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The Book of Nahum *

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IN my address on Purim, which I delivered at our meeting last year,¹ I showed that the incidents related in the Book of Esther were suggested by the sufferings of the Jews during the Syrian persecution and their glorious victory over Nicanor on the 13th of Adar, 161 B.C. I have recently come to the conclusion that the Book of Nahum is a liturgical compilation for the celebration of that victory. *He that dashes in pieces is come up before thy face*, at the beginning of the second chapter of Nahum, refers to Judas Maccabæus; the Authorized Version gives the correct rendering *hammer*² in the margin. *The wicked counselor that imagineth evil against the Lord* (1 11) is Nicanor, and instead of the clause translated in the Authorized Version: *that no more of thy name be sown* (1 14) we must read: *thy remains shall be scattered*. Judas Maccabæus gibbeted the head and the right arm of Nicanor, and the tongue of this *thrice-guilty wretch* was cut up and given to the birds (2 Macc. 15 33).

The Book of Nahum is not a prophecy, but a liturgical collection of four poems. The first two poems are Maccabean, but the last two were written by a Hebrew poet who

* President's address at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, New York, Dec. 27, 1906.

saw the fall of Nineveh in 606 B.C. The tradition that Nahum the Elkoshite was born and buried at *Elkôsh*, a large Christian village about 27 miles north of Mōsul, cannot be traced beyond the sixteenth century. The fact that the tomb of Nahum is shown at Elkôsh, and that it is held in great reverence by Mohammedans and Christians, and especially by the Jews, is no more conclusive than the tradition that the prophet Jonah is buried in Nineveh on the top of the mound known as *Nabî Yânus*, south of the Acropolis of Nineveh, now called *Kouyunjik*, which contains the palaces of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Sardanapalus with the famous cuneiform library which was discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in 1854.³ Nevertheless, Nahum may have been in Assyria at the time of the fall of Nineveh. Wellhausen's statement that Nahum must have been a Judean is untenable; the references to Judah occur in the Maccabean sections. The line: O Judah! keep thy feasts! perform thy vows! at the beginning of the second chapter, emphasizes the fact that the Syrians, after the glorious victories of Judas Maccabæus, are no longer able to interfere with the observance of the Jewish rites. In the Maccabean sections *Nineveh*, the capital of Assyria, is a poetic designation of the *Seleucidan Kingdom*, just as Maccabean poets call Judea *Jacob* or *Joseph*,⁴ or as Latin poets call the Romans *Dardanians* or *Teucrians*. Syria is nothing but a shortened form of *Assyria*, and Assyrian is merely an older local variety of Syriac. What we call Syriac is the dialect of Edessa in Northwestern Mesopotamia; see Crit. Notes on Judges (SBOT) p. 66, n. *.

In several passages of the Old Testament the Seleucidan Kingdom is called *Assyria*. In Psalm 137 8 it is called a *Daughter of Babylon*,⁵ and instead of Sons of Edom (v. 7) we must read *Sons of Aram*, i.e. *Syrians*, just as we must substitute *Bath-Arâm*, i.e. *Sons of Aram*, Syrians, for *Bath-Edôm*,⁶ Edomites, at the end of the fourth poem in the Maccabean elegies commonly known as the Lamentations of Jeremiah.⁵ The enemies addressed in Lam. 4 21 are said to dwell in the land of *Uz*, the home of Job. Friedrich Delitzsch showed more than twenty years ago that *Uz* was mentioned

in the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser (860–825) as a region near *Patín*, i.e. the district north of the Lake of Antioch. *Uz* must be the region of Antioch, the new capital of the Seleucids, which was founded about 300 B.C.⁵ The pitiful condition of Jerusalem bewailed in the Book of Lamentations was the result of the destruction of the holy city by Antiochus Epiphanes' commissioner Apollonius in 168 B.C. (1 Macc. 1 31).

Josephus, who gives a paraphrase of Nah. 2 8-13 in his *Jewish Antiquities* (ix 11 3) believed that Nahum prophesied 115 years before the destruction of Nineveh; but Nahum's poem on the fall of Nineveh is the description of a contemporary, if not an eye-witness. The second part of the title of the Book of Nahum, *The Vision of Nahum the Elkoshite*, belongs to the fourth poem describing the fall of Nineveh, while the first part, *The Utterance on Nineveh*, should be prefixed to the third poem predicting the fall of Nineveh. The *Vision of Nahum* was composed after the fall of Nineveh in 606, and the *Utterance on Nineveh* was written after the invaders had begun the long siege of the great capital of Assyria—the strongest fortress of Western Asia.

The siege of Nineveh is said to have lasted for more than two years. The Assyrians were no doubt as brave as lions, and the statement in Nah. 3 13, generally translated *Thy people in the midst of thee are women*, is incorrect: instead of *našim*, women, we must read *naššim*, we will destroy (or *iaššimu*, they will destroy) from *šamám*, to destroy, as in the old song celebrating a victory over Moab, Num. 21 30, where the LXX renders: *αὶ γυναικες*.

Diodorus of Sicily (2 23) states that Sardanapalus, the last king of Assyria, lived like a woman, and finally burned himself with his harem and his treasures on a huge pyre. But we know now that Sardanapalus (or *Aššur-bāni-pal*) was a warlike king who showed his valor in many a battle and in hunting fierce lions and other wild beasts. He died in 625, nearly twenty years before the fall of Nineveh. I pointed out more than twenty years ago (ZK 2 282) that this legend was due to a confusion of Aššur-bāni-pal with his rebellious

brother Šamaš-šum-ukîn who perished in the flames of burning Babylon.

We know now from the stele of the last king of Babylon (555-538) Nabonidus, which Father Scheil discovered in 1895, during his excavations at Babylon, that Nebuchadnezzar's father, Nabopolassar (625-604) took no part in the destruction of Nineveh. He was allied with the *ummân-manda*, i. e. the northeastern barbarians, and helped to destroy the Assyrian empire; but the fall of Nineveh was due to the *ummân-manda*. This tallies with Herodotus' statement that the Medes captured Nineveh and subdued Assyria except the Babylonian portion. Nabonidus regards the destruction of Nineveh as a divine retribution for Sennacherib's devastation of Babylon (KAT³, 105).

According to Diodorus there was an old oracle stating that no one would be able to capture Nineveh, unless the river should turn against the city. After the Medes had besieged Nineveh for two years, there were incessant rains, so that finally the Euphrates flooded a part of the city and tore down twenty stadia of the city wall. Now we know, of course, that Nineveh was not situated on the Euphrates, but on the eastern side of the Tigris, although there are a good many college graduates who do not know whether Nineveh was situated on the Euphrates or on the Tigris, and whether the Tigris is east or west of the Euphrates. However, even the Tigris could not have submerged Nineveh, because the bed of the Tigris is too low. The Tigris may have flooded Calah, but not Nineveh.

Nineveh was situated in a plain enclosed by four rivers,⁷ viz. Tigris, Upper Zâb, Khâzir, and Gômél. This plain of Nineveh resembles in some respects Manhattan Island. The North River would correspond to the Tigris, the East River to the Khâzir, Harlem River to the Gômél, and the Bay of New York, between the North and the East Rivers, to the Zâb. If we assume that Central Park represents *Nineveh*, Harlem would represent *Rehoboth Ir*, Trinity Church *Calah*, and Twenty-third Street *Resen*. Hoboken would correspond to the modern *Môsul* on the western side of the Tigris.

The length of Central Park is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and Nineveh extended about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles on the river side of the Tigris. The eastern wall was nearly 3 miles long, the northern measured $1\frac{1}{4}$, and the southern about a thousand feet. The area of Central Park is about 840 acres, while Nineveh was more than twice as large, about 1800 acres. It had a circumference of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles and may have contained a population of 300,000.

According to Baedeker, it takes but four or five hours to go around the city; not three days, as stated in the Book of Jonah.⁸ Jonah might have traversed the whole plain of Nineveh, from Rehoboth Ir to Calah, in one day. The plain of Nineveh was about 25 miles long and 14 miles wide, while the length of Manhattan is 14 miles, and its greatest width $2\frac{1}{4}$. *Nineveh, Calah, Rehoboth Ir*, and *Resen* never formed one city. There are no traces of a common wall for this tetrapolis. *Rehoboth Ir* seems to be identical with *Dûr-Šarrukên* which Sargon, the father of Sennacherib, built about the end of his reign (722-705). Colonel Billerbeck's theory⁹ that *Rehoboth Ir* is represented by the modern *Môşul* is not probable. *Dûr-Šarrukên*, the modern *Khorsabâd*, is about five hours north of Nineveh, and *Calah*, the present *Nimrâd*, south of Nineveh, may be reached in seven hours. *Khorsabâd* stands for *Khosrabâd*, i.e. *City of Khusrâu* or *Chosroes*; see Max, Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Per-sischen Golf*, vol. ii (Berlin, 1900) p. 180; cf. Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) *Addenda* to p. 48, n. 13.

Dûr-Šarrukên in the north was close to the sources of the *Hûsur*. It covered the road to Nineveh and protected the water-supply of the capital. Nahum says in 3 14: *Draw thee waters for a siege!* This does not refer to boiling water to be poured down on the besiegers, as Col. Billerbeck supposes;⁹ nor does it mean: *Fill the moats* protecting the city!¹⁰ We must remember that the water of the Tigris is not drinkable; even the water of the wells within the city and outside is brackish and full of gypsum. The water of the *Hûsur*, on the other hand, is excellent. Sennacherib (705-681) states in the inscription on the rocks of Bavian

(a Kurdish village northeast of Khorsabâd) that before he built the *pâti Šin-ahê-êrba*,¹¹ the Sennacherib conduit (which may be compared to the *Croton aqueduct*) the people of Nineveh depended on the rain water: *ana zunnê tiq šamê turruçâ inâšun*.

The Hûsur, now called *Khôsar*, flows in a southward direction from Khorsabâd to the middle of the eastern wall of Nineveh; ⁷ thence it passed westward through the centre of Nineveh, emptying into the Tigris on the south side of the Acropolis now known as *Kouyunjik*.⁷ Most of the buildings disinterred at *Kouyunjik* have suffered from fire; several of the cuneiform tablets from the library of Sardanapalus are half burnt and blistered, *e.g.* some of the fragments of the cuneiform account of the Deluge, especially the greenish-yellow fragment R^M 616, published on p. 120 of my edition of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic. Nahum says in 3 15: *tôkhelekêš êšh*, fire will devour thee!

The besiegers, it may be supposed, came from the north. They defeated the Assyrians in a pitched battle; then they captured *Dâr-Šarrukên* and the other fortified places north and east of Nineveh. There is no evidence of any destruction at Khorsabâd; the strongholds may have fallen, as Nahum says, *like figs* which fall into the mouth of the eater when they are shaken; so *the gates of the land were open unto the enemies*. The besiegers were, of course, unable to invest the entire city; the western side of the Tigris could hardly be blockaded, and the fortified city of Calah prevented any operations from the south. The besiegers seem to have directed their main attack against the northwestern corner of Nineveh. This is the highest point in the area of Nineveh, commanding the waterworks from which most of the moats were fed. The northern sections of the moats were supplied with water by a canal which entered the city from the north, while the moats south of the Hûsur were filled from this river. The moat between the wall and the eastern outworks was nearly 150 feet wide. It was cut in the shell-limestone rock,¹² with vertical sides. Even now the depth is about 13 feet. There is a great breach at the northern

end of the eastern wall, and more than 2000 feet of the moat are filled with rubbish.

After having captured *Dār-Šarrukên* and the other fortified places north and east, the besiegers could cut off the water supply of Nineveh. At the point in the eastern *enceinte* where the *Ḥûsur* enters the city there are three great dams. If these flood-gates were destroyed by the enemy, the *Ḥûsur*, swelled by the melting snow in the spring, and not diverted into the moats and ditches, may have flooded the city, so that Nineveh, as Nahum says, was *like a pool of water*. The *Ḥûsur* with its unchecked spring-floods may have undermined the southern portion of the Acropolis, the mound of *Kouyunjik*, so that, as Nahum says, *the palace was tottering*. This catastrophe was not unprecedented: Sennacherib states that the stream had once damaged the southern side of the Acropolis, where he afterwards erected his palace, so that the coffins of the kings who had been buried there were exposed.

I must omit a number of comments on the fortifications of Nineveh and the final capture.⁹ I will give, in conclusion, a new metrical translation of the four poems contained in the Book of Nahum.¹³

The first poem is an alphabetical psalm which originally consisted of 11 couplets or 22 *mëshalîm*, i. e. *hemistichal pairs*, with three beats in each hemistich. The last seven *mëshalîm* were not quoted by the compiler of this festal liturgy for the celebration of the great victory of Judas Maccabæus over Nicanor in 161, probably because they did not suit his purpose. The first part of the psalm describes the irresistible power of JHVH who is kind to those who believe on Him, but who wreaks vengeance on His foes. JHVH manifests Himself in thunder-storms. He whirls up thunder-clouds, just as the march of an army is marked by clouds of dust. The Cherubim personify the thunder-clouds, and the Seraphim the flashes of lightning.¹⁴

It is interesting to note in this connection that Xenophon states, the besiegers could not capture Nineveh, but Zeus terrified the inhabitants by a thunder-storm, and thus

the city was taken. Xenophon's account is very inaccurate. He does not mention the name of Nineveh, only *Larissa* and *Mespila*.¹⁵ Moreover, he says that the city was inhabited by the Medes and besieged by the Persians; but he refers to the Queen of the besieged king, just as Nahum does, and alludes to some cataclysm which brought about the fall of Nineveh. Xenophon (*Anabasis*, iii 47) speaks of a great city in ruins, situated on the Tigris, formerly inhabited by the Medes. The King of the Persians could not capture it; but there appeared a cloud which veiled the sun and frightened the inhabitants so that they left the city. A day's journey from *Larissa* there was a large castle (*τείχος* = Assyr. *dâru*) in ruins, near a city called *Mespila*.¹⁵ The Queen of the King of the Medes fled there when the Medes were subdued by the Persians. The King of the Persians besieged the city for a long time, but could not capture it. Finally Zeus frightened the inhabitants by a thunder-storm, and thus the city was captured.

The introductory alphabetic psalm in the Book of Nahum may be translated as follows:

THE BOOK OF NAHUM

I

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|----------------|--|
| i | ⌘ 1 | 2 ^a | A jealous ^a God is JHVH,
a revenger, ^β and full of wrath; |
| | ג | 3 ^b | Through whirlwind and storm is His path, ¹⁴
the clouds are the dust of His feet. |
| ii | ד | 4 | He scolds at the sea — it is arid,
and all the rivers He empties; |
| | ה | | (Even) Basan and Carmel languish,
the blossoms of Lebanon wither. |
| iii | ו | 5 | The mountains quake before Him,
the hills (at once start to) totter; |
| | ז | | The earth before Him crashes, ¹⁶
the world and all therein dwelling. |

iv	י	6	Who can endure His fury, withstand the heat of His anger? His wrath fuses (all things) like fire, the rocks are even set blazing.
	ח		
v	ט	7	Kind is He to those who trust Him, a bulwark in days of trouble; Of those turning to Him He is heedful, 8 He saves them in floods overwhelming.
vi	י		He exterminates all who oppose Him, His foes He thrusts into darkness; 9 ^b Not twice upon foes wreaks He vengeance, His work is not done by halves! ¹⁷
	ט		
vii	י	9 ^a	What do ye devise against JHVH? 3 ^a He ^δ never condones an offense!
	י	2 ^b	On His foes He ever wreaks vengeance, to enemies He ever bears hatred.
viii	י	10	Soaked ^ε though they be as toss-pots, ^ζ like stubble the fire shall consume them! ¹⁸
	י		* * * * * * * * * *
ix	י		* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
	י		
x	י		* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
	י		
xi	י		* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
	י		

(α) 1 2 that is, a revenger (β) is JHVH
 (γ) 3^a Long-suffering but powerful is JHVH, and (δ) 3^a JHVH
 (ε) 10 if they soak (ζ) tangled (thorns)¹⁸

The second poem, which describes *the overthrow of the Seleucidan Kingdom*, consists of three six-line stanzas with 3 + 2 beats in each hemistichal pair. The *city* addressed is *Antioch*, the capital of the Seleucidan Kingdom. The *bewitching seductress* is *Hellenic culture*.

II

- i 3 1 O woe to the city of blood,¹⁹
of lies and outrage! ^α
4 Because of the many seductions
of the ^β charming seductress ^γ
5 Behold! I fall upon thee,¹⁹
says JHVH Sabaoth:
I uncover thy skirts to affront thee,
exposing ^δ thy shame; ^ε
6 Disgrace I'll cast upon thee,⁵
I'll make thee a show! ^γ
7 They'll cry: Laid waste is Nineveh,¹⁹
but who bemoans her? ^θ
- ii 1 11 From thee,¹⁹ behold, there came
{a plotter of mischief,} ²⁰
Devising harm against JHVH { }
14 who ^ι decreed against him: ²⁰
[^κ Thy burial will I make vile,
thy remains shall ^λ be scattered! ^μ
In the temples of thy gods I'll ruin
idols carved and molten. []
2 1 A Hammer ²¹ came up against thee,
now guard the fastness! ²²
Watch the way, make strong thy loins,
fortify thee well!
- iii 1 12 ^ν How high the tide was soever,²³
^ξ it has ebbed and subsided.^ο
15 Behold there strides o'er the mountains ^π
the herald of peace! ^ρ
O Judah! keep thy feasts!
perform thy vows!
^σ He'll nevermore pass ^τ through thee,
cut off and ended.²⁰

2 2 The glory of Jacob ^v reblossomed,²⁴ ϕ
 Israel's vine,²⁵
 However much wasted the wasters
 destroying their branches.

(α)	3	1	preying does not cease	(β)	4	graceful
(γ)	4	With seductions cheating the nations	and clans with her charms.			
(δ)	5	to the nations	(ϵ) that is, thy disgrace to the kingdoms			
(ζ)	6	that is, I vilify thee				
(η)	7	All who see thee will flee from thee				
(θ)		Whence shall I for thee seek the mourners?				
(ι)	1	14	יהוה (κ) yea (λ) not 2 5 be mentioned	(μ)	1	14 again
(ν)	12	Thus says יהוה : and so		(ξ)	and so	
(\omicron)		I humbled thee, but ne'er again !				
	13	His sceptre ^{xx} now will I break,	his bonds I'll burst !			
(π)	15	he who brings good tidings				
(ρ)	2	14	and no more will be heard the voice of thy envoys			
(σ)	1	15	Mischief	(τ)	again	
(υ)	2	2	through יהוה	(ϕ)	3	on the day He restored it

(xx) 1 13 *over thee*

The third poem, entitled *The Utterance on Nineveh*, and composed of two seven-line stanzas with 2 + 2 beats in each hemistichal pair, was written by Nahum, an Israelitish poet in Assyria, after the Medes had begun their long siege of Nineveh, about 607 B.C. The hundred-gated Thebes (*No-Amon*) in Egypt fell in 663, although her position on the eastern bank of the Nile was just as strong as the great fortress on the eastern side of the Tigris, and although Thebes was aided by Egypt, Ethiopia, Libya, &c. Assyria has no allies. The doom of Nineveh is sealed, even if she plies the brickmold to strengthen her bulwarks. Her water-supply is cut off; she must drink the cup of fury.

III

1 1^a The Utterance on Nineveh
 i 3 8 Art thou better than No ^a
 on the banks of the Nile,^b
^v Whose rampart the River,
 whose wall the water?

- 9 With Cush to abet her,[§]
 ‘and Libya[§] to aid ?
- 10 Even she had to go
 into exile and bondage ;
 7 Her babes were shattered
 at the corners of ^θ streets ;
 And for her nobles
 lots were cast ;
 And all her great ones
 were shackled in chains.
- ii 11 Thou also shalt drink
 until overcome ! ‘
- 14 The water for a siege
 draw for thyself !
 {}Go into the mud,^{26 κ}
 and handle the brickmold ! {^}
- 15^b Though as thick as locusts,^μ
 as many as 7 grasshoppers : ‡
- 15^a Fire will devour thee, [°]
 the sword destroy ! []
- 12 * Thy forts will be figtrees,
 {ρ thy people} firstripe figs, σ
- 13^b Thy bars burnt with fire, τ
- 13^a {}they’ll make havoc within thee !

