קדש:

LXX ἀνάπαυσις, μνημόσυνον σαλπύγγων, κληρὴ ἀγία. Cf. Num. xxix 1, where the word ‘blowing-of-trumpets’ is rendered in the LXX by σημασία ‘signalling’.

¹⁰ See Dr G. B. Gray’s note *in loc.* (*Int. Crit. Comm.*).

idle to attempt to go behind this explanation, but trumpet-blowing was specially associated with the beginnings of the months (*ibid.*), that of the seventh month in particular, and it is tempting to enquire whether it may not originally have been the signal (*σημασία* Num. xxix 1, LXX) by which the first appearance of the new moon was proclaimed throughout the country.¹ The 'reminder', again, might be regarded as a reminder to the individual of the near approach of the Day of Atonement which followed ten days later, the trumpet-blast being a solemn advent call to repentance, bidding the Israelite put his house in order before the day of assize on which he must finally make his peace with God. Some such explanation is in fact given by modern Jews, but it seems clearly to be of secondary origin.² The earlier conception was that the trumpet-call penetrated the ears of Jahweh; 'ye shall be remembered before the LORD your God'. Other New Year lessons will shew how this idea of 'remembrance' was developed in the case of particular individuals. God's answering trumpet-note to His people's call was heard in the thunder.

These two primitive ideas of New Year's Day as a Feast of Trumpets and a day of remembrance, together with a third, also ancient, namely that it is a day of celebration of God as King of the Universe, figure prominently in the modern synagogue service for the day. 'The special Benedictions . . . constitute three paragraphs known as *kingdoms* (*Malkiyyôth*), *remembrances* (*Zikrônôth*), and *horn-blowings* (*Shôfârôth*), after each of which the *Shôfâr* is blown. *Kingdoms* is so called because it contains verses of Scriptural passages in which God is recognized as King. . . . *Remembrances* is similarly made up of verses in which God is shown to be mindful of mankind, and especially of Israel. . . . *Shôfârôth* is made up of verses in which the *Shôfâr* is named literally, or metaphorically, in passages where, as it were, God sounds, in thunder-notes, a call to Israel or mankind.'³

(2) *Two alternative lessons from Genesis.*

The primitive festival lessons taken from Lev. xxiii were before long superseded or supplemented by others, when the practice was introduced of continuous sabbatical readings from the Torah. The Law was now recited, not merely on the festivals, but on every sabbath. It was, moreover, broken up into prescribed portions of such length as would

¹ Fire-signals were employed for this purpose right down into our era.

² 'The festival has been spiritualized into a solemn day of self-introspection, and the *shôphâr* is regarded as a signal, calling to inner and outward repentance.' I. Abrahams, s.v. 'Trumpet', Hastings's *D.B.* iv 815 b.

³ Oesterley and Box *Religion and Worship of Synagogue* (ed. 2) 417.

permit of its being read through in its entirety in about three years. For the reconstruction of the Triennial Cycle, as in use in and before the time of Christ, I need only refer to the classical articles of Dr Büchler in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*¹ and to the diagram in the article 'Triennial Cycle' by Mr Jacobs in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. Suffice it to say that Dr Büchler has demonstrated that the starting-point of the Cycle was the first of Nisan, and that the general scheme has been in large measure restored, though some details in the proposed arrangement remain uncertain. The diagram of Mr Jacobs differs in some particulars from Dr Büchler's scheme and, being unfortunately unsupported by a full statement of the authorities on which it is based, has to be used with caution.

In the Cycle arrangement the festivals, like ordinary sabbaths, appear to have had lessons allotted to them according to their place in the calendar. The lesson was not selected as containing ideas appropriate to the festival, but in accordance with the more or less haphazard divisions into which the whole Law was parcelled out. By a natural process, however, the dominant ideas of the lesson which chance had selected came to be regarded as having a special fitness for the particular occasion. The Triennial Cycle enriched the festivals with new associations.

Tradition indicates as the Genesis lesson for New Year's Day two alternative passages with a common subject, viz. the birth of a child to a woman long sterile and jealous of the offspring of a rival, her husband's second wife. We will place first that which appears to be chronologically the older of the two, though the less widely supported by tradition.

(i) *The birth of Joseph* (Gen. xxx 22 ff).

There is reason for thinking that the original cycle lesson from Genesis for New Year's Day was taken from the passage (xxx 22 ff) which describes the birth of Joseph and begins with the words

'And God remembered Rachel'.

Dr Büchler and Mr Jacobs are agreed that that passage would be reached on the first sabbath of Tisri in the first year of a triennial cycle of which the starting-point was the first sabbath of Nisan; and their opinion is corroborated by the Talmudic statement that Rachel was remembered on New Year's Day.² Further evidence for believing that the birth of Joseph was the original Genesis lesson will be adduced when we come to consider the Prophetic lessons and Psalms for *Rosh Hashanah*. The 'remembrance' of Rachel here recorded linked on to and gave

¹ Vols. v 420-468, vi 1-73. Cf. *J.T.S.* xii 193 f.

² *T.B. Rosh. Hash.* 10 b cited in *J.Q.R.* v 443.

a new connotation to the already existing conception of New Year's Day as 'a day of memorial'; the birth of a first-born son, on the other hand, was a new importation into the group of ideas associated with the festival.

(ii) *The birth of Isaac* (Gen. xxi).

This lesson appears, however, to have been before long displaced by another with a kindred topic, since Genesis xxi, which describes the birth of Isaac and begins with the words

'And the LORD visited Sarah',

has widespread ancient authority as the New Year reading, being named along with the primitive lesson from Leviticus.¹ Moreover, the Babylonian Jews, when the feast was extended to a second day, read on that day the following chapter (Gen. xxii) relating to the offering of Isaac, and in modern times the 'binding of Isaac on the altar plays in the liturgy of the synagogue for the New Year a rôle in some, though not in the most characteristic, aspects not unlike that of the Crucifixion in the theology and liturgy of the Christian Church'.² The substitution for the story of the birth of Joseph of that of the birth of Isaac as the proper lesson was doubtless, as Dr Büchler suggests, due to analogy. 'When once it was assumed that one of the matriarchs was remembered on this day by God in respect to the blessing of children, the idea broadened to include Rebecca and Sarah as well.'³ It is possible that the birth of Joseph was still retained for use on the first *sabbath* in the New Year, while the kindred story of the son of the greater patriarch, the father of the race, was appropriated to New Year's Day itself.⁴

New Year Prophetic Lessons (Haphtaroth).

Whatever may be the precise explanation of the divergence of practice as regards the Genesis lesson, the association of New Year's Day with the birth of 'a son of many tears' was now firmly fixed. There would also be linked with either of the Genesis lessons the further thought of the arrogance of a rival mother. Henceforth there were two new mottoes for the New Year, 'Unto us a son is born' and 'Don't boast'.

¹ Besides the passage in *T.B. Meg.* 31a cited above, Dr Büchler quotes the Jerusalem Talmud and both Pesikta, *J.Q.R.* v 430.

² I. Abrahams, art. 'Trumpet', Hastings's *D.B.* iv 816 a.

³ *J.Q.R.* v 443. But is there any evidence for connecting *Rebekah* and her children with *Rosh Hashanah*?

⁴ When Gen. xxii came to be read on the 2nd Tisri a link of association with the Feast of Trumpets (or rams' horns) was found in ver. 13, 'a ram caught in the thicket by his horns': art. 'Trumpet', Hastings's *D.B.* iv 815 b.

The Prophetical books, unlike the Torah, were not read through in their entirety in the Jewish services, but only in selections. Analogy with some dominant thought in the Torah lesson for the day was the general principle on which the selection was made. For New Year's Day the birth of a child was the obvious *motif* for which illustration had to be found. Here again, as in the Torah lessons from Genesis, we find mention of two alternatives.

