# Philological Studies in Lamentations. I (*)

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The book of Lamentations has received the careful attention of numerous scholars during the past century. In addition to commentaries, numerous special studies have been directed to the problems of authorship, historical context, textual criticism, literary form and meter. But despite the advances which these past studies have made, many problems remain, including a number of obscure and enigmatic passages. The most recent extensive study of this text is Bertil Albrektson's *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations: With a Critical Edition of the Peshitta Text* (1). It presents a summary of the views of the commentators on the exegetical problems of Lamentations as well as a detailed study of the Septuagint and Peshitta texts. Its value lies in establishing with tolerable certainty the underlying Hebrew text; but its weakness is in the fact that such versional studies seldom offer any real help in clarifying obscure passages once the text is established. Norman Gottwald, in his review of this book, concludes, "Albrektson's book shows that far more must be done to recover the *Sitz im Leben* and thought world of Lamentations " (2).

This study is the writer's attempt to further the inquiry by utilizing linguistic and literary materials which thus far have not been systematically employed in the study of the Hebrew text of

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(*) This study represents the first two chapters (slightly modified and abbreviated) of the writer's doctoral dissertation submitted in May, 1966, to the Faculty of Philosophy of The Johns Hopkins University.

(1) (Studia Theologica Lundensia 21; Lund 1963) (cited hereafter as ALBREKTSON). Important reviews of this work have been published by P. WERNBERG-MØLLER, in *JSS* 10 (1965) 103-110; Mitchell DAHOOD, in *Bib* 44 (1963) 547-549 (cited hereafter as "Review of Albrektson"); and Norman GOTTWALD, in *JBL* 83 (1964) 204-207.

(2) Op. cit. 206.

Lamentations. The archaeological discoveries and resulting publication of new Northwest Semitic texts within the last half century have changed the whole approach to biblical Hebrew philology [1]. Numerous works have already appeared which deal generally with the relationship between the Ras Shamra discoveries and the Bible [2], and an increasing number of works continue to appear which deal with Hebrew and Northwest Semitic language and literature [3], including many studies which treat individual biblical books in the light of this new linguisitic material [4]. But the insights derived from this new material have only sporadically been brought to bear upon the problems of Lamentations. This study is offered as an addition to this growing corpus of scholarly literature, with the writer convinced that not only does reference to Northwest Semitic linguistics bring clarity to many lines in Lamentations, including

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[1] See W. F. ALBRIGHT, "The Psalm of Habakkuk", *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to Theodore H. Robinson*, ed. H. H. ROWLEY (New York 1950) 2; and William L. MORAN, "The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background", *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (New York 1961) 56-58 (cited hereafter as MORAN, *BANE*).

[2] The most recent of these are Arvid S. KAPELRUD, *The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the Old Testament* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1963) and Edmund JACOB, *Ras Shamra–Ugarit et l'Ancien Testament* (Neuchâtel 1960). These works contain bibliographical references to earlier studies.

[3] See, for example MORAN, *BANE*; Mitchell DAHOOD, *Ugaritic–Hebrew Philology* (Rome 1965) (cited hereafter as *UHP*); IDEM, "Hebrew–Ugaritic Lexicography", *Bib* 44 (1963) 289-303; 45 (1964) 393-412; 46 (1965) 311-322 (cited hereafter as *HUL* I, II, III, respectively).

[4] Major studies in this latter category include John PATTON, *Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms* (Baltimore 1944); Charles L. Feinberg, *Canaanite Influence on the Language of Job* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1945); Cullen I. K. STORY, "The Book of Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Literature", *JBL* 64 (1945) 319-337; J. COPPENS, "Les paralleles du Psautier avec les textes de Ras Shamra–Ougarit", in the *Bulletin d'Histoire et d'Exégèse de l'Ancien Testament* 18 (1946) of the Séminaire Biblique, Louvain; Frank NEUBERG, *Ugaritic and the Book of Isaiah* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1950); Mitchell DAHOOD, "Canaanite–Phoenician Influence in Qoheleth", *Bib* 33 (1952) 30-52, 191-221; R. T. O'CALLAGHAN, "Echoes of Canaanite Literature in the Psalms", *VT* 4 (1954) 164-176; Mitchell DAHOOD, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology* (Rome 1963); IDEM, *Psalms I* (AB 16; New York 1965); Marvin Pope, *Job* (AB 15; New York 1965).

ancient cruces, but that Lamentations sheds light upon the problems of how long and to what extent archaic Northwest Semitic linguistic elements survived in Hebrew literary traditions.

The first part of this study is given to lexical matters. In addition to obscure words which were enigmatic even to the early translators, other words which traditionally have been "adequately understood" will be examined in the light of Northwest Semitic cognates. When a more reasonable rendering is achieved by relating words to other cognates in Akkadian or Arabic (and in one case Egyptian), these suggestions are included in this study. In an attempt to show all cases of Canaanite parallels, and in order to assess their merit, the published suggestions of other scholars (particularly Mitchell Dahood) for reading of various words in Lamentations in terms of Northwest Semitic cognates or parallels have been included in either the text of the notes. In the last half of this study over twenty words or particles are presented in light of nine grammatical and syntactic elements which are common in Northwest Semitic and frequently attested in other, older parts of the Bible. Studies in this section have a twofold significance in that they bear directly upon the meaning given to many passages in Lamentations and indirectly illustrate the use of archaic linguistic elements in a literary work that comes from the mid-sixth century B.C.

## I. Lexical Studies

### 1,1 rabbāti:

The word *rabbāti* as it appears here in the parallel phrases *rabbāti 'ām* and *rabbāti baggóyim* (in chiastic parallelism with *śārāti bamm<sup>e</sup>dīnôt*) has traditionally been read as the feminine construct singular of the adjective *rab* 'great, much.' The Syriac renders it both times as *saggi'at*, the LXX translates *ē peplēthummenō*, but RSV gives two different readings, "full of ... great among" (1).

(1) A typical translation of the commentators is that of Max HALLER, "einst so volkreich... die einst gross unter Völkern", in his "Klagelieder", in M. HALLER and K. GALLING, *Die fünf Megilloth* (*HAT*; Tübingen 1940) 96. Most commentators agree that the *yodh* of *rabbāti* and *śārāti* is the *ḥireq compaginis*; see A. E. COWLEY, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as Edited and Enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch* (Oxford 1910) § 90¹ (cited hereafter as *GKC*).

A parallel to the phrase *rabbātî ʿām* occurs in 1 Sm 2,5, *wᵉrabbat bānîm ʾumlālāh*, "she who had many children is forlorn". But there is no parallel to *rabbātî baggôyim* where this adjective occurs in the construct followed by a prepositional phrase as the *nomen rectum* (¹).

Herman Wiesmann comes close to what must have been the original meaning and significance of *rabbātî* in his translation of 1,1b as, "*die Herrin über die Völker*", i.e., by translating the word as an honorific appellative like the *rbt* 'Lady, Mistress' which occurs in Ugaritic, Phoenician and Punic epithets. But in view of his rendering 1,1a as, "*die (einst) so gefolgreiche*", and his exegetical comments, it is obvious that he did not identify MT *rabbātî* with the honorific *rbt* but simply translated from context (²).

Instead of identifying this word with the adjective *rab*, one should probably read it as the feminine counterpart of the masculine substantive *rab* 'chief' (used as a title or a title component) (³) and equate it with the above-mentioned *rbt* 'Lady, Mistress'.

In the poetic idiom of Northwest Semitic honorific appellatives were frequently employed, usually in divine epithets in Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Punic but with place names and references in Hebrew. The Ugaritic goddesses Anat and Asherah were often spoken of as *btlt ʿnt*, "the Virgin Anat" and *rbt aṯrt ym*, "the Lady Aṯirat Yam" (⁴). In Phoenician and Punic the use of such honorific appellatives can be well illustrated by a typical formula from the dedicatory inscriptions, such as, *lʾm lrbt ltnt pn bʿl wlʾdn lbʿl ḥmn*, "to the Mother, to the Lady, to Tanit face of Baal, and to the Lord, to Baal Ḥamon" (⁵). In the personification of Zion, Judah and Israel, the Hebrew poets showed a preferance for *bᵉtûlāh* as in *bᵉtûlat bat ṣiyyôn* (Jer 14,17), *bᵉtûlat bat yᵉhûdāh* (Lam 1.15), and *bᵉtûlat yiśrāʾēl* (Jer 18.13). Even

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(¹) See *GKC*, § 130ᵉ for other examples of this syntactic pattern of the noun in the construct followed by the preposition.