The following four hemistichal pairs are a Maccabean appendix alluding to the overwhelming defeat of the Syrians on Nicanor’s Day in 161 B.C. The entire Syrian army was annihilated. The leaders and heroes of the King of Assyria, *i.e.* Syria, sleep the sleep of death. The Maccabean poet says :

- 18 *Thy leaders slumber, ν*
thy worthies sleep,
Thy men are scattered, φ
and no one rallies them.
- 19 *Thy wreck is hopeless,*
thy wound is fatal.
 x *Who hears thy fate,*
claps hands with joy ! ψ

- (α) 3 8 Amon (β) water around her (γ) she
 (δ) 9 and Egypt, and there is no end (ϵ) Put
 (ζ) was there (η) 10 even (θ) all
 (ι) 11 Thou too, shalt seek shelter from foes !
 (κ) 14 Tread the clay !²⁶ (λ) strengthen thy bulwarks !
 (μ) 16^b the locusts shed²⁷ and fly
 (ν) 17^b They alight in hedges when cool grows the day ;
 When arises the sun, $\alpha\alpha$ their place $\beta\beta$ is not known.
 (ξ) 16^a Thy traders outnumber the stars in the sky ;
 17^a Like grasshoppers thy like crickets $\gamma\gamma$ thy scribes.
 [charmers,²⁸
 (\omicron) 15^a Like locusts will it devour thee !
 (π) 12 all (ρ) 13 lo !
 (σ) 12^b If shaken, they drop into the mouth of the eater !
 (τ) 13 The gates of the land are $\delta\delta$ open to foes
 (υ) 18 O King of Assyria (ϕ) on the hills (χ) 19 every one
 (ψ) for whom has thy wickedness not continually affronted ?
-
- ($\alpha\alpha$) 17 *they flee* ($\beta\beta$) *where they are* ($\gamma\gamma$) *creakers*²⁹ ($\delta\delta$) 18 *wide*

The last poem, entitled *The Vision of Nahum the Elkoshite*, was written after the fall of Nineveh in 606. It consists of nine couplets, which may be grouped in three sections, with 3 + 2 beats in each hemistichal pair, just as in the second Maccabean poem. The enemies are not named; the besiegers are referred to as *their heroes, their warriors, their worthies* (cf. Jer. 4 13 8 16). The poem describes the final assault. The hemistich *the mantlets are set up* shows that the storming-party is close to the fortress. The *mantlets* (or *pavises*) were large rectangular screens with a small horizontal cover on top. They were more than six feet high and broad enough to cover two or three warriors. These standing-shields were made of planks or thick wickerwork. They also used a curved form, shaped like the tusk of an elephant; this was made of osiers or reeds, and was covered at the bottom and at the top with leather or thin metal plates. The *mantlets* were very heavy and were not used in battle; they were used exclusively in sieges when the besiegers had come close to the fortress, not more than 600 feet from the wall.⁹ Nahum describes the final assault as follows:

IV

- 1 1^b The^a Vision of Nahum the Elkoshite
- A i 3 2 Hark! The whip! List! Wheels are rumbling,
the steeds are neighing;
The chariots bound onward,
3 the horsemen leap!^β
- ii Swords flash, and spears are glittering!
γ in heaps lie corpses!^δ
- 2 3^a Red³⁰ are the shields of their³¹ heroes,
encrimsoned³⁰ their³¹ warriors.[^ε]
- iii 5 But their³¹ worthies make haste to her³² wall
with mantlets set up.
8^b ς Ho! Stand! Ho! Stand! they yell;³³
none³⁴ faces about.
- B iv 6 The gates of the River³⁵ are opened,
the palace³⁶ is tottering!
8^a A lake of water is Nineveh,
the flood overwhelms her!
- v 7 Brought out, a captive, deported
is the King's (fair) consort,
Like doves her maidens moaning
and beating their breasts.
- vi 9 Pillage silver! Pillage the gold!
endless the store!
Bear off the heavy booty
of stuff that is precious!
- C vii 10 Void is she, empty, and wasted,
all courage is melted;
The knees are knocking, and trembling
pervades the loins.
- viii 11 Where {now} is the lair of the lions,
the den{}of the cubs?
⌈ Where^θ once the ⌋ lion found shelter,
and none affrayed him?

ix 12 * That prowled to feed his whelps,
strangled food for his lionesses,
And filled his caves with prey,
his dens with rapine ?

The Maccabean compiler of this festal liturgy for the celebration of Nicanor's Day has appended to this thrilling old poem a final couplet apostrophizing the Seleucidan Kingdom:

x 13 *Behold! I fall upon thee,
says Jahveh Sabaoth,
Thy lodge³⁷ I'll burn with fire,^λ
and cut off thy rapine! ^μ*

(α) 1	1 ^b book of the	
(β) 2	3 ^b Like fire the chariot flashes,	the horsemen are frenzied. ^{νν} ξξ
	4 ^b Their aspect is like torches,	they flash like lightnings. ⁸⁸
	4 ^a The chariots rage in the streets,	rush over the places.
(γ) 3	3 there is a multitude of slain	(δ) there is no end of carcasses
(ε) 2	10 the faces of all are aglow ⁸⁹	(ζ) 8 ^b while they flee
(η) 11	the place (θ) the lion (ι) whelp of the	(κ) 12 the lion
(λ) 13	and the sword will devour thy cubs!	(μ) from the land

(νν) 2 5 *they stumble in their courses* (ξξ) 3 3 *they stumble over their carcasses*⁹⁰

NOTES

(1) Published in the Johns Hopkins contributions to Assyriology = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (BA) edited by Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, vol. vi, part 2 (Leipzig, 1906). Owing to the 155 notes appended to that address I could not send the manuscript to the Corresponding Secretary before May 2, and this was too late for publishing it in the first part of vol. xxv of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, which was issued about the beginning of September, 1906. The references to JBL xxv in AJSL xxii 252, n. 8 and AJP xxvii 155, n. 1 were premature.

(2) For the name *Maccabee* see note 18 to my paper on Psalm 23 in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (AJSL) vol. xxi, p. 140.

(3) See R. W. Rogers, *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. i (New York, 1901) p. 174; cf. Delitzsch's *Assyrian grammar*, second edition (Berlin, 1906) p. 2.

(4) Cf. e.g. Obad. 18 and Psalm 76; see note 22 to my paper *Eine alttestamentliche Festliturgie für den Nikanortag* in vol. lxi of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG) p. 287.

(5) See my paper on Psalm 137 in Peiser's *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung* (OLZ) February, 1907.

(6) *Edom* is a dialectic variation of *Adam*, *Man*, and *Esau* a dialectic variation of *Osai* (Heb. 'ôsê) *Maker*, *Creator*. *Aram* is a phonetic modification of *Adam*; cf. Lat. *arbiter* = *adbiter*, etc. See my paper *Die Etymologie von Aram* in vol. lxi of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, p. 194.

(7) See Map I in Col. Billerbeck's paper cited in note 9.

(8) The addition *mahlākḥ šēlōšēth iāmīm* at the end of Jon. 3 is a gloss. V. 5 of this chapter must be inserted after v. 8; the original sequel of v. 4 is v. 5 of chapter 4.

(9) Cf. the remarks of Col. Billerbeck in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii, pp. 107-188; also Geo. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii (London, 1898) pp. 96-102.

(10) Assyr. *xirātika mē mullī*; see Delitzsch's *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896) p. 290^a.

(11) See Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* (HW) p. 555^b.

(12) Xenophon says of *Mespila*: ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπίς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυ-
λάτου, τὸ εἶπος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. This does not refer to the *wall* of the city, but to the *moat*; cf. Herod. 1.185.2.170. The term *κρηπίς* (Lat. *crepido*) means here, not *base of the wall*, but *embankment*, *revetment*; it refers to the *walls of the moat* and corresponds to the Assyr. *kāru* (HW 349^b) *revetment*. According to Xenophon the width (of the moat) was 50 feet, and the depth (τὸ ὕψος) 50 feet; for the first 50 we must substitute 150; the width of the moat is still 150 feet, while the depth is now but 13 feet; but at the time of Xenophon it may have been 50 feet. See my paper *Xenophon's Account of the Fall of Nineveh* in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (JAOS) vol. xxviii.

(13) The rhythm of my translation has been much improved in a number of passages by the kind assistance of the distinguished co-editor of the Polychrome Bible, Horace Howard Furness.

(14) See the abstract of my lecture on *Bible and Babel* in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (JHUC) No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 48^b.

(15) *Larissa* seems to be a corruption (with *l* for *n* and transposition) of *Resen* = Assyr. *Rēš-īni*, *Fountain-head*, and *Mespila* may represent an Assyr. *mušpīlu*, built of shell-limestone (Assyr. *pīlu* = *πῶρος*). See note 3 to my paper cited above in note 4. In Esth. 1 c Heb. *dar* apparently denotes *shell-marble*; *baḥt* may be *verd-antique*, and *sōhērth* = *onyx-marble*, while *šēš* means *white marble*.

(16) Cf. Hor. *Carm.* iii 37: *Si fractus illabatur orbis.*

(17) The annihilation of Nicanor and his army was complete. The literal translation of this hemistich would be: *He works to completion* (or *finish*).

(18) The Syrians were toppers; both Antiochus Epiphanes and his nephew Demetrius as well as Alexander Balas were habitual sots. Therefore we read in Eccl. 10 16:

Woe, thou land whose king is a boy!

Hail, thou land whose king is a highborn!

whose princes feast in the morning.

whose princes feast at due seasons.

(with the gloss *for strength, and not for drinking*). Heb. *širîm* means both *jars* and *thorns*; in the present passage it denotes *jars*. Tangled thorns burn just as well as disentangled thorns; even better. But barrels full of wine do not burn so easily, unless the wine is poured out. See Haupt, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 16, κ and ξ (also ττ and υυ).

(19) The capital of Assyria = Syria, *i.e.* the Seleucidan Kingdom.

(20) Nicanor.

(21) Judas Maccabæus; *cf.* above, note 2.

(22) The *Acra* or *citadel* of Jerusalem, which was occupied by the Syrians until it was finally starved into surrender (in May, 142) by Simon, whose triumphant entrance is glorified in Psalm 118; see my remarks in note 43 to my paper cited above in note 2.

(23) Also the *floods*, *billows*, and *waves* in Jon. 2 s refer to the tide of the Syrian persecution; see my interpretation of the psalm in the second chapter of the Book of Jonah in my paper on the cuneiform name of the sperm-whale, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xxiii, p. 268, n. 3; *cf.* my paper *Jonah's Whale* in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1907.

(24) Literally *returned*, *i.e.* *recovered*.

(25) *Cf.* Psalm 80 s 10 15 (Heb. 9 11 15).

(26) The explanatory gloss added to *Go into the mud* explains this hemistich to mean: *tread the clay*, *i.e.* *Knead the clay* for making bricks by mixing it with water and working it *with the feet*.

(27) Cast (*exuviate*) their skin.

(28) Enchanters, conjurers, exorcists.

(29) *Cricket* means *crieaker*, *chirper*.

(30) That is, *bespattered with blood*.

(31) Lit. *his*, *i.e.* *of the enemy* besieging Nineveh.

(32) Nineveh.

(33) The captains of the Ninevites.

(34) Of the Ninevite warriors.

(35) The flood-gates of the Hûsur.

(36) The Acropolis of Nineveh, *i.e.* the mound now known as *Kouyunjik* with the palaces of the Assyrian kings.

(37) That is, a covered place of shelter in which wild beasts lurk. It alludes here to the *lair* (= German *Lager*, camp; *cf.* 1 Macc. 4 20) of the beasts of prey, *i.e.* the Syrians; see ZDMG, vol. lxi, p. 286.

(38) The first line of gloss β is a variant to the second hemistichal pair of stanza i; 2 4^b is a gloss to the first hemistich of 2 s^b, and 2 4^a a gloss to the second hemistich of 2 s^b. The glossator understood *parašîm* in 2 s^b to mean *horses* (of the chariots) not *horsemen*.

(39) A misplaced incorrect explanation of *encrimsoned*.

(40) An incorrect explanation of the hemistich *the horsemen are frenzied*, lit. *staggered*, *i.e.* they make their horses *run like mad*, as though they had the (blind) staggers.

Further explanations are given in the subjoined Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text and in the 116 notes to my paper cited above in note 4.

Critical Notes on Nahum

א

(1^a) The first part of the title, מִשָּׂא נִינְוָה, is not *evidently late* (EB 3259) but belongs to section 1; the second part, חֲזוֹן נְהוּם הָאֱלֹקִישׁ (ספר) should be prefixed to section 7.

The following verses (1²⁻¹⁰) contain the first fifteen lines of an alphabetic psalm; the last seven lines (beginning with the letters, ט, פ, צ, ק, ר, ש, ת, respectively) are wanting; they were, it may be supposed, not quoted by the compiler of this festal liturgy for the celebration of Nicānor's Day, because they did not suit his purpose. This Maccabean psalm originally consisted of eleven couplets; each couplet is composed of two משלים (AJSL 20¹⁵⁰, n.*) *i.e.* hemistichal pairs, and each hemistich has three beats (3 + 3). The first syllable of a line is, as a rule, unaccented, unless the word is especially significant; *cf.* טוֹב, v. 7; מָה, v. 9^a; מִי, 3¹⁴; שֶׁמֶשׁ, 3^{17^b}. Even at the beginning of the second hemistich an accented syllable is generally avoided. Therefore we find יְרִי instead of יְרִי in 3¹⁰, just as we have נָמִי instead of נָמִי in 3¹⁸; and we may read פָּסָל instead of פָּסָל in 1¹⁴; contrast מַיִם, 3⁸ and קָדְךָ, 3¹⁴. It is not necessary to read וְשָׂמֶשׁ, וְשָׂמֶשׁ, וְשָׂמֶשׁ, or מִימִי instead of מִי.

(2^a) The addition of וְנִקָּם after קִנְיָא is due to scribal expansion derived from the second hemistich.

After וְנִקָּם, at the beginning of the second hemistich, omit יְהוָה. ㊄ omits וְהוֹדָה נִקָּם before חֲמָה.

V. 2^b belongs to couplet vii; also v. 3^a.

(3^b) The emendation וְאַבְקָא instead of אַבְקָא is not good.

(4) We need not restore the form וְיִיבְשְׁרוּ; *yaiiabbšēhu* (*cf.* Kings 210, n.*; contrast ZDMG 58⁵²³) is contracted from *yaiiēiabbšēhu*; וְיִבְשְׁרוּ was pronounced *yaiiabbšēhu* (not *yaiiavšēhu*). The uncontracted form *yaiiēiabbšēhu* would have four unaccented syllables, which is unrhymetrical. The emendation וְיִבְשׁ is gratuitous.

Instead of אֶמְלֵל¹ read רָאב (not רִבְאָא). We find a similar careless repetition of the same expression instead of a synonym in 2⁸ (נֶאֱוִן² instead of גִּפְן) and in 3¹⁵ (הַחֲכָבֵר instead of הַחֲרָבִי). *Cf.* also חֲמָת, Ps. 76¹¹ (instead of חֲמָרָת) influenced by חֲמָת (1 Macc. 2⁴⁹ 3⁸ etc.) and בִּשְׁן¹ instead of בִּצְיוֹן in Ps. 68¹⁸; see AJSL 23²²⁷.

(5) The article must not be prefixed to הַרְרִים; we frequently find the article omitted before the first word, while it is used before the second, the contrast making the second word more definite. Similarly אַחַד is used instead of אֶשְׁוִי, but the cardinal number is not substituted for שְׁנֵי;

cf. in the cuneiform incantatory legend of the Descent of Ištar (KB 6 82, ll. 42 and 45) *ištēn bâba*, one gate, but *šânâ bâba*, a second gate, etc. When a word is repeated in the same hemistich, the first occurrence is often not accented, while the repetition is stressed; *cf. e.g.* 2 10: *בוֹרְכָסָף יִבְּזוּ וְהָב*, *Bozzu-késf u-vózzu zaháv*, or the first hemistich of Jer. 50 11, quoted in the notes on *יָדָר*, Nah. 3 2; also Hag. 2 8: *לִירֵהֲכָסָף וְלִי*: *הוֹהָב*, and Ps. 60 9: *לִירֵגֶלְעָד וְלִי מְנַשָּׂה*.

The verbal form *הִתְמַנְּנוּ* has two beats; so, too, *לֹאִיקְיוּ*, v. 2^b; *וּעֲלִי־נִכְבְּדִיהָ*, 3 10; *וּמְרַכְבָּהָ*, 3 2; *בְּקִפְיָיִם*, 2 5; *cf. n.* 71 to my paper on Ps. 23 in *AJSL* 21 148.

For the recessive accent in pause of *הִתְמַנְּנוּ* *cf.* *מְלָאָה*, 3 1; *בְּרָאִי*, 3 6; *וּנְפָלוּ* and *מִסְבָּחָה*, 1 14; *וְעָבְרוּ*, 1 12; *שָׁחָתוּ*, 2 8; *בְּשֻׁבִי*, 3 10; *נִעְלָמָה*, 3 11; *וּנְפָלוּ*, 3 12^b; *נִפְתַּחוּ*, 3 13 2 7; *מְרַקְדָּה*, 3 2; *הַנְּעֻלָּתָהּ*, 2 8; *לַחֲבוּנָהּ*, 2 10; *וּמִבְּקָקָהּ* and *וּחֲלָחְלָהּ*, 2 11; *מְטַפְּפָהּ*, 2 13; *הַרְעֵלִי*, 2 4^b; *יִרְגְּצוּ*, 2 5. *Cf.* notes on vv. 8 and 3^a.

For *וְהִתְשָׂא* read *וְהִתְשָׂא*, Is. 6 11, where we must read:

עֲדָאֲשֶׁר אִסְרָאֵי עָרִים מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב
וּבְתֵימִים מֵאֵין אֲדָרָם וְהָאֲדָרָמָה תִּשְׂפָּא

The emendation *תִּשְׂפָּא* instead of *תִּשְׂאָה* is gratuitous; *שִׁמְמָה* is an explanatory gloss; *אִסְרָתְשָׂאָה תִּבְּל* = *si fractus illabatur orbis*. The verb *שָׂאָה* means to *crash*, i.e. to *fall down and break with a crash*; *שָׂאוֹן* means *crash*, French *fracas*. The form *שָׂאוֹן* in *אִסְרָאֵי עָרִים* must be derived, not from *שָׂאָה*, but from *שָׂאוֹ*; *cf.* *יּוֹם שָׂאָה וּמִשְׂאוּאָה*, Zeph. 1 15. Is. 6 9^b and 10 (*וּשְׁבַב וּרְפָאֵלִי* . . . *שִׁמְעוּ שְׁמוֹעַ* . . . *וּשְׁבַב וּרְפָאֵלִי*) consists of six lines with 2 + 2 beats.

The prefixed *ה* in *וּתִבְּל* is due to dittography.

The final *ה* in *וּשְׁבַב־יְהוָה* is enclitic; *cf.* *חֲסִי־בִי*, v. 7; *וּנְשָׂר־הוּא*, v. 9^b; *וּנְשָׂר־הוּא*, v. 2^b; *יְגִיד־לָהּ*, 3 7; *אֶמְקִי־כַח*, 2 2; *לְעֶבְר־בְּךָ*, 2 1; *תִּקְעִי־בָךְ*, 3 7; *אֶעֱנֶה־עִיד*, 1 12; *תִּקְעִי־בָךְ*, 3 10; *סִבִּיב־לָהּ*, 3 8; *אֶיְהִי־הוּא*, 2 12; *לְבֹאֵר־שָׁם*, 2 12. See my remarks on Cant. 6 9 in *AJSL* 19 7.

(6) The first word, *לִפְנֵי*, must be inserted after *יַעֲמִיד*, and be combined with the *ל* of the following *וּמִי*: read *לִפְנֵי וּמִי* instead of *וּמִי*; contrast *Kings* 61 9.

The *ל* in *יַעֲמִיד* may be due to dittography of the *ד*; *cf.* *גִּדּוּל־כַּח*, v. 3^a for *כַּח־גִּדּוּל־כַּח*, and *לְעִבְר־בְּךָ*, 2 1 for *בְּכָךְ־לְעִבְר־בְּךָ*?; see Haupt, *Purim*, p. 51, l. 22.

The verb *נִתְּקָהּ* is not Niphal, but Piel; it means to *liquefy, fuse*.

For *נִתְּקָהּ* read *יָצַתָּהּ*, from *יָצַת*, to *burn*. *W*, on the other hand, has *burn* in the first hemistich, and *melt* in the second.

(7) Between *ל* and *מַעוּז* we must, with *W*, insert *קִוְיִי* (*cf.* Lam. 3 25) following *Ἐ τοῖς ἰππομένουσιν αὐτόν*. *Ἐ* omits *מַעוּז*. This word does not mean *refuge*, but *strength, stronghold, strong place of defense, or security, fort, fortified place*; *cf.* our terms *strong room, strong box*. *א מַעוּזָא* (*cf.* 3 11) is a place whose *strength will laugh a siege to scorn* (Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, V 5 2). The noun is not derived from *עוּז* (Arab. *‘āda = ultája’a, láda*) but from *עוּז*; it stands for *ma’uzz*, just as *מַגִּן*, shield = *maginn* (Arab. *mijánn*) from *גִּן*. The lengthening of the *a* in *מַעוּזָא*, etc.,

must be explained in the same way as the *â* in Assy. *arātu*, sister; *išātu*, fire; *emētu* = Arab. *hamât*, mother-in-law. In Syriac we have מֹזֶנֶא, food; מְקוּרָא, cistern; מְחוּזָא, city = Assy. *maxâzu*; see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 126, G. Cf. also the doubling of the *t* in בְּתֵימִים, houses (see *Kings* 210 17) and the insertion of *â* in Syr. מַחֵא for מַחֵא, keeping alive, etc. (see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², §§ 36, 178, B and *Daniel* 28 15).

For יִרְדֵּעַ read יִרְדַּע (cf. וְלֹהַב for לֹהַב, 3 8) and after this we must, with W, insert יְהוֹה. For יִדַּע see *AJSL* 19 141, n. 44.