(i) '*The dear son Ephraim*' (Jer. xxxi 20).

The older of the two was undoubtedly Jer. xxxi 20 with perhaps a verse or two more :—

'Is Ephraim my dear son? is he a pleasant child? for as often as I speak against him, I do earnestly remember him still: therefore my bowels sound for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the LORD.'

This is the first *Haphtarah* named, along with the primitive Leviticus lesson, in our main authority cited at the beginning of this paper; 'Hannah' appears there only in a secondary position as the lesson adopted by 'others'. We note that this short reading from Jeremiah was obviously selected as a pendant to the narrative of the birth of Joseph, not to that of the birth of Isaac. Ephraim is Joseph's son, and the selected verse occurs in the same context with the mention of Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted (Jer. xxxi 15). Moreover, the words 'I do earnestly remember him'¹ befit the New Year as 'a day of remembrance' and recall the opening of the Torah lesson 'And God remembered Rachel'.

(ii) *The birth of Samuel* (1 Sam. i, ii).

But the earlier prophetical books offered a closer analogy to the account of the birth of Joseph, and an alternative to the Jeremiah lesson must very soon have been found in the opening chapter or chapters of the first book of Samuel. The story of the rivalry of Leah and Rachel repeats itself in the narrative of Peninnah and Hannah. Rachel 'envied' Leah and 'wrestled' with her sister 'with wrestlings of God'.² Peninnah, Hannah's rival, 'provoked her sore for to make her fret'.³ In both instances the sterile wife was the best beloved of her husband and at the last presented him with a son. And so the birth of the patriarch now found its proper counterpart in the New Year service in the birth of the first of the Prophets. As regards the particular portion of Scripture originally selected, our oldest authorities

¹ נָכַר אֶת־בְּרָכָה.

² Gen. xxx 1, 8.

³ 1 Sam. i 6.

merely tell us vaguely that the lesson was 'in [the section about] Hannah'.¹ Ultimately the song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii 1-10) became or was included in the stereotyped lesson; but at the first it seems to have consisted of the prose narrative of the birth. The exact extent of what was doubtless the original lesson may be inferred from an eighth-century Oxford MS, containing a list of sabbath lessons from the first half of the Pentateuch with the corresponding prophetic readings.² That MS informs us that the passage which was read as the sequel to Gen. xxx 22 ('And God remembered Rachel') extended from 1 Sam. i 11 to verse 22, beginning:—

'And she vowed a vow, and said, O LORD of hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of thine handmaid, and remember me, and not forget thine handmaid', &c.

Our R. V. quite obscures the fact that this passage actually contains a statement that Samuel was born at the New Year. 'And it came to pass', we read in *v.* 20, '*when the time was come about*, that Hannah conceived and bare a son.' But the phrase לְתַקְּפוֹת הַיָּמִים means (to quote Dr Driver³) '*at the comings round of the days*, i. e. . . . at the coming round of the new year when the Feast of Ingathering was held, which is no doubt the occasion of the pilgrimage alluded to in *v.* 21'.

The idea of 'remembrance', which was from the first associated with the New Year, is, it will be observed, common to the older Genesis lesson and to both the alternative second lessons from Jeremiah and Samuel.

The Song of Hannah.

The song or 'prayer' of Hannah (1 Sam. ii 1-10) provokes enquiry. Several considerations indicate that it formed no part of the original narrative, but that it is a late interpolation which has been, erroneously, it seems, put into the mouth of Hannah. (1) It has often been observed that the clause which in the Massoretic text precedes the Song (i 28 'And he worshipped the LORD there') probably corresponds to the words which in the LXX stand at its close (ii 11 και κατέλιπεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐνώπιον Κυρίου). If these are merely variant readings 'it will follow that Hannah's Song is inserted in MT and LXX in a different place',³ and we may add with Dr Swete that 'it seems to be a reasonable inference that it was not in the original draft of the book'.⁴ (2) The

¹ בחנה.

² *J. Q. R.* vi 38 ff. The Haphtarah to Gen. xxi ('And the LORD visited Sarah'), read two months earlier, was 1 Sam. ii 21-28 ('And the LORD visited Hannah').

³ Driver, *Notes on Heb. text of Samuel*, in *loc.*

⁴ *Introd. to O. T. in Greek* 245.

wide divergence in the latter part of the Song between the text of the LXX and that of the MT points in the same direction. Interpolations notoriously take various forms. (3) Lastly, as all commentators remark, the Song is in general singularly inappropriate to the occasion. It resembles a paean of a victorious warrior rather than a mother's jubilation over her first-born son. One half-verse alone (5 b) is not wholly irrelevant to the circumstances: 'Yea, the barren hath borne seven, and she that hath many children languisheth.' This half-verse, which in its context is merely one of several instances of reversal of fortune, seems to be largely responsible for the ascription of the Song to Hannah.¹

What, then, was the original history of the Song, and how did it find its way into its present position? The explanation which I venture to suggest is that an ancient Psalm commemorating some signal victory in battle has been worked over and transformed into a lesson or canticle for New Year's Day. The Song naturally falls into two parts (1-8 b, 8 c-10), the break coming at the point where the wide discrepancy between the Greek and Hebrew texts begins. I suggest that the ancient Psalm of victory forms the basis of Part I (1-8 b); this has been but slightly adapted for liturgical purposes. Part II (8 c-10), on the other hand, is mainly liturgical amplification, which has taken different forms in the two texts. A line or more of the ancient poem possibly underlies this portion also; but the editors have used far greater liberties in these verses.

That the groundwork of the Song was a paean of victory is suggested by the resemblances which it presents to another Psalm which has also been incorporated in, and at the other end of, the originally undivided book of Samuel. I refer to the 'song' of David which he 'spake unto the LORD in the day that the LORD delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies and out of the hand of Saul' (2 Sam. xxii = Ps. xviii). The main parallels are as follows:—²

1 Sam. ii.	2 Sam. xxii.
1 Mine <i>horn</i> is exalted in the LORD . . . I rejoice in thy <i>salvation</i> .	3 The <i>horn of my salvation</i> .
2 There is none holy as the LORD; For there is none beside thee; Neither is there any <i>rock</i> like our God.	2 The LORD is my <i>rock</i> 32 For who is God, save the LORD? And who is a <i>rock</i> save our God?

¹ But see on v. 10 b below.

² I quote the R.V., neglecting the LXX variants.

1 Sam. ii.

- 7 He bringeth low (*ταπεινοῦ*), he
also lifeth up.
8 He raiseth up the poor out of
the dust,
He lifeth up the needy (*πτωχόν*)
from the dunghill.
10 Against them shall he *thunder*
in heaven.
10 He shall give strength unto
his king,
And exalt the horn of *his*
anointed.

2 Sam. xxii.

- 28 And the afflicted (*πτωχόν*)
people thou wilt save :
But thine eyes are upon the
haughty, that thou mayest
bring them down (*ταπεινώσεις*).
14 The LORD *thundered from*
heaven, and the Most High
uttered his voice.
51 Great deliverance giveth he to
his king,
And sheweth lovingkindness
to *his anointed.*

It is, of course, impossible to reconstruct the earlier history of 'Hannah's Song', and it may be idle to speculate what particular victory it was originally designed to commemorate; yet I will hazard a further suggestion. Verse 10 contains a sentence which is common to the two texts and therefore probably stood in the original poem:—

R. V.

Against them (*על*) shall he thunder
in heaven.

LXX.

