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occurrences of the may to some extent be dissipated, and a truer sense of the passages obtained, by postulating that a root up in the sense given above may have been current in Hebrew as well as in Arabic.

D. WINTON THOMAS.

A NOTE ON אַנָּאַ IN PS. CXXVII 2

This verse has yet to be satisfactorily explained by the commentators. The sentiment of the last clause, as generally translated, is so surprising in the present context that resort has been made to several unwarranted guesses. Some, relying on the plain meaning of the word, have made it mean 'in sleep'; others have held that the text is corrupt, and have postulated many alternatives.

Such remedies, however, are to be used with caution, particularly when the present text can be intelligently rendered. And although, as Driver pointed out, the Septuagint is not our panacea for all Massoretic ills, it certainly helps in the instance under consideration. Here the LXX reads varon which, besides meaning sleep, de concubitu dicitur²; for other instances of this meaning we may refer to the Book of Wisdom, where it is twice so used.³

Now there is considerable divergency of opinion as to the precise date of this book, but if with Thackeray we date it towards the close of the second century B.C. owing to its linguistic peculiarities, we shall probably not be far from the date when the Psalm under discussion was translated into Greek.

It is probable therefore that a bi-lingual population (we may note that אָשָׁיָּ is an Aramaism) would use the same euphemism in both languages.

This conclusion is further strengthened by rhythmical reasons. By adopting it we retain the *parallelismus membrorum*, which is otherwise destroyed; we shall also reject the hypothesis that we have two psalms and adopt the view that there are two strophes of the same psalm. We shall see this more clearly if we write out the psalm *in extenso*:

- ¹ Kautzsch-Cowley, Hebrew Grammar, § 118 i; Brown-Driver-Briggs, Hebrew Lexicon, p. 446 a.
 - ² Schleusner, Lex. in LXX, s.v. υπνος.
- 3 Wisdom iv 6 (ἐκ γὰρ ἀνόμων ὅπνων τέκνα γεννώμενα) and vii 2 (παγεὶς ἐν αἴματι ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς καὶ ήδονῆς ὕπνφ συνελθούσης).
 - 4 A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek, pp. 61-62.
- ⁶ Suggested *rhythmi causa* by G. R. Driver for M.T.'s א כוניץ (cf. Zech. vi 15, Neh. iv 11).

שוא־לכם משכימרקום מאחרי־שבת אכלילחם העצבים בן י (יהוֹה) יתון לידידו שנא הנח נחלת־יהוה בנים שכר פרי־הבמן בעלמו) חצים ביד־נבור בן בנר-הנעורים אשרי-הנבר אשר־מלא את־אשפתו מהם לא-יבוש כרידברו יאתו איבים בשער

This improved parallelism is obtained with very few alterations, and these are only in the weak letters. Furthermore the balance of the strophes is brought out more clearly:

- 1. There is the same rhythm throughout (3+2);
- 2. the psalm is composed of two equal strophes, each having four lines;
- 3. the thought of the two strophes is balanced;
 - a. בוני בו (in v. 11) is caught up by בוני בו (in v. 3);
 - β. שוא is balanced by אשרי;
 - γ. יחלה leads up to יחל ('gift', not 'inheritance');
 - δ. פרי הבמן (υπνος) is balanced by פרי.

If therefore we follow the hint afforded us by the use of wwws, we derive a meaning for which abolishes all need for emendation and restores the balance of thought.

Since arriving at the above conclusion, Mr. G. R. Driver, to whom I owe many valuable suggestions in this article, has drawn my attention to Hitzig who advocated a similar view and who adduced Wisdom vii 2 in support of his thesis. No subsequent commentator, however, seems to have followed him.