After וּבִשְׁטָף עֵבֶר (cf. *Lam.* 3 64) insert יַצִּילִים; cf. the omission of the verb (זִעֲקוּ) in 3 6^b and in *Ps.* 68 24^b (תִּכְרֹתָ; see *AJSL* 23 282).

The פְּסוּקֵי טוֹף should be after יַצִּילִים, not after הִסְרִיבוּ.

(8) For מִקוֹמָה we must read בְּקִמְיָא or בַּמִּתְקוֹמַמְיָא. The longer form does not overburden the hemistich; the preposition בִּ may be joined to the preceding last syllable of יֵשֶׁה: *ia'sê'b-mithqommâu*. There are practically but two unaccented syllables between the two beats; cf. the German *In Keilschrift auf sechs Ziegelstein'n* (where the final *steinen* is monosyllabic) or *Ich weiss nicht, wie der Junge | Dem Alten gab ein'n Schlag*; or *Es hat sich ein Mädchen in'n Fähndrich verliebt*; or *Vor Angst und Schmerz mir blut'te | Mein väterliches Herz*, etc. מִמִּמְקוֹמָה may be a graphic corruption of בַּמִּתְקוֹמַמְיָא, or a phonetic corruption of בְּקִמְיָא; the two words מִמְקוֹמָה and בְּקִמְיָא sound very much alike; cf. the remark on צֶרֶה פִּעְמִים for מִצָּרִיו פִּעְמִים, v. 9, and בֶּאֱשׁ יִבְשׁ, v. 10.

For יִרְדַּף read יִרְדֶּף.

Before הִרְדֵּף insert אֵל; also in *Lam.* 3 2 it is better to read הָרְגֵן וַיִּלְדֶּךָ אֶת־יָהוָה; cf. *Kings* 303 46. If we do not insert the preposition אֵל (or בִּ; cf. *AJSL* 21 184, below) we must read וְיָאִיבוּ הִרְדֵּף הַשֶּׁשֶׁךְ, with recession of the accent; cf. לֹא־יִנְקָה רָעָה, v. 11; הַחֵשֶׁב עַל־יְהוָה רָעָה, v. 11; הָרֵיטֵבִי, 3 8; דּוֹשֶׁבָה, 3 8; שָׂאֲבִי, 3 14; הִתְרַבִּי and הִתְכַבְּרִי, 3 15^b; תִּכְרִיתֶךָ and תִּאֲכְלֶךָ, 3 15^a; וְיִמְלֵא, 2 9^a; בְּבִדְכָתָא, 2 7; בְּהַצִּחוֹת יִתְהוֹלֵל, 2 5; וְיִדְּבָרָה, 2 7; וְיִמְלֵא, 2 18; cf. my remarks on the Song of Hannah, ZDMG 58 822.

(9) The clause מָה תֵּחְשְׁבֹן אֶל־יְהוָה does not mean *What do ye think of Jahveh?* but *What do ye plan against Jahveh?* For אֶל־יְהוָה we must read עַל־יְהוָה; cf. הַחֵשֶׁב עַל־יְהוָה רָעָה in 1 11 and *Kings* 151 81. See also the notes on הִנֵּי אֶלֶךְ, 3 5 2 14.

This first hemistich of v. 9 must be combined with the second hemistich of v. 3, וַיִּנְקָה לֹא־יִנְקָה יְהוָה; but for יְהוָה we must substitute עֵתָא; see below.

The second clause of v. 9, כִּי כֹלָה הוּא עֵשָׂה must be combined with עָרָא at the beginning of v. 10. The הוּא is not proclitic, but enclitic; cf. the remarks on וּשְׁבֵרֵבָה, v. 5. The pronoun does not belong to the following participle, but emphasizes the preceding infinitive; we must read כֹּלָה instead of כֵּלָה; the pointing כֹּלָה is influenced by כֵּלָה at the beginning of v. 8. This use of הוּא is frequent in Syriac; cf. Nöldeke's *Syr. Gr.*², § 221 and אֲדִידוּא in 2 12 (7, viii).

In the third clause of v. 9 we must read יָקוּם (Θ οὐκ ἔκδικήσει δὲς) in-

stead of **תְּקוּם**, and **מַצְרִי** instead of **צָרָה**; the reading **צָרָה** may be due to **צָרָה** at the end of the first **משל** of couplet v, and **יְקוּם** (instead of **יָקוּם**) which afterwards became **תְּקוּם**, may have been suggested by **יְקוּם** in v. 6; cf. the remark on **מַצְרִי** instead of **מַצְרִים** (Ecl. 9 14) in the notes on 2 2. If v. 2^b had not been misplaced, **מַצְרִי** would probably not have been corrupted to **צָרָה**. The omission of the prefixed **מ** after **פַּעֲמִים** was due to haplography (*Kings* 245 38). The two expressions **צָרָה פַּעֲמִים** and **מַצְרִי פַּעֲמִים** sound almost alike; cf. the remark on **מִקְוָה** for **מִקְוָה** in v. 8.

The first and the third clause of v. 9 must be transposed: ^c ^b ^a instead of ^a ^b ^c.

(3^a) The second hemistich to 9^a is 3^a; but instead of **לֹא־יִנְקָה** וְנִקָּה יהוה it is better to read **לֹא־יִנְקָה עֵין** וְנִקָּה.

The preceding clause, **יְהוָה אַרְד־אֲפִים וְגִדְלִיכָה**, is scribal expansion; the addition of **יהוה** after **לֹא־יִנְקָה** was suggested by the Decalogue (Ex. 20 7 Deut. 5 11); cf. the remarks on the gloss **מִכְשֵׁר** in 2 1; **פּוֹט**, 3 9. The gloss **יהוה** after **יִנְקָה לֹא** certainly belongs to the preceding clause, not to the following, **בְּסוּפָה וּבְשֵׁטֶרָה רִכְוּ**; contrast Ges.-Kautzsch, § 143, a.

After the gloss **יְהוָה אַרְד־אֲפִים וְגִדְלִיכָה** had been prefixed to **יִנְקָה** וְנִקָּה, the conjunction **ו** was inserted before **יִנְקָה**.

The prefixed adjectives in **יְהוָה אַרְד־אֲפִים וְגִדְלִיכָה** (**אַרְד־**, *erkh*, monosyllabic; **וְגִדְלִיכָה**, *uḡdol*, dissyllabic) are proclitic; cf. **כַּחַשְׁפָּרִק וְהוּיִיעִיר** in 3 1; **קוּל־שׁוֹט וְקוּל־רֵעַשׁ**, 3 2; **אֲכַלְדָּאשׁ**, 3 13; **צַפְד־רִדְךָ**, 3 4 2 14; **נֹאם־יְהוָה**, 3 8; **לְהַבְחָרֵב**, 3 8; **אֲנַשִּׁיחִיל**, 2 4^a; **בְּקוּל־יוֹנִים**, 2 8; **בְּזוּרְכַסָּף** and **מַכְלִיכִי**, 2 10; **תֹּאכְלִיחֵרֵב**, 2 14; cf. my remarks on the Song of Lamech, *AJSL* 20 164.

The **ו** in **וְגִדְלִיכָה** may be due to dittography of the **ד**; cf. **יַעֲמִיד**, v. 6 and **לַעֲבוּר**, 2 1.

We must not, with N, substitute **חֶסֶד** for **כַּח**, following Ex. 34 6 Num. 14 18 Neh. 9 17 Joel 2 18 Jon. 4 2 Pss. 103 8 145 8; **נְדַלְחֶסֶד** would not have been corrupted to **נְדַלְכַח**. The glossator meant to emphasize the fact that if **JHVH** does not wreak vengeance at once, it is not lack of power which prompts Him to defer the punishment, but His patience. He is all-powerful, but long-suffering.

(2^b) The second **משל** (*AJSL* 20 150, n.*) of couplet vii was inserted in the Received Text after the opening line of this psalm, because the second hemistich of 2^a begins with **נִקָּם**; cf. the remarks on the misplacement of 3 2-3 (see p. 23). The clause **נִקָּה לֹא־יִנְקָה** was transposed along with 2^b, and the gloss **יְהוָה אַרְד־אֲפִים וְגִדְלִיכָה** was added in order to supply a corresponding hemistich.

The stem **נָמַר** is not identical with **נָמַר**, to watch = **נָצַר**, just as **שָׁמַר**, to be angry, is not identical with **שָׁמַר**, to watch; cf. *Kings* 129 24. Heb. **שָׁמַר**, to be angry, corresponds to Assy. *šamâru*, and **נָמַר** to Assy. *našâru* which is generally read *nadâru* (HW 452). The stem **שָׁמַר** is a Šaphel (see p. 24, below) of **מַר**, and **נָמַר** is a Niphal of **מַר** (see BA 1 158, below). Both **שָׁמַר** and **נָמַר** mean originally to be embittered; **נָמַר** is connected with Arab. *muṭṭirr* (**טָרַר**) bursting out (of wrath).

(10) The first two words, **בִּי־טֶר**, belong to **בְּכִי־הוּא עֵשָׂה**, v. 9^b.

The noun **טֶר** means both *pot* and *thorn*; cf. Eccl. 7 6. The glossator who added **סְבִיבִים** (instead of **סְבִיבִים**) understood **סִירִים** to mean *thorns*, whereas **סִירִים סְבִיבִים** means *wine-jars*, lit. *jars wined*, i.e. *filled with wine* (cf. *toss-pot, swill-pot, swill-bowl, swill-tub*, etc.). After **סִירִים סְבִיבִים** we must add **בִּי־הֵמָּה**, although *they*. The **כִּי** is perhaps preserved in **כִּי קָלוֹת**, at the end of this chapter. After **כִּי** had been erroneously inserted before **קָלוֹן**, this noun was changed into the verbal form **קָלוֹת**. The **כִּי** before **קָלוֹן** might be retained, if we read: — **כִּי־קָלוֹן אֲשֵׁים קִבְרֶךָ**. In that case **כִּי** would introduce the *oratio directa* as in Ruth 1 10 etc. **אֲנִי קָלוֹת** may represent the Aramaic noun **קָלוֹת**; cf. AJSL 23 235, n. 46.

The gloss **וְיִקְבְּזוּם** before **סְבִיבִים** means *even if they drink* (tope). It is the infinitive Qal, and the prefixed **כִּי** is concessive, as in **כִּי בִקְרוֹם**, 2 3; cf. JAOS 25 72, n. 2. The meaning is *Even if they be wine-jars* (wine-bags, i.e. soakers, toppers, drunken sots) *they will be burnt like dry stubble*. Even if they be full of wine as wine-jars, we will cause their wine (Gen. 9 24) to evaporate. Both Antiochus Epiphanes and his nephew, Demetrius I, were habitual drunkards; see Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 38, below. Polybius states that Demetrius (whose friend Nicanor was defeated by Judas Maccabæus at Adasa; see Haupt, *Purim*, p. 4, l. 42) was drunk most of the time; cf. Willrich, *Judaica* (Göttingen, 1900) p. 31; see also Judith 12 20 and Haupt, *Purim*, p. 29, ll. 10. 17. We read in 1 Macc. 3 5 that Judas Maccabæus **τοὺς ταρασσοντας τὸν [λαὸν] αὐτοῦ ἐφλόγισεν**.

The reading **סִירִים סְבִיבִים** is not good: thorns burn just as easily when they are tangled, even better; but full wine-barrels do not catch fire as a rule.

For **יִבֶּשׂ** read **בָּאֵשׁ**. This may be again, not a graphic, but a phonetic corruption; cf. the note on **מְקוֹמָה** for **מְקוֹמִי**, v. 8 (**בָּאֵשׁ** was pronounced **בִּישׁ**; see ZA 2 275; Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, 3 29, below; cf. also **עֵף** = **עֵף**, etc.).

The last word of the verse, **מְלֵא**, may be a corruption of **הִלֵּא**, introducing the following **יִצֵּא מִמֶּךָ** at the beginning of v. 11; or **מְלֵא** may be a misplaced correction to **וְכֵן אֵם שְׁלָמִים** and **אֵם מִלֵּאִים**, in v. 12, just as **יִזְכֵּר** (point **יִזְכֵּר**) at the beginning of 2 6 is a misplaced correction of **יִזְרַע** in 1 14, or as **בְּיוֹם הַכִּיּוֹם** in 2 4 is a misplaced gloss to the first clause of 2 3. Similarly **יִשְׁלֹו בְּנוֹתֵיכֶם** in 2 6 and **יִשְׁלֹו בְּנוֹתֵיכֶם** in 3 3 are misplaced glosses to **הִרְעֵלוּ** at the end of 2 4, and the last clause of c. 2 is a misplaced gloss to the beginning of that chapter. The last clause in 2 11, **אֲנִישֵׁי־הָאֵלִים מְתַלְעִים** and **וּפְנֵי כָל־מִבְּצָו פֶּאֶרֶר**, 2 4. Cf. also the remarks on **כִּי קָלוֹת** at the end of c. 1.

ב

The second section of the Book of Nahum is composed of three six-line stanzas with 3 + 2 beats in each line. We find the same meter in section 7. For the misnomer 'די קינה' meter' see AJSL 20 165, n. 9.

(31) The term עיר refers here to Nineveh; cf. v. 7. But *Nineveh* in this Maccabean section is a poetic name for *Assyria* = *Syria*, just as the Seleucid Kingdom with its new capital Antioch is called *Daughter of Babylon* in Ps. 137 8; see my remarks in OLZ 10⁶⁶, n. 13. The term עיר may mean, not only *city*, but also *state*, just as Lat. *civitas* means both *city* and *state*. The Heb. word מדינה, *province* (originally *judicial district*) means in Aramaic and Arabic: *city*. Arab. *bālad* means both *land* and *city*; Assy. *mātu*, *land*, appears in Syriac as מְהָא, *native land, country, birthplace, domicile, home*; the plural means *little towns*. In the cuneiform texts, Damascus, Tyre, Sidon, etc., have either the determinative *āl*, *city* (= Heb. אהל, *tent*, originally *domicile*; cf. AJSL 22¹⁰⁹, § 10) or the determinative *māt*, *land*. Judah, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Haurān have occasionally the determinative *āl*, *city*, although the names of these countries are not identical with the names of their capitals; see E. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung* (Giessen, 1878) p. 95; Friedrich Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881) p. 288, ll. 2. 5; pp. 294, 295, etc. In a popular German poem *Doctor Faust* we read: *Die grosse Stadt Portugal, | Gleich soll abgemalet sein*; see *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, ed. by Ed. Grisebach (Leipzig, 1906) p. 143.

Nineveh symbolizes the Assyrian empire and its daughter, the Seleucid Kingdom, just as the City of Rome represented the Roman Empire. A poet could call Antiochus Epiphanes a *Ninevite*, just as Ovid calls Romulus and Remus *Iliadae fratres*, or as Scipio Africanus is called a *Dardanian*, or as we find *Teucrian* or *Ilian* instead of *Roman*, or *Erichthonian* instead of *Athenian*. Similarly the Maccabean poets call the Jews *Jacob* or *Joseph*; cf. Obad. 18; 1 Macc. 1²⁸ 3 7 46.

For the reason why this first line of ב has been placed after 2¹⁴ see the note on 2¹⁴, below, p. 29.

The two nouns כחש־פֶּרֶק form a copulative compound like Assy. *ciṣir-rabi*, *young and old* (HW 565^a; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*², § 199) or וְעִנְיֵה־צָרֶק in Ps. 45 6 (see the translation in Haupt, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 37). The vocalization וְעִנְיֵה instead of וְעִנְיֵה is due to the recession of the accent before the following צָרֶק: 'ānāyāh became 'ānyāh; contrast ZAT 21³⁴³ and Duhm, *ad loc.* The preceding עֲלֵ־דָבָר אֵמֶת must be read 'al-dvar-émth instead of 'al-dvar-éméth (for emett, ement, amint).

The third hemistich, לֵא־יִמִּישׁ טָרַף, is a scribal expansion based on the preceding verses at the end of c. 2 (7, ix). For the unaccented verbal form after לֵא cf. n. 70 to my paper on Ps. 23 in AJSL 21¹⁴⁸. Assy. *mūšu*, *night* (cf. Heb. אַמֶּשׁ) is connected with מוֹשׁ, מִישׁ, just as Syr. פִּנְיָא, *evening*, is derived from פִּנָּא, *to turn, to decline* (פִּנָּא לָהּ יוֹמָא). Cf. my remarks on the etymology of *crepusculum* in my paper cited above, p. 16, at the end of n. 12.

(2, 3) Verses 2 and 3 belong, not to section ב, but to 7, where they have been displaced by a gloss (7, β). They may have been inserted in ב owing to the similarity of וְרֵב חֲלָל in 3 8 and מֵרֵב זִוְנִי in 3 4, just as

the J-line in א (1^{2b}) has been inserted after the א-line (1^{2a}) owing to the beginning לַקֵּם. Cf. also the conclusion of the note on 2 14^b (p. 29).

(4) The clause הֵן טוֹבַת הֵן is a gloss to the following כִּשְׁפִים, and the line after כִּשְׁפִים is a gloss to the entire מִשַׁל.

The verb מִכַּר means here, not to *sell*, but to *cheat, deceive, cozen, beguile, entice*. Arab. *makkâr* means *swindler*. Cf. also BA 1 14, n. 7; contrast HW 456^a; see also AJSL 23 248. For the original meaning of *cheat* (and *skyster*) see my paper *Some Germanic Etymologies*, AJP 27 160, below.

The וַיִּוָּנֵם and כִּשְׁפִים are the allurements of Hellenic culture; cf. 1 Macc. 1 11 43 2 Macc. 4 18.

The verb פָּסוּק after כִּשְׁפִיהָ should stand after צְבֹאוֹת in v. 5.

After הֵנִי the meter requires the insertion of נִפְלָה, and instead of אֵלֶיךָ we must read עֲלֶיךָ; so, too, in (the Maccabean appendix to 7) 2 14 and Jer. 51 25. For אֵל instead of עַל cf. the notes on 19. It is possible that the author of the late passage Jer. 51 25 read אֵלֶיךָ הֵנִי instead of עֲלֶיךָ הֵנִי; cf. the note on נָשִׁים for נָשִׁים, Nah. 3 18. The הַדָּר הַמְּשֹׁחֵת, Jer. 51 25 is the Seleucidan Kingdom; cf. n. 22 on Ps. 68, AJSL 23 228.

(5) The primary meaning of גָּלָה is to *remove* (German *wegziehen*). This may mean to *remove from one place to another* or to *remove the covering, to uncover*.

The hemistich עֲלִיפְנֶיךָ שׁוֹלֵיךְ עֲלֵיפְנֶיךָ does not mean *I will pull up thy skirts over thy face*, but *I will uncover (lift up) thy skirts to affront thee*; עֲלִיפְנֵי means (as an insult) *to the face*, as an affront; cf. Job 1 11 Is. 65 8. Hugo Grotius explains: *Tracto te non ut matronam, sed ut meretricem*; cf. Ez. 16 87 Is. 47 2 3. In the late passage Jer. 13 28 we find הַשֹּׁפְתֵי שׁוֹלֵיךְ הַשֹּׁפְתֵי עֲלִיפְנֶיךָ.

אֶת אַחַר הַרְאִיתִי is a gloss, also the hemistich קְלוֹנֶיךָ at the end of the verse.

(6) The hemistich עֲלִיךְ שִׁקְצִים does not mean *I will cast abominable filth upon thee*, but *I will cast abominations, i.e. indignities, upon thee*. The primary meaning of שִׁקֵץ is to *excite disgust*; it is, as Hupfeld suggested long ago, a Šaphel of קִוֵץ; just as the ש in שמם, שקל, שבר, שפל, שבר, שקל, שמם, שגל (see note on 3 8) etc., is a causative prefix (cf. JBL 19 78, below) which may be connected with Arab. *sábab*, cause, or some similar word, just as the *sa* prefixed to the future in Arabic (Wright-De Goeje, 2 19) is shortened from *sayfa*, in the end; cf. also Syr. הַיֵּשׁ, now = הַיֵּשׁוּהָ, Syr. אֲשֶׁת־קֶדֶר, last year = קֶדֶר + שַׁנָּה;

† The verb שָׁלַח often means to *cause to transmit* or *deliver a message*, e.g. Hagg. 1 12: 'כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם אֱלֹהֵיהֶם' . . . כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם אֱלֹהֵיהֶם: *they listened to the words of the prophet Haggai (which were) in accordance with what their God, Jahveh, had caused him to deliver to them*. Nor does Is. 37 4 mean *The words of the Rab-shakeh whom the King of Assyria has sent* (Ges.-Kautzsch, § 138, a) but *The words of the Rab-shakeh, which the King of Assyria has caused him to transmit*. Also in 2 K 19 16 the suffix *in salahu* refers to the Rab-shakeh; contrast *Kings* 277 52. Cf. 2 S 11 22 1 K 14 6 Is. 55 11 Jer. 42 5 21 43 1.

see AJSL 22 251 23 248. The reflexive ת of the **התפעל**, on the other hand, represents **את = אה = אה = אה = יש = יש**; see *Proverbs* 51 6 15. In Aram. קנט = קק the infixed נ was originally prefixed: נקט; so, too, in Assy. *sanāqu* = *sāqu*; see the note on **וקים**, v. 10. The noun שָׁקַץ denotes something *disgusting, detestable, infamous, disgraceful, ignominious*. Cf. p. 21, below.