*Κύριος ἀνέβη (ἠέγ) εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ
ἐβρόντησεν.*

The metaphor, as we have just seen, is not peculiar to this Psalm; yet there is one incident in the life of Samuel to which the words would appear specially appropriate. I refer to the decisive victory near Mizpah which the Israelites, after long subjection, obtained over the Philistines, and which Samuel signalized by setting up the stone Eben-ezer (1 Sam. vii 5 ff).¹ On that occasion we read (9 f) that

'Samuel cried unto the LORD for Israel; and the LORD answered him. And as Samuel was offering up the burnt offering, the Philistines drew near to battle against Israel: but the LORD thundered with a great² thunder on that day upon the Philistines, and discomfited them; and they were smitten down before Israel.'

It is conceivable that the paean of victory which underlies Hannah's Song was originally referred to this occasion and bore as title simply the word שמואל or שמואל. Like the 'prayer of Habakkuk', the 'prayer' entitled 'Samuel' was not incorporated in the final Psalter,

¹ See Prof. Macalister's *The Philistines*, Schweich Lectures for 1911, 48 f, in defence of the credibility of the narrative.

² Heb. *voice*.

but escaped oblivion and was made available for use as a *Haphtarah* by being attached to one of the prophetic books. The title, however, was not explicit, and the Psalm was inserted not in the seventh chapter of 1 Samuel but in the second. It was assumed to refer not to the victory gained through the prophet's intercession, but to his birth, and put into the mouth of his mother. Two features seemed to make it appropriate to her, the contrast in *v.* 5 b between the barren mother and the prolific, and the denunciation of arrogance in *v.* 3, such as was displayed by Peninnah and in similar circumstances by Hagar and Leah.¹

Reconstruction of this sort must necessarily be conjectural. But, whatever the exact details of the early history may have been, I think there can be little doubt that (1) the Song is an interpolation in its present context, (2) in its final form it has undergone, especially in the last verses, modification to adapt it for liturgical use on New Year's Day. Parallels for this procedure are not lacking. As the *Haphtarah* for *Rosh Hashanah* was, according to our oldest authority, 'in Hannah', so that for Pentecost was 'in Habakkuk', and we know that that meant, or came to mean, the 'prayer' or song of Habakkuk (Hab. iii). The title and colophon to that 'prayer' suggest that it has been transferred to the prophetic book from a collection of poems. The closing verses with reference to harvest seem to have been appended to adapt the prayer for use at Pentecost.² The *Haphtarah* for the Day of Atonement was 'in Jonah', and, though in the modern synagogue the whole book is read, the original lesson was probably confined to the 'prayer' of Jonah (ii 2-9), which is recognized to be a later interpolation. These instances indicate a preference for a poetical *Haphtarah*³ for the great Festivals.

I will now proceed to examine the latter part of the Song of Hannah, setting out the two texts in parallel columns. The texts shew little divergence until after the first portion of *v.* 8, which runs in the R. V. :—

He raiseth up the poor out of the dust,
He lifteth up the needy from the dunghill,
To make them sit with princes,⁴
And inherit the throne of glory.

¹ A slight indication of the influence of 1 Sam. vii as well as 1 Sam. ii on a 'New Year' Psalm (xcix) will be noticed below.

² See *J. T. S.* xii 209. But see, on the other hand, Prof. Burkitt's article, *ibid.* xvi 62 ff. I have read that article with great interest, but cannot bring myself to believe that the practice of reading a Prophetic lesson goes so far back as the days of Josiah.

³ Or should we say Canticle?

⁴ + λαῶν LXX ex Ps. cxiii (cxii) 8.

Then the texts bifurcate :—

R. V.

LXX.

- 8 c For the pillars of the earth
are the LORD'S,
And he hath set the world
upon them.
- 9 a He will keep the feet of his
holy ones,
But the wicked shall be put
to silence in darkness ;
b For by strength shall no man
prevail.
- 10 a They that strive with the LORD
shall be broken to pieces ;
b
- c Against them (יָלַע ; Qri יִלְעַ) shall he thunder in heaven:
The LORD shall judge the
ends of the earth ;
d And he shall give strength
unto his king,
And exalt the horn of his
anointed.
- διδοὺς εὐχὴν τῷ εὐχομένῳ,
καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἔτη δικαίου.
- ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ἰσχύι δυνατὸς ἀνήρ·
- Κύριος ἀσθενῆ ποιήσει ἀντίδικον
αὐτοῦ.
Κύριος ἅγιος.
μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ φρόνιμος ἐν τῇ φρο-
νήσει αὐτοῦ,
καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ δυνατὸς ἐν
τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ,
καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν
τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ·
ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυ-
χόμενος,
συνίειν καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν κύριον,
καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιο-
σύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς.
Κύριος ἀνέβη (= ἦλθε) εἰς οὐρανοὺς
καὶ ἐβρόντησεν·
αὐτὸς κρινεῖ ἄκρα γῆς.¹
- καὶ δίδωσιν ἰσχὺν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν
ἡμῶν,
καὶ ὑψώσει κέρασ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

8 c (Hebrew) *The pillars of the earth.* The word translated 'pillar' רִצְפָּא occurs here only in the O. T. with the exception of a doubtful

¹ Many MSS and VSS add *δικαίος ὢν*, representing an original רִצְפָּא רַחֵם or more probably (cf. v. 2 LXX) רִצְפָּא רַחֵם 'He is a Rock': a refrain or response similar to *Κύριος ἅγιος* above.

instance in 1 Sam. xiv 5. From the verb צִיָּק 'melt', it is interpreted, doubtless correctly, as a molten support. Commentators all take the clause in its literal sense to refer to creation, and cite passages like Job ix 6 where the pillars (עֲמֻדָּיִם) of earth are mentioned. This, again, is probably correct. That primitive conceptions of cosmogony are in the writer's mind seems clear; but the 'New Year' Psalms, to which we must look for illustration, leave open the possibility that *the pillars* here have a metaphorical and, as in St Paul,¹ a *personal* sense. Under 'New Year' Psalms I include, as explained below, not merely those traditionally allocated to *Rosh Hashanah*, but a few others which from the 'New Year' ideas contained in them and their position in the Psalter appear at one time to have been used on or about either the spring or the autumn New Year (1 Nisan or 1 Tisri).

The creation of the world, here probably referred to, is eminently a New Year thought. That the world was created on New Year's day was universally believed, though opinions differed as to whether the spring or the autumn New Year was thus honoured. According to R. Eleazar the creation took place on 1 Tisri, according to R. Joshua on 1 Nisan²; R. Joshua's view doubtless implies that on the latter date the Triennial Cycle commenced and Genesis i was read; R. Eleazar's opinion perhaps indicates a variety of lectionary practice. The allusion to creation is therefore natural in a *gloss* appended by an editor adapting the Song for New Year use; it does not fit on very naturally to the preceding verses enumerating various vicissitudes of fortune due to God's *governance* of the world. In the 'New Year' Psalms we note the following parallels³ :—

lxxv 4 (3) When the earth and all the inhabitants thereof are melted
away,

I adjust the pillars of it (עֲמֻדָּיָהָ).⁴

xxiv 1 The earth is the LORD'S (לִיהוָה הָאָרֶץ) . . .

2 For he hath founded it upon the seas
and he maketh it fast upon the streams.

xciii 1 The LORD reigneth . . .

Yea the world is established that it cannot be moved.

On the other hand, the *form* of the clause in Hannah's Song

For the pillars of the earth are the LORD'S

כִּי לִיהוָה מְצָקִי אָרֶץ

¹ Gal. ii 9.

² T.B. *Rosh Hash.* 10b, 11a.

³ I have availed myself of the late Dr Driver's version in *The Parallel Psalter* (ed. 2, 1904).