F. Bussby.

THE POEM IN 2 KINGS xix 21-28 (ISAIAH xxxvii 22-29)

In the J.T.S. for October 1933, pp. 369-372, F. C. Burkitt has controverted my article on this subject, written in 1892 (ZAW xii pp. 31-37), to defend Wellhausen's brilliant conjecture of לְּמָנֵי לְמָנִי לְמָדִי לְמָנִי

- ¹ Supplied by Schlögl; perhaps once written as and then lost before יתן.
- ² Suggested *rhythmi causa* by G. R. Driver; cf. Bühl's suggested emendation in Ps. xlii 2.
 - 3 Μ.Τ. ἀΕ΄ ; Gk. καταισχυνθήσεται.
 - * Suggested rhythmi causa by G. R. Driver for M.T.'s אָת־אוֹיבִים.
 - ⁵ In his *Psalmen* (1863), pp. 381-382.

(ver. 26) against my rejection of it. I must reckon the honour thereby done me all the higher, inasmuch as Wellhausen's conjecture stands in no need of defence, seeing that, as far as I know, I am the only one that has not accepted it, all others having formally agreed to his emendation.

But, as it seems. Burkitt laid less stress on the defence of the emendation than on the refutation of the ideas upon the rhythm or the metre of the passage, which were the grounds on which I felt I must reject it. It is only section 2 of his article (pp. 369-371) which is occupied with my theory, but how seriously he means his critique is clear from the last sentence: 'At least, there is little reason to sacrifice it [the emendation] at the altar of a metrical theory, which we have but small reason to suppose that Isaiah or his contemporaries would have ratified.' This sounds as if Burkitt's opposition extended to the whole scope of my 'metrical theory', but the details in section 2 shew that this is by no means the case. He not only recognizes the Kina-metre or Kinarhythm (3+2) beats) as such, but also its occurrence in the poetically conceived utterance of the prophet 2 Kings xix 21 ff, with which my article was concerned: 'No doubt', says he, 'it [this rhythm] begins where the poetry begins, at xix 21 b.... That, no doubt, is Kina rhythm, and it goes on similarly.' But as early as ver. 23a it appears to him to have another rhythm, and 'in any case the rhythm changes after ver. 26'. He considers it unproven, unprovable, as an unauthorized pretension, that Isaiah would be obliged to keep this rhythm to the end, and he observes further that this passionate outburst against the pretensions of the Assyrian is not an occasion where we ought to look for metrical finish.2 Here Burkitt is deserted by the many witnesses that stood on his side in the matter of Wellhausen's emendation. All those who enter on a discussion of the rhythm, almost without exception, notice the line of five beats, whether as Kina-rhythm or by other names 3—I may name Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, Stade, Haupt, Kamphausen, Kautzsch-

¹ They include Duhm (Jesaja, 1892), Oort (Het Oude Testament, 1899), Cheyne (Isaiah, Rainbow-Bible, 1899), Benzinger (Könige, 1899), Kittel (Könige, 1900), Marti (Jesaja, 1900), Stade and Paul Haupt (Kings, Rainbow-Bible, 1904), Kamphausen (Kautzsch³, Könige, 1909), Kautzsch (*Ibid.*, Jesaja), Ehrlich (Jesaja, 1912), Hans Schmidt (Die Grossen Propheten, 1915), Eissseldt (Kautzsch⁴, Könige u. Jes., 1922), Menge-Bibel, 1926, Kittel (Biblia Hebraica³, 1929).

² P. 371, end of section 2. That the poem does not come from Isaiah, but has been interpolated into the late history book even later, is the opinion of nearly all recent expositors, an opinion grounded especially on the fact that ver. 24 takes into account the result of Sennacherih's Egyptian expedition, of which only his successors were aware, but also on the many reminiscences of Deutero-Isaiah.