The following verb, **וּנְבֹלְתִיךָ**, *I shall disgrace* (insult, dishonor) *thee* is a gloss; cf. Jer. 14 21: **אֲלֵי־תֵּנָאֵץ לִמְעַן שִׁמְךָ אֲלֵי־תֵּנְבֹל כִּסֵּא כְבוֹדְךָ**, *Do not reject us for Thy name's sake, do not make vile the throne of Thy glory* (i.e. Jerusalem with the Temple).

(7) The first clause of v. 7, **וְהָיָה כֹל רֵאִיךָ יְדִיד מִמֶּךָ**, is an explanatory gloss to **כִּי־אֵי** at the end of the preceding verse.

The last clause, **וּמִי יִוֹרְדֶּה מֵאֵין אֲבָקָשׁ מִנְחָמִים לָךְ**, is a gloss to **וּמִי יִוֹרְדֶּה**. The participle **מִנְחָמִים** does not mean *providers of a funeral meal* (ZAT 22 818) but *comforters*, i.e. *sympathizers, mourners*; cf. Job 2 11: **וַיָּעֲרֹו יַחְדָּו לְכָוֹא**; also Is. 51 19. The primitive meaning of **נָחַם** is to *cause to stop sighing*; see my notes on Is. 40 in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (Leipzig, 1902) p. 46 and AJSL 22 251. Heb. **מִנְחָמִים** might mean also *avengers* (see Haupt, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 39, n. 8 on IV; *Kings* 187 20) but this meaning is not suitable in a gloss to **וּמִי יִוֹרְדֶּה** וּמִי.

For vv. 8-19 see section ג.

(1 11) Before **מִמֶּךָ יֵצֵא** we must insert **הֲלֵא**. As stated above (p. 22) the last word of v. 10, **מִלֵּא**, may be a corruption of **הֲלֵא**; it is possible, however, that this **מִלֵּא** is a misplaced corrective gloss to **שְׁלָמִים** in v. 12, and **שְׁלָמִים** may be the original reading for **מִשְׁמָךְ** in v. 14 (see below). The omission of **הֲלֵא** may be due to the gloss **מִלֵּא**; glosses often displace original readings of the text; cf. the note on **וְהִמָּה נָסִים** in 2 9^p and my remarks on Cant. 5 15 6 6 in AJSL 19 10 15. Instead of **מִלֵּא** we must read **מִלְּאִים**, and for **שְׁלָמִים** we must restore the singular, **שָׁלֵם**. The plural ending may have been abbreviated so that **מִלְּאִים** was written **מִלֵּא**; cf. *Kings* 80 a.

The final clause, **יַעַץ בְּלִיעֵל**, must be inserted after the first hemistich. In pentapodies the hemistichs are often transposed; cf. the remarks on v. 14 and the Maccabean Song of Derision (2 K 19 21-28) in *Kings* 278 28 38 45; also my restoration of the first couplet of Ps. 23 in AJSL 21 136 and couplet iv of the Maccabean psalm in the Book of Jonah, AJSL 23 256; see also below, the notes on 3 15 13 and 2 5 (7, β).

The fourth hemistich of this verse is the first clause of v. 14, **וְצָוָה יְהוָה**, where we must read **עֲלֵי** instead of **עֲלִיד** (cf. **עֲוִרְתִּיךָ** instead of **עֲוִרְתָּה** in 3 9 and **עֲלִיד** instead of **עֲלֵי** in Is. 52 14, quoted in the note on v. 12; see also note 13, third paragraph, to my paper on Ps. 68 in AJSL 23 227; contrast **רְבִצְיָה** for **רְבִצְיָה**, 2 14) and omit **יְהוָה** as a gloss. The **וְצָוָה** of v. 11 should be placed after **עֲלֵי** **וְצָוָה** **עֲלֵי** must be pointed as infinitive absolute, **וְצָוָה**; cf. *Kings* 132 a. V. 12 belongs to stanza iii; v. 12^a and v. 13 are glosses.

The **עֲלֵי־יְהוָה רָעָה** and **יַעַץ בְּלִיעֵל** is the prototype of Haman in the

Book of Esther, Nicanor who threatened to burn JHVH 's Temple on Mount Zion; see 1 Macc. 7²⁶ 35 42; cf. 2 Macc. 14³³ 15³². In 2 Macc. 15³ he is called a *τρισαλιτήριοσ*, cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 5.

(14) In v. 14 the final hemistich אשים קברך כירקליות must be transposed; כי may be omitted, and instead of קליות we may read קלון, as suggested by W. The כי may be a misplaced remnant of the concessive clause *כי יהמה*, which must be inserted after סירים סבואים in v. 10; it is improbable that כי is merely due to dittography of the preceding suffix ך; contrast note on מלאככה, 2¹⁴. As stated above, p. 22, כי may be retained before קלון, if we read: כירקלון אשים קברך.

The clause לא יזרע משמך עוד, *no more of thy name shall be sown*, is meaningless and unmetrical. Instead of יזרע we must read יזרה, and for משמך we must substitute שלמך, *thy corpse*, while לא and עוד must be omitted. The verb יזכר at the beginning of 2⁶ is a misplaced corrective gloss to יזרע; it should be pointed *יזכר*; cf. ᾠ *μνησθήσονται*, ᾠ *recordabitur*. But the clause לא יזכר משמך עוד, *nothing of thy name shall no more be mentioned*, suits neither the meter nor the context; Nicanor's name was often mentioned in later years. The insertion of a negative to explain an obscure passage is not unparalleled; cf. e.g. Eccl. 11⁹ (see below, ad 3¹⁵) in ᾠ^v (*καὶ μὴ ἐν δράσει ὀφθαλμῶν σου*) or the tertiary gloss in Eccl. 6⁶, etc. On the other hand, ᾠ has canceled the negative in 2 K 6²⁷; cf. *Kings* 209²⁶ 72¹⁹. In some cases (e.g. לא אשיבני, Am. 1³ 6⁹, etc.) לא is *scriptio plena* of the emphatic ל (see AJSL 22²⁰¹, § 15, end, and my paper in OLZ, June, 1907) but לא יזרה משמך, *verily, thy spoil will be scattered*, is unsatisfactory.

The noun שלם, *corpse*, means originally *ended*, i.e. *one whose life has been brought to an end*. In Syriac, the verb שלם means *to come to an end, to be complete*, but also *to die*; שלם יומתה or שלם חייה, *he ended his days or his life*, means *he died*. In Arabic, *šalima* often has just the opposite meaning, *to remain alive, to survive, to be saved*; but it is used also as a euphemistic antiphrastic expression for *he is dead*; cf. BA 3⁵⁷⁷, l. 32 and K. J. Grimm's dissertation, *Euphemistic Liturgical Appendixes in the OT* (Baltimore, 1901) p. 5, l. 6. In Assyrian we find *šalmu*, *corpse*, and the feminine *šalamtu*, with reciprocal assimilation: *šalandu*, just as we have *mundāxçu*, *fighter*, for *mumtāxiçu*, from מחץ; cf. *Kings* 112¹⁵. I showed more than 25 years ago that *šalandu* (= *šalamtu*) passed into Aramaic as שְׁלַדְא and with ר for ל (as in שלשלת, *chain* = שרשרת; חרץ, *hip* = חלץ; see p. 45, below, and ZDMG 61¹⁹⁵) שְׁלַדְרְא, a diminutive form with repetition of the final consonant as in Assyr. *suqāqu*, Syr. אֲשַׁקְנָא, Arab. *zuqāq*; cf. BA 3⁵⁸², n.**; *Kings* 121¹³; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 134.

The noun שלם, *corpse*, may be restored in the present passage, just as בקבר, *grave*; מבקר, *benefactor*; נְבִיתוֹ (= נְבִיתוֹ = Assyr. *nakamātišu*) *his treasures* have been restored in 1 K 10¹⁵ 2³⁴; 2 K 12⁶ 20¹⁸. We might, of course, substitute עַצְמִיךָ (cf. נְפִודוֹ עַצְמִינוֹ, Ps. 141⁷; also Jer. 81²) for שלמך; but עַצְמִיךָ would hardly have been corrupted to שלמך.

The rhythm is improved by reading פִּסְלִים instead of פִּסְלִים; see the conclusion of the notes on 11, above, p. 18.

(22) On the other hand, it is better to read, with J. D. Michaelis, מַפֵּץ, *martel*, *war-hammer* (cf. Jer. 51 20) instead of מַפִּיץ, *scatterer*. The incorrect spelling מַפִּיץ instead of מַפֵּץ is found also in Prov. 25 18. For the erroneous insertion of a *mater lectionis* cf. *Kings* 301 16. A מַפֵּץ (*martel*) is larger than a מַקְבֵּת (*mallet, beetle*). Judas received his surname Maccabæus while he was a boy; see *AJSL* 21 140, below. Both *martel* and *mallet*, however, are diminutive forms: *martel* (Lat. *martulus* for *marculus*) is derived from *marcus*, and *mallet* from *mall* or *maul* (Lat. *malleus*).

For the feminine suffix in עַל־פְּנֵיָהּ we may substitute the masculine form עַל־פְּנֵיהָ; but this change is not necessary: עַל־פְּנֵיהָ would refer to Nicanor; and עַל־פְּנֵיהָ, to the עִיר רְמִים at the beginning of this section, i.e. the capital of the Seleucidan Kingdom; cf. מַפְּיָד in v. 11. Even in the preceding line (v. 14) we may read אֶל־הָיָד instead of אֶל־הָיָד.

For מַצֹּרֶה read מַצֹּרֶה, *mountain-fastness, stronghold*. This refers to the ἄκρα, the citadel of Jerusalem, which was held by a Syrian garrison until this last outpost of the Seleucids in Judea was starved into surrender in May, 142 B.C. Simon's triumphant entrance into the Acra is glorified in Ps. 118; see *AJSL* 21 145, n. 43. For מַצֹּרֶה צִיּוֹן cf. 2 S 5 7 9 1 Chr. 11 5. The reading מַצֹּרֶה is better than the reading מַצְרָה, *watch a watch* (W). But instead of מַצְרָה we had, perhaps, better point מַצְרָה = *mēçâdâh*, the fem. of Arab. *maçâd*. In Eccl. 9 14, on the other hand, it is better to read מַצְרִים instead of מַצְרִים. The term מַצְרִים denotes *bastiles*, i.e. *movable towers* used by the besiegers of a strong place (BA 3 179 and 183). The *mound of earth* or *rampart* built by the besiegers is called בַּלְלָה; *battering engines* are termed כְּרִים; see *Ezekiel* 47 46. The reading of the Received Text in Eccl. 9 14 is due to מַצְרִים in Eccl. 9 12, just as צֶרֶה instead of מַצְרִים in Nah. 1 9 may be influenced by צֶרֶה in 1 7. Judas Maccabæus besieged the Acra in 163 B.C. (see 1 Macc. 6 20; cf. also 1 33 3 45 4 2 41). After his great victory over Nicanor in 161 B.C. Judas Maccabæus would no doubt have undertaken a new attack on the Acra, if his meteoric career had not been ended by an untimely death.

The forms מַצְרָה, מַצְרִים, and מַצְרִים are infinitives like מַצְרִים in the preceding line; the inf. abs. Piel may have *e* in the final syllable instead of *o*.

For מַצְרִים we must read מַצְרִים; the preceding כֹּחַ is unaccented; cf. the notes on 1 5. For מַצְרִים = מַצְרִים see my lecture on Ecclesiastes in *Oriental Studies* (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1894) p. 247; cf. *Kings* 274 19 and הַצֶּבֶעַ for הַצֶּבֶעַ, Nah. 2 8.

(1 12) The first line of the third stanza is very corrupt.

The introductory clause, כֹּחַ אִמְרֵי יְהוָה, is a gloss.

Instead of מַצְרִים we must read מַצְרִים; מַצְרִים is preserved at the end of the preceding verse, while מַצְרִים is the correct reading for מַצְרִים in משׁמך in v. 14; see above (p. 25) *ad* 1 11. The last three consonants of מַצְרִים may

represent the original reading מים, *water*. Θ τάδε λέγει Κύριος κατάρχων ὑδάτων πολλῶν seems to have read : מים רבים (כה אמר יהוה) משל מים רבים instead of אם שלמים וכן רבים. We must emend : אם-מים מלאים ורבים; the omission of מים may be due to haplography (cf. *Kings* 245 ss).

The prefixed אם is concessive; the glossator who added the glosses וכן מים מלאים ורבים intended to emphasize the correlation : וכן נגוזו ועברו, וכן נגוזו ועברו, lit. *and thus the waters full and great, and thus they ebbed and subsided*, i.e. *just as they were full and great, so they ebbed and subsided* = however full and great the tide was, it has ebbed again and subsided. Cf. Ex. 1 12 : וכאשר יענו אתו כן ירבה וכן יפרץ; where we could substitute אם for וכאשר; see also Hos. 4 7 : כרָבַם כֵּן חַמְאוּרִי, *the more they were increased, the more they sinned against me*. In the Maccabean poem Is. 52 13-15 we must read :

יִרְיִים וְנִשָּׂא מֵאָדָּם :	הִנְנִי יִשְׁכִּיל עֲבָדִי	13
וְיִבֶן יִמְשִׁיחִת מְאִישׁ י :	כִּאֲשֶׁר שָׁמְמוּ עַל־יָוֵם	14
יִקְפְּצוּ מַלְכִים פִּיהֶם :	כֵּן יִרְנִזְוּ עַל־יָוֵם	15
וְאֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ הַתְּבוּנוֹת :	כִּי־אֲשֶׁר לֹא־סִפְּרוּ־לָהֶם רְאוּ	

(δ) 14 נוים רבים (γ) מראדו וחרו מבני אדם (β) 14 רבים (α) 13 ונבה

- 13 Behold, my servant will prosper,
he will be raised and exalted.
- 14 Though looked upon with horror,
and though marred out of all human likeness,
- 15 They will be enraptured about him,
even Kings will be struck dumb;
They will see what they never were told,
and perceive what they never heard of.

The verb רינו means, as a rule, *to be excited*; here and in Jer. 33 9 it means *to be ardent, full of enthusiasm*. The phrase יקפצו פיהם, *they will close their mouth*, means *they will be speechlessly amazed, awe-struck*. The *marring out of all human likeness* refers to the sufferings of the Jews during the Syrian persecution.

The Niphal נגוזו must not be derived from גז, *to cut off, to shear*, but from גז *to pass away, disappear*; cf. Ps. 90 10 : בִּרְגִלְךָ יִהְיֶה וְנִקְפְּצָה : *for it (our life) passes away swiftly, and we take our flight*. We need not substitute נגוזו for נגוזו. It is true, ו and ר are often confounded (cf. the remarks on לעבור in 2 2) and Arab. *jazr- (al-bahr)* is the common term for *ebb*; but גז, *to fail* is used in Syriac with special reference to water : מניא means *dried up, waterless*. Arab. *jāza, iajūzu* = Heb. עבר.

The omission of the final ו in עבר is due to the prefixed ו in the following gloss ונתקד וגר; cf. *Kings* 245 ss. Before ענתקד the ו may be dispensed with; it had better be prefixed to the second clause, לָא אַעְנִקְד־עֵד; cf. l. 12 of the Maccabean Song of Derision in *Kings* 278 ss. If we

retain ם before עֲנִיתָ, it must be taken as ם explicative; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 15, l. 30.

For the explanation of the imagery in v. 12^a by the prosaic gloss in v. 12^b see my remarks on יִהְיֶה בְּמַעְגְלֵי צָרָק (Ps. 23 3) in AJSL 21 138 (cf. *ibid.* 23 228, n. 17) and for the ebbing of the high-tide of the Syrian persecution cf. 2 Macc. 5 17 6 12 7 18 33.

(13) Also v. 13 is an explanatory gloss, and מַעְלִיף is a tertiary addition. The suffix in מַטְרוֹ refers to the יַעַן בְּלִיעַל in v. 11. For מַטְרוֹ point מַטְרוֹ, *his staff*; cf. Ps. 110 2 (מַטְרוֹ שֶׁךְ) and הִרְעַם בְּשֶׁבֶט בְּרָזָל, Ps. 2 9; cf. JHUC, No. 163, p. 90; No. 114, p. 110 (AJSL 21 147, n. 43). *His yoke* (cf. 1 Macc. 8 31 13) would be מַטְרוֹ (or מַטְוֹ).

(21) In v. 1^a מִבְּשֵׁר is scribal expansion which may be derived from the Maccabean poem, Is. 52 7 (see *ad* 1 12, above, p. 28). Cf. below, the note וּפְיוֹט in 3 9. For מִשְׁמַע שְׁלוֹם cf. 1 Macc. 7 50 and for the *enjambement*, or shifting of the caesura, cf. e.g. Ps. 137 6 (OLZ 10 68) and Pss. 68 2 6 9 27 33 76 8 12 (AJSL 23 240) and below, note on 2 11.

(14^b) A misplaced gloss to v. 1^a is found at the end of the chapter in v. 14^b: מְלֹאֲכָה קוֹל מְלֹאֲכָה. וְלֹא יִשְׁמַע עוֹד קוֹל מְלֹאֲכָה. For מְלֹאֲכָה we must read מְלֹאֲכָד, i.e. *scriptio defectiva* for מְלֹאֲכָד; the final ה of מְלֹאֲכָה is due to dittography: the first word of the following verse (3 1) begins with ה; cf. *Kings* 156 11 118 4. The suffix in מְלֹאֲכָד refers to the מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר (3 18) i.e. the Seleucid king of Syria; cf. 1 Macc. 1 44 2 15 7 10 27. If we read the feminine suffix (מְלֹאֲכָדָה) it would refer to the עִיר רַמְיָם in the following verse, i.e. the capital of the Seleucid Kingdom. The editor who placed the first מִשְׁל of ב (3 1) after this gloss (2 14^b) read מְלֹאֲכָד or מְלֹאֲכָדָה, and understood the suffix to refer to עִיר רַמְיָם. Cf. the remarks on the suffixes in 3 18 19. The insertion of the first stanza of ב after the conclusion of ד was suggested also by הִנְנִי נִפְלַע עֲלֶיךָ (for הִנְנִי אֲלֶיךָ) in 2 14 and 3 5.

(1) For the second מִשְׁל of v. 1, חֲגִי יְהוּדָה הִנְיָד שְׁלֵמִי נִדְרֶיךָ, cf. Ps. 76 12 (see n. 22 to my paper on Nicanor's Day in ZDMG 61 286) and 1 Macc. 1 39 4 56 6 59 7 48 2 Macc. 6 6 11 25 31 15 36.

The threefold כִּי at the beginning of the last three lines of this stanza may seem to some rather strange, but it is idiomatic Hebrew. The last כִּי is concessive (see above, p. 22, *ad* 1 10 and cf. Jer. 50 11, quoted below, in the notes on דָּהַר, 3 2) and therefore stressed; cf. my remarks on חֲבִיבָא הֶם, Jer. 17 8, in AJSL 19 133.

The addition of עוֹר after יוֹסִיף is unnecessary and overburdens the hemistich.

The *scriptio plena* of the *o* in לַעֲבוֹר־בַּךְ may be due to dittography of the ר; cf. the remark on יַעֲמֹד, 1 6. But the *o* is accented; we must read *lāvór-bakh*, not *lāvór-bákh*. Cf. also Syr. פִּילֹס = Πάσιλος and לִיקְטוּל = *liqtúl* (JBL 19 77, n. 104). The *e* and *o* in Heb. סֶפֶר, אֶן, אֶן, יָהֵן, אֶן, אֶן are not long, but accented; we must read σέφρ, ὄζν, ἰττέν, ἰκτόλ. Heb. אֶן should be pronounced like our *oven*; the *o* is not long as in *oven*. The difference between the vowels in מֶלֶךְ (i.e. μέλχ, not μῆλεχ!) and סֶפֶר (σέφρ) is:

the vowel in $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\phi\rho = \text{סֶפֶר}$ corresponds to the vowel in the first syllable of English *leather* (in Hebrew: לְתָר) while the vowel in *mälkh* = מַלְכָּךְ should be pronounced like the *a* in English *lather* (in Hebrew: לָתֵר).

Also בליעל, i.e. Nicanor, the impersonation of בליעל (cf. יען בליעל, 1¹² and Haupt, *Purim*, p. 5, l. 10) is a gloss; the hearers knew who was meant; cf. the indefinite גבורה and ארירי in 2 4 6 and the Pythagorean $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}s \acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha$.

Instead of reading בָּלוּ, as required by the *Qêrê*, we may point the *Kêthiv* בלה, following Θ *συντελέσται*, as Pual: בָּלָה; cf. בלה in א, vi. The sense is practically the same, whether we read בָּלָה or בָּלוּ; the annihilation and extermination of Nicanor and the Syrian army at Adasa (1 Macc. 7 46) was certainly complete.