⁴ Dr Briggs regards the second line as a gloss. The Psalm bears obvious marks of the influence of the song of Hannah.

must be compared with the following passages in the two Psalms allocated by our oldest tradition to the New Year:—

xlvi 10 (9) *For the shields of the earth are God's;*
He is greatly exalted.

כי לאלהים מגני ארץ מאד נעלה
ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ κραταιοὶ τῆς γῆς σφόδρα ἐπήρθησαν.

The clause in the Psalm, as in Hannah's Song, is preceded by a mention of 'the nobles' (נדיבים), and in the LXX of the Song the insertion of the word *λαῶν* produces closer assimilation to the Psalm. In the Psalm the LXX gives a personal interpretation to the word 'shields' (οἱ κραταιοί), and that this interpretation is correct is evident from the parallelism between 'shield' and 'king' in:—

lxxxix 19 (18) *For our shield belongeth unto the LORD*
and our king to the Holy One of Israel.

כי ליהוה מננו ולקדוש ישראל מלכנו

The thought of God as 'King of the Universe' is prominent in the Jewish New Year ceremonial; with that is linked the idea of Him as protector of the kings of the earth (cp. the conclusion of Hannah's Song).¹ It is therefore conceivable that 'the pillars of the earth' are equivalent to 'the shields of the earth', or indeed that the rendering 'pillars', 'molten (supports)' should rather be replaced by 'molten (shields)'. Such an interpretation suits the context: '. . . To make them sit with nobles and inherit the throne of glory. For the rulers of earth belong to and are appointed by God.' But it is doubtful whether a Hebrew writer would so magnify the office of earthly sovereigns as to say that 'He hath set the world upon them'.² On the whole, therefore, the reference to creation is to be preferred.

8 c (Greek). The LXX has quite a different text. The first line about the answer to prayer or vow may be 'an attempt to accommodate the Song more nearly to Hannah's position' (Driver). The second,

And he blesseth the *years* of the just,

is perhaps influenced by some form of New Year felicitation. We are not told that Samuel's parents were advanced in years.

9 a (Hebrew: no Greek equivalent). With

He will preserve the feet of his godly ones

רגלי חסידיו ישמר

¹ And cp. the postscript at the end of this article.

² Yet cf. Ps. xlvi (xli) 10 LXX οἱ κραταιοὶ τῆς γῆς σφόδρα ἐπήρθησαν. 'Highly exalted is he', which the LXX here misinterprets, is a liturgical insertion like Κύριος ἄγιος in the LXX of Hannah's song (v. 10 a).

³ So Qri; Kt. חסידיו.

we should compare Ps. xcvi 10 (one of a little group of Psalms¹ beginning 'the LORD reigneth' and containing 'New Year' thoughts):—

He preserveth the souls of his godly ones

שָׁמַר נַפְשׁוֹת חַסִּידָיו

Rosh Hashanah is a preliminary day of judgement, and the contrast of saints and sinners recalls the thought that all men's actions come up before God on that day. 'According to Jewish tradition, the great books of judgement are opened on the first day of Tisri, and closed ten days afterwards on the day of Atonement.'² In the words of the modern service, which are based on the Jerusalem Talmud, 'Thereon also sentence is pronounced upon countries—which of them is destined to the sword and which to peace, which to famine and which to plenty; and each separate creature is visited thereon, and recorded for life or for death'.³

9 b and 10 a, which are practically identical in the two texts, may be part of the original poem, and do not call for remark.

In 10 b the LXX has two insertions peculiar to itself. First, the liturgical refrain or response, *Κύριος ἅγιος*. This, with the two instances in *v.* 2 (*οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος ὡς Κύριος . . . οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος πλὴν σου*), forms the third *Sanctus* in the Greek text. This *Trisagion* is paralleled by the triple *Sanctus* (Holy is he . . . Holy is he . . . For the LORD our God is holy) in *vs.* 3, 5, and 9 of the 'New Year' Ps. xcix, which has other links with Hannah's Song. Compare in the modern New Year Service: 'Holy art thou, and dreaded is thy name, and there is no God beside thee, as it is written, And the Lord of hosts is exalted in judgment, and the holy God is sanctified in righteousness. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the holy King.'⁴

The LXX then adds two verses on the subject of arrogance and the only proper subject for 'glorying', taken, with variant readings, from Jer. ix 23 f. Here we have the *μὴ καυχᾶσθε* of 'Hannah' illustrated by a short *Haphtarah* (*μὴ καυχᾶσθω κτλ.*) from another prophetic book, just as the main *Haphtarah* was selected on account of the similarity of its topic to that of the Torah lesson. These verses of Jeremiah were, according to the diagram in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (art. 'Triennial Cycle'), the *Haphtarah* for the fourth sabbath in this same month of Tisri in the third year of the cycle. The passage had thus another association with the New Year month, and I cannot help

¹ Or rather the *disiecta membra* of what was once a single Psalm celebrating the advent of the universal king for judgement, afterwards broken up for liturgical purposes into six portions (Briggs).

² Oesterley and Box *Religion and Worship of Synagogue* (ed. 2) p. 417.

³ *Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, transl. Singer (ed. 9) p. 250.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 240.

thinking that Mr Jacobs may here be slightly in error in his restoration of the cycle system, and that the Jeremiah verses were actually read on the *first* sabbath in Tisri. It is noticeable that the illustration is drawn from the prophetic book which furnished the original *Haphtarah* for the festival (see above). It is curious too that *v.* 5 b *ὅτι στείρα ἔτεκεν ἑπτὰ* finds a parallel in Jer. xv 9 *ἐκνώθη ἡ γήκουσα ἑπτὰ*,¹ a chapter which opens with a mention of Samuel and Moses as typical intercessors with God. Did the editor of the Song in supplanting the older lesson from Jeremiah make compensation, as it were, for his innovation by inserting in the new *Haphtarah* patches from the prophetic book which supplied the original and now superseded lesson?

10 c, d. In the final stanza the two texts reunite, except for a few variant readings. Here we may have a fragment of the old paean of victory, but it has probably not escaped liturgical modification. All three conceptions contained in it are, as has been shewn, specially associated with the New Year: *the thunder which is God's trumpet-note, universal judgement, and the protection and exaltation afforded by the King of Kings to his earthly vicegerents. In particular, the LXX form of the first line should be compared with the New Year Psalm:—

'Hannah' LXX.

Ps. xlvii 6 (5).

Κύριος ἀνέβη (= ἦλθε) εἰς οὐρανὸς καὶ ἐβρόντησεν. God is gone up (ἦλθε) with a shout, the LORD with the voice of the horn.

The Psalm represents Yahweh as ascending the hill of Zion and entering the temple in triumphal procession, with singers and musicians, on the Feast of Trumpets (Briggs). Under the influence of this conception an editor has altered the original reference to the defeat of the foe in a thunderstorm:—

Against them (ἐλὶ or ἐλὶ) shall he thunder in heaven,

a defeat of which the prose account is, I venture to think, contained in 1 Sam. vii 10:—

But the LORD thundered with a great voice on that day upon (ἐλ) the Philistines.

Some Greek MSS and Versions append at the end of 10 c an interjectory response analogous to Κύριος ἄγιος above. In 10 d the generalizing plural in the LXX ('our kings', cf. Ps. lxxxix 19 (18) 'our king') also points to liturgical use. It is not necessary to infer from it that this liturgical use goes back to the times of the Monarchy. The 'shields', that is the kings, 'of the (whole) earth are God's' (Ps. xlvii 10),

¹ The Torah lesson should also be compared. Leah was the mother of seven children when Rachel gave birth to Joseph.

and 'our kings' might conceivably refer to the world-monarchs who befriended Israel.