(²) *Die Klagelieder übersetzt und erklärt*, ed. Wilhelm KOESTER (Frankfurt 1954) 107, and for his understanding of the text note his statement on p. 103, "nach der zweifachen Bedeutung von רב *viel* und *gross* bezeichnet רבתי hier die Vielheit, Menge der Menschen, in *b* die Grösse oder Erhabenheit der Stellung, die Jerusalem unter den Völkern einnahm (C. F. Keil)". (Cited hereafter as Wiesmann).

(³) See, *sub voce*, BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, JEAN-HOFTIJZER, and *UT*.

(⁴) See especially *UT* § 19.540: § 19.2297.

(⁵) CIS (Paris 1881) I. 298. Text 195.

Babylon, Egypt, and Sidon were addressed with this title (Is 47,1; Jer 46,11; Is 23,12). The widespread use of this honorific indicates that the similar epithet *rbt* could also be used.

The close parallelism between *rabbātî* and *śārātî* calls to mind the interchange of the masculine nouns *rab* and *śar* in the titles *rab-ṭabbāḥîm* (2 Kgs 25,8-9; Jer 39,9-10) and *śar haṭṭabbāḥîm* (Gn 37,36; 39,1; etc.). Similarily the Akkadian *rab ša rēši*, reflected in the Hebrew *rab sārisāw* of Dn 1,3, is rendered in Hebrew as *śar hassārisîm* in Dn 1,1-11. Such an interchange of the two masculine nouns would suggest that when *rabbātî* and *śārātî* come in paral lelism one is presented with two feminine nouns of similar honorific import.

Additional support for equating MT *rabbātî* with the noun *rbt* 'Lady' is offered by Is 47,1-5, which is a close parallel to Lam 1,1 in that it is a call for Babylon to sit and mourn over her impending destruction. The passage employs three epithets for Babylon: *bᵉtûlat bat bābel, bat kaśdîm* and *gᵉberet mamlākôt* (vv. 1, 5), i.e., two appellatives from the feminine honorifics and an appellative from the lexicon of royalty. This is precisely the combination of Lam 1,1, where *rabbātî* occurs two times in parallelism with *śārātî*.

Thus the epithets of 1,1 would be best translated as, "the Mistress of the people ... the Mistress among the nations ... the Princess among the provinces".

## 1,8 gam:

The traditional understanding of *gam* in 1,8c as reflected in the LXX *kai ge*, Syriac *'ap*, AV and RSV "yea" hardly fits the context of this colon since in the antecedent clauses of 1,8a-b there is nothing to suggest or necessitate the use of a particle or adverb of addition. For this reason it seems most probable that *gam* should be read here as the adverbial modifier of *ne'enḥāh*, "she groaned", with the meaning of "aloud, loudly" which it has in Ugaritic and elsewhere in biblical Hebrew.

In Ugaritic adverbial *gm* 'aloud' occurs frequently with the root *ṣḥ* 'to cry out', and perhaps with the root *ṣḥq* 'to laugh' [1]. Dahood's

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[1] See GORDON, *UT* § 19.547. H. L. GINSBERG in his "The North Canaanite Myth of Anat", *BASOR* 98 (Apr., 1945) 22, n. 67, would restore II Aqht as *g]m tṣḥq 'nt* and translate, "loud]ly Anat laughs". He states,

identification of this adverbial *gam* as the modifier of the root *bākāh* in Ps 137,1 has been accepted by Gordon; and D. Beirne has noted the same use of *gam* in Nm 11,4, *wayyibkû gam bᵉnê yiśrā'ēl* ([1]).    In several other studies, Dahood has convincingly proposed to read this adverbial *gam* as the modifier with the roots *dāmam* (Jer 48,2), *qārā'* (Is 13,3), *yādāh* (Ps 71,22), and *hāgāh* (Ps 71,24) ([2]).

On the basis of this evidence wherein adverbial *gam* is employed with a wide variety of verbs, it seems most likely that MT *gam hî' nᵉ'enḥāh* should be translated as, "loudly she groaned" ([3]).

## 1,16 'ênî 'ênî:

The LXX and Syriac read only one *'ênî*, but the Targum's *tᵉrên 'ênay* may well reflect the *'ênî 'ênî* of MT.    The commentators have almost without exception followed LXX and Syriac by deleting one of the two *'ênî*'s, but such emendation of the text seems unnecessary in light of approximate parallels in Jeremiah and Ugaritic ([4]).

H. L. Ginsberg, in 1946, called attention to the kinship between Jer 8,23, *mî yitten ro'šî mayim wᵉ'ênî mᵉqôr dimāh*, "O that my head were waters and my eyes a fountain of tears", and the text of *UT* 125: 25-27, *bn.al.tbkn.al | tdm.ly.al  tkl.bn | qr.'nk.mḫ.rišk | udm't*, "My son, weep not for me, do not wail for me.  Waste not thine eye with

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"if correct this is the only passage where *gm* is used with any other verb than *ṣ-ḥ*".    The present writer finds support for this suggestion of Ginsberg by reading *gam* in Prv 1,26a as the adverb "aloud".    MT reads *gam 'ᵃnî bᵉ'êdᵉkem 'eśḥāq* which could be rendered, "I will laugh out loud at your calamity".    Syntactically Prv 1,26a (adverb–subject–prepositional phrase–verb) is quite similar to *UT* 51:VII:52-55 (adverb–prepositional phrase–subject–verb), *gm.lġ/[lm]h.b'l kyṣh*, "verily Baal cried aloud to his servant".

([1]) DAHOOD, "Textual Problems in Isaia", *CBQ* 22 (1960) 402; GORDON, *UT* § 19.547; and BEIRNE, "A Note on Numbers 11,4", *Bib* 44 (1963) 201-203.

([2]) "Ugaritic Studies and the Bible", *Greg* 43 (1962) 70; IDEM, *HUL* II, 399.

([3]) In Prv 21,13, *gm* could also be read as "aloud", since there is nothing in the antecedent clause to necessitate the particle of addition, and the verse could be translated, "he who closes his ear to the cry of the poor will himself cry out loud, but he will not be heard /answered".

([4]) See ALBREKTSON, 16-17, for a summary of the views of the commentators.

flowing, the brain (waters?) (¹) of thy head with tears". He states, "along with the more obvious points of similarity, note that in both passages there is a pun on the word *'ēnu/'ayin*, which means both 'eye' and 'fountain' " (²).

In 1960, Dahood pointed out the similarity of this Ugaritic passage to Lam 1,16a (when emended by deleting a *yodh*), the Ugaritic *qr 'nk*, "the fount of your eyes", being semantically identical with Hebrew *'ēn 'ēnî* (for MT *'ēnî 'ēnî*), "the fount of my eyes" (³). In view of the extensive use of paronomasia throughout biblical literature (⁴) and the striking similarity of these two motifs effected through this minor emendation, Dahood's reconstruction appears correct and the colon should be translated, "the fount of my eye runs down with water" (⁵).

## 1,19 hēmmāh:

*Hēmmāh* followed here by the plural verb with pronominal suffix, *rimmûnî*, appears at first to be the third person plural pronoun "they". Yet there is no apparent reason why the subject of the verb should be emphasized since it is the verb, the action of the "lovers", which demands attention. If *hēmmāh* is the pronoun it is simply an extra word used to extend the line metrically. But

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(¹) The emendation of the text here to read "waters" was suggested by S. GEVIRTZ in "Ugaritic Parallels to Jeremiah 8:23", *JNES* 20 (1961) 42, and involves the reading of ⚏ (y) for ⚎ (ḥ), a type of error attested elsewhere, as in *'nt* V:45. The emendation has been accepted by GORDON (*UT* § 4.13) and DAHOOD (*UHP* 5, 42). Marvin POPE, however, questions the emendation; see his "Marginalia to M. Dahood's *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology*", *JBL* 85 (1966) 456.

(²) H. L. GINSBERG, *The Legend of King Keret* (*BASOR* Supplementary Studies, Nos. 2-3; New Haven 1946) 45. (Cited hereafter as *BASOR* SS 2-3).

(³) "Dittografia, glossa o paronomasia?", *RBibIt* 8 (1960) 364-365.

(⁴) For a full discussion on biblical paronomasia, see Immanuel CASANOWICZ, "Paronomasia in the Old Testament", *JBL* 12 (1893) 105-167; Robert GORDIS, "Koheleth—Hebrew or Aramaic?", *JBL* 67 (1952) 103-109; and A. GUILLAUME, "Paronomasia in the Old Testament", *JSS* 9 (1964) 282-290.

(⁵) The meter of this line would be 3 + 3, with eight syllables in each half of the bicolon.

rather than being the pronoun, it is more likely that *hēmmāh* is here a demonstrative particle, equal in force to *hinnēh*.