³ Benzinger, however, notes on ver. 21: 'The metre of this poem is that by far the most commonly used by the Hebrews, a verse of 2+3 beats.' That is hardly to be understood after the publication of Duhm's Commentary on Isaiah: he did not need to have noticed my article.

and make this rhythm to be intended to be kept up right through to the end of the piece; most of them indeed attempt to reintroduce this rhythm, where it is faulty, by emending the text.¹

I have set forth briefly my right to the proceeding in question in the beginning of my paper of 1802; for the English reader I may refer for further consideration to my article 'Poetry (Hebrew)' in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible (1901).2 Here I am in a position to call in another expert witness, who expresses exactly what I would say in the foregoing case. The passage is in Johannes Meinhold's Introduction to the Old Testament, 3rd ed., 1932, p. 37: 'If, for example, a prophet begins a lament and uses a metre which has a long line of three beats followed by a shrill abrupt sigh of two beats, he is then using the wellknown form and melody of the Death-chant, as the women-mourners were accustomed to raise it over the corpse. It is not probable that he would abandon this metre in the course of his lament. He who is using the tune "Jesus, meine Zuversicht" will not immediately for the same poem run into the lilt and measure of " Frohlich soll mein Herze springen". When therefore in Isaiah i 21 ff or Amos v 1 ff, or in Lamentations. simple transpositions, excisions, or additions are made on metrical grounds, such emendations are well justified.'

But let us now consider the text, on which Burkitt's far-reaching and fundamental objection is founded. He finds the Kīna-rhythm absent only in ver. 23a, which seems to him to have another rhythm, and in vv. 27 and 28, with which the poem ends. That makes up a quarter of the whole, 5 out of 20 Kīna-verses which the best authorities ascribe to the poem: certainly no great fraction of it. We shall presently see in ver. 23 how the Kīna-verse can easily and securely be restored on grounds of documentary testimony. But in vv. 27, 28, Burkitt cannot have overlooked the fact that 28 ba, the decisive pronouncement of Jahwe, makes up a Kīna-verse of the most unexceptionable kind:

Even Burkitt must acknowledge this for a Kina-verse free from suspicion. Scarcely less satisfactory is $28b\beta$, with which the poem closes:

Duhm and Haupt are certainly right in giving, as I do, two beats to the first word and in reading the אשר (followed by Makkeph) as a proclitic.³

¹ This right Kamphausen recognizes also, when he remarks (on ver. 21): 'In any case the original rhythm is in the existing text clearly faulty in several places.'

 $^{^2}$ Sec sections 2d, 2s (5), of that article, and 'The Poetry of the Prophets' (towards the end).

³ To draw אשר into the first member of the verse, as Stade wishes, is certainly

If then the poem ends with two Kina-verses, how can one urge that at ver. 27 the rhythm has been consciously and definitely changed by the poet? With inevitable necessity we find ourselves rather directed to attempt the restoration of the faulty verses 27 and 28a with all the means at our disposal.

With these remarks I can go on to a new piece of work of my own. I am grateful to Burkitt for having called my attention to that article of 1802 which I had not looked at again for forty years: I have now got much to improve it and bring it to a more consistent solution of the problem. For 21 b there is nothing to change: two good Kina-verses.— In 22 a my proposed omission of יעל-מי (accepted by Stade) is inferior to Haupt's omission of קול; for הרימת is neither the same as התרוממת (Dan, xi 36) nor should we silently supply זי as its supplement. But in any case I should like to suggest that על־מי might originally have been a marginal correction to אח"מי at the beginning of the verse and ought to be substituted for it. That is a possibility in any case, even though and מדף and סובף do not elsewhere occur with an object with על.--22 b is a good Kina-verse. -- In 23 a one may take the עבריך of the book of Isaiah in preference to מלאכיך without altering the metre: the sentence can be read, as I pointed out in 1892 (p. 33), according to the Kinapattern, with the end at מרפת and the break at חרפת, but I still regard the whole line as a later insertion to mark the heginning of the words of Sennacherib. Haupt thinks so also. 1-23a B. Here I had felt the need of a missing three-beat line before ירבתי לבנו without being able to supply the words: I had overlooked what Grätz had first noticed, and then Stade and Haupt made use of, viz. the Lucianic text, which fills up the gap otherwise in full justice to what is required. Here ver. 23 reads: έν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀρμάτων έγὰ ἐποίησα δύναμιν. ἀνέβην εἰσ ὕψος ὀρέων καὶ είσ τὰ τὰ τὰνη τοῦ Αιβάνου. Here the ἐποίησα δύναμιν is not found either in the present Hebrew or the LXX B or A. That these words go back to a Hebrew original cannot be doubted: they are a literal rendering of עשיתי חַיל (Prov. xxxi 29, Ruth iv 11). It is quite understandable that they should have dropped out before עליתי in the MT and the text underlying LXX B and A. By reinserting them we get not only an excellent sense, but also a faultless Kina-verse:

ברב רכבי אני | עָשָּׂיתִי הָיָל and to the end of the half-verse (to לבנון) there follows an equally good

mistaken, but it would be allowable to regard it as an explanatory insertion. It is better, however, to retain it.

¹ The repetition of and at once suggests another hand.

one. Stade has rightly taken the new verse as the Lucianic text attests it. The I of the insolent Assyrian king stands in the most emphatic position; Haupt's transposition of ברב רכבי to the second half of the verse only weakens the expression. A better proof for the correctness of our rhythmical assumptions and for defence of our reconstruction could hardly be imagined. Burkitt's suspicions about ver. 23a are thereby definitely laid.—23 b. Two good Kina-verses. For שמבחור we should, with Stade, read מבחר (= Isaiah); on the reading of the Imperf. cons. in vv. 23-25 (אכרת etc.) all experts are agreed.-24. Two good Kina-In leaving out כל־ Stade and Haupt agree with me, but a כל-(with Makketh) might be kept in without harming the rhythm. -25. The speech of the Assyrian ends with ver. 24: here Jahwe's answer begins. According to my arrangement we have three King-verses, ending עשיתי and בצרות and בצרות with the half-verses at למרחום and בצרות sic. without 1 (= LXX of Isaiah xxxvii 26), with Stade, Haupt, Burkittand גצים. Haupt's transposition in the first member is not an improvement, but weakens the harder but more effective order: the same is true of his prefixing a ז to השני. The ישה, that I formerly wished to cut out, had better be retained, because with its 'and so thou didst come to' it emphasizes the idea that the Assyrian is nothing else but Jahwe's instrument. The fourth beat in the longer limb of the verse makes no difficulty, as indeed I always knew .- 26a and ba form two good Kinaverses, faultless as they stand: only $b \beta$ makes a difficulty, not in the rhythm (which is excellent), but in the meaning and in the verse-division, אבני מְפָה should be transferred, as emended to אָרָנִי , to ver. 27. In that case ver. 26 ends with a line of three beats, with the shorter half-verse missing. We are both right, I not less than Wellhausen: he that ver. 27 needs the two words as emended. I that ver. 26 cannot do without them and that there is the very best application for them; only this latter assertion needs proof. The uncertainty begins with חשרפת. In 1892 I left several points open, because I was only occupied with the rhythm. Now I must first of all point out that there is no reason to raise difficulties with the stem אדר it is, according to Gen. xli 6, 23, 27, fully attested for the withering of plants, the meaning here required. The reading ישרטה in Isaiah xxxvii 27 may very well be caused by the rarity of the root אשרף, but this more common word, which is always used of fertile vineyards or orchards, has no sense here. Further, it must be pointed out that the change of קָּרָם) קָרִים into קָרָם), made by Thenius and Delitzsch, is not to be regarded as a mere free conjecture, but is shewn by the occurrence of שִׁרוֹפֹת קַרִים (Gen. xli 6, 23) to be a standing expression: in usage the desert wind belongs to the stem איר, it is