New Year Psalms.

I have already dealt with some of these incidentally in connexion with the Song of Hannah, and will try to be brief in what remains to be said. I will take first the Psalms assigned by ancient authority to New Year's Day, and secondly those which, though tradition is lacking, appear from internal evidence to have been similarly used.

Traditional New Year Psalms.

The New Year Psalms for which we have direct ancient attestation are:—

- xxix 8. The voice of the LORD shaketh the wilderness.¹
- xlvii. O clap your hands, all ye peoples.²
- lxxxi. Sing aloud unto God our strength.¹

To these we may add from indirect hints in Rabbinical writings, supported by modern practice,

lxxxix 16 (15)–19 (18). Blessed is the people that know the trumpet-sound.³

The use of three of these Psalms (xlvii, lxxxi, lxxxix 16 (15)) is still retained in the modern (Ashkenazic) ritual.⁴

Psalm xxix is assigned to several festivals; it was never *the* New Year Psalm *par excellence* and was only sung at the afternoon service of that feast. From the title which it bears in the LXX (ἐξῆοδίου σκηνηῆς) we learn that it was used on the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles some weeks after the New Year. Again, it was assigned to Pentecost.⁵

¹ T.B. *Rosh Hash.* 30 b. Ps. lxxxi is named first as that used in connexion with the 'additional prayer' (*Musaf*); xxix 8 is for afternoon prayer (*Minchah*). When New Year's Day fell on a Thursday, on which Ps. lxxxi was sung in the ordinary course, the Psalm was not repeated in full; the New Year Psalm then began at v. 7 (6), 'I removed his shoulder from the burden'. In lxxxi 4 (3) the Targum has 'Sound the horn on the new moon of *Tisri*'.

² *Sopherim* xix 2 (ed. J. Müller, 1878).

³ *Midrash Tehillim* (ed. A. Wünsche, 1893) on Ps. lxxxi comments thus on lxxxix 16 (15). "Blessed the people that know the trumpet-sound", for they settle the intercalary year and fix the day of the trumpet-sound on its (right) day. . . . "They walk, Eternal one, in the light of Thy countenance". That refers to the ten days intervening between the New Year and the Day of Atonement.'

⁴ Oesterley *Psalms in the Jewish Church* (1910) p. 166.

⁵ *Sopherim* xviii 3.

'The voice of the LORD' (i. e. the thunder or God's trumpet-call) was of course a theme appropriate to the Feast of Trumpets.

Ps. xlvii 'was probably composed for the procession in the temple at the Feast of Trumpets' (Briggs), for which it is wholly appropriate. I have already commented on its close connexion with, and the influence which it has exercised upon, the Song of Hannah. We note the triple reference to God as King of the Universe. 'The excellency (or "pride") of Jacob', *v.* 5 (4), is probably a reminiscence of Nahum ii 3 (2), which, according to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, was the Haphtarah for the fourth¹ Sabbath in Tisri in the first year of the cycle.

Ps. lxxxix is 'composite' (Briggs) or at least consists of two distinct parts: (1) a call to keep festival in the style of *Ps. xlvii*, (2) a divine utterance, mainly dependent on three chapters of Deuteronomy (*v.* xxxii Moses' song, and xxxiii Moses' blessing), and consisting of a reminder of God's mercies to Israel at the time of and subsequent to their liberation from Egypt and of the fundamental principle of the covenant of Sinai, ending in a strain of pleading and protest against Israel's defection. In the first part *v.* 4 (3) contains an invitation to celebrate *two* festivals, one on the new moon, and the other on the full moon of the same month:—

*Blow the horn on the new moon,
On the full moon, on our feast day,*

or, as Dr Briggs would read,

On the full moon (is) our feast day.

The two feasts intended are almost certainly that of the New Year on 1 Tisri and that of Tabernacles on 15 Tisri. 'We find that from ancient times this Psalm has been the New Year's Day Psalm of the Jewish Church, and that by an apparently unanimous Jewish tradition it is connected with the Feast of Tabernacles. It is unreasonable to disregard the evidence of practice and tradition' (Kirkpatrick). Some modern commentators, however, e. g. Dr Briggs, identify the full moon festival as the Passover on 15 Nisan, on account of the supposed reference to the Exodus in *v.* 6 (5). But in the Massoretic form of that verse there is no reference to the Exodus, whereas there is a clear allusion to a passage in Genesis, which commentators as a rule² have strangely overlooked together with the Jewish tradition founded upon it. In the M. T. the verse runs:—

¹ Or possibly the first? See above on the LXX addition from Jeremiah in *v.* 10 b of Hannah's Song.

² Dr E. G. King is an exception.

*A testimony in Joseph he appointed it'
when he went forth upon the land of Egypt.*

עדות ביהוסף שמו
בצאתו על ארץ מצרים

The reading 'upon' is supported by Aquila and Symmachus ('into'), but the LXX reads $\epsilon\kappa\ \gamma\eta\varsigma\ \text{A}\iota\gamma\upsilon\tau\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ and so Jerome (*de*). The M. T., whether original or not, is an obvious citation from Gen. xli 45 f:—

And Joseph went out over the land of Egypt (ויצא יוסף על ארץ מצרים).
⁴⁶And Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. *And Joseph went out* from the presence of Pharaoh, and went *throughout all the land of Egypt.*

On this passage of Genesis, together with the New Year Torah lesson (Gen. xxx 22), the tradition was based that 'On *Rosh Hashanah* Joseph went out of the prison-house', to which was added 'On *Rosh Hashanah* the service of our fathers in Egypt ceased'.² Joseph was born on New Year's Day and was (just) thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh; he was therefore liberated on New Year's Day. Such apparently was the Rabbinical reasoning. That there is a direct connexion between the Genesis passage and the Psalm in its M. T. form there can be no doubt. The exact history of the text of both passages is obscure, and whether the Psalm in its original form contained any reference to the Rabbinic tradition and, in the manner of the *Book of Jubilees*, dated the institution of the Jewish festivals as far back as the times of the patriarchs is very questionable. It will be observed that in the Genesis passage *vv.* '45 b and 46 b are doublets' (Skinner) and the former clause, which is more closely allied to the phrase in the Psalm, is absent from the LXX. I am inclined to think that in the Psalm as well the words 'when he went out upon the land of Egypt' are an interpolation. They are omitted by cod. 142 of the LXX, a MS described by Holmes and Parsons as 'pervetustus et optima notae'. Moreover, in the 'Asaph' Psalter Joseph and Jacob are gentile, not personal, names: cp. Ps. lxxx 2 (1) (Joseph || Israel), lxxviii 5 (Jacob || Israel).

In the second part of the Psalm, the main point of interest is the dependence on Deut. v 1-vi 3, which was (according to the article in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* previously cited) *the Parashah for the first sabbath in Tisri in the third year of the Triennial Cycle*. This not only furnishes further evidence that the new moon of v. 4 (3) refers to the autumn New Year, but indicates that the Triennial Cycle of Torah

¹ i. e. the (New Year) Feast.

² T.B. *Rosh Hash.* 11 a.

readings already existed when the Psalm was edited in its present form. The main parallels are as follows:—

Ps. lxxxi.		Deuteronomy.
9 (8) Hear, O my people. ¹	v 1	Hear, O Israel, the statutes and the judgements.
	vi 3	Hear therefore, O Israel.
	(vi 4	Hear, O Israel: the LORD our God is one LORD.)
10 (9) There shall no strange god be in thee; neither shalt thou worship any strange god.	v 7	Thou shalt have none other gods before me (<i>or</i> beside me).
11a (10a) I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. ²	v 6	I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt.
14 (13) Oh that my people would hearken unto me, That Israel would walk in my ways!	v 26 (29)	Oh that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me (&c.)!