C. Virolleaud was the first to recognize that Ugaritic *hm* was, 'une autre form de *hn* = הִנֵּה' ([1]). In *UT* 52 : 42-43, *whm a[ṯ]tm tṣḥn* is followed by the variant in line 46, *whn aṯtm tṣḥn*, both meaning, "and behold the women cry out". A semantic parallel to this demonstrative use in Ugaritic of *hm* 'if' is the Amarna *šumma* (generally rendered "if"), as noted by W. L. Moran, "abandoning 'denn' [the reading of Knudtzon] in view of the comparative evidence (Hebrew, South Arabic, Ugaritic, etc.) we retain the more original force of the particle, conventionally rendered by, 'lo, behold' " ([2]).

The use of Hebrew *hēmmāh* with its original demonstrative force was first pointed out by John H. Patton who cited several examples occurring in Psalms ([3]). Additions to the list cited by Patton have been made by Cross and Freedman, Milik, and Dahood — for a total of at least fourteen examples cited ([4]). *Hēmmāh* as it occurs here in Lam 1,19, may well be added to the list, for in reading the demonstrative particle instead of the pronoun, the desiderated emphasis becomes transparent by translating, "I called to my lovers, (but) behold, they betrayed me!"

### 2,1 yā'ib:

The Syriac *'a'ib* 'overcloud, darken' and the LXX *egnophōsen* 'obscure, darken' both connect this *hapax legomenon* with *'āb* 'cloud', a reading accepted by many exegetes, though rejected by others in preference for an Arabic cognate *'yb*, 'blame, revile' ([5]). Neither

([1]) "La Mort de Baal", *Syr* 15 (1934) 311. See Joseph Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (Berlin 1963) 90, for a list of occurrences of *hm* 'behold' in Ugaritic. Gordon (*UT* § 19.773) does not include this meaning "behold" in his discussion of *hm*.

([2]) "Amarna *šumma* in Main Clauses", *JCS* 7 (1953) 78. See also Moran, *BANE* 61.

([3]) *Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms* 37.

([4]) Frank M. Cross, Jr. and David N. Freedman, "The Blessing of Moses", *JBL* 67 (1948) 195; J. T. Milik, "Deux documents inédits du désert de Juda", *Bib* 38 (1957) 252, n. 1; and Dahood, "The Language and Date of Psalm 48(47)", *CBQ* 16 (1954) 16; Idem, "Some Northwest Semitic Words in Job", *Bib* 38 (1957) 306-307; Idem, *Psalms I* 56, 291.

([5]) See Albrektson, 86, where he cites Ewald, Keil, Budde, Löhr, Haller, Wiesmann, Weiser, and Kraus in favor of reading "overcloud",

identification seems satisfactory. In the context of Jerusalem's utter destruction and in view of the verbs that follow in the succeeding verses (*hišlik*, *billaʿ*, *hāras*, *higgiaʿ*, *gādaʿ*) the terms "overcloud" or "revile" seem too weak.

The root behind MT *yāʿib* is more likely to be the Egyptian (and Arabic) *wʿb*. Albright has argued that this root has a semantic development closely akin to that of *hāram*. He states, "in Hebrew the denominative verb *hehrîm* means both, 'to devote something to destruction as abominable' and 'to consecrate something to God as sacred'. An excellent illustration is offered by the stem *wʿb* which means 'to purify' in Egyptian whereas in Hebrew the derived noun *tôʿebāh* means 'negative tabu, abomination' ". Albright also suggests that "the original sense of the root may be preserved partly in Arabic *waʿaba*, 'to take (something) entirely', i.e. to have something intact or unsullied" ([1]). It seems quite possible that the original root *wʿb* persisted in Hebrew down to the time of the exile (independent of the denominative verb *tāʿab*) with a semantic development comparable to *hrm*. The MT *ʾêkāh yāʿib* could reflect an original *Hiphʿil* of *wʿb*, as either איך הועיב or איכה ה(ו)עיב with the same meaning as the *Hiphʿil* of the denominative verb, *hitʿib* 'make abominable'. Such an understanding of the verb permits the following translation of 2,1a, "O how the Lord in his anger has made an abomination of the daughter Zion!" This rendering finds a very close parallel in Ps 106,40, "the anger of the Lord was kindled against his people, he made an abomination (*wayᵉtāʿēb*) of his inheritance".

## 2,2 ḥillēl mamlākāh:

The noun *mamlākāh* in this passage has been identified by Albright, followed by Dahood, as a nominal form like Phoenician *mmlkt* 'king' ([2]). Other passages where *mamlākāh* has the meaning

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and Ehrlich, Rudolph, Meek, and Kopf as those who favor "revile" or "disgrace". Albrektson prefers the meaning "overcloud".

([1]) *From Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore ²1957) 176, n. 45. One might also note the Arabic causative *ʾawʿaba* 'to eradicate, extirpate, cut off' as listed by E. W. LANE, *An Arabic English Lexicon* (London 1863-85) 2951.

([2]) ALBRIGHT, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems", *HUCA* 23 (1950-51) I, 34; DAHOOD, "Review of Albrektson" 548.

of 'king' are 1 Sm 10,18; 1 Kgs 10,20 and Ps 68,30. This writer concurs with the identification in the latter passages, but has some reservations about the identification here in 2,2c, since the phrase recurs in 2,9b as *malkāh wᵉśārèhā*. The initial *mem* of *mamlākāh* may well have been read originally as the final letter of the preceding *ḥll*, and the final *he* as the feminine suffix ([1]).

Consonantal *ḥllm* could stand for the plural *ḥᵉlālîm*, as object of *higgiᵃ*, reflecting the same syntactical structure as in 2,14c (verb–prepositional phrase–object / appositional double object). But it could equally as well stand for *ḥālāl* with enclitic or adverbial *mem* reflecting the syntactical pattern of 2,1b (verb–prepositional modifier–adverbial accusative / compound object) ([2]). Translating after this latter suggestion, the bicolon could read, "he has struck to the ground, fatally wounded, her king and her princess" ([3]).

## 2,6a wayyaḥmos kaggan śukkô:

The reading and meaning of this clause has yet to receive a satisfactory explanation. The commentators are widely divided as to whether MT *kaggan* should be (1) retained in accord with the Syriac *'ayk gannᵉtā'*, "like a garden", (2) read as *kᵉgepen*, "like a vine", in accord with LXX *'ōs ampelon*, or (3) emended to read *kᵉgannāb*, *kᵉqaw* or the like. Similarly there is uncertainty as to whether MT *śukkô* should be (*a*) read as equal to *sukkô*, which appears in twenty-seven manuscripts of Kennicott, meaning "his booth" and identified with the temple as in Ps 27,4-5, or (*b*) related to *mᵉśukkāh* 'hedge, fence' ([4]). The recent suggestion of Albrektson, who translates

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([1]) No support for the identification of *mmlkh* with "king" can be drawn from the LXX *ebebēlōse basilea autēs*, for while the initial *mem* of *mmlkh* could be reflected in *basilea*, the final *he* was read as a suffix and rendered by *autēs*. Most commentators assume that the LXX *Vorlage* had only *malkāh*, while ALBREKTSON (88) prefers to see an inner-Greek corruption (original *basileian* corrupted into *basilea*, which would presuppose an original Hebrew *mmlkth*).

([2]) Compare the syntax of 2,21a. A discussion of] the adverbial and enclitic *mem* will be found in the Second Part of this article, to be published in *Bib* 49 (1968) fascicle 2.

([3]) Perhaps a poetic recall of the events recorded in Jer 52,9-11, 24-27; 2 Kgs 25,3-6.18-21.

([4]) For bibliography and fuller discussion of the traditional readings of the verse, see ALBREKTSON, 94-97.

the phrase, "he has broken down his booth as in a garden", and his exegetical comment that this is "a concise way, typical of Hebrew poetry, of saying 'he has broken down his booth as easily as one shatters a booth in a garden'", is not very convincing (¹). Clues from early Hebrew orthography and Northwest Semitic syntax provide a more reasonable explanation.

MT *śukkô* should be disassociated from the roots *śkk* and *skk* and their derived nouns, "hedge" and "booth". Instead MT *śkw* should be associated with the noun *śôk* 'branch' which appears in Jgs 9,48-49, *wayyikrōt śôkat 'ēṣîm wayyikreíû* ... '*iš śôkōh*, "and he cut off a branch of the tree, and each one (of them) cut off a branch" (²). Like the '*nšw* ('*anašêw* or '*anašaw*) 'his men' found in the contemporaneous Lachish Letters, MT *śkw* retains the' original defective orthography of the plural noun with third masculine singular suffix, *śôkāw* 'its branches' (³).