(3) The verb (שב) is here not transitive (JHVH restored) but intransitive: Jacob's glory returned, i.e. recovered = was recovered, regained; cf. *Kings* 199 40. In Is. 6 11 (cf. above, p. 19, ad 1 5) this intransitive שב, he recovered appears in connection with לו רפא he was healed, lit. some one healed him; cf. *Kings* 289 19. We must read: ושב ורפא לו; cf. also ושב in Is. 6 13. The addition of יהוה and את in the present passage is due to a glossator.

(4) An additional (misplaced) gloss to this hemistich וגי כִּישָׁב is the clause ביום הכינו in v. 4; cf. my remarks on Ps. 68 10 11 in *AJSL* 23 226.

(3) For גאון 2° we must insert גפן; cf. Ps. 80 15. But it would be a mistake to substitute this reading also for גאון 1°. After גאון in the first hemistich גפן could easily be corrupted to גאון, just as we have אָמַל instead of ראב in 1 4; see above, ad loc. If the reading had been גפן in both hemistichs, the corruption to גאון could not be accounted for.

ג

The third section consists of two seven-line stanzas followed by an appendix of four lines. Each line has 2 + 2 beats, i.e. the same meter which we find in Ps. 16; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 18. The first two stanzas were written before the fall of Nineveh in B.C. 606, the appendix was added after Judas Maccabæus' victory at Adasa in 161 B.C.

For the heading, משא נינה, see above, p. 18, ad 1 1.

(3 8) Instead of נא we must not point נא, although the cuneiform name is *Ni'(u)* i.e. *Ne'(u)* = Egypt. *nē(t)* which means *City* (BA 1 597). We find an *o* in Hebrew instead of Assyr. *e* or *i*, not only in ראש, גאון, ראב, יאבל = Assyr. *rešu, çenu, ekul*, but also in סרגון = *Šarru-kenu* and in אַסְרַחְדִּין = *Ašur-axa-iddina*; see *Ezra-Neh.* 31 23.

אמן אמן is a gloss.

For יארים (with א) read יארים, with א; see *Kings* 280 27 and cf. above, p. 27, the note on אמִּקְרַח מאר, 2 2. The plural יארים is intensive (= the great Nile) just as על נהרות בבל, Ps. 137 1 means *By Babylon's great river*, i.e. the Euphrates; see *OLZ* 10 65. Also נְדָרִים is a *pluralis intensivus* like

צהרים, ערפים, etc. (see *Kings* 206^a 270, n.*): ארם נהריב = *Syria on the Great River*, i.e. *the Euphrates*.

The clause מים סביב-לה היא is a gloss to the following חיליה היא; it might also be a variant (see *Kings* 213⁴⁸) to the last hemistich of this verse, מים חומתה (cf. the note on 2^{4b}, i.e. γ , β) but this is improbable.

For מים חיל read חילה היא; the relative pronoun prefixed to this clause may be omitted. The term היא is used also of a large river, just as *iamm* and *bahr* in Arabic; cf. *Is.* 19⁵. The Assyrians, on the other hand, called the Persian Gulf *nāru marratu*, the Bitter (i.e. Salt Water) River; cf. *JAOS* 16 civ and the comments on the Babylonian map of the world in the translation of *Ezekiel* (SBOT) p. 100, l. 36; see also the descriptive pamphlet *Die Regenbogen-Bibel* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 10.

For מים, at the beginning of the last hemistich, point מים (W). In *Gen.* 6¹⁷, on the other hand, J. D. Michaelis read מים:—הנני מביא את:—המבול מים על הארץ; see E. Suess, *Die Sintflut* (Prag, 1883) pp. 27, 50. I pointed out in *KAT*² (1883) p. 66, n. 3 (cf. *AJSL* 1¹⁸⁰, n. 2) that מבול was a popular adaptation of Assyr. *abūbu*, deluge; cf. *KAT*³ (1902) p. 546, n. 2. For מ = א see also *Kings* 190²⁸; Haupt, *Purim*, p. 23, l. 23.

(9) For עצה point עצה.

The following ומצרים ואין קצה פוט is a gloss; ומצרים ואין קצה belongs to בוש, and פוט is an addition to ילובים, derived from *Ez.* 30⁵; cf. the remarks on the glosses θ and ϕ , also א, γ and ב, π .

The verb היו is a gloss; cf. the gloss היה in *Is.* 5¹ Cant. 8¹¹; see *AJSL* 19¹⁹⁶, below.

For בעורתך read, with W, בעורתה; cf. עליך instead of עלי in 1¹⁴. For the prefixed ב see *Numbers* 57⁴⁶.

(10) The נם before עלליה is due to vertical dittography; cf. *Kings* 86³⁰ and below, note on v. 13.

For the imperfect, ירטשו, read the perfect, רטשו; cf. רתקו in the last hemistich. The ׳ may be due to dittography of the ר; cf. the note on לעבור-בך, 2¹ (= ׳ = ׳).

The prefixed כל is a scribal expansion, derived from *Lam.* 4¹ 2¹⁹; *Lam.* 2¹⁹ is a gloss; cf. the gloss כל חוצות in *Is.* 51¹⁹.

For the accentuation ידי (so, too, *Obad.* 11) instead of ידי see above, p. 18. The form ידי might, of course, be derived from ירה = ירה, Assyr. *nadū*, to cast, throw, just as we have in Assyrian: *incabtu*, aer-ring, from נצב = נצב, Eth. *uṣṣb*; or in Arabic: *uqār* alongside of *naqār*, trough (*AJSL* 23²⁴⁴) but the reading ידי is preferable. The verb is not denominative, derived from יר, as W suggests.

Heb. יקים is an Assyrian loanword: *ziqq* = *zing* = *sinqu*, from *sanāqu*, to bind, confine = Arab. *qānuka* = *qāqa* = Assyr. *siqu*; cf. Heb. צניוק and רצוק; see *Kings* 125²⁷. For the infixed n in צניוק cf. the remarks on Aram. קינ = קינ in the note on שקצים, 3⁶. The ׳ in יקים for יקים is due to partial assimilation of the initial ס to the following nasal; cf. *im*, *time* = Assyr. *simānu*, from *uśama*; see *KAT*³, 650, n. 3. For אקים

(Jer. 40 14) = וְקַיִם cf. Assyr. *agappu* = *gappu* (for *gadpu*) wing; see *Kings* 98 10. The ך in גַּרְךָ represents an infixed ת (cf. גַּרְר = גַּר; see below, *ad v.* 17^b and *Kings* 258 23) while the ך in בְּנֵיךָ is infixed just as the ך in צִינִיִּךָ and קִנְיָתָ; the כ in בְּנֵיךָ is due to partial assimilation of the initial ך to the final ך. The noun בְּנֵיךָ, *wing* is ultimately identical with בַּיַּת, *hand*, and the original form is בְּנֵי. Heb. וְקַיִם, *fetters* and שׁוּק, *street* are ultimately derived from the same root; cf. *Kings* 133, n. †

(11) After תִּשְׁכַּרְיָנוּ we must supply (but not insert) כּוֹס חַמָּה (cf. Is. 51 17 22 Jer. 25 15) = כּוֹס שְׂמָה שְׂמָה (Ez. 23 33) = τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ (Rev. 16 19; cf. 14 10). Cf. also Obad. 16.

The participle נִעְלָמָה means *covered*, i.e. *overcome* = *fainting*, falling into a swoon. In Arabic, *gāšūa* means *to cover*, and *gūšūa* 'alaihī, lit. *a cover was put upon him*, is the common expression for *he swooned*, became senseless. It is not necessary to read נִעְלָפָה; cf. עָלְפוּ, *are overcome*, *lie fainting*, Is. 51 20 and יִעְטֹף, *he was overcome* (by the heat) Jon. 4 8; also יִעְטֹף, *faints*, *fails*, Is. 57 16. The inf. Hiph. הִעְלָם means in Eccl. 3 11 *covering*, *veil* = κάλυμμα, 2 Cor. 3 15; cf. Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 42, n. 18. The gratuitous emendation עִמָּל, proposed by Kamenetzky (ZAT 24 238) and Macdonald (JBL 18 212) was suggested long ago by a critic of authority in C. H. H. Wright's commentary (London, 1883) p. 437. J. D. Michaelis' explanation of נִעְלָמָה as a privative denominative (AJSL 22 251, l. 3) of עִלְמָה, i.e. *deflowered*, *devirginated* (cf. our term *maiden fortress*) is impossible; עִלְמָה means *young woman*, not *virgin*.

The following hemistichal pair (v. 11^b) is a gloss to v. 14 which represents the original sequel of v. 11; vv. 12 and 13 must be inserted after v. 15, at the end of the original poem; they were displaced by the glosses in vv. 16 and 17. Cf. the note on 1 11 (p. 25).

(14) In v. 14 the two clauses וְיִמְסֵי בְּחֹמֶר and הַיּוֹקִי מִבְּצֻרֶיךָ are glosses; וְיִמְסֵי בְּחֹמֶר explains the preceding בָּאֵי בְּמִיַּת, and הַיּוֹקִי מִבְּצֻרֶיךָ is a gloss to the entire verse, and should therefore be placed after the second hemistich.

The line מִי מִצֹּר שָׂאבֵי לֶךְ does not refer to *boiling water* which is to be poured over the besiegers; nor does it mean *Fill the moats* (cf. above, p. 16, n. 10). It refers to the fact that the besiegers will cut off the water-supply of Nineveh, so that the Ninevites will depend again on the rain water as in the time before Sennacherib built the great waterworks of Nineveh.

The phrase בָּאֵי בְּמִיַּת, *Go into the mud* means *Knead the soil with your feet*; the clay (Span. *adobe*) was mixed with water, and then worked with the feet. The emendation בּוֹסֵי (Grätz, N; cf. Zech. 10 6) is gratuitous. The inhabitants of the besieged city will be forced to make bricks in order to restore the fortifications destroyed by the besiegers. In Assyrian we find the same phrase: *tīta erēbu* (HW 301^b). Heb. בָּאֵי = Assyr. *tītu* stands for *tīntu*, with partial assimilation of the feminine

ת as in Syr. קשטא, *archer* for קשתא, from Assy. *qaštu*, bow (a biconsonantal feminine form) pl. *qašâti*; cf. AJSL 23 248, below.

(15) The two בשלים of v. 15 must be transposed; cf. the remarks on the transpositions in 1 11 14 and 2 5.

For הררבי read החכבר. The reading החכבר is not a graphic corruption, but it is influenced by החכברי in the second hemistich (cf. the remarks on אמלל 1° for ראב in 1 4).

These imperatives are concessive: *just make thyself numerous = even if thou makest thyself numerous*, i.e. in spite of thy large population and the numerous troops manning thy fortresses, fire will devour thee. Sometimes such imperatives are ironical, e.g. in the gloss Eccl. 11 9: —

Just walk in the ways of thy heart
and in the sight of thine eyes;
But know that for all these things
to judgment God will bring thee!

Cf. also the two Maccabean passages Is. 47 12 and Lam. 4 21 (OLZ 10 63).

The א in ארבה is not prothetic, as in Syr. ארקיע for רקיע, etc. (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* 2, § 51). The stem is not רכי, but ארב; cf. אכר = כרי (AJSL 23 247) and Assy. *aribu* (or *eribu*) a swarm of locusts. The final ה in ארבה represents the nominal affix י; ארְבָּה = *arbaḥ*, just as Assy. *gabsû*, inflated skin (Arab *tauf*) = *gabsaiu*; cf. *Ezekiel* 65 16 and AJSL 1 179, n. 4. The Assy. verb *arâbu* (to devastate the fields) is denominative; Tennyson says: *This Philip and the black-faced swarms of Spain . . . come locusting upon us.*

The third hemistich of v. 15^a, תאכלך בילק, is a gloss (so W) to the first hemistich וגם־תאכלך אש. Also vv. 16 and 17 contain glosses to v. 15; the antiquarian and biological erudition displayed in these verses cannot be credited to the original poet.

For שם, at the beginning of v. 15, read גם or וגם; we find the same mistake in Ps. 137 3, where we must read ברנם, *although* (Eccl. 4 14) instead of בירשם; see OLZ 10 65, n. 3.

(16. 17) V. 16^a and v. 17^a expand Nahum's terse statement regarding the countless population of Nineveh, while v. 16^b and v. 17^b supply some biological information with regard to the locusts. In v. 17 we find also some tertiary glosses (cf. ב, χχ).

(16^b) The hemistich ילק פשט ויקף severs the connection between v. 16^a and v. 17^a which form a משל with 2 + 2 beats.

The verb פשט refers to the *exuviation* (or *ecdysis*) of the locust. We use *exuvia* of the skins, etc., of animals, which are shed or sloughed off, while in Latin, *exuvia* is used also for *spoils*, just as Heb. פשט means also *to plunder*. Arab. *sâlaza*, to shed the skin, is connected with the root של which we have in שלל, *to plunder*; Arab. *sâlaba*; cf. AJSL 23 252. A. E. Shipley states in the article on locusts, EB 2808: On leaving the egg the young immediately cast their skin, an operation repeated about the

6th, 13th, 21st, 31st, and 50th day; the wings attain their perfect development and the locust becomes capable of flight only at the 6th and last molt. The Assy. stem *pašâtu*, to obliterate, has no connection with Heb. **פָּשַׁט**, but is a transposition of **פָּשַׁט**, to rinse, to wash off.

The term **ילק** is not derived from **לקק** = **לעט** (cf. *Kings* 175, n. †) but it may be connected with Assy. *ilqitu* (HW 76) and Arab. *uḷaqā* which denotes a leaping gait of the camel, so that **ילק** may mean leaper; cf. our grasshopper and German *Sprengling* or *Sprengsel* = locust. The second syllable of German *Heuschreck* represents the obsolete verb *schrecken* = to leap; cf. Luther's Bible, Job 39²⁰: *Kannst du es schrecken wie die Heuschrecken?* i.e. *Canst thou make him (the horse) leap as a locust?* Heb. **הִתְרַעְשֵׁנוּ כְּאַרְבֵּה**.

(17^b) The **נר** in **נרר** (whence the name *Cadiz*) is an infix, and **נר** is connected with **קיר** and Assy. *kāru*, wall; cf. the remarks on **נרף** above, p. 32, and *AJSL* 23²⁴⁷. In **ביום קרה** (which is perhaps influenced by **ביום צרה**, 17) should be transposed: we must read **בקר היום**, in the cool of the day (for **קר**, cool, see *AJSL* 23²⁴²) i.e. from sunset to sunrise; in Arabic, the dual *al-bardāni* (cf. Heb. **ברד**) means morning and evening; and *bardu 'n-nahāri* = daybreak. Toward nightfall (**לְרֵחַ הַיּוֹם**, Gen. 3 s; cf. my remarks in *AJSL* 22²⁰³, n. 17) the locusts alight on the ground, but the next morning, as soon as the sun has warmed them a little, they resume their flight and disappear. As long as they are chilled by the night air and have their wings weighted with dew, they are unable to fly; cf. Dr. Post's article in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 3, p. 130.

The last hemistich, **וּלְאֵי־נִדְרֵי מִקוּמוֹ**, has been expanded by a prefixed and an affixed gloss, **וְנִדְרֵי** and **אָזִים**; both are superfluous. For **מִקוּמוֹ** we had better read **מִקוּמָם** (cf. **הַיְהִינִים**) although the suffix refers to the collective **וְנִיבֵי**. The singular suffix in **מִקוּמוֹ** may be influenced by **וּלְאֵי מִקוּמוֹ**, Ps. 103¹⁶ = Job 7¹⁰; **מִקוּמוֹ** may also mean the place (*Kings* 299³⁰). The singular **וְנִדְרֵי** for **וְנִדְרֵי** may be due to haplography; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 23, l. 9; see also above, p. 29, *ad* **לְעַבְוֹרֵיכֶם**, 21.

(16^a) The clause **וְהָרַבִּית רַבְלִיךָ** may be concessive, just as the imperatives in v. 15^b; but it is not necessary to substitute the imperative (so WM) in this gloss; cf. the conditional clause **אִם־לֹא־יִשְׁמַע־יְהוָה בְּרִיחֶיךָ** in v. 13. Heb. **רַבְלִיךָ** is dissyllabic (*rôkhláikh*).

(17^a) For **מְנַדְּרֵיךָ** we must not read **מְנַדְּרֵיךָ** (see *Isaiah* 107²⁷ and below, note on **הַעֲלֵתָהּ**, 3 s) or **רַחֲנִים** (Grätz) but we must point: **מְנַדְּרֵיךָ**, *thy exorcists, conjurers*, part. Piel of **נָרַר** = Assy. *nazāru*, to curse, execrate (adjure, conjure). Alongside of **נָרַר** we find also **אָוַר** in Assyrian (cf. *AJSL* 23²⁵²). The primitive meaning of this stem is to bind (cf. **אָוַר**, girdle) just as **אָרַר**, to curse means originally to bind; cf. Assy. *arru*, bird-catcher and *irru*, rope, snare (HW 138) also our *spellbound*. In Arabic, *mundir* means *admonisher, apostle, preacher*, just as **כֹּהֵן** means *priest* in Hebrew, while the corresponding Arab. *kāhin* means *seer, diviner*. Heb.

נזיר, *devotee*, *Nazirite* is derived from the same stem; a *vow* is merely a *promissory oath*, cf. our *vowing vengeance* = German *Rache gelobend*. The stem נזר is a differentiated dialectic byform of נור; cf. פתרון alongside of פשר; see *Proverbs* 51 14; *Kings* 192 22 275 29.

Also טפסר is a Babylonian loanword = Assy. *tupšarru*, scribe, i.e. hierogrammatist. The word is ultimately Sumerian, a compound of *dup*, tablet (which has passed into Syriac as ܕܦܦ) and *sar*, to write. Instead of טפסר and טפסר (Jer. 51 27) we ought to point: טפסר and טפסר; the ט is due to the *u*-vowel; a *t* followed by *u* sounds like ט, while a *q* followed by *i* sounds like כ; therefore the Assyrians often write *tu* for ט, *ku* for ק, and *ki* for ק; see my ASKT 169, § 13; *Kings* 86 11 208 15. The *a* in טפסר instead of טפסר or טפסר is due to the fact that after a ט an *ā* sounds almost like *ǝ*, just as our *wand* is pronounced *wond*; cf. BA 1 252. The late compiler of the oracle in Jer. 50 51 (which was written about the end of the reign of John Hyrcanus, 135–104 B.C.) took טפסר to mean טופר = שוטר, i.e. a military officer; cf. *Judges* 35 50; contrast *Kings* 304 27. See also the note on נשים, v. 13.

The form נוֹכִי (= Arab. *jābī*) at the end of v. 17^a represents a correction of the preceding נוֹב. For the apocope of the termination *ai* or *é* cf. מטל = מעלה, etc. (see AJSL 22 253, n. 14) and for undeleted corrigenda cf. *Kings* 194 20. The variants נוֹב נוֹבִי may be rendered in German: *Sprengsel*, *Sprengling*; and in English: *creaker*, *cricket* (*cricket* means *creaker*, i.e. *chirper*). In Assyrian we could use *éribu* (= *âribu*, participle of ארב) and *eribû* (i.e. ארבי = Heb. ארבה; see above, *ad* v. 15). The stem of נוֹב and *eribû* is akin to נוֹב = גבא, *to gather*, so that נוֹבִי means originally a *gathering* or *swarm* (of locusts). Cf. Ethiop. *gubâ'ê*, collection, congregation; Assy. *gabbu* (for *gab'u*) all; *gubbu* (for *gub'u*) cistern (cf. Heb. נבים 2 K 3 16 Jer 14 3 and גבא, *pool*, *swamp*, Is. 30 14 Ez. 47 11) lit. *reservoir* (מקנה) i.e. a place where water collects or is collected or stored. The root קו is a modification of נב or נם; קו, *cord* is a collection of strands twisted or woven together. Heb. גבר, גבל, גמא; גמר, גמל, קבץ; קבץ, קבץ; Assy. גבש, קבל; Arab. *jamī'*, *jamīl*, *kâmil*, etc. are all derivations of the same root נב = נם = קב = קם = קו = כב = כם; cf. the remarks on אנף = כנף = כף in the note on וקים, v. 10 and AJSL 23 252.

(12) The prefixed כל is scribal expansion.

תאנים should be read תאנים; cf. the remarks on יארים, v. 8.

For עם, at the beginning of the second hemistich, substitute עמד, which we find in the Received Text at the beginning of v. 13; ונה before עמד is scribal expansion.

V. 12^b is an explanatory gloss: the Assyrian fortifications are like fig-trees (תאנים) and their garrisons like firstripe figs; if the מבצרים are shaken, the עם manning them fall into the hands of the besiegers, lit. *into the mouth of the eater*, i.e. *they are swallowed up*. For *firstripe figs* see Haupt, *Biblische Liebestlieder* (Leipzig, 1907) n. 11 on No. X.

(13) In v. 13 the hemistichal pair שטרי ארצך נפתחו

is an explanatory gloss in which פתוח represents a tertiary scribal expansion.

The first two words of this verse, רגה עמד, belong to v. 12.

Only the two hemistichs נשים בקרבך and אכלה־אש בריחך are genuine, and they must be transposed; cf. the remarks on 1 11 14. If נשים בקרבך was the second hemistich, we can understand why עמד, which represents the beginning of the second hemistich of the preceding verse, appears before נשים. For vertical dittography see above, ad v. 10.