I must not dwell longer on the affinities of this Psalm to other Scriptures, merely remarking that Jer. vii 24, on which *v.* 13 (12) 'So I let them go' &c. is dependent, was read (according to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* article) in the first year of the Cycle on the last Sabbath in Elul, immediately preceding 1 Tisri, and that I suspect, though I cannot prove, that the Song of Moses or as it was called³ the Canticle of the Levites (Deut. xxxii), which forms with Deut. v the background of the whole of the second part of the Psalm, was the Canticle, as Deut. v was one of the lessons, for the autumn New Year.

In *v.* 7 (6) 'His hands were freed from the pot (*or* basket)', the Midrash,⁴ expounding the words of Joseph's liberation from the service of Pharaoh's head-cook, illustrates the (cooking) 'pot' (קדרה) from the

¹ The following words, 'and I will testify unto thee', are no doubt (Briggs) a gloss on Ps. 17. In the LXX the gloss is carried a little further: *καὶ λαλήσω σοι, Ἰσραήλ, καὶ διαμαρτύρομαί σοι*. Ps. 1 was probably used at the spring New Year (1 Nisan), see below.

² A gloss from Deut. 1.c. (Briggs).

³ Jerusalem Talmud (transl. Schwab) *Megillah* cap. iii *sub fin.*

⁴ Transl. Wünsche.

story of Eli's sons which immediately follows the Song of Hannah : 'And he struck it into the pan or pot' (דִּיר) 1 Sam. ii 14.

In *v.* 8 (7) 'I answered thee in the hiding-place of thunder', the primary reference is doubtless to the pillar of cloud, but the peculiar paraphrase recalls associations of the thunder-peat with the Feast of Trumpets and the fact that the Lord 'answered' Samuel with the 'great voice' of his thunder on the day of Mizpah (1 Sam. vii 9 f) and on a later occasion (*ib.* xii 17 f).

Ps. lxxxix is apparently another composite Psalm (Briggs). An older Psalm, beginning at or about *v.* 20 (19) 'Then thou spakest in vision unto thy godly ones', and containing a paraphrase of the Davidic Covenant of 2 Sam. vii, has been embedded by a late editor in another in which God is celebrated as creator and governor of the universe. The editor has further adapted the Psalm for liturgical use on *Rosh hashanah*. Verse 16 (15) is recited in the modern New Year service,¹ and in this and the following verses we have what is probably a liturgical addition, replete with New Year thoughts :—

16 (15) Happy are the people that know the trumpet-sound ;
they walk, O LORD, in the light of thy countenance.

18 (17) For thou art the glory of their strength ;
and in thy favour thou liftest up our horns.

19 (18) For our shield belongeth unto the LORD,
And our king to the Holy One of Israel.

Other noteworthy points are as follows :—

2 (1) The *Midrash Tehillim* begins its comment by citing Jeremiah ix 23 (24), 'But let him that glorieth glory in this' &c., the passage which has been interpolated into the LXX version of Hannah's Song. There is no obvious connexion between Psalm and Prophet, except that the latter is probably a New Year lesson (see above on 'Hannah').

12 (11) The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine,
the world and the fulness thereof thou hast founded them.

Compare the two 'New Year' Psalms :—

xxiv 1 The earth is the LORD's and the fulness thereof.

1 12 For the world is mine and the fulness thereof.

15 a (14 a) is cited in the 'New Year' Ps. xcvi 2.

(27) 26 'The rock of my salvation' comes from the Song of Moses,

¹ Oesterley and Box *op. cit.* 414.

Deut. xxxii 15; for the association of the latter with *Rosh Hashanah* see above on Ps. lxxxii.

28 (27) I also will make him my first-born,
high above the kings of the earth.

New Year was pre-eminently the birthday of patriarch and prophet, the first-born of Rachel and Hannah. It is also a memorial, *inter alia*, of the long-expected coming of the Messiah.¹ Cf. the (? 'New Year') Ps. ii 7.

Thou art my son: this day have I begotten thee.

48 (47) The reflexion on the short duration of life befits the New Year.

Further conjectural 'New Year' Psalms.

Besides the four traditional Psalms for *Rosh Hashanah* above mentioned, there remain some half a dozen others which from their position in the Psalter and from their contents, and in particular their relation to the Song of Hannah, may be presumed to have associations with the Jewish New Year. Under 'New Year' I here include the beginning of the ecclesiastical year (1 Nisan) as well as that of the civil year (1 Tisri); by a natural process, as we have seen, conceptions and traditions proper to the one date came to be attached also to the other.

Recent study of the Psalter has more and more convinced me of the correctness of the suggestion put forward by Dr E. G. King some years ago² that the Psalter, like the Pentateuch, was arranged for continuous use in a triennial cycle. According to this theory the 150 Psalms were, roughly speaking, divided into three fifties for the three years, one psalm being allotted to each Sabbath. The arrangement ante-dated the division into five books which was undoubtedly made in imitation of the Pentateuch. It is no objection to this theory that there are only 150, not 156 Psalms, since the Jewish months were lunar months and a year of twelve lunar months comprises only fifty complete weeks. To bring this year into conformity with the solar year an intercalary month seems to have been inserted every two or three years; on those occasions special arrangements, such as the repetition of the Psalms for the previous month, are likely to have been made. We have further to remember that the dividing-line between psalm and psalm was not absolutely rigid, and traditions vary as to the total number.³

¹ Oesterley and Box *op. cit.* 419.

² 'The Influence of the Triennial Cycle upon the Psalter', *J.T.S.* v 203.

³ e. g. 'There are 147 Psalms according to the number of the years of Jacob', Jerusalem Talmud, *Sabbath* (trans. Schwab), tom. iv p. 162.

I cannot here discuss in detail the grounds on which my belief in this theory is based. I need only state that my investigations began with the collection of the oldest traditions as to the proper psalm or psalms for each festival and the observation that, where alternatives were named, the specified psalms were in several cases separated by an interval of about fifty-two. Thus, to take the traditional New Year Psalms, Ps. lxxxix is the fifty-second Psalm after xxix. For Passover the two alternatives named in the tractate *Sopherim*, viz. lxxxiii and cxxxv, are the same distance apart. An interval of fifty-three separates three of the Psalms allocated by different authorities to the Feast of Tabernacles or the 'eighth day feast' which followed it, viz. xii, lxxv, cxviii 25. These traditions, I admit, cannot all be made to fit into a single consistent system; but they do for the most part accommodate or nearly accommodate themselves to one of two systems, viz. a cycle beginning on the 1st of Nisan and a cycle beginning on the 1st of the fourth month (Ab). I cannot account for a commencement on the 1st Ab, if such there ever was; but there is a great deal of indirect evidence pointing to the existence of a cycle beginning on 1st Nisan, and to that, in so far as the New Year is concerned, I will confine myself.

Dividing the Psalter into six nearly equal portions, we find that Psalms with 'New Year' ideas or linked by external evidence to the New Year occur at the beginning of each portion as follows:—

[First Year. Nisan]	Psalm i <i>Beatus vir</i>
	or ii <i>Quare fremuerunt gentes?</i>
	xxiv <i>Domini est terra</i>
[Second Year. Nisan]	l <i>Deus deorum</i>
[Tisri]	lxxv <i>Confitebimur tibi</i> ¹
[Third Year. Nisan]	xcix <i>Dominus regnavit</i> ²
[Tisri]	(?)cxxxviii <i>Beati omnes</i>

Ps. i [Nisan], contrasting righteous and wicked (cf. 'Hannah') and with the probable allusion³ in *v. 3* to the streams of Eden in the second chapter of Genesis, the reading of which book began in Nisan, is a suitable introduction alike to a new year, and to the Psalter as a whole.