Once MT *śukkô* is corrected to *śôkāw* it becomes clear that LXX *ampelon* 'vine' retains the desiderated noun behind MT *gan*, which should be restored to read *gepen*. The haplography of the medial *pe* in *gepen* could easily have occurred in the palaeo-Hebrew script when there was greater similarity between the letters *pe* ( 𐤐 ) and *nun* ( 𐤍 ) (⁴). Although the noun *śôk* does not occur elsewhere in the O.T. with *gepen*, the fact that the six most common terms used for vine branches are also used for tree branches (olive, fig, cedar) would seem to indicate that there was no real distinction made between the vine and trees (⁵). In Ugaritic the vine is referred to as

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(¹) Ibid. 95.

(²) See S. R. DRIVER, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford ²1913) XXXIV-XXXV, where he notes that the *he* of *śôkōh* is not the feminine ending but the original orthography of suffix *-ahū*. As in Jewish Aramaic and Syriac, the noun *śôk* occurs in Hebrew in both a masculine and a feminine form.

(³) See Frank M. CROSS, Jr. and David N. FREEDMAN, *Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence* (Baltimore 1952) 54-55, 68-69. Compare the *Qere* and *Kethib* of Lam 3,25.32.39.

(⁴) Compare G. R. DRIVER, "Once Again Abbreviations", in *Textus*, IV: *Annual of the Hebrew University Bible Project*, ed. S. TALMON (Jerusalem 1964) 80, where he cites MT *gn* here as one of fifteen examples where the medial letter(s) were omitted by way of abbreviation. But here haplography seems more plausible than abbreviation.

(⁵) These are *zemôrah* (Nm 13,23, Ez 15,2), *yôneqet* (Ps 80,12, Ez 17, 22), *dālîyyot* (Ez 17,6-7, Jer 11,16), '*ānāp* (Ps 8,11, Lv 23,40), *pō'rāh*

a tree in the expression *dm 'ṣm*, "blood of the trees", which occurs in parallelism with *yn* 'wine', like the Hebrew *dam 'ᵃnābîm* in parallelism with *yayin* (*UT* 51:IV:37-38; Gn 49,11).

The final clue for understanding this colon is in the reading and meaning of the preposition. *Beth* and *kaph* were frequently mistaken for one another after the introduction of the square script when their forms became much more alike ([1]). A scribal error of this kind is reflected in this verse. By reading MT *k* as *b* with the meaning here of "from" ([2]), the text as reconstructed would read *wayyaḥmos baggepen śōkāw*, "and he has stripped from the vine its branches". This reflects the imagery of Hos 10,1, *gepen bôqēq yiśrā'ēl*, "Israel is a luxuriant vine".

The syntax of 2,6 appears to be the reverse of what occurs in 3,34-36. The poetic stanza of the latter consists of a delineation of three unethical deeds (34, 35, 36a) followed by the declarative summation, "the Lord does not approve". The poetic stanza of 2,6 *begins* with the declarative, "he has stripped from the vine its branches", and in the remaining lines of the stanza there is a delineation of the three branches stripped away, namely, the place of sacrifice, the appointed feast and sabbath, and the king and priest.


**2,10 yiddᵉmû:**
**3,26 wᵉdûmām:**
**3,28 wᵉyiddōm:**


These verbs have generally been related to *dāmam* 'be silent' as illustrated by LXX *esiōpēsan*, *'ēsuchasei*, *siōpēsetai* and RSV "in silence", "quietly", and "in silence". But several scholars have questioned this meaning of *dāman*, first in the light of Akkadian and recently in the light of Ugaritic cognates. The derivation

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(Ez 17,6, Is 10,33), and *śārig* (Gn 40,10; Jl 1,7). This lack of distinction between vine branches and tree branches is quite natural since "the grape vine... assumes the habit of a tree, with a stem up to one and a half feet in diameter" (H. N. and A. L. MOLDENKE, *Plants of the Bible* (Waltham 1952) 243.

([1]) See Friedrich DELITZSCH, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament* (Berlin–Leipzig 1920) 110.

([2]) A discussion on the interchange of *b* and *min* will be found in Part II of the present study, to be published in *Bib* 49 (1968) fascicle 2.

suggested by Friedrich Delitzsch in 1884, that Hebrew *dmm* equals Akkadian *damâmu* 'to mourn, moan' was followed by Paul Haupt, who in 1909 advanced the theory that there was no Hebrew root *dmm* 'to be silent' but only *dmm* 'to mutter, moan' and *dwm* 'to abide, wait '([1]). In 1913, George Schick made a study of the roots *dāmam* and *dûm* and their semantic development as reflected in biblical Hebrew. His conclusions generally confirmed the theory of Haupt ([2]). What is of particular note here are Schick's conclusions and his translations of these passages in Lamentations. His translation of 2,10, "there sat on the ground mourning maid Zion's elders", anticipated the understanding of the verse suggested by Dahood over fifty years later on the basis of Ugaritic *dmm* and the widespread imagery of "sitting and mourning" ([3]).

On the basis of the parallelism of *dmm* with *bky* in such a passage as *UT* 125:25-26, *bn.al.tbkn.al / tdm.ly*, "my son, cry not for me, do not grieve for me", Dahood cites at least seven passages (including Lam 2,10, but not 3,26 or 3,28) where Hebrew *dmm* has the meaning "to mourn, weep". In light of the convincing evidence from both Akkadian and Ugaritic, it seems much more advisable to follow Schick and Dahood rather than the traditional understanding, and translate 2,10 "the elders of the daughter Zion sat on the ground mourning".

Schick also suggested transposing the *weyiddōm* of 3,28 with the *wedûmām* of 3,26, and translated the transposed lines as, "it is good to wait and stay for JHVH's help", (3,26) and "let him sit alone and moaning when it is laid upon him (3,28) ([4]). While the meaning which Schick gives these verses seems correct, his transposition of the two clauses seems unnecessary. In the light of Ps 37,7, *dôm layhwh wehitḥōlēl lô*, "wait for Yahweh and hope in him", and Ps 62,6, *'ak lē'lōhîm dômmî napši ki mimmennû tiqwāti*, "O my soul, wait for God alone, for from him comes my help", this writer would concur

([1]) See DELITZSCH, "Specimen Glossarii Ezechielico–Babylonici", in S. BAER, *Liber Ezechielis* (Leipzig 1884) XI; and Haupt, "Some Assyrian Etymologies", *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 26 (1909) 4.

([2]) *The Stems Dûm and Damâm in Hebrew* (Leipzig 1913).

([3]) Ibid. 22; DAHOOD, *CBQ* 22 (1960) 400-402; IDEM, *HUL* II, 402-403; IDEM, *Psalms I* 25. To Dahood's list of the occurrences of "sit and mourn", Is 47,5; Jer 15,17; and Lam 3,28 should be added.

([4]) SCHICK, op. cit. 22-23.

with Schick that the roots in 3,26 are *dûm* 'to wait, stay' and *yāḥal*
in *Hiph'il* 'to wait, to hope for". By reading 3,26 MT *w°yāḥil w°dû-
mām* as *w°yāḥilû dômēm* (or *dômām*)—a corruption due simply to
misdivision—a suitable reading for this context appears without
changing the consonantal text or without the questionable trans-
position. The subject of the plural verb *yāḥilû* would be the *qōwāw*.
"those who wait for him", of 3,25a; and *dômēn* the intensive *Pōlēl*
infinitive used adverbially (*GKC* § 114ʰ¹), with the second possibility,
*dômām*, being the *Qal* infinitive with enclitic *mem*. Thus 3,26 might
be best rendered as "it is good that they have hope (while) awaiting
the salvation of Yahweh".

The MT of 3,28, as is, contains two clauses that speak of mourn-
ing. *Yēšēb bādād* is discussed below. Here it should be noted that
MT *w°yiddōm* like the *yidd°mû* of 2,10 should be associated with
*dmm* 'to mourn, moan', not the traditional "be silent". This poetic
line should probably be translated as, "Let him sit moaning and let
him mourn when (the yoke) is laid upon him".

## 3,28 bādād:

Although not next in the textual sequence followed in this sec-
tion, it seems best in the context of the above discussion on *dāmam*
'to mourn, moan' to consider what may well be a synonym, namely
*bādād*. The poetic stanza consisting of 3,28-30, employs the imagery
and motifs of a mourning scene much like those found in 2,10. Just
as *yitten be'āpār pîhû* (3,20) is a variant of the same theme expressed
in 2,10c as *hôrîdû lā'āreṣ rō'šan*, so the *yēšēb bādād w°yiddōm* (3,28)
is likely to be but a variant of the *yēš°bû lā'āreṣ yidd°mû* in 2,10a,
or the *š°bî dûmām* of Is 47,5.