The clause אכלה־אש בריחך is conditional; cf. the concessive clause הרבית רכליך at the beginning of v. 16. For the unaccented upbeat (*Auftakt*) in אכלה־אש cf. above, ad 1 8^a.

For נשים, *women*, we must read נשים, *we shall destroy*, from שםם, or rather שימו, *they will destroy*. Similarly ט has for נשים, Num. 21 30 γυναικες. The compiler of the late oracle Jer. 50 57 51 30 (cf. Is. 19 16 and the note on טפסר, v. 17^a) read נשים; but if the Assyrians had been *women*, the siege of Nineveh would not have lasted so long.

(18) The section 3 8-15, apart from the glosses relegated to the margin, represents an old poem composed by an Israelitish poet in Assyria about 607 B.C. before the destruction of Nineveh in 606 B.C. But the last two verses of c. 3 were added by the Maccabean compiler of this festal liturgy for the celebration of Nicanor's Day. The suffixes in רעך, אדירך, לשברך, מבתך, שמעך, עליך should be feminine, referring to the City of Nineveh (*i.e.* the Seleucidan Kingdom), not masculine; רעך מלך is a gloss. Cf. above, p. 29, ad 2 14^b (ב, ρ).

For נמו instead of נמו cf. the remarks on יד, v. 10.

After נמו we must supply (but not insert) שנתם (Ps. 76 6) or שנת עולם (Jer. 51 39 57). All these passages are Maccabean: Ps. 76 refers to Judas Maccabæus' victory over Nicanor; see my remarks in ZDMG 61 286; for Jer. 51 cf. the note on טפסר, v. 17.

Instead of ישכנו read ישנו (not ישכבו).

For אדירך cf. אדירי, 2 6.

Instead of נפשו read נפצו, from פוצ, as in 1 K 22 17. The stem פוש (whence the name פישון, *Surgy*, *i.e.* *rising in billows*; see JAOS 16 ciii, †) means *to gambol, caper, leap, spring, skip* (cf. Jer. 50 11, quoted in the notes on דהר, Nah. 3 2) but not *to scatter*.

The addition of על הדורים is derived from the parallel passage in Kings (see Kings 171 10 and cf. the remarks on the gloss פוש in v. 9).

(19) Instead of פנה read, with W, פנה; cf. Kings 293 52; contrast ברשים for פרים in 2 4^b (ד, β). This noun פנה (for *gihhâiatu*) corresponds to Syr. מנהנתא (or מנהנתא) *deliverance from pain*, etc. Cf. also Arab. *jâhhâ 'l-šâjjata* (= *ya'ssa'âhâ*) which does not mean *to enlarge a wound* (in the head) but *to mitigate it*.

The final clause, בי על מי לא עברה רעתך תמיד, is a prosaic explanatory gloss; the suffix in רעתך may be either masculine or feminine; cf. the note on מלאככה at the end of c. 2.

7

The fourth section consists of ten couplets with 3 + 2 beats in each line, *i.e.* the same meter as in the second Maccabean section, \beth . The first nine couplets (which may be grouped in three sections; *cf.* Haupt, *Purim*, p. 47, l. 24 and the Maccabean psalm in the Book of Jonah, *AJSL* 23²⁵⁶) were composed after the destruction of Nineveh in 606; the final couplet, on the other hand, is a Maccabean appendix, just as the last four lines of \beth .

Section 7 consists of $3\ 2\ 3 + 2\ 4-14$; \beth of $3\ 8-19$; \beth of $3\ 1$ and $4-7 + 1\ 11-2\ 3$; \aleph of $1\ 1-10$. Consequently $3\ 1+4-7$ must be inserted before $1\ 11-2\ 3$, and $2\ 4-14$, preceded by $3\ 2\ 3$, should stand after c. 3. Section 7 ($2\ 4-14$) has, it may be supposed, been inserted after \beth , because it is in the same meter ($3 + 2$) while \beth appears at the end of the book, because it has a different meter ($2 + 2$). The reason why the first line of \beth ($3\ 1$) has been inserted after $2\ 14^b$ has been indicated on p. 29, in the note on \beth , ρ ; the insertion of the first three משלים of 7 between the first and the second משל of \beth ($3\ 14$) has been explained above, on p. 23. *Cf.* my restoration of the Hebrew text of Canticles in *AJSL* 19²²⁻³² and my arrangement of Ecclesiastes in Haupt, *Koheleth oder Weltschmerz in der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1905). *Cf.* also the remarks on transpositions in ancient Arabic poems in Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber* (Hannover, 1864) p. vii; Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Ächtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte* (Greifswald, 1872) pp. 18 and 84.

(11^b) For the heading, חוֹזֵן נַחוּם הַאֲלֵקִישׁ, see above, p. 18. The prefixed כּפּר is a gloss; *cf.* EB 3259.

(3 2) The singulars, שׁוֹט, אִיפֵן, סוּם, מַרְכָּבָה, פֶּרֶשׁ, חַרֵב, חַיִּית, פֶּנֶר, מָגֵן, מִפְּנֵי, חַרֵב, הַרְכָּב (and הַרְכָּב in gloss β) are collective; *cf.* our *horse* = cavalry.

The participle דָּוָר means *crying, neighing*, not *galloping*. Barth has pointed out that this stem is identical with Arab. *hádara*, to roar, which is used of the roaring of the sea, the braying of an ass, etc. *Hádara* means especially *ḥáḥḥata fi ḡairi ṣiqṣiqatin*, to roar without inflation of the *ṣiqṣiqā*, *i.e.* the faucial bag (German *Brüllsack*) of a male camel which he inflates and projects out of his throat at the season of rut, when he sees a female camel. Arab. *hadra* means (like שאֲוֹן, *cf.* *רוּשָׁא*, 1 5) *crash*; Arab. *hadir* = roaring of the waves (*cf.* שאֲוֹן יָמִים, Ps. 65 5). *Hadir*, cooing of doves, stands for *hadil*. For the transposition in דָּוָר = *hádara* of. *AJSL* 22²⁶⁰, n. 10. Our verb to *bray* was formerly used also with reference to the bull, deer, etc., as well as to man. On the other hand, Herodotus (3 84) uses *φθέγγεσθαι* with reference to a horse.

In the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5 22) the hemistichal pair,

אֲרָהֶלְמוּ עֲקֵבֵי סוּם מִדְּהִירוֹת דְּדִירוֹת אֲבִירָיו

means: *Then clattered the hoofs of the horses from the yells, the yells of his heroes, i.e. owing to the (incessant frantic) yelling of the heroes (of*

the enemies) urging on their steeds, the horses galloped so that their hoofs clattered. In Arabic, *rākaḏa* means not only to urge on a horse, to gallop, but also to flee; cf. the note on מטלה, 32. In Scotland, to thud means to move with velocity; הלמו = they thudded away. In German the קול עקבי סוס is called *Hufschlag*, i.e. hoof-beat (cf. Lat. *pulsus*, Greek κτύπος). Apart from Zagen for Schreien, Luther translates Jud. 5²² correctly: *Da rasselten der Pferde Füße vor dem Zagen ihrer mächtigen Reiter*. The suffix in אביריו refers to the enemy; cf. גבוריהו and אדיריו, Nah. 2⁴ 6. We must not read הלמו, nor need we join the prefixed מ of דהרות 1° to סוס; contrast Ps. 68²⁷ (AJSL 23 289). The first דהרות is not a suspended *status constructus*, but *status absolutus*; for the repetition cf. v. 5:

הרים מלו מיהוה מפניהוה אלהי ישראל

and gloss θ in Ps. 68 (AJSL 23 224). § renders Jud. 5²²: עקבא נפל הדין and gloss θ in Ps. 68 (AJSL 23 224). § renders Jud. 5²²: עקבא נפל הדין ורדמה מן נדמתא דחילא דתקיפה; Syriac נדמתא, דרכשה; Syriac נדמתא, דרכשה, is a correct translation of Heb. דהרות; contrast ZDMG 56 456. ¶ renders freely: *ungulae equorum ceciderunt, fugientibus impetu, et per praeceps ruentibus fortissimis hostium*; cf. ZDMG 56 461. In this passage, *cecidere* does not mean they fell = they stumbled, but they came down with a crash; cf. *fulmina cadentia* and our *the blows fell*, also נפל in Gen. 24⁶⁴ 2 K 5 21. They tumbled all over themselves trying to get away. In Arabic, *yaḡa'a*, to fall, means also 'to rush away' (*dāhāba yaḡa'ala sarī'an*) = German *fortstürzen*. The comments on Jud. 5²² in ZDMG 56 453-455 are unsatisfactory, and the restoration of this line, given on p. 184, is gratuitous.

Also in Jer. 8¹⁶ צהלות אביריו denotes the yells of the horsemen, not the neighing of the horses. We must read:

מהן נשמע נחרת סוסיו
(מקול) מצהלות אביריו רעשה כל-הארץ:

The prefixed מ before צהלות is not a nominal preformative, but the preposition מן, as in Jud. 5²². We must point מצהלות, plur. constr. of צהלה; cf. *Isaiah* 110 41. The noun מצהלות in the late passage Jer. 13²⁷ has a different meaning: it is explained by the following gloss וימת ונתחך; cf. Syr. צהולא, *lustful*. The noun צהלה represents a form *ṣahalat*, not *ṣuhālat*. The explanation of מצהלות in the prefixed gloss מקול is correct. ¶ has נברוהו for אביריו, ¶ (*a voce hinnituum*) *pugnantorum ejus*; but § קלא דממלא דנברוהו מן קלא דממלא דנברוהו is rendered: עקה דרכשה. Heb. נחרת, however, means *snorting*, not *neighing*; see my paper on the cuneiform name of the sperm-whale, AJSL 23 288. In Arabic, *ṣāhala* is used of the cry of a horse (*ṣāhala 'l-fārasu idā ṣāwāta*) but in German the term *wiehern* (i.e. to neigh, to whinny) is used also of a *roaring laughter*; cf. our *horse-laugh* (see Haupt, *Purim*, p. 13, l. 30). *Roaring* may be used with reference to a lion, a tempest, the sea, boisterous mirth; it may denote also an outcry of distress, etc.

In Arabic, *qārqara* (which denotes originally the sound of rushing water; cf. AJSL 23 246) means not only *to roar, to crow, to coo, to murmur*, but also *to guffaw*; and in modern Arabic it means *to complain, to grumble*. In Is. 12 6 24 14 54 1 Jer. 31 7 צהל appears as a synonym of רגן, *to shout for joy*; in Esth. 8 15 we read ויהוה שושן צהלה ושמחה; but in Is. 10 30 צהל means *to utter shrill cries of distress*, just as we speak not only of *shrieks of laughter* but also of *shrieks of fright*.

Nor does אבירי in the Maccabean passage Jer. 47 3 refer to the horses. We must read: מ'שעטת פרסות אבירי
מרעש לרכבו
ל'א'הפנו אבות אל'כנים
מרפין ידים;
(α) קול
(β) הקון גלגליו
 The stem שעט corresponds to Arab. *šā'ata*, a synonym of *dāqqa*, to pound (Heb. רדקק) and *rādaxa*, to smash (which corresponds to Heb. רצה, to slay). For אבירי ℳ has again, correctly, גיבורהי, ™, פרסותא דנגבורהי, ™ *bellatorum ejus*. The ל in לרכבו (cf. מערה לכפירים, Nah. 2 12) is inserted for rhythmical reasons; just as כנגלי כרשא is more rhythmical than כנגלי דשא Jer. 50 11; see below. The phrase מרעש לרכבו (= ℳ מרעש לרכבו) which Cornill considers to be a gloss, is far more poetic than הרמן גלגליו, which Cornill relegates to the margin. For the intransitive Hiphil לא'הפנו (ℳ אחפניו) cf. the last hemistich of Nah. 2 9: ואין מפנה, also *Kings* 217 2; AJSL 22 204, l. 4. For the second line of Jer. 47 3 cf. ll. 112, 113 of the cuneiform account of the Deluge, mistranslated by Jensen, KB 6 236, l. 113; see KAT² (1883) 62 27 73 10.

In Jer. 50 11, on the other hand,

כרתשמחו כי תעלוו שסי נחלתי
 כרתפישו כנגלי כרשא ותגהלו כאבירים

the noun אבירים means *bulls*; we must render: *though ye bellow like bulls* (so AV). For the concessive כי see the note on כ"ב בקקום, Nah. 2 8. Ⓞ *ἔσκαπτᾶτε ὡς βοῦδα ἐν βοτάνῃ, καὶ ἐκατίζετε* (this is wrong) *ὡς ταῦροι, ™ sicut vituli super herbam et mugistis sicut tauri, ™ ותרקדון*, כנגלי רבקא ותטולון כניבריא, איד דכרא דענא.

There is no evidence that אבירים ever refers to horses, nor does דדר mean *to gallop*.

The clause פרש מעלה forms the last hemistich of v. 2; the סוף פסוק and מרכבה מרקדה must be transposed. The collective פרש means here *horsemen*, not *horses*; cf. the second hemistich of gloss β: וה'פורשים הרעלו: Ⓞ *καὶ οἱ ἵππεις θορυβήσονται*.

After מעלה we may supply (but not insert) את'סיכו, cf. the intransitive Hiphil מפנה in 2 9; מעלה means literally *he rears = he causes* (his horse) *to rear* by urging him on with whip and spur. *Spur* (Assyr. *ziqtu*) is no anachronism; see l. 54 of the sixth tablet of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic (KB 6 171; cf. p. 450 and HW 262^b). The Median horsemen may have spurred (or goaded) their horses with the points of their swords, etc., or with their feet; cf. Arab. *rākaḍa = dāfā'a: rākaḍa*

'*l-fārāsa bi-rijlāihī ʾūdā 'stahāttahu lil-ādwi*; — *hatta* = *haḏḏa*). Heb. מעלה has here about the same meaning as Arab. *mutarākiḏ*. Cf. also Arab. *uākara* which means *to move with springs or bounds, to rear, to race, etc.*

(2^{4b}) The first three משלים of 7 have been displaced in the Received Text by gloss β. The first משל of β (2^{4b}) is a variant (cf. *Kings* 213⁴⁸) to the second משל of 3², and the two משלים of the following verse (2⁵) represent an explanatory gloss to this variant: 2^{5a} explains the second hemistich of 2^{4b}; (ה'פרשים הרעלו) and 2^{5b} gives an explanation of the first hemistich of 2^{4b}; it is therefore better to transpose the two משלים of 2⁵ (cf. the transposition of the two משלים of 3¹⁵; also 3^{16 17} and 1^{3 9}). The glossator understood הפרשים to mean *horses* (of the chariots) not *horsemen*.

Instead of באש we must, with W, read כאש (cf. *Kings* 182²⁵ and *Esth.* 1^{18 34}) and לפדת (cf. the Homeric λαμπετόων, *Il.* 1¹⁰⁴; *Od.* 4⁶⁶²) instead of פלדת (cf. 1 Makk. 6³⁹: κατηύγαλξεν ὡς λαμπάδες πυρός). The verb לפד is denominative, derived from לפיד, torch, and this may be a transposition of dappil = dappir, a byform of Assyr. dipāru, torch. The collective דרכב may be construed as a feminine in spite of *Ex.* 14⁷; cf. מראיהן in v. 5^b, which must not be (with W) changed into מראהם. The corresponding Arabic word *rakb*, a troop of horsemen, cavalcade, etc., may be construed either as masculine or feminine; cf. Wright-de Goeje, 2^{181 A}; 1^{293 B} (§ 148, rem.).

The clause ביום הכינו between the two hemistichs of 2^{4b} is a misplaced gloss to v. 3^a, just as יזכר, at the beginning of v. 6, is a misplaced gloss to ירע in 1¹⁴, and יבשלו בהליכותם (v. 6) a misplaced gloss to הרעלו in the present משל. The fact that the gloss יבשלו בנויהם, which gives another explanation of הרעלו, appears in the Received Text at the end of 3⁸, shows that 3⁸ must have originally stood near 2⁴, just as the two glosses ואף סוררים לשבן יה אלהים (Ps. 68¹⁹) and אך סוררים שכנו צהייה (Ps. 68⁷) show that Ps. 68⁷ stood originally near Ps. 68¹⁹; see *AJSL* 23²²³; cf. also my remarks on the gloss מעין נים in *Cant.* 4¹⁵ (*AJSL* 18²⁸⁷, n. 35 on No. 8) and Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 27, l. 9.

For ברשים read, with W, פרשים; cf. שיה for זה, 1 S 17³⁴; ברול for פרול; contrast פקה for נקה in 3¹⁹. The rendering of 6, καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς θορυβήσονται, is correct, although θορυβήσονται is somewhat vague; this verb means especially *to be confused, mixed up, to be in a confused mass or jumble*; θόρυβος = רמון, מהומה; cf. *ad* v. 9^a. The passive הרעלו means *they are frenzied*, i.e. *they run amuck*, rushing to the attack in a state of frenzy, charging furiously with desperate resolution, at breakneck speed. Their chargers *run like mad* (cf. יהוהילל הרכב in v. 5 and בשנעין ירגנ and 2 K 9²⁰) as though they had the (blind) *staggers*, German *Koller*; cf. תרעלה. In Arabic the verb *ra'ila* means *to be stupid, doltish*, and the Pual of its synonym (*hāmuqa*, to be stupid, dull): *hūmmiqa* means especially *to be stupefied by wine, to drink wine* (*šariba*

ἡ-zámra). Cf. also Greek (πρόσσω) μάομαι (which is connected with μαμάω and μάνομαι, also μανία and μένος) especially μεραῖός, also μενεαίνω. In the two misplaced tertiary glosses יבשלו בהלכותם (2 6) and יבשלו בנייתם (3 3) this *furious precipitation* was misinterpreted to mean *stumbling in their course or over the corpses*. The *Kēthiv* הלכותם must not be read הלכותם, but the ך should be transposed as in וירע for וירע, 17 and in ולהב and לזהב, 3 3; we must read the plural הלכותם, not the singular הליכתם, as pointed in the *Qērē*. Nor is the *Qērē* of יבשלו in the second gloss correct; we must not read יבשלו, but יבשלו, as in the first gloss. For the *scriptio defectiva* of the *i* in הלכותם cf. *Kings* 84 32.

(5^b) The verb יריצצו is not frequentative, but intensive; it does not mean *they move hither and thither*, in a zigzag manner, but *they run fast*, quick as a flash, swift as lightning; cf. our *they run* 'like blazes' and modern Arab. *rámah*, to run = *lámah*, *láma*.

(5^a) For יהורלו read the singular, יהורלו; cf. *Kings* 170, n.*; 296 38. The plural is conformed to ישתקשקון in the second hemistich. For the singular in the first hemistich and the plural in the second cf. *Ges.-Kautzsch*, § 145, g. This *raging* of the chariots (German *dahinrasen*) means *driving furiously*, נהג בשנעון; cf. the remarks on הָרָעָלו.

Just as יהורלו, Esth. 4 4 is connected with היל, so ישתקשקון must be combined with שוק, *leg*; it means *they move their legs*, i.e. *they speed*; cf. Ps. 147 10: לא בנבורת הקום לא־בשוקן האיש ירצה

Cf. our phrase *he had the legs of him*, i.e. he was quicker. In certain parts of England to *leg* means to run *nimbly*. Assy. *puridu*, swift messenger, originally *runner*, which has passed into Arabic as *barid*, courier, is identical with *puridu*, leg; see KB 6 508 (*mē puridi* = מִירִידִים). Both Heb. פֶּרֶד, *mule* and German *Pferd*, horse (cf. *palfrey*) are derived from the same stem, and פֶּרֶד, פֶּרֶשׁ, שֶׁפֶר, etc. go back to the same root, פֶּר, to *flee*, *fly*, *speed*.

(3 3) The first two words of v. 3 belong to v. 2; see above, p. 39.

In ולהב the ך must be transposed as in וירע, 17, also ברק should be pointed as פועל; the omission of the ך may be due to haplography; cf. the note on לעבור, 21. Both לזהב and ברק are denominative participles like לפרת in 2 4^b. Cf. also the note on 2 11 and ותפיצם, Ps. 144 6. The verb *barâqu* is used also in Assyrian, and *láhiba*, to flare, is used in Arabic (*láhibatî 'n-nâru*).

Although הרכ is fem. (cf. 3 15) the preceding verbal predicate may be masc. Nor is the masculine form preferred for rhythmical reasons: לזהבת would be dissyllabic: *lohevth-zérv*; cf. the anapestic beginning in צפה־דֶרֶךְ (çappe-dérkh) 2 2; אכלה־אשׁ (*ākhlā-és*) 3 13; יניניה (*uē-Ninué*) 2 9^a; ואמהתיה (*uamhothêha*; cf. the note on מאר, 2 2 and Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* 2, § 33, A) 2 8; בור־כֶּסֶף (*bozzu-késf*) 2 10.