Ps. ii 'refers to a birthday, a time of the installation of the king on Zion' (Briggs). As in the traditional New Year Psalm lxxxix (*q.v. supra*) a decree is cited based on the Davidic covenant of 2 Sam. vii. 'Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee'; it is the day of the adoption by Yahweh of His anointed one. Messiah's appearance was expected by some to take place in Nisan, by others in Tisri.

¹ Or (?) lxxxiii *Quam bonus Israel!*

² Or (?) ci *Misericordiam et iudicium.*

³ So Briggs.

Ps. xxiv [Tisri] is probably, like many festival Psalms, composite, though the two portions, 'The earth is the LORD's' and 'Lift up your heads', have a common theme, viz. entrance into the holy temple and city. In Dr Briggs's opinion 'the combination was made in order to make a Psalm appropriate to some special occasion in the late Greek or the Maccabean period'; that occasion was doubtless the autumn New Year. The thought in the first portion of Yahweh, the Universal King, as owner and founder of earth finds its nearest parallels in the 'New Year' Psalms, 1 12, lxxxix 12 (11), and in the Hebrew appendix to Hannah's Song (1 Sam. ii 8 c). The second part of the Psalm refers, as commentators are agreed, to the bringing up of the ark by King David into Jerusalem; the chapter in which that event is described, 2 Sam. vi, is entered in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* diagram as an alternative Haphtarah for the third Sabbath in Tisri in the Triennial Cycle (second year). I have ventured already to question the arrangement of the lessons for the month of Tisri as there indicated, and it is possible that the chapter was read on the first, not the third, Sabbath of the month.

Ps. 1 [Nisan], beginning 'The God of gods, the LORD, hath spoken, and called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof' is 'a solemn vision of judgement' (Kirkpatrick). Heaven and earth and the 'godly ones' are summoned to attend at God's judgement of His people for infidelity to the covenant at Horeb. The same protest against infidelity with the same dependence as here on the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii) was found in *Ps. lxxxi*, which has, as noted above, received a gloss from *Ps. 1*. The contrast of 'godly' and 'wicked' recalls *Ps. i*. 'From the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof' (*v. 1*) is repeated in *Ps. cxiii 3* (see below). The parallels to *v. 12* 'The world is mine and the fulness thereof' have been noted above. '*Ps. xcvi* . . . is based upon reminiscences of this Psalm together with *Pss. xlvi, xlvi*' (Kirkpatrick); *xcvi* and *xlvi* are both 'New Year' Psalms. These mutual relations of Psalm and Psalm can only be satisfactorily explained by reference to the calendar arrangement with which the final editor of the Psalter must have been familiar. The Midrash expatiates on the creation.

Moreover, this 'Asaph' Psalm, standing apart from its fellows, must have been placed where it is for a definite purpose; the remaining eleven Psalms of Asaph all stand together in Book III.

Ps. lxxv [Tisri]. Another judgement scene. 'The author was evidently familiar with the Song of Hannah' (Briggs). There is the same reference to the divine support of 'the pillars' of earth, the same topics in the subsequent verses:—

- 5 (4) 'I say unto the boasters "Be not boastful",
'and to the wicked "Lift not up the horn"'
- 6 (5) Lift not up your horn on high ;
 . speak not arrogancy (against the Rock).¹
- 8 (7) For God is judge :
 he putteth down one and lifteth up another.
- 11 (10) All the horns of the wicked also will I cut off ;
 but the horns of the righteous shall be lifted up.

On v. 5 (4) the Midrash, after a reference to creation, which appears quite irrelevant until we remember that the world was created on New Year's Day, has the following remarkable statement. "I say to the boasters, Boast not." Our Rabbis have said: That refers to Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab. She experienced on one day four joys: she saw her brother-in-law Moses a king, her husband Aaron high priest, her brother Nahshon a prince (*Nasi*), Eleazar and Ithamar deputies of the high priest; and her sons went in (to the Holy of Holies) to make offerings and were burnt, as it is said: "And there came forth fire from before the LORD" (Lev. x 2), and further on "After the death of the two sons of Aaron" (*ib.* xvi 1). Her joy was thus changed on the same day into tribulation.' We are at a loss to understand why the Rabbis should identify 'the boasters' of the Psalm with the obscure Elisheba,² until we observe that the passage describing the death of her sons, Nadab and Abihu, formed part of the lesson (Lev. ix-xi) which was read at the season of *Rosh Hashanah* in the second year of the cycle, the season and year on which Ps. lxxv would likewise, according to the theory here advocated, be employed. It is another case of reaction of lesson on Psalm; the Psalm is interpreted by the Lesson, under the influence of the old New Year *motif* of the arrogant mother—and her punishment. For a similar Jewish tradition as to Peninnah's bereavement we are indebted to Jerome. Commenting on v. 5 of 'Hannah' ('She that hath many children languisheth') he writes: 'Iudaei hunc locum ita intelligunt, quod nato Samuele mortuus est filius primogenitus Phenennae, et ita, ortis filiis Annae, Phenennae filii mortui sunt. Sed quaerendum est quomodo hoc stare possit. . . . Duos filios Samuelis cum filiis Annae annumerant.'³ The Leviticus lesson is actually assigned by Mr Jacobs in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* to the *third*, not the first, Sabbath in Tisri, but once again we are

¹ M.T. 'with neck' (בצוואר). The correction בַּצוֹר (Briggs) is undoubtedly right and furnishes a further link with 'Hannah'; the LXX κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ supports it.

² Only mentioned in Ex. vi 23.

³ *Quaest. Hebr. in Lib. I Regum*, Migne P. L. 23.

tempted to think that he is slightly in error in his distribution of the lessons at this part of the calendar.¹

Ps. lxxvi which follows is one of the appointed Psalms for the Feast of Tabernacles, and thus falls into place in the cycle, except that no provision is made for the intervening Day of Atonement.

Ps. xcix [Nisan]. The first fifty Psalms closed, as we saw, with a picture of the advent of God as judge of the universe (Ps. l). The second fifty close with a *group* of poems (Ps. xciii with xcvi-c) with the same theme; the key-note is *Dominus regnavit*, with which three of them open. Dr Briggs is doubtless right in holding that the six Psalms 'originally' formed a single 'song of praise, celebrating the advent of Yahweh, the universal king, for judgement', and that this great 'royal Psalm' was broken up into smaller units 'for liturgical purposes'; the immediate purpose, we may add, was to fit the Psalter to a triennial cycle. Naturally 'New Year' thoughts permeate the whole group; I have already noted some parallels in Ps. xcvi to the Song of Hannah. But the particular section which has the greatest claim to be considered the Psalm for the first Sabbath in Nisan in the third year of the cycle is Ps. xcix. The solitary mention in the Psalter of Samuel at once rivets attention. Strictly Samuel's day was the autumn New Year, but that he should become patron-saint also of the spring New Year is not surprising.

The Psalm consists of three stanzas, each ending with a *Sanctus*: 'Holy is he' (3), 'Holy is he' (6), 'The LORD our God is holy'. I have already noted the parallel presented with the *ter sanctus* in the Greek form of the Song of Hannah: 'There is none holy as the LORD', 'There is none holy beside thee', 'The LORD is holy'.

v. 1 in its Greek form, *Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, ὀργιζέσθωσαν λαοί*, recalls the 'New Year' Ps. ii.

v. 4 'And the king's strength loveth judgement', is an unnatural phrase. For *יְיָ* read, with E. G. King, *יָשׁ*, translating 'May the king be strong that loveth justice', and compare in 'Hannah' (1 Sam. ii 10) *וַיַּתֵּן יְיָ לְמַלְכוּ* 'And he shall give strength unto his king'.