In such a clearly elegiac context, the traditional meaning of
*bādād* 'alone, solitary' seems somewhat inappropriate since isolation
and separation were probably no more a part of the ancient Near
Eastern mourning scene than were silence or quietude (¹). The ar-
tistic representations of mourning from Egypt to Phoenicia depict
mourners in groups (²). In biblical and extra-biblical literature alike
the mourning ritual is a group activity — the following plurals are

(¹) Ibid. 22; contrast Norbert LOHFINK, "Enthielten die im Alten
Testament bezeugten Klageriten eine Phase des Schweigens?", *VT* 12
(1962) 275-277.
(²) *ANEP*, plates 456-459, 638.

typical: *šam hannāšīm yōš<sup>e</sup>bōt m<sup>e</sup>bakkōt* "there sat the women weeping",
(Ez 8,14) and *'rb.b/kyt.bhklh.mšspdt.bḥẓrh*, "weeping women entered
his palace, wailing women his courtyard" (I Aqht 171-172, cf. 182-184).

A more plausible meaning of *bdd* when it occurs in an elegiac
context as here may be "to moan, groan, or mutter". One might
infer from the use of *yāšab bādād* in parallelism with *dāmam* that
they are somewhat synonymous. The inference is strengthened by
a motif occurring in both Akkadian and Hebrew, in which in Akkadian
the root *dmm* occurs, while in Hebrew the root *bdd* appears. In
"Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi" the following analogy is given, "I moan like
a dove (*ki-ma su—um—me a-dam-mu-ma*) all my days; [for a] song
I emit groans" (107-108) (¹). The similar motif as it appears in Ps 102,8
reads, *šāqadtī wā'ehgeh* (MT *wā'ehyeh*) *k<sup>e</sup>ṣippôr bôdēd 'al gāg*, "I lie
awake and moan, I like a bird moaning / muttering on the roof" (²).

Further support for identifying *bdd* in an elegiac context as
a synonym of *dāmam* (and, if the above emendation and understand-
ing of Ps 102,8 is correct, as a synonym also of *hāgāh*) can possibly
be derived from the Ugaritic *bd*. In *UT* 125:5-6, *bd* appears in pa-
rallelism with *bky* 'weep, mourn'. The bicolon reads, *bd.att.ab.ṣrry/
tbkyk.ab*, "the women will chant, O my father, the co-wives will
mourn thee, my father (³)". Albright reads *bd* as an infinitive from
the root *b(w)d*, and if this be correct, Ugaritic *bd* and Hebrew *bdd*
would reflect an original *radix bilittera* appearing as both עוד and עיד
with the same meaning, like *nwd/ndd* 'wander', *mwš/mšš* 'feel',
and Hebrew *dwk*, but Arabic and Aramaic *dkk* 'beat' (⁴).

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(¹) W. G. LAMBERT, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford 1960)
36. See also C. J. Mullo WEIR, *A Lexicon of Accadian Prayers* (London
1934) *sub voce summatu*.

(²) The writer is indebted to Dr. D. R. Hillers for having made
available to him an unpublished paper on "The 'Lonely Bird' of Ps 102,8".
The emendation follows G. BEER, *Individual- und Gemeindepsalmen*
(Marburg 1894) 74. Dr. Hillers suggests translating *bôdēd* in this verse
by "singing".

(³) Translation follows ALBRIGHT, "Baal-Zephon", *Festschrift für
Alfred Bertholet* 3. Compare the reading of this line as preferred by
POPE (*JBL* 85 [1966] 460-462). Pope's view does not permit the possi-
bility of an ellipsis in the parallel lines (*UT* 125:19-20, 104-6). *Ṣrry* in
*UT* 125:19 and 104 could be in apposition to *att*. (Pope's reference to
the passage in Dahood should be corrected from 8.61 to 861).

(⁴) On the other hand one cannot rule out the possibility that Ugar-
itic *bd* may be the infinitive of *bdd*. As Hillers states, "it is true that

While Ugaritic *bd* in parallelism with *bky* (and Hebrew *bdd*
followed by *dmm*) seems best translated as "mourn, moan", it should
be recognized that Ugaritic *bd* also appears in parallelism with *šr*
'to sing' and may even have the meaning of "play (an instrument)".
This spread of meanings found within the Hebrew and Ugaritic uses
of *bd/bdd* is quite similar to the range of meanings found in the verbal
and nominal uses of the root *hāgāh* which include the roar of thunder,
the growl of a lion, the moaning of a dove, the sighing and moaning
in lament, meditation of the heart, plus a musical nuance in Ps 92,4;
9,17 [1].

### 2,22 mᵉgûray missābîb:

Most commentators relate this phrase to the similar phrase oc-
curring repeatedly in Jeremiah as *māgôr missābîb*, and translate the
line more or less like RSV, "thou didst invite as to the day of an
appointed feast my terrors on every side" [2]. Assuming for the
moment that this identification is correct, it is not at all certain
that the phrase should be translated here or in Jeremiah as "terror(s)
all around". In a study on this expression by A. M. Honeyman, it
has been pointed out that the translation "terror all around" goes back
no further than to Kimchi. The LXX never relates *māgôr* to the
idea of fear or terror, nor does the Targum, which associated it with
the combined meaning of "assembling" and "destroying", e.g. Jer 20,3,
"but they will assemble against you to kill by the sword from all
around". Honeyman proposes to translate *māgôr* as "destruction",
(except for Is 31,9 where it does mean "terror") partly on the basis

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on the basis of Hebrew one would expect an infinitive absolute *bdd* if
the root were *bdd*, but ... we have no other certain examples of the
infinitive absolute of verbs of this class, and one cannot be certain that
the Ugaritic form would be like the Hebrew" (unpublished paper, see
above note 2, p. 41).

[1] See BROWN–DRIVER–BRIGGS, *sub voce*. For another occurrence
of *bd* in Hebrew, see POPE, *Job* 263, where MT *bᵉdê šōpār* in Job 39,25
is translated, "at the call of the trumpet". Lam 1,1 *yāšᵉbāh bādād* could
possibly also be read as "she sat mourning/moaning", but in light of
Is 49,21, *hēn ᵃnî niš'artî lᵉbaddî*, "behold, I was left alone", it is prob-
ably best to follow the traditional reading, "she sits alone", the parallel-
ism being with *kᵉ'almānāh*, "like a widow".

[2] See ALBREKTSON, 124-125.

of the Targum's reading and partly on his understanding of the pun on Pashur's name, which he believes to be made up of the roots *pšḥ* 'to strip away' and *sḥr* 'to travel around' coalescing into *pšḥr* ([1]).

As attractive as this suggestion is for the occurrences of the phrase in Jeremiah, it does not improve the reading here in 2,22. "He has invited ... my destructions" is as awkward and as unusual as "he has invited ... my terrors". In view of the awkwardness of the phrase whether translated by "terror" or "destruction", and in view of the fact that the phrases have neither the same function nor form, they should be disassociated. Nowhere else does *māgôr* appear with a suffix or occur as the object of *qārā'*.

A more plausible meaning of *meg̊uray* may be found by relating it to the Akkadian *gerû* 'to be hostile' (G-stem) and *gurrû* 'to make war, to open hostilities' (D-stem) ([2]). The Hebrew cognates *gārāh* and *gûr* (which occur only in *Pi'ēl/Hithpa'ēl* and *Qal/Hithpō'ēl*, respectively) usually have the meaning "to stir up strife, quarrel" ([3]). It seems quite possible that these verbs were also used in *Hiph'il*, with the same force of meaning as the D-causative *gurrû* 'to make war' or 'to attack'. Thus for MT *meg̊uray* the writer would propose to read *meg̊iray*, a participle plural (*Hiph'il*) with noun suffix understood like that of *qāmay* (which equals *qamîm 'ālāy*), "those that rise up against me" (Lam 3,62; Ps 18,40.49), *meḥōlālay*, "all that are mad with me" (Ps 102,9), or *kol ṣōbèhā*, "all that fight against her" (Is 29,7) ([4]). The restored *meg̊iray missābîb* would have the meaning, "my attackers / assailants from all over".

The root *gr* 'attack' (G-stem) probably occurs in the following lines of the Keret text: *wgr.nn.'rm.šrn / pdrm* (110-111, see also 212). H. L. Ginsberg, following T. H. Gaster, translates the lines, "and do thou *attack* the villages, *harass* the towns" ([5]). Similarily Driver translates, "and attack the cities, destroy the towns" ([6]).

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([1]) A. M. HONEYMAN, "Māgôr Mis-sābîb and Jeremiah's Pun", *VT* 4 (1954) 424-426.

([2]) *CAD* V (G), 61.

([3]) See BROWN–DRIVER–BRIGGS, *sub voce*.

([4]) See *GKC* § 116ⁱ.

([5]) *BASOR* SS 2-3, pp. 16, 38.