Both the prefixed חלל and the affixed לנייה are explanatory glosses to פָּנֵר and וּכְבֹד פָּנֵר; for רב we had better point רב. In כְּבֹד פָּנֵר the first word is not a substantive in the construct state, but a participle

with recessive accent; cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 29, f. We find the same form in Is. 30²⁷, where we must read:

הנה יהודה־בא ממרחק בער־אפו וכבד מִשָּׂאָה
שפתיו * מלאו זעם ולשונו כאש אכלת:

For מִשָּׂאָה we must point מִשָּׂאָה, *His crash*, i.e. *His thunder-peals*, from a noun מִשָּׂאָה; see the note on וַתִּשָּׂא, 15. Similarly the Masorites have mispointed the plural of מִשָּׂאָה (מִשָּׂאוֹת) Ps. 73¹⁸ 74³: מִשָּׂאוֹת, as though it were a derivative of נָשָׂא. The prefixed טֵם, *name*, before יהוה is a gloss. In 2 K 23¹² the form מִשָּׂאָהֶם (which may have been pronounced מִשָּׂיָהֶם or even מִשָּׂם; cf. טֵם = כֵּהֶם, etc.) appears as מִשָּׂם. The form מִשָּׂם must be derived from רִצָּץ, and רִצָּץ מִשָּׂ(ה)ם means *their crash*, i.e. *ruin, debris*; cf. Kings 295²³; also 272¹⁹, where I have stated that קנה רִצָּץ does not mean a *broken reed*, but a *split reed*. This is not *ein aufgeschlitztes Rohr* (Ges.-Buhl¹⁴, s.v. רִצָּץ) but *ein zerfasertes Rohr* (frayed, raveled at the ends).

The participle כבד in the present passage means *numerous*; cf. German *die schwere Menge* and the Hithpael in התכבדי, v. 15; also עם כבד, Num. 20²⁰ 1 K 3⁹; טרב כבד, Ex. 8²⁰, etc. For כבד instead of כבד cf. טרב, שָׂמַע, שָׂמַע, אָהַב.

The last two words of this verse, יכשלו בנייתם, are a gloss to הרעלו, 2^{4b}; see above, p. 41.

(2^{4a}) The suffix in גבוריהו (i.e. *scriptio defectiva* for גבוריהו) † and אדיריו (v. 6) does not refer to מִשָּׂע (i.e. Judas Maccabæus) in v. 2 (so W) but to the enemy besieging Nineveh; cf. Jer. 4¹³ 8¹⁶.

Both מאדם, *reddened*, and מתלטים, *crimsoned*, mean *bespattered with blood*, ננאלים ברם, Lam. 4¹⁴ Is. 59⁸. Ⲅ ⲉⲗ ⲁⲛⲑⲣⲱⲡⲱⲛ read מאדם, and for מתלטים, apparently, מתלטים (cf. Arab. *l'iba bis-saiji uat-tursi* ‡) combining מתלטים with כאש (*ἐμπαζοντας ἐν πυρὶ*). For מאדם cf. my restoration of the Song of Vengeance in Is. 63¹⁻⁶ (JHUC, No. 163, p. 49^a). The denominative participle מתלטים does not mean *clad in scarlet*, but *crimsoned*, scil. *with blood*. The term *crimson* is a doublet of *carmine*, and both are derived from *kermes*, *alkermes* (Arab. *al-qirmiz*). This red dyestuff consists of the dried bodies of the females of the *Coccus ilicis* (Heb. תולע שני) etc. Heb. מתלטים corresponds to the Shakespearean *purpled*:

Our lusty English, all with purpled hands,
Dyed in the dying slaughter of their foes.

* In cases like שפתיו מלאו there is an unaccented syllable between the two beats: שפתיו was pronounced *sfathâ(h)û*; cf. אביו = אביו, etc. In some cases we must substitute the poetic form סוסירו for סוסיו.

† Cf. לִבְבָרֶם, Nah. 2⁸ and יִלְרַעְוּ = *καὶ τοῖς πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ*, 1 S 30²⁶. In Assyrian, *sarrêšu*, his kings, etc., is the usual form; see Kings 270, n. *

‡ Arab. *turs*, shield, is a transposition of *sutr* = *sâtar*; *tatârrasa* = *tasâttara*.

There has been a sanguinary battle: everything is bespattered with blood, not only the shields of the warriors attacking Nineveh, but also their faces, hands, etc. They have received numerous wounds, but, undaunted, their nobles rush to the wall of Nineveh, shielded by the large pavises or mantelets (מכבך). At the beginning of v. 6 we may supply (but not insert) the adversative וַיִּגַּם, *yet*; cf. נִגַּם תֹּאכַלְךָ אֵשׁ, 3 15^a.

(11) A misplaced (incorrect) gloss to מְתַלְעִים is found at the end of v. 11: וּפְנֵי כָלֶם קָבְצוּ פֶּאֲרוֹר, lit. the faces of all of them have gathered (*i.e.* acquired*) glow, *i.e.* all their faces are suffused with color, they are flushed (from excitement, eagerness, and exertion). The noun פֶּאֲרוֹר, *glow*, is connected with פֶּרוֹר, *pot*, lit. *boiler*. The stem is פֹּר; the א in פֶּאֲרוֹר must be explained according to Ges.-Kautzsch, § 72, p. The form פֶּאֲרוֹר (*pârûr*) has two long vowels; it is a form like נֶאֱפִיפִים and נֶעֱצִיצִים, but from a stem פֹּר. In Arabic the verb *fâra*, *iafûru* means to boil; cf. *fâra* 'l-*qidaru*, the pot boils. Arab. *faḡr*, boiling, means also a *flush of passion, excitement, precipitation*, etc. In certain parts of England *flush* denotes the *hot stage of a fever*; cf. Syr. אֲשֶׁחַת, fever = Assyrian *išātu*, fire. In Assyrian we have *pûru*, urn; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 20, l. 22, and the paper on Nicanor's Day in ZDMG 61 276. The noun פֶּאֲרוֹר means *boiler*, then *heater, glowing hotness, glow, flush, vivid redness*; and the phrase וּפְנֵי כָלֶם קָבְצוּ פֶּאֲרוֹר means: *all their faces blazed vivid, burning crimson*.

(6) The first word of v. 6, יִכַּר, is a misplaced (corrective) gloss to וִירַע, 1 4; see above, p. 26.

The suffix in אֲדִירָיו refers to the enemy; the suffix in הוֹמָתָהּ, to the besieged city, *i.e.* Nineveh.

The clause יבשלו בהלכותם is a misplaced (incorrect) gloss to וְהָרְעֵלִי in v. 4^b; see above, p. 41.

Heb. מכבך means here *pavise, mantelet*; cf. above, p. 13 and the cuts in BA 3 176.

(9^b) Between vv. 6 and 7 we must insert the second משל of v. 9, while v. 9^a must be inserted between vv. 7 and 8. The clause at the beginning of v. 9^b, והמה נסים, is a gloss. The first word of this gloss has displaced the verbal predicate of מימיה at the end of v. 9^a; cf. the note on מלא מלא in 1 u. The original text of this hemistich was מימיה יהימה which appears in the Received Text as מימי היא והמה. The א in מימיה יהימה must be canceled, and the two consonants וה should be transposed; cf. וירע for וירע, 1 7; ולרב for ולרב, 3 a.

The imperatives עמרו עמרו are addressed by the Ninevite captains to their soldiers.

At the end of the first hemistich we must insert יצעיקו, *they* (the Ninevite captains) yell. This verb has dropped out here just as יצילים at the end of 1 7 or תברח (or תנתק) in Ps. 68 24 (AJSL 23 222, n. 36).

* Cf. Lat. *iram colligere, sitim ab aestu colligere*, etc.

The second hemistich, יֵאֵין מִפְנֵי, refers again to the Ninevite soldiers: they do not turn back in their panic, their disorderly flight cannot be stopped. This sudden fright of the soldiers is not due to the assault of the besiegers, but to the flooding of the city. For the intransitive Hiphil מִפְנֵי cf. הִפְנִי, Jer. 47³ quoted in the note on הִרֵר, 32.

(7) The plural הַיְהוּדִים is due to the preceding שְׁעָרֵי; cf. JBL 19 63, second paragraph; *Numbers* 49 27; *Kings* 266 45. The phrase does not mean *the gates of the rivers*, but *the gates of the river* (singular) i.e. the three flood-gates (especially the second and third) of the Khôsar at the point in the eastern wall of Nineveh where this river enters the city; cf. BA 3 146, l. 36; 126, l. 18; 122, l. 23; 120, l. 24, and Map II in Col. Billerbeck's paper cited above, p. 16, n. 9. The gates of the river (i.e. the flood-gates in the three dams built across the Khôsar) were opened, while the sluice-gates at the side of the Khôsar, through which the water of the river flowed into the moats and canals, were shut. Thereupon the unchecked spring-flood of the Khôsar submerged the city.

The singular הַיְהוּדִים is collective; cf. above, p. 37. It denotes the royal palaces in the Acropolis of Nineveh, on the mound known as *Kouyunjik*.

Heb. נִמְוֶה means lit. *it is waved* (Arab. *mauj*, plur. *amûj* means *wave, billow*) i.e. *moved up and down* or *to and fro*; it is shaken, swayed. The unchecked flood of the Khôsar undermines the foundation of the Acropolis, and the masonry begins to surge as a ship on the waves.

(9^a) In the second hemistich we must read מִיְהוּדֵי יְהוּדָה. 𐤀 has 𐤓 *šdara ašrâš*, 𐤓 *aquae ejus*; מִיְהוּדֵי is not a dittogram of מִיָּם (W) nor is the form a reduplication of מִי; see *Kings* 200 18. The suffix in מִיְהוּדֵי refers to בְּרֵכָה, not to the river; the suffix in יְהוּדָה, to the city. The form מִיְהוּדֵי is the impf. Qal of a denominative verb derived from מְהוּדָה; cf. Deut. 7 23: וְהָקַם מְהוּדָה גְדֻלָּה עַד הַשְּׁמַרָם. The flooding of the city produces a מְהוּדָה מוֹת, 1 S 5 11; cf. מְהוּדָה יְהוּדָה, Zech. 14 13. This denominative verb הוּם, *engulf, overwhelm, swallow up, ruin*, etc., is more frequent than is generally supposed: all the forms of the alleged stem הוּם are forms of הוּם. Instead of לְהוּם and וַיְהוּם we must point לְהוּם and וַיְהוּם; the forms הוּמְנִי הוּמְנִי (*he has swallowed me up*, Jer. 51 34) and הוּמְנִי are Polel forms of הוּם; even הוּמְנִי is derived from הוּם. For the construct הוּמְנִי cf. הוּמְנִי, constr. הוּמְנִי, from הוּמְנִי; see BA 1 106, l. 4. The primary meaning of הוּם is *to roar*: in Assy. *mâmu* (= *mahûmu*, i.e. the masculine of מְהוּדָה) *Ti'ânat* (i.e. the feminine of תְּהוּם) it denotes the roaring of the billows of the sea; in *ûmu* (HW 33) the roaring of a tempest; in הוּמְנִי, the roaring of a multitude shouting together. For Assy. *ûmu*, *mûmu*, *Ti'ânat* see note 96 to my paper cited above, p. 15, n. 4. Assy. *mummu* (i.e. *mûmu*) was combined with מְהוּדָה by Friedrich Delitzsch in *Geo. Smith's Chaldäische Genesis* (Leipzig, 1876) p. 297, l. 10.

(8) For הוּמְנִי read וַיְהוּדָה = וַיְהוּדָה, *she will be taken out*, i.e. *carried off*; cf. 2 S 12 31 and *Kings* 253 23; for הוּמְנִי = הוּמְנִי see *ibid.* 119 23; cf. the remarks on בְּאֵר, Nah. 2 2.

For גְּלָתָהּ, *she was stripped* read הִגְלָתָהּ, *she was led into captivity*; the omission of the prefix ה is due to haplography: הִצָּרֶה הִגְלָתָהּ became הִצָּרֶה גְּלָתָהּ; afterwards the final ה of הִצָּרֶה was corrupted to ב; cf. the omission of the two ה's in חיל ים for חיל הים, 3 8.

For הִעֲלָתָהּ read הִעֲלָתָהּ; cf. אֲהָלִים for אֲהָלִים, etc. In Assyrian the causative *uṣēli* (to bring up) often means to *remove, carry off*; see HW 62^b; cf. Ps. 102 25: אֶל־תְּעַלֵּנִי בַחֲצֵי יָמַי, and our *to bring up a prize* (German *eine Prise aufbringen = ein Schiff erbeuten*) = to capture a ship; also *to raise = to remove*; *to lift = to take away*; Greek *ἀναίρειώ*, Lat. *praedam tollere*, French *enlever une fille* (Heb. נָשָׂא, Jud. 21 23; cf. 1 S 17 34, etc.). Ruben's emendation הַעֲלָתָהּ = Assyr. *etillitu* (which was endorsed by Cheyne, JBL 15 198) is just as gratuitous as his reading מְנַרְדִּיךָ for מְנַרְרִיךָ, 3 17^a. The conjectures proposed by Ruben, PSBA 20 173-185 are singularly infelicitous. Not one of the Assyrian and Arabic words which he finds in Nahum (e.g. עֵנָה, to sound, רִי, infantry, סֶךְ, canal-bed, נָלַת, to be frightened, עֲרֹלָה, lady) occur in the Book. His metrical reconstruction of the text is impossible.

For the three synonyms, הַעֲלָתָהּ הִגְלָתָהּ הִוָּצָאָה, cf. the first hemistich of v. 11. In Jud. 5 27, on the other hand, the accumulation of synonyms is due to scribal expansion, and the entire verse is a gloss; cf. ZDMG 56 715-719 and above, p. 38. We must read:

בִּין רִגְלֵיהָ ^א שִׁבְבָהּ בְּאֲשֶׁר כָּרַע שְׂבִינְפֶלֶי

(γ) שָׂרָד

(β) בִּין רִגְלֵיהָ כָּרַע נָפֶל

(α) כָּרַע נָפֶל

The second hemistich of v. 8 has dropped out, just as in Cant. 8 12, etc.; cf. Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 47, l. 3. Similarly we must supply in Ps. 110 4 after וְיֹאֵל יִתְהַם (יְהוָה) כַּמְאֵד נִשְׁבַּע the hemistich כַּמְאֵד נִשְׁבַּע; cf. also the restoration of the last hemistich of couplet iv of Ps. 45 in Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 37. After הִוָּצָאָה הַעֲלָתָהּ we must insert הַמִּלָּךְ; cf. Ps. 45 10 Neh. 2 6. Xenophon (*Anab.* iii, 4 11) says of the *τείχος* (= Assyr. *dūru*, wall, castle, fortress) near Mespila, i.e. the Acropolis of Nineveh (see above, p. 8): ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Μήδεια γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν ὅτε ἀπόλλυσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μήδοι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιουρκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν οὔτε βίᾳ. Ζεὺς δὲ βροντῇ κατέπληξε τοὺς ἐνοικούντας καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. We must, of course, substitute *Assyrians* for *Medians*, and *Medians* for *Persians*; cf. *Daniel*, 29 15.

Heb. שָׂגַל is identical with שָׂגַר, *dam* (Ex. 13 12 Deut. 7 13 28 4 18 61) and Assyr. *šigrêti* (for *šigrâti*) ladies of the palace; see *Ezra-Neh.* 67 12. For the interchange of ל and ר cf. Arab *hadil*, cooing = *hadîr*; see above, note on דִּהַר, 3 2; cf. also שַׁרְשָׁרוֹת, chains = Arab. *silsila*, pl. *salâsil*; Aram. חַרְצָא, loin (Arab. *xâçira*, pl. *xawâçîr*) = Heb. חַרְצָא (Assyr. *xinçâ*) and Heb. מְרַנְנֵתָא, widow = Arab. *ârmala*; also Aram. מְרַנְנֵתָא (or מְרַנְנֵתָא) = Lat. *margarita*, Greek *μαργαρίτης*. See p. 26, above.

For שָׁנָר, *female parent* = שָׁנָל, *queen* cf. *dam* (female parent) = *dame* (lady; in French also *queen* in chess) and *sire* (male parent) = *Sire* (O King). Just as Assyr. *šigrêti*, ladies of the palace, appears in Hebrew as שָׁנָר, female parent of a beast, so the daughters of the Kings of France were formerly known as *les dames de France*, while in English *dams* means female parents of beasts. The ל in שָׁנָל instead of ר is due to a popular adaptation, connecting this word with the obscene Heb. verb שָׁנַל; cf. the Talmudic שָׁנְלוֹנוֹת, concubines, Sanh. 95^b.

The verb שָׁנַל means originally (like Arab. *sájala* = *çábbā*) to pour out; Arab. *mā'u dākarin*, water of a male, denotes *semen virile*. The stem שָׁנַל may be a Šaphel (see above, p. 24) of גַּל, well (Assyr. *gillu*) while שָׁנָר, female parent, may be a Šaphel of נָר, young; cf. גִּרְתוֹ, v. 13. The construct state of שָׁנָר is שָׁנָר, just as the construct of לָבָב is לָבָב; the form שָׁנָר, Ex. 13¹² stands for שָׁנָר, i.e. the syncopated byform *šigrū* for *šigaru*, just as we have in Assyrian: *zikru* = *zikaru*, male, and *šikru* = *šikaru* = שָׁכָר (a Šaphel of כָּר; see AJSL 23 248). For *zikru* = *zikaru*, etc. (cf. Heb. לָב, *libb* = לָבָב, *libab*) see AJSL 3 108, l. 6; and for the forms of the construct state, AJSL 1 228, n. 1.

For שָׁנָר וְאִמְרוֹתֶיהָ מְרִיגוֹת כְּקוֹל־יוֹנִים cf. Assyr. *kīma summāti idámumâ ardâi* (see JAOS 22 8, n. 6 and HW 220^b) and E. Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie* (Berlin, 1902) pp. 52 and 133, l. 96: *yábēi mīl il-ḥamām 'alēc illi yākif 'a-šájar inûh*, I will cry for thee like a dove which sits on a tree and moans. Heb. נָר appears in Arabic as *nā'aja*, to bellow like an ox (syn. *xāra*). In Assyrian we have *nagāgu* (HW 446^b). In Syriac, נָר is used of the *groaning* of camels, just as Arab. *hadir* denotes not only the *cooing* of a dove, but also the *braying* of an ass and the *roaring* of the sea, etc. (cf. the note on רָדַר, 3 2, above, p. 37). Arab. *nauḥ* means *cooing* and also *lament*; Arab. *nisā' nauḥ* means *wailing women*, Heb. מְקַיִנִיּוֹת; cf. the translation of Ezekiel (in the Polychrome Bible) p. 163, l. 7. For the ה in נָר (= נָנָ, נָנָ) see JBL 19 66, l. 3; AJSL 22 250, below.

For the plural לָבָבָהּ (cf. גְּבוּרָהּ for גְּבוּרָהּ, 3 4) we must not substitute the singular, לָבָבָהּ; the form לָבָבִי is the regular constr. plur. of לָבָב; cf. עֲנָבִי = *'inabē*, grapes. Even if there were no byform לָבָב, the plural of לָב might be לָבָבִי; cf. עָמִי for עָמִי; Syr. עֲמָא, etc. (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 93). For *heart* = *breast* cf. the German phrase *Hand aufs Herz*.

(10) The rhythm is improved by inserting 1 before בָּוֶה 2°. For the unaccented בָּוֶה 1° cf. the note on רָרִים, 1 5.

Before כָּבֵד we must insert וְשָׁלוֹ שָׁלוֹ, and for כָּבֵד we had better read כָּבֵד, just as we must substitute כָּבֵד for כָּבֵד in Ps. 16 9, etc. (cf. *Genesis* 107 60). For the erroneous insertion of the *mater lectionis* ו cf. *Kings* 301 16. Heb. וְשָׁלוֹ שָׁלוֹ would be in Assyrian: *šallata kabitta šullū* (see HW 663^b).

The prefixed מ before כְּלִכְלִי (read *mikköl-klī*) need not be omitted, as W suggests.

(11) The three terms *בִּיקָה* and *מִבְּיָקָה* and *מִבְּלָקָה* are generally supposed to be substantives; W: *Öde und Verödung und Verheerung*; A. R. S. Kennedy (in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, 3 475^a): *a wild and weary waste*. *מִבְּלָקָה*, however, is clearly a fem. part. Pual, and we had better substitute participles (as in 3 3) for the first two terms, reading *בִּיקָה* and *מִבְּיָקָה*, i.e. part. Qal and Poal of *בָּקַק*; cf. *בִּיקָה* and *מִבְּיָקָה* in 2 a. The two forms were originally written *defective* (*בִּיקָה* and *מִבְּיָקָה*) and the ק was haplographed. W cites Is. 24 1: *הֲגֵה יְהוָה בִּיקָה הָאָרֶץ וְבוֹלָקָה*. On the other hand, we must point *לְמִנְצָה*, for the liturgy, instead of *לְמִנְצָה*; see *AJSL* 23 225, n. 2; cf. also *Kings* 184 5.