6 ff. *Moses and Aaron among his priests, and Samuel among them that call upon his name, &c.*

Dr Briggs regards the whole of this final stanza as 'material of a more

¹ See above on Ps. xxiv. On the other hand Ps. lxxiii also deals with 'the boasters' (3 ff) and has other, though not such striking, parallels with 'Hannah', and lxxiv has a few New Year thoughts. Cp. the 'New Year' group preceding Ps. c.

particularistic character' added by 'a later editor'.¹ The Midrash, written when the Triennial Cycle had passed into desuetude, asks why Samuel is named along with Moses and Aaron. Samuel is named because it is the Psalm for the New Year Sabbath. Moses and Aaron appear in a priestly function in the Torah lesson for the first Sabbath in Nisan in the third year (Num. vi 22 to vii end). That lesson ends with a mention of Moses entering the tent of meeting and hearing the Voice speaking to him from between the cherubim (cf. v. 1 of the Psalm 'thou that sittest upon the cherubim').

7. 'He spake unto them in the pillar of cloud.' Samuel apparently is included. 'The pillar of cloud' in his case seems synonymous with 'the hiding-place of thunder' of another New Year Psalm (lxxxi 8 (7)); on two occasions God heard and answered Samuel with the voice of the thunder-cloud (1 Sam. vii 9 f, xii 17 f).

As the Psalm is dependent on Hannah's Song, conversely this clause is imported by pseudo-Philo into his version of the Song:—

Exurge et tu, Elchana, et praecinge lumbos tuos,
hymniza super signa domini,
quoniam pro filio tuo prophetavit Asaph in eremo, dicens:
'Moses et Aaron in sacerdotibus eius
et Samuel inter eos':

Ecce perfectum est verbum et convenit prophetia.²

But we are not left merely to internal evidence, however strong, in assigning this Psalm to the first Sabbath in Nisan. The LXX title of a neighbouring Psalm opportunely furnishes us with a precise date. The LXX prefixes to Ps. xcvi (xcv LXX) the title:—

Ὅτε ὁ οἶκος οἰκοδομεῖται μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν ᾠδὴ τῷ Δαυεὶδ.

What was the date of the completion of the building of the second temple? We are not left in ignorance. In Ezra vi 15 we read:—

And this house was finished *on the third day of the month Adar*, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king.

The Greek Ezra, however, whose text is so often superior to that of the M. T., names a slightly later date, viz. the 23rd, not the 3rd, of Adar (Esd. A vii 5):—

συνετελέσθη ὁ οἶκος ἕως τρίτης καὶ εἰκάδος μηνὸς Ἀδὰρ κτλ.

Assuming that the reading of the Greek Ezra is original, the inference from the LXX title is that Ps. xcvi was sung on or about the 23rd day,

¹ The line καὶ Σαμουὴλ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαλ. τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ is omitted by cod. 202 of LXX, but probably through *homoioteleuton*.

² *Mikropresbutikon*, 'Philonis Iudaei Antiquitatum Biblicarum incerto interprete', Basle, 1550.

say on the third Sabbath, in the twelfth month of the Jewish year. If two further Sabbaths followed in Adar, Ps. xcix would fall on the first Sabbath in Nisan. The reading '3rd Adar' in Ezra vi 15 may imply a variety in the calendar arrangement of the Psalter; this would make Ps. ci the initial Psalm in the third year of the cycle. This LXX title (which has not to my knowledge been previously explained), supported as it is by the contents of Ps. xcix considered above, furnishes to my mind one of the strongest arguments that such a cycle did actually exist.

We observe that under this arrangement the second, like the first, year of the cycle comprised, not as we might expect 50, but 49, Psalms. The third division must at one time have contained the same number. Tradition had it that the Psalms were 147 (= 49×3) in number, like the years of Jacob's life.¹

Ps. cxxviii [Tisri]. We have seen that the four Psalms in the series (xxiv, l, lxxv, xcix), in which the interval is practically constant, are marked out by internal and by some external evidence as appropriate for the beginning of a year or half-year. The initial Psalm for the last half-year in the hypothetical cycle cannot be determined with the same degree of certainty. I am inclined to select this little 'song of degrees' because (1) its opening 'Happy is (*or* be) every one that feareth the LORD, that walketh in his ways' recalls the opening of Ps. i; (2) it is as it were a greeting of 'A happy new year' to the family of the God-fearing man; (3) Ps. cxxx *De profundis*, which is one of the two Psalms assigned by our earliest authority to the Day of Atonement (10 Tisri), then falls into its place. But the evidence is slight; Ps. cxxv, which ends with the same prayer as Ps. cxxviii, 'Peace be upon Israel', would by its position in the Psalter be more suitable.

It does seem to me remarkable that the parallels to 'Hannah' should appear just in these particular Psalms and with one exception in no others. The exception is *Ps. cxiii*, which at its close incorporates some verses from the Song of Hannah: 'He taketh up the simple out of the dust', &c. This is the first Psalm of the Hallel, and the Hallel was sung not only at the great festivals, but at the ordinary new moons. Dependence on the *Haphtarah* for the principal new moon of the year is therefore natural.

It would be interesting to proceed to consider whether any acquaintance with the Jewish New Year ritual is shewn in the Christian adaptation of the Song of Hannah, I mean the *Magnificat*, the birthday Psalm of a greater than Samuel, inaugurating not a New Year only, but a new era. This paper has, however, already run to an inordinate length.

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¹ See above, p. 197 n. 3.

PS.—*The Babylonian and the Jewish New Year Festivals.*

SINCE writing this paper I have found that the Babylonian influence on rabbinical ideas associated with the New Year was considerable. The Babylonian New Year Festival dates from far back in the ages, and in the epic of the Flood is represented as *the* great national feast. It was held, apparently during the first eleven days of the spring month of Nisan, in honour of Marduk, the god of the spring sun, who triumphed over Tiamat, the goddess of primaevial chaos and the wet winter season. The eighth and eleventh days were invested with special sanctity. On these days all the gods were assembled in 'the chamber of destiny' in Marduk's temple. Marduk, 'the God of the Universe', 'King of the gods', 'King of heaven and earth', &c., sits on his throne, and the gods stand in humble submission before him while he decrees the fates of mankind for the coming year. In particular, the fate of the king's life is determined. The king annually renewed his regal power by grasping the hands of the image of Marduk.¹

Compare this with the rabbinical ideas about the autumn Festival of *Rosh Hashanah*. God sits on His throne to judge the world. The angels shudder before Him, for His very ministers are not pure in His sight. The day is the anniversary of creation and on it 'is fixed the lot of each country, which shall see war, which shall have peace, which shall suffer from famine, which shall enjoy abundance. On this day every creature is judged and destined to life or death'.² Nine days of probation are allowed; on the tenth day, the Day of Atonement, the fates are sealed. That the day was associated with the king's destiny is suggested by the Song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii 10 d) and the 'New Year' Psalms, xlvi 9, lxxxix 18, xcix 4 reading 'May the king be strong' &c., together with references to the establishment of David as king on Mount Zion. The nearest parallel to the assembly of gods appears in the Psalm immediately following one of the traditional New Year Psalms, viz. Ps. lxxxii: 'God standeth in the congregation of princes: He is a Judge among gods.'

H. ST J. T.

¹ See e. g. Schrader *Keilinschriften*³ 370 f, 514 f; Jeremias *Das alte Testament im Lichte d. alten Orients* 43.

² Talmud of Jerusalem *Rosh Hash.* i 9 (trans. M. Schwab).