([6]) *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh 1956) 146. Not all scholars agree that this is the meaning of *gr*. Gordon gives no meaning to the root in his glossary, and earlier translated these lines as, "And *occupy* the towns / *Invest* the cities". (GORDON, *Ugaritic Literature* [Rome

The image of Yahweh summoning an aggressive force for an attack is met elsewhere, as in Is 13,3, where it appears in the same idiom as proposed here, the verb *qārā'* plus accusative: *qārā'tî gibbôray*, "I have summoned my mighty men". Rather than the awkward "invite my terrors", it is most probable that the writer intended *tiqrā' megîray* to mean "thou hast summoned my assailants". Thus it seems best to disassociate the *megîray missābîb* here in Lamentations from the *māgôr missābîb* in Jeremiah (which perhaps should be read with Honeyman as "destruction all around").

### 3,16 hikpîšanî:

In 1897, F. E. Peiser correctly identified this *hapax legomenon* by relating it to the Amarna *kapašu* 'to trample' (¹). Hebrew *kapaš*, as a by-form of *kābaš* 'to tread down, subdue', reflects the interchange of *beth* and *pe* that is now attested in Ugaritic, Phoenician Aramaic as well as Hebrew (²). Dahood has cited the above contribution of Peiser and follows him by translating 3,16b as, "he trampled upon me in the dust" (³).

### 3,58 rîbê:

The plural forms *ribîm* and *ribôt* of the noun *rîb* are both very rare, occurring only five times altogether in the O.T. the former three times (in the construct) and the latter twice. The MT *rîbê*

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1949] 69). AISTLEITNER in his *Die Mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra* (Budapest 1959) 91, translates the line as, "Weizen-(felder) umgeben die Stadt, bei der Ortschaft ist (üppiges) Getreide". Compare also John Gray, *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra*, (Leiden ²1964) 45-46.

(¹) "Miscellen", *ZAW* 17 (1897) 350-351.

(²) See DAHOOD, *HUL* I, 303; *HUL* III, 320; IDEM, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology* (Rome 1963) 10, 32, 43 (cited hereafter as *PNWSP*); IDEM, *UHP* 8-9; GORDON, *UT* 5.28; and Giovanni GARBINI, *Il semitico di Nord-Ovest* (Instituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Quaderni della sezione linguistica degli Annali 1; Napoli 1960) 23-24; and for the East Semitic evidence, see Franz M. Th. BÖHL, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kanaanismen* (Leipziger Semitische Studien V/2; Leipzig 1909) 20-22; and W. VON SODEN, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (AnOr 33; Rome 1952) 27-28.

(³) *HUL* III, 331.

*napšī* (which is reflected in LXX *tas dikas tēs psuchēs mou*), "the causes of my soul" occurs only here. Some commentators suggest reading the more normal singular, *rîb napšī* ([1]). Another plausible emendation has been proposed by Dahood on the basis of Ps 35,1, *rîbāh yhwh 'et y*e*rîbay*, which he translates, "attack, O Yahweh, those who attack me". Assuming haplography of *yodh*, Dahood reads *'*a*dōnāy y*e*rîbê* for MT *'*a*dōnāy rîbê*. By taking the initial verb as a precative and giving *yārîb* the same meaning it has Ps 35,1, Dahood translates, "oppose, Yahweh, those who oppose me" ([2]).

But Dahood's proposal, though it supplies an antecedent for the plural suffixes occurring in the last line of the stanza, eliminates the parallelism between 58a and 59b, *rabtā rîbê napšī* with *šāpaṭṭāh* (MT *šop*e*ṭāh*) ([3]) *mišpāṭî*. This writer prefers to retain the parallelism and, if emendation is to be made, to emend by deleting a *yodh* and read a singular like the Syriac *dînā'*. The use of suffixes without an immediate antecedent occurs elsewhere, e.g., 4,7-8, where the antecedent is in 4,6a. The logical antecedent of the plural suffixes in 3,60-66 is found in 3,52.

### 4,6 w<sup>e</sup>lō' ḥālû bāh yādāyim:

This phrase is translated in RSV as, "no hand being laid on it", with a note indicating that the Hebrew is uncertain. The crux is primarily in the derivation and nuance of the verb *ḥālû*. Some commentators relate it to *ḥālāh* 'to become weak or ill', while others prefer to identify it with *ḥûl* 'writhe, turn against, turn helpful toward' ([4]). The solution to this crux is to be found in the recognition and understanding of the same idiom which appears repeatedly in the "War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness". The relevant lines of this text are listed here as follows ([5]):

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([1]) See ALBREKTSON, 166.

([2]) *HUL* III, 323; *Psalms I* 210.

([3]) Reading here after W. RUDOLPH, *Das Buch Ruth. Das Hohe Lied. Die Klagelieder* (KAT; Gütersloh 1962) 233, who suggests an assimilation of the *taw* to *ṭeth*. (Cited hereafter as Rudolph). Compare the assimilation of *taw* to *ṭeth* in the *Hithpa'ēl*.

([4]) See ALBREKTSON, 179-181, for a summary of the textual evidence and the views of the various commentators.

([5]) See Eleazar Lipa SUKENIK, *Oẓar ha-Megilloth ha-Genuzoth* (Jerusalem 1956), and Yigael YADIN, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*

*r'šyt mšlwḥ yd bny 'wr lhḥl bgwrl bny ḥwšk*

The first putting forth of the hand of the Sons of Light *shall be* to attack the lot of the Sons of Darkness. (Col 1:1)

*yḥlw ydm lhpyl bḥllym*

They shall attack (lit. 'they shall cause their hand to begin') to fell among the slain. (Col 9:1)

*yrymw 'yš ydw bkly mlḥmtw*

They shall each raise his hand with his weapon. (Col 16:5-6)

*yḥlw ydm lhpyl bḥlly ktyym*

They shall attack to fell among the slain of the Kittim. (Col 16:7)

*yrymw 'yš ydw bkly mlḥmtw ... yšlḥw ydm bḥyl hktyym...*
*yḥlw lhpyl bḥllyhm*

They shall each man raise his hand with his weapon...
They shall attack the army of the Kittim...
They shall begin to fell their slain. (Col 17:12-14)

The above parallel in Col 17:13-14 between *yšlḥw ydm bḥyl* without the infinitive) and *yḥlw lhpyl bḥllyhm* (without the object *ydm*) would suggest that these phrases are somewhat synonymous. The inference seems confirmed by the striking similarity between Col 16:7 (above) and a line from 4Qp Hosea, *yšlḥ ydw lhkwt b'prym*, "he will put forth his hand to smite Ephraim" [1]. In these two lines the same sentence pattern is used, the only real difference being in the use of *ḥl ... lhpyl* over against *šlḥ ... lhkwt*. The force of both idioms is the same. For variants within the latter idiom one should note 2 Sm 1,14, *lišlōaḥ yadᵉkā lᵉšaḥet*, "to put forth your hand to destroy", and 4QPs 37, *lšlwḥ yd bkwhyn*, "to put forth the hand against the priest" [2].

From these parallels two conclusions seem proper: *ḥl* followed by *yad* and/or the infinitive plus the prepositional phrase is synonymous with *šlḥ* followed by *yad*, plus the infinitive and/or the prepositional phrase; and within each idiom there are variants due to the

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*Against the Sons of Darkness*, trans. Batya and Chaim RABIN (Oxford 1962). The translations included here follow those of Yadin.

[1] J. M. ALLEGRO, "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect", *JBL* 75 (1956) 95.

[2] Ibid. 93.

elision or modification of *one* of the elements. In light of these
conclusions, the MT of 4,6, *hālú bāh yādāyim* appears as a variant
of the idiomatic *yhlw ydm lhpyl b...* in the War Scroll, having an
elision of the usual infinitive. In the latter respect it approximates
the synonymous *lšlwḥ yd b...* in 4QPs 37.

The remaining question is to identify the root behind consonantal
*ḥl* in the War Scroll (IQM). Numerous scholars have concerned
themselves with this question, and summaries of the various views,
with suggestive criticism, are to be found in the recent studies of
Edmund F. Sutcliffe and Bastiaan Jongeling (¹). Here it will be
sufficient to note that most scholars associate the verb with the
root *ḥll* and translate "to begin". This writer concurs with the
identification of *ḥl* with *ḥll* but is not convinced that "begin" is the
best translation (²). The root *ḥll* means "begin" only in the *Hiph'il*,
but if MT *hālú* (Qal) is related to *yhlw*, as seems most probable, then
*yhlw* also must be read as *Qal*. Forthermore, *hēḥēl* is not a likely
synonym of *šālāḥ*. If however *hālú* and *yhlw* are understood as
retaining in an idiomatic expression the *Qal* of *ḥll*, cognate to Arabic
*halla* 'to let loose, release, undo, etc.', a satisfactory meaning becomes
readily transparent and one has a good synonym of *šlḥ*, as illustrated
through other examples (³).