from the desert wind that the withering comes. Without the alteration of a consonant one might read age 'before its growth', but this would be certainly inferior. It is more rational to believe that the po is derived from the מכך that follows, the eye going from the first לפני to the second, and that then the T was changed into T by analogy with In ישרפה the omission of t seems to me what is called for. is not a new object of comparison that is required, but a description of the fate of this or the other objects just named. Only for the alternative reading ישרשה is the 1 correct, and here probably is a slight indication in favour of that reading. For שרפה the traditional pointing לשרפה ('blasting') may stand, abstractum pro concreto, for 'a blasted crop', as often in Hebrew (Kautzsch § 83 c). Further, the form attested in Gen. xli pleads for קַּלָּה, which seems to imply תְּצִיר fem., instead of masc. as otherwise five times attested. If this be regarded as inadmissible, we must read ካንሮ, or ካንሮን. In sense and rhythm this all comes to the same thing. No further emendations are needed, particularly not the ? prefixed by Bickell and Haupt, nor the transposition which Haupt here again prefers. So ver. 26 is shewn to have three faultless Kinaverses.—27. It has been shewn that the two last words of ver. 26 should be repeated almost exactly, so that the eye of a transcriber would easily pass from one לפני to the second, thereby suppressing one of the pairs of words. I had overlooked this in 1892, and so had rejected Wellhausen's emendation notwithstanding all its brilliancy. Wellhausen also had overlooked this point, but only to the prejudice of ver. 26. The right understanding I find first in Haupt, only that, by a transposition which he makes, the origin of the original mistake is Dillmann (Jesaja, 1890) was already on the right way, and Burkitt now is willing to accept this explanation. With Wellhausen's יפון קסף ver. 27 as far as באך makes a good Kina-verse, the half being at אבתר. The i before צאתר should be omitted (though against all authorities), so that the short line should be given a sharper emphasis. It was not till the loss of the initial words of the verse that שבחר was necessarily to be linked on to what follows. But the point is of little importance.—A new line must now begin with ידעתי, while now it is at the end of a half-verse: to gain this new position for it nothing more is required than to delete the following he, but for a Kina-verse the end is a whole word too short. Marti here has perceived the true solution, viz. that דעתי only came into the text as a substitute for the lost ידעתי and that when this word has been restored ידעתי is no longer required.2 And further he maintains, also with Stade and Haupt, that

¹ So Haupt, reading אָרֶטָה.

² In this Stade and Haupt agree with him.

the התרגור אלי should only be read once. At present it forms a dittography, which has been adapted in the usual way to the context. For ver. 27, therefore, together with the preceding או, it should be simply omitted.—28 a. The single Kina-line that this half-verse must give us can be reconstructed in various ways. My omission of מְלָה is approved by Stade and Haupt, and for the first line they retain, not very plausibly. the ירעתי of ver. 27. Marti keeps עלה and connects my conjecture accepted by Stade and Haupt, with החרנוך אלי, a I am sure that the pr at the beginning of the verse, which they all reject, must be retained: it is taken up by the ישמתי of the apodosis. If then we leave out the niv as a supplement, the Kina-verse is there, the division coming at אלי.—About 28b I have spoken already; the two Kina-lines of which it consists need no emendation. Thus the poem consists of 20 Kina-verses, or of 21 if we reckon in ver, 23aa. It will not be easy to find so long a poem with the same structure, which can be so securely restored.

A beautiful and poetical piece, notwithstanding its late date! For, as has been already indicated, there can be no possibility of ascribing it to Isaiah, as Hans Schmidt and Burkitt still do. In using the rhythm of a lament for the announcement of calamities on foreign foes the poets Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah had led the way, and in the supposition that the enemy should have insight into the omnipotence and the plan of Jahwe Deutero-Isaiah seems to have served as the model.

The opinion of Burkitt, that from ver. 27 the rhythm changes and that as early as 23 a there is another rhythm perceptible, cannot in my opinion be disproved with greater certainty: so that we have the right so to emend the passages, as to restore the Kina-verse rhythm, recognized in the rest of the piece, in these verses also. But his protest has done good service, in that it has led to a surer and more satisfactory reconstruction of the poem. I venture to hope that Burkitt himself will be convinced of it.

KARL BUDDE.

CORRIGENDUM

APRIL No., p. 162, l. 29, for F., Apr. 10 read Th., Apr. 10 as on p. 158.