The stem *מָסַם* is connected with *מָסַח*; cf. Ps. 6 7: *בְּרַמְעֵתִי עֵרְשִׁי אֲמָסָה*, *I water my bed with tears*; see *Ezekiel* 64 28. In Syriac *מְסִיחָא* means *watery* (i.e. *running, tearful*) eyes; *לְבָא מְסִיחָא*, a *watery heart*, is a *cowardly heart*; *לְבָא אֲמָסִי* means *to enervate*. Heb. *לִבּוֹ נָמַם* *his heart becomes watery* means *his courage fails*; he is discouraged, disheartened, dejected. In Arabic, *masās* means *impure, brackish water*, also *pure water*; cf. *Kings* 270 31. In Ethiopic, *masáya*, *ǝmsá* means *to liquefy, to dissolve*, and the quadriliteral *másána*, to putrefy, is derived from the same root (*מוֹס* = *מָסַם*). Syr. *מְסִיחָא* means a *putrid corpse*. For *שָׂרְרוּדָא* = *שָׂרְרוּדָא* = *שָׂרְרוּדָא* see above, on *זֵרָה שְׁלֵמָךְ*, 1 14.

The last clause of v. 11, *וּפְנֵי כָל־מַדְבָּרֵי פֶּאֶרֶר* (cf. Joel 2 6) is a misplaced (erroneous) gloss to *מִתְּלַעִים*, v. 4; see above, p. 43.

(12) The *אֵיהָ* after *מֵרַעָה* should be inserted after *אֵיהָ*; cf. *מֵרַעָה* Ps. 24 10, etc. (Ges.-Kautzsch, § 136, c; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 221) also *מֵרַעָה* *בְּלֵה־הוּא עֵשָׂה*, 1 9^b.

Instead of *מֵרַעָה* read, with W, *מֵרַעָה*.

For *מֵרַעָה* *לְכַפְּרִים* cf. *מֵרַעָה* *לְכַפְּרִים*, Jer. 47 8, quoted above, p. 39.

At the beginning of the second line omit the relative pronoun; cf. ג, γ.

The addition of *אֵיהָ* after *הַלֵךְ* is superfluous; so, too, at the beginning of the following verse.

For *לְבִיא* read, with W (following *Ἐ ποῦ ἐπορεύθη λέων τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν ἐκεῖ, Ἥ ad quam ivit leo ut ingrederetur illuc, Ἔ* *לְבִיא* אֵיהָ אֵרִיא לְמַעַל לְחַמָּן at the end of the following line. This mistake is due to *לְבִיאֵיהָ* at the end of the following line.

Before *אֵיהָ* omit *וְהִי*; this gloss is derived from *וְהִי* in the following line.

(13) For the omission of *אֵיהָ* before *טָרַף* see the notes on the preceding verse.

For *כְּנִי* read *כְּנִי*; cf. *כָּאֵשׁ* for *בָּאֵשׁ*, v. 4. In Esth. 1 18, on the other hand, we must read *וְכִנִּי* (cf. Job 39 25) for *וְכִנִּי*; the *ו* before *כָּנָף* is the *Waw apodosis*: *וְכִנִּי* *בְּדִין וְכָנָף* means: *Whenever there is disrespect, there is wrath*; cf. the gloss in Eccl. 5 6: *כִּי־בָרַב חַלְמִית וְהַבְּלִים*: *in many a dream there are vanities*. For *וְ* *סֻפְיָא* see *Proverbs* 60 31. In Arabic, *kufīa*, *sufficiency*, means especially *food*.

(14) The last couplet is a Maccabean appendix, just as the last four lines of ג. It is, therefore, not necessary to substitute, with W, mascu-

line suffixes. In the Maccabean appendix to **ג** we must substitute feminine forms for the masculine suffixes; **מֶלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר** is a gloss; see above, p. 36. The feminine suffixes refer to the **עִיר דְּמִים**, i.e. the Seleucidan Kingdom, and this may be the reason why the beginning of **ב** has been inserted after the conclusion of **ג**; cf. above, p. 29.

For **הִנְנִי נֹפֵל עֲלֶיךָ** we must read again, as in the Maccabean passage 3 4, **הִנְנִי נֹפֵל עֲלֶיךָ**.

For **רָבְצָךְ** read **רִבְצָךְ**, *thy lair* (= German *Lager*) i.e. *the camp of the Syrians*. For the burning of the Syrian camp **בַּעֲשֵׁן** cf. 1 Macc. 4 20. For the confusion of the suffixes cf. the note on **עֲלֶיךָ** 1 14 instead of **רַצְיָה עֲלֶיךָ**. The readings **סַבְכָּבָה**, *thy thicket* (Smend *apud* W) and **אַרְבָּבָה**, *thy den* (PSBA 20 182; see above, *ad* **הַעֲלָתָה**, v. 8) are not good. **τὸ πλῆθος σου** read **רַבְכָּה**. In Arabic the lion is called *er-râbiḏ* or *er-rabbâḏ*; this would be in Hebrew: **רִבְצָן** and **רִבְצָן**. The corruption of **רַבְצָן** to **רַבְכָּה** was influenced by **רַבְכָּה**, *thy thicket* in v. 4. The scribe who wrote **רַבְכָּה** for **רַבְצָן** probably understood **כַּלְפִּידִים** (v. 5) to mean that the Ninevite chariots were burnt.

The following clause, **וּכְפִירֶיךָ תֹאכַל־הָרֵב**, is a gloss (cf. Ps. 137 9; see OLZ 10 66).

Also **מֵאַרְץ** after **הִכְרַתִּי** must be omitted.

The last clause of c. 2 is a gloss to the first verse of this chapter.

INDEX

TO CHAPTERS AND VERSES OF THE RECEIVED TEXT

With Corresponding Sections, Stanzas, and Glosses in the present edition.

1 1 ^a : ג , heading	2 1 : ב , iii	3 1 : ב , i
1 ^b : ג , heading	2 : ii	2-3 : ג , i, ii
2 ^a : א , i	3 : iii	4-7 : ב , i
2 ^b : vii	4 : ג , ii	8-11 : ג , i, ii, 1
3 ^a : vii	5 : β	12-13 : ii, 6-7
3 ^b : i	6 : iii	14 : 2-3
4-8 : ii-vi	7 : iv	15 ^a : 5
9 ^a : vii	8 : v	15 ^b : 4
9 ^{b c} : vi	9 ^a : iv	16 ^a : ξ
10 : viii	9 ^b : iii	16 ^b : μ
11 : ב , ii	10-14 : vi-x	17 : ξ
12 : iii		17 ^b : ν
13 : o		18-19 : iii
14 : ii		

ומחנֵק לְלִבָּאֲתִיו א טָרַף כִּיָּי גִרְתִּיו 13 ix
 ומעֲנֵתִי טָרַף: ויִמְלֵא טָרַף חֲרִיו

נאִם־יְהוָה צַבָּאוֹת הַנְּנִי נֹפֵל עִלְיָךְ 14 x
 וְהִבְעַרְתִּי בַעֲשָׂן רִבְבָאָךְ^א וְהִבְעַרְתִּי בַעֲשָׂן רִבְבָאָךְ^א

	ספר	1	1 ^b	(a)
והפִּרְשִׁים הָרַעְלוּ: ץ״ ם״	כִּיֵּאֵשׁ לְפָרִית הָרֵכֵב	2	4 ^b	(β)
כברקים ירוֹצְצו	מְרֵאִיָּהֶן כְּלַפְיָדִים		5 ^b	
ישתקשקון ברחֲבֹת:	בְּחֻצוֹת יִתְהוֹלֵל״ הָרֵכֵב		5 ^a	
2 11 (ε) ופני קלם קבצו פארור	וְיָרִיב חֲלָל (δ) וְאִין־קָצָה לַגּוֹיָה	3	3	(γ)
13 אַרְיָה (κ) גֹּר (ι) אַרְיָה (θ) אֲשֶׁר (η) 12	וְהִמָּה נִסִּים	2	9 ^b	(z)
מֵאֲרִץ (μ)	וּכְפִירְךָ תֹאכַל־חֶרֶב	14		(λ)

8 8 יפישלו בגויתם (εε)

2 6 יפישלו בהליכתם (εε)

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations AJSL, BA, HW, JAOS, JHUC, OLZ, ZDMG are explained above, pp. 15–17, nn. 2, 1, 11, 14, 5, 4, respectively. — For AJP, ASKT, AV, EB, JBL, KAT, KB, OT, PSBA, SBOT, ZA, ZAT, ZK, 𐤀, 𐤁, 𐤂, 𐤃, 𐤄, 𐤅, see this *JOURNAL* (JBL) 19 55; cf. AJSL 18 207 23 252 and Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 53. — M = Marti; N = Nowack; W = Wellhausen. — The names of Biblical Books printed in *italics* denote the Critical Notes on the Hebrew text in SBOT; the first number after the name refers to the page; the second, to the line; e.g. *Kings* 301 16 = Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings (SBOT) page 301, line 16.

13 הנה (ρ)	12 כל (π)	תאכלך כילק	15 ^a (ο)
		אם-יָנֻעוּ וּנְפְלוּ עַל-פִּי אוֹכַל	12 ^b (σ)
18 מלך אשור (υ)		לאִיכָף נִפְתְּחוּ שַׁעֲרֵי אֶרֶץ	13 (τ)
18 על ההרים (φ)	19 כל (χ)	כי על מי לא עברה רעתך תמיד	18 (φ)
<hr/>			
18 פתוח (δδ)	גוב (γγ)	אִים (ββ)	2 17 ונרר'י (αα)

ד

	חֲזוֹן נְחֹם הָאֱלֹהִים	1 1 ^b
וְסוֹם דָּהָר פָּרַשׁ מֵעֵלָה: ^β	קוֹל-שׁוֹט וְקוֹל-רֶעַשׁ אוֹפֵן וּמְרַכְבָּה מְרַקְדָּה	3 2 i A
וּכְבֹד פָּגַר ^δ אֲנִשְׁחִיל מִתְּלַעִים:]:	לֹוה־בְחָרֵב וְכִרְיֵק חֲנִית מִגֵּן גְּבוּרָהוּ מֵאֲדָם	3 ii 2 4 ^a
וְהָכֵן הַסֶּכֶךְ: וְאִין מִפְּנֵה:	אֲדִירִיו יִמְהָרוּ חוֹמָתָה עֲמָדוֹ עֲמָדוֹ יִזְעִיקוּ ^ε	6 iii 9 ^b
וְהַיְכָל נִמּוֹג: מִיָּמִיָּה יְהוּמָה:]:	שַׁעֲרֵי הַנְּהָרוֹת נִפְתְּחוּ וַיִּנְיָה כְּבָרְכַת מִים	7 iv B 9 ^a
שָׁגַל הַמֶּלֶךְ מִתַּפְּפַת עַל-לִבְבָהּ:	וְהַצֹּאֵה הַגְּלִיתָה הָעֵלְתָה וְאִמְהָתִיה מִנְהַגוֹת כְּקוֹל-יוֹנִים	8 v
אִין-קָצָה לִתְכוּנָה מִכָּל-כְּלֵי חֲמָדָה:	בְּזוֹרְכָסָף וְזָבוֹן זָהָב זָשְׁלוּ שְׁלָלִי כְּבִיד	10 vi
וְלֵב נִמֵּם בְּכָל מִתְנִים:]:	בְּקוֹזָה וּמְבוֹקָה וּמְבֻלָּקָה וּפָק בְּרַפִּים וְחִלְחָלָה	11 vii C
וּמִצְרָה } לְכַפְיָרִים וְאִין מִחְרִיר:	אִי־הוּא מַעֲזוֹן אֲרִיּוֹת יְהִלְךָ לְבִזְאִשִּׁים אֲרִיָּה	12 viii

ג

משא נינה

	1	1*	
היִשְׁבָּה בִּיאָרִים ^β	הִתִּיטְבִי מִנָּא ^α	3 8 i A	
מִיָּם חוֹמָתָה:	חִילָהּ הַיָּם		
וְלוֹבִיָּם ^ε בַּעֲזוֹרָתָה:	כּוֹשׁ עֲצֻמָּה ^δ	9	
הִלְכָה בְשָׁבִי	גַּם־הִיא לַגָּלָה	10	
בְּרֹאשׁ חוֹצוֹת	עַל־לִיָּהּ רָשָׁשׁוּ		
יָדוּ גוֹרֵל	וְעַל־נֹכְבְּדֶיהָ		
רָתְקוּ בִּזְקִים:	וְכָל גְּדוּלֶיהָ		
תְּהִי נַעֲלָמָה:	גַּם־אֵת תִּשְׁכְּרֵי	11 ii B	
שְׂאֵבִי לָךְ	מִי מִצּוֹר	14	
הַחֲזִיקִי מִלְּבָבִי ^ϑ	בְּאֵי בְשִׁיטָּא ^ϕ		
הַתְּכַבְּדִי ^ζ כְּאַרְבָּה ^η	הַתְּרִבִּי ^θ כִּילָק ^ι	15 ^β	
תִּכְרִיתֶךָ חֲרֹבָה ^κ :	וְגַם־תֹּאכַלְךָ אֵשׁ ^λ	15 ^α	
[עֲמִדָּה ^μ] בַּפּוֹרִים ^ν :	מִבְּכַרְיָךְ תֹּאנִים ^ξ	12	
יִשְׁיִמוּ ^ξ בַּקְרָבֶךָ ^π :	{אֹכְלֵה־אֵשׁ בְּרִיחֶיךָ}	13	
יִשְׁנֵנוּ אַדְרִי־יָךְ ^σ	נָמוּ רַעֲיֵי־יָךְ ^τ	18 iii C	
וְאֵין מִקְבֶּעֶךָ:	נִפְצְוּ עֲמִדָּיֶךָ ^υ		
נַחֲלָה מִפְתֵּי־יָךְ	אֵין־יִנְהֶה לְשִׁבְרֵי־יָךְ	19	
תִּקְעוּ־רַבָּה עַל־יָךְ ^φ	שְׁמַעֲנִי שְׁמַעֲדֵי־יָךְ ^x		

9 ומצרים ואין קצה	(δ) 9 ומצרים ואין קצה	(γ) אשר	(β) מים סביב-לה	3 8 (α)
כל (θ)	גם 10 (η)		(ε) היו	9 (ε)
14 ורמסי בהמר	(κ) 14 ורמסי בהמר		מעוז מאויב	11 (ι)
16 ^β ילק פשט ויעף	(μ) 16 ^β ילק פשט ויעף			14 (λ)
			בִּקְרַת הַחַיִּים	17 ^β (ν)
			שָׁמַשׁ זֶרְחָה ^{αα} וְלֹא־גֹדַע מִקּוֹמִים ^{ββ}	
			מִכּוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם	16 ^α (ε)
			וּטְפֹסְרֵי־כַל־גּוֹבֵי	17 ^α

ב

כחש־פָּרַק מִלְּאֵה־ ^א	הוֹי־עִיר דָּמִים כָּלָה	3	1	i
בַּעֲלַת כִּשְׁפִים ^ב	מֶלֶךְ זַנּוּנֵי זֹנֵה	4		
נֹאמֵי־הָיָה צַבֹּאוֹת־ ^ג	הִנְנִי נֹפֵל עֲלֶיךָ			
וְהִרְאִיתִי ^ד מַעֲרָךְ־ ^ה	וְנִלְתִי שׁוֹלֵיךְ עַל־פְּנֶיךָ	5		
וְשִׁמְתֶיךָ כְּרֹאֵי־ ^ו	וְהִשְׁלַכְתִּי עֲלֶיךָ שְׂקָצִים־ ^ז	6		
וּמִי יִגְדֹּלֶה־ ^ח	וְאָמַר שְׂדָדָה נִינְה	7		
{יִעֵץ בַּלְעֵל}	הֲלֹא מִמֶּךָ יֵצֵא	1	11	ii
וַצִּיָּה עֲלֵי־ ^ט	חָשַׁב עַל־יְהוָה רַעְיָה			
יִזְרְה־ ^י שִׁלְמֶךָ־ ^י	[אֲשִׁים קִבְרֶךָ־ ^{יא} קְלוֹז־ ^{יב}]	14		
פָּסֵל וּמִסְכַּה ^{יג}	מִבֵּית אֱלֹהֶיךָ אִכְרִית			
נִצּוֹר מִצֻּדָה	עֲלֵה מִפֶּיךָ עַל־פְּנֶיךָ	2	2	
אִמְצָכָה מֵאֵד־ ^{יד}	צִיָּה־דָרֶךְ חֹקֵן מֵתַנִּים			
נָנוּ וְעִבְרֵי־ ^{טו}	{אִם־מִים מִלְּאִים־ ^{טז} וְרִבִּים־ ^{טז} }	1	12	iii
מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם־ ^{טז}	הִנֵּה עַל־הַהָרִים רִגְלֵי־ ^{טז}	2	1	
שִׁלְמֵי נִדְרֶיךָ	תִּגְיִי יְהוּדָה הַגִּידֶךָ			
כָּלֵה וְנִכְרַת־ ^{יז}	כִּי־לֹא יוֹסִיף ^{יח} לַעֲבֹר־בְּךָ־ ^{יח}			
וּגְפִן יִשְׂרָאֵל	כִּי־שָׁב ^{יט} נֶאֱזַן יַעֲקֹב		3	
וּמִרְיָהֶם שְׁחַתּוֹ־ ^{יח}	כִּי בִקְרוֹם בִּקְקִים			

לֹא־יִמִּישׁ טָרֶף	3	1	(α)
הַמְּכַרַת גּוֹיִם בְּזַנּוּנֵיהָ וּמִשְׁפָּחוֹת בְּכִשְׁפֶיהָ	4	(γ)	
גוֹיִם	5	(δ)	
וְהָיָה כָּל רֹאשׁ יְהוּדָה מִפֶּיךָ	7	(η)	
מֵאֵן אֲבָקֶשׁ מִנְחָמִים־לָךְ		(θ)	
לֹא 2 6 יִזְכַּר	1	14	(λ)
{עֲנִתֶךָ־ ^{יט} אֵל אֲעַבְדֶּךָ־ ^{יט} עוֹד}	12	(ο)	
וְעַתָּה אֲשַׁבֵּר מִטְּוִיהוֹ־ ^{xx}	13		
מִבְּשָׂר	2	1	(π)
עוֹד	1	(σ)	
וְלֹא יִשְׁמַע עוֹד קוֹל מִלֵּאכָךָ־ ^ρ	14	(ρ)	
וּמִוִּסְתֵיךָ אֲנִתֶךָ			
עוֹד 5 בְּיוֹם הַכִּינוּ	5	(υ)	
וְיִהוּ אֶת־ ^φ	3	(φ)	
מֵעֲלֶיךָ	1	13	(xx)

נחום

א

נָקַם ^א וּבְעַל חֲמָה:	אֵל קָנוּא־ יְהוָה	1	2 ^א	i
וּעֲנֵן אֶבֶק רַגְלָיו:	בְּסוּפָה וּבִשְׁעָרָה דָּרְכוּ		3 ^ב	
וּכְל הַנְּהָרוֹת הַחֲרִיב	גּוֹעַר בַּיָּם וַיִּבְשְׁהוּ	4		ii
וּפָרַח לִבְנוֹן אֶמְלֵל:	דָּאֵב־ בִּשְׁן וּכְרַמָּל			
וְהִגְבְּעוֹת הִתְמַנְּגוּ	הַרִים רַעְשׁוּ מִמֶּנּוּ	5		iii
'תִּבְלֹ וְכֹל יוֹשְׁבֵי-בָה:	וְתִשָּׂא הָאָרֶץ מִפְּנֵי			
'מִי־יָקוּם בַּחֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ	{זַעֲמֹ מִי־עֲמֹד }לִפְנֵי־ו	6		iv
וְהִצְרִים נִצְתּוּ מִמֶּנּוּ:	חֲמָתוֹ נִתְּכָה כְּאֵשׁ			
מִעֲזוֹ בַיּוֹם צָרָה	טוֹב יְהוָה לִקְיוּיֹ	7		v
וּבִשְׁטַף עֵבֶר 'צִילָם':	'יֹרְדַע יְהוָה' חֲסִי-כּוֹ			
וְאִי־בִי יִהְיֶה 'אֶל-חֶשֶׁךְ:	כִּלְהָ יַעֲשֶׂה 'בִּימֵת-קוֹמ'מִיֹ	8		vi
וְשָׂה: {כִּי-עָד} פִּלְה־הוּא עֲשֶׂה:	לֹא-יָקוּם פַּעַמִּים 'מִצָּרֵיֹ		9 ^{ב, c}	
'עֲזוֹן: 'נִקְהָ לֹא-יִנְקָה:	מִה־תִּחְשַׁבּוֹן 'עִל־יְהוָה	3 ^א , 9 ^א		vii
וּנוֹטְר־הוּא לֹא־יָבִי:	נָקַם יְהוָה לְצָרָיו	2 ^ב		
אֶבְלוֹ כִּקֵּשׁ 'בִּא־שׁ':	{סִרְיִים': סְבוּאִים 'כִּי־הִמָּה	10		viii
* * * * *	ע * * * * *			
* * * * *	פ * * * * *			ix
* * * * *	צ * * * * *			
* * * * *	ק * * * * *			x
* * * * *	ך * * * * *			
* * * * *	ש * * * * *			xi
* * * * *	ת * * * * *			

1 ונחם (α) 2 3^א (γ) יהוה ארך-אפים וגדל-גֹּחַ ו
 3^א (δ) יהוה 10 סבכים (ε) וכסבאם (ζ)