*Yhlw ydm* could be translated "they shall let loose (with) their
hands" or "they shall let their hands go" (compare an American
idiom "let go with his fists"). Arabic *halla* in the sense of "to re-

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(¹) SUTCLIFFE, "A Note on Milḥama 9:1 and 16:8", *Bib* 41 (1960)
66-69; JONGELING, *Le rouleau de la guerre des manuscripts de Qumran*
(Assen 1962) 224-225.

(²) In the one example where *ḥll* means "begin" in the sense of
"attack" (as in Jgs 10,18), namely column 1:1 *lhḥl*, there is no object
*yd* and/or infinitive which appears elsewhere with *yhlw*. It seems most
probable that *ḥll* is used here in two distinct idioms.

(³) See LANE, *An Arabic-English Lexicon, sub voce ḥll*. In light
of this Arabic cognate it is difficult to concur with Jongeling, that, "la
signification initiale de *ḥll* est 'profaner', puis le verbe veut aussi dire
'commencer', 'toucher quelque chose pour la premiere fois' " (p. 225).
It seems more likely that from the original meaning preserved in Arabic
of "let go, release" there developed the meanings of "profane" and "begin".
When something holy was "let loose" or "set free" it was "profaned";
and when one "caused something to let go" (i.e., in *Hiph'il*) he initiated
some act or movement, i.e., he "began" something.

lease, set free, divorce" finds its Hebrew counterpart in the synonymous uses of *šālaḥ* [1].

In light of the above parallels and derivation, and in light of certain syntactic features to be discussed in the following section, the writer would propose to read MT *wᵉlō' ḥālû bāh yādāyim* as *wᵉlu' ḥilû bāh yādāw-m* (or *yādāyim*, without the explicit suffix), "when verily His hands were let loose against her"; or *wᵉlu' ḥal* (or *ḥālal*) *bāh yādāw-m*, "when verily He let loose his hands against her" [2].

### 4,16 pᵉnê yhwh ḥillᵉqam:

The phrase is usually translated as "the Lord himself has scattered them", in the context of Ex 33,14-15 where *pānay* and *pānèkā* are used of the very presence of Yahweh, and Gn 49,7 where *ḥālaq* is used in parallelism with the *Hiph'îl* of *pûṣ* 'to scatter'. Dahood has proposed the following translation, "the fury of Yahweh destroyed them" [3]. The reading here of *pᵉnê* as "wrath" is based upon context, especially as the phrase *pānèkā yhwh* is used in parallelism with *bᵉ'appô* in Ps 21,10a. Other passages cited by Dahood which support this meaning are Ps 34,17; 80,17; Qoh 8,1 and possibly *UT* 75:I:33, *wbhm pn b'l*, "and with them was the fury of Baal" [4].

The rendering of *ḥillᵉqam* as "destroyed them" is based upon the Ugaritic *ḥlq*, cognate to Ethiopic *ḥlq* (D–stem, "ad finem perduxit") and Akkadian *ḥalāqu* (D–stem, "destroy"). Patton [5] recognized this meaning in Hebrew root *ḥlq*, as it occurs in Ps 73,18. To this occurrence Dahood adds the word here in 4,16 and in five other passages [6].

This writer readily accepts the reading of *ḥlq* 'destroy' but is not fully convinced on the basis of the evidence Dahood presents that here *pᵉnê* means the wrath or fury of Yahweh. The wrath of Yahweh is a recurring motif in Lamentations (1,12; 2,1.2.3.6.22; 3,1;

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[1] Compare Arabic *'ant fî ḥilli minni*, "thou art freed (divorced) from me", with 2 Sm 3,21-24; Jgs 19,25, etc.

[2] The asseverative *lamed*, the enclitic *mêm*, and *Qal* passive will be discussed in Part II of the present study, to be published in *Bib* 49 (1968) fasc. 2.

[3] *Psalms I* 207; "Review of Albrektson" 548.

[4] *Psalms I* 133-134, 207.

[5] *Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms* 38-39.

[6] *Psalms I* 35, 133.

4,11.16) but it is never the subject of a verbal clause. The agent is Yahweh himself, and for this reason the following translation seems preferable, "Yahweh himself has destroyed them".

## 4,18 ṣadû:

This verb has been identified with either ṣûd 'to hunt' or ṣādāh 'to lie in wait for'. Dahood has convincingly related the verb to the Ugaritic ṣd 'wander, range' which occurs in *UT* 49:II:15-16, *an.itlk.waṣd[.]kl ġr.lkbd.arṣ.kl.gbʿ*, "I myself went about and did wander over every rock in the heart of the earth, every mountain". He translates 4,18a as, "our feet have ranged far without coming into our squares" [1]. This seems much more plausible than the usual translation as given in RSV, "men dogged our steps" or that of Albrektson, "they watched our steps" [2]. The idea expressed here in Dahood's translation is similar to the motif appearing in one of the *kudurru* curses, "may he be excluded from his house, may he roam the desert... and may he not tread the square of his city" [3].

## 4,20 rûaḥ 'appênû mᵉšîaḥ yhwh nilkad bišḥîtôtām:

The rather extensive change in the reading and meaning of this verse advanced by Dahood needs careful consideration [4]. Reading *rûaḥ 'appênû mašḥe* (sic) *yhwh nilkad bišᵉḥîtôt-m* for the above clause in MT, he translates 4,20a as, "the Lord inflamed the breath of our nostrils; we are seized by our boils". On the basis of Ugaritic *šḥn* 'to be hot, feverish' and the Hebrew substantive *šᵉḥin* 'boil, inflammation' Dahood postulates a root *šḥy* 'to inflame', and evidently wants to read a *Hiphʿil* participle, *mšḥḥ* for MT *mšyḥ*, with the

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[1] "Ugaritic Studies" 71-72; "Review of Albrektson" 548. For occurrence of the root ṣd in Akkadian, see *CAD* XVI (Ṣ), 57-58, 65-66, and W. G. Lambert, "The Incantation of the *Maqlû* Type", *AfO* 18 (1957) 295.

[2] Albrektson, 192.

[3] See Delbert R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets* (BibOrPont 16; Rome 1964) 16. Hillers cites seven other passages in Lamentations where the motifs are similar to those found in curses. In addition to this motif in 4,18, the present writer would also add to Hiller's list 5,11 and 5,18, the curse motifs of the city becoming a dwelling place for wild animals and the ravishing of the wives.

[4] "Review of Albrektson" 192; *PNSWP* 27-28.

force of a perfect.  As for the second word emended he states, "that
šᵉḥîtôt-m, with enclitic *mem* balancing the pron. suffix..., has nothing
to do with *šaḥat* 'pit' may be argued from Ps 107,20, *yišlaḥ dabrô*
(MT *dᵉbārô*) *wᵉyirpā'ēm wimallēṭ miššᵉḥîtôtām*, 'He sent his pestilence,
but He healed them, and delivered them from their boils' ".  Further-
more, Dahood proposes to take *bᵉṣillo* in 20b as a reference to "the
coolness of the Lord's shade".

These proposals seem to confuse rather than clarify the text.
If the relative clause in 20b stands as a modifying clause to *yhwh*,
the syntax of the sentence is most unusual.  Not only is the root
*šḥy* unattested, but the special nuance given to *lākad* 'capture, ensare'
is likewise unattested.

The present writer prefers to retain MT which contains two
well-known epithets given to a monarch.  *Mᵉšîaḥ yhwh* was David's
favorite epithet for Saul (1 Sm 24,17.11; 26,9.11.16.23); and *rûaḥ
'appēnû* finds a semantic parallel in the Amarna *ša-ri balāṭi-ia*, "the
breath (= wind) of my life" (¹).  The MT *bᵉṣillô niḥyeh baggôyim*
(20b) more than likely refers to the king, like the *yāšᵉbû bᵉṣillô bᵉtôk
gôyim* of Ez 31,17 which refers to Pharoah (²).  There may well be
a historical reference here to the Babylonian imprisonment of
Jehoiakin and Zedekiah as related in 2 Kgs 24,15; 25,4-7; 2 Chr
36,5-20; Jer 22,24; 39,7; and Ez 12,13.


### 5,4 yābō'û:

The difficulties surrounding 5,5a, *'al ṣawwā'rēnû nirdāpnû*, mean-
ing literally, "upon our necks we are pursued", have led most com-
mentators to emend the text (³).  A more probable and easier solu-
tion is to read the last word of 4a *yābō'û* as the defective *Hiph'il*,
*yābî'û*, as one would expect in the original sixth century orthography,
and connect it with the initial words of 5,5a (as did the Syriac).
Redividing and revocalizing the verses in this manner, 5,5a could be
read, *yābî'û 'ōl ṣawwārēnû*, "they put our neck (to) the yoke".  Such a

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(¹) J. A. KNUDTZON, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* I (Leipzig 1907), EA
141.2, p. 592.  See also KRAUS, 82; RUDOLPH, 254.

(²) Compare Is 30,2 and Ct 2,3.

(³) See ALBREKTSON, 197, where he cites Bickell, Budde, Ehrlich,
Robinson, Rudolph, Haller, Driver, Wiesmann, Meek, and Weiser as
those who wish to emend the text, while he prefers to retain MT as it
stands.

reading seems quite feasible in light of the following passages where *hēbî'* is followed by the double accusative: *hābî'î habbiryāh haḥeder*, "bring the food (into) the chamber" (2 Sm 13,10); and *wayyābē' 'et qodšê 'ābîw... bet hā'ĕlōhîm*, "and he brought (into) the house of God the votive gifts of his father..." (2 Chr 15,18). This proposed reading of 5,5a would find an approximate parallel in Jer 27,11, *wᵉhaggôy 'ᵃšer yābî' 'et ṣawwā'rô bᵉ'ôl melek bābel*, "and the people that puts its neck to the yoke of the king of Babylon". The differences between this passages in Jeremiah and the suggested reading of 5,5a are in the use of the accusative particle *'et*, use of an adverbial accusative instead of the prepositional modifier, and the unusual word order of the adverbial accusative *'ôl*. The absence of *'et* is no problem in a concise poetic text where it is not needed as a ballast variant; and the adverbial accusative in an unusual word order finds a parallel in a like idiom in Ps 105,18, *barzel bā'āh napšô*, literally, "his neck entered iron", i.e., "his neck was put into an iron collar".

Assuming this reading of 5,4-5 to be correct, 5,4 would be read as a 3 + 2 bicolon with an ellipsis of the verb in the second colon, and 5:5 would become a $3 + 2 + 2$ which could be translated as follows: "They put our neck (to) the yoke / we were driven [1], we were wearied / (but) no rest was granted us" [2].

### 5,9 ḥereb hammidbār:

Kraus reflects the traditional understanding of this unique phrase when he calls it a 'shortened mode of expression which has the meaning, 'the sword of the Bedouin' '' [1]. But reference here to

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[1] G. R. DRIVER, "Hebrew Notes on 'Song of Songs' and 'Lamentations' ", *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet*, edd. Walter BAUMGARTNER *et al.* (Tübingen 1950) 142, suggests that here the Hebrew *rādap* has the weakened meaning as found in Syriac *rᵉdap* 'drive hard, overdrive'.

[2] This would be the only example of 3 + 2 + 2 meter in Lamentations, but various metrical forms appear in the book besides the typical 3 + 2 *qināh* meter, e.g., 2 + 3 (2,12a), 2 + 2 + 3 (4,15; 5,1.21), and 2 + 2 + 2 (3,56; 4,18c). See K. BUDDE, "Zum Kina-Verse", *ZAW* 52 (1934) 306-308.

[1] Hans-Joachim KRAUS, *Klagelieder (Threni)* (BK; Neukirchen ²1960) 89.

the Bedouin is most unlikely — Jerusalem fell at the hands of the
Babylonians. Again one is indebted to Dahood for offering a more
plausible reading of this passage. He cites this passage along with
several others where MT *dbr* should be related to the Amarna *dpr/dbr*
'to drive out, pursue' and the Syriac *dbr* 'subdue, drive, lead' [2].
His translation yields the desiderated meaning, "at the peril of our
lives we gain our bread because of the sword of the pursuer". This,
as he notes, is closely akin to Jer 46,16, *mippᵉnê ḥereb hayyôneh*
(MT *hayyônāh*), because of the oppressor's sword". One might also
compare Jer 6,25, "go not forth into the field... for the enemy
has a sword".

### 5,18 šeššāmēm:

This verse is usually translated as in RSV, "for Mount Zion
which lies desolate; jackals prowl over it". But Dahood proposes to
read instead "upon Mount Zion are looters, jackals prowl over it",
by equating a proposed Hebrew root *ššm* with Ugaritic *ṯm* 'prey,
loot' which he believes is cognate to Hebrew *šāsāh* and *šāsas*, 'spoil
plunder' [3]. But the meaning of *ṯm* is still uncertain and Dahood
is not even sure that the root is *ṯm* ("it could be an absolute plural
participle from *ṯšy*"). Hebrew *šāsāh* and *šāsās* could possibly be
synonyms but not cognates since the *samekh* of these roots cannot
go back to an original *shin*. Furthermore, the parallelism in 5,18
favors the traditional reading. A. Dupont-Sommer, F.C. Fensham
and D. R. Hillers have noted the similarity of the following curse in
Sefire I with its biblical counterparts, *wthwy 'rpd tl l[rbq ṣy w]ṣby
wš'l...*, "and may Arpad become a mound to [house the desert animal
and the] gazelle and the fox..." [4] (compare Is 13,20-22; 23,13;
34,11-15). The occurrence here of *tl* 'a desolate ruin' followed by

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(²) *HUL* II, 401. See also DAHOOD, "Two Pauline Quotations from
the Old Testament", *CBQ* 27 (1955) 23-24. The Akkadian *duppuru*
(*dubburu*) is not limited to Amarna, see *CAD* III (D), 186-188.

(³) *UHP* 75.

(⁴) DUPONT-SOMMER, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré (Stèles I
et II)* (Paris 1958) 47-48; F. C. FENSHAM, "Common Trends in Curses
of the Near Eastern Treaties and KUDURRU–Inscriptions Compared
with Maledictions of Amos and Isaiah", *ZAW* 75 (1963) 166-168; HILLERS,
*Treaty Curses* 44-45.

š'l 'fox' is so close to the imagery of 5,18, šāmēm followed by š'l, that there seems to need to change the motif to an unattested parallelism of "looters" and "jackals" (¹).

<div align="right">(<i>To be continued</i>)</div>

(¹) Dahood has recently suggested several other changes in reading and/or translation on the basis of the Ugaritic evidence which demand notice and brief comment. In *Psalms I* 45, he proposes to read Lam 3,61 as, "hear their insults, O Yahweh, all their plottings, O Most High". This necessitates reading the MT 'ālāy as a divine name, 'ēlî. But nowhere in Lam is there a repetition of the divine name in the second half of the bicolon. The MT kol maḥšᵉbōtām 'ālāy of 3,61 seems to be but a variant of the same theme found in Ps 56,6 as 'ālāy kol maḥšᵉbōtām, "all their plottings are against me" (compare 3,60).

In *Psalms I* 69, Dahood tentatively proposes to translate ḥinnām, which is usually rendered as "without cause" or "gratuitously", as "stealthily", on the basis of the Ugaritic ḥnn. He renders Lam 3,52 as, "my stealthy foes hunted me down like a bird". In view of the uncertainty which surrounds Ugaritic ḥnn, and the numerous passages in Hebrew where ḥnn cannot have the meaning of "stealthily" (e.g., 1 Sm 19,5; Jb 2,3) it seems better to keep the traditional reading here. Such a statement of innocence (cf. 5,7) need not have its roots in a theological contradiction (cf. 1,5b.8a.18a) but simply in the poet's use of a traditional literary formula.

On page 96 of *Psalms I*, Dahood suggests reading MT bat 'ēnēk of 2,18 as batᵃ'înekā, a Pi'ēl infinitive construct like Ugaritic tdmm, tbrrt, tidm (UT § 8.48). He translates the clause as, "do not desist from your weeping". But this writer knows of no case in Ugaritic or Hebrew where the verb 'yn means "weep"; its usual meaning is "to behold" or "to gaze".

In an earlier article, "Is 'Eben Yiśrā'ēl a Divine Title? (Gn 49,24)", *Bib* 40 (1959) 1003, Dahood proposes to read the MT mišbatteha (1,7) as mᵉšabbōtehā, relating it to the root šbb which appears in the hapax legomenon of Hos 8,6, šᵉbābîm 'splinters'. Cognate to this Hebrew šbb, Dahood posits a Ugaritic root tbb 'smash', based upon the occurence of ytb in I Aqhat 107-108 and 122-123, in parallelism with the root tbr 'break'. Although T. H. Gaster in "Ugaritic Philology", *JAOS* 70 (1950) 10, suggested that tb may be a deliberate variation from tbr, most scholars prefer to see a scribal error in the Ugaritic lines and emend the text to agree with lines 114-115, 128-129, 137, 143, and 149, where the parallelism is tbr... tbr. Thus without undisputed evidence for a Ugaritic root tbb, and only the hapax legomenon šᵉbābîm in Hebrew, it seems better to associate mišbattehā with the root šābat which in Hiph'îl means "destroy, exterminate" (see Albrektson, 61-62).