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The Prayer of Moses the Man of God¹

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IN my paper on Assyr. *ikkâr* and *irriš*, farmer, published ZDMG 65, 563, l. 30—564, l. 12,² I have discussed two couplets of Ps. 90 which bears the title *The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God*. I have stated there that vv. 7–9, also 11. 12 and v. 15, are later additions, and that v. 4 should precede v. 3. The ἀπαξ λεγόμενον ורמה in v. 5 is connected with the noun ורמה, *emission of semen*, Ezek. 23 20. We find the same verb in Arabic: *záramat bíhi úmmuhu* means *his mother was pregnant with him* or *his mother bore him*. The Heb. verb ורם means *to engender, generate, procreate, bring into life*. Hitzig combined it with ורמה in Ezek. 23 20, and interpreted: *du streuest (die Keime ihres Werdens) aus*.³ If we want to imitate the obscurity of the original we may say, *Thou springest them; to spring may mean to cause to spring up or arise, bring forth, generate, also to scatter as in sowing*. The version of the Psalms in the Book of Common

¹ Read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New York, Dec. 29, 1911.

² For the abbreviations, see this JOURNAL, vol. 29, p. 112; cf. AJSL 26, 204; ZDMG 63, 530. — *Mic.* = Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910).

³ See Hitzig, *Die Psalmen* (Heidelberg, 1836) 2, 152 n.*; *Die Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1865) 2, 234.

Prayer has *Thou scatterest them*. Symmachus renders: *ὡς καταυγίς ἐξερύναξας αὐτοῦς, Thou didst scatter them like a squall*. The Syriac Bible has שְׂרָבְתָהוֹן, *their generations*, but this should be the denominative Pael, שְׂרַבְתָּ אֹנֹן, *Thou hast generated them*. Instead of the familiar *Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as asleep*, we must render: *Thou hast gendered them year by year*.

Duhm⁴ suggested the reading וְרַעְתָּם instead of וְרַמְתָּם, and his emendation has been adopted by Gunkel, who has just published the third edition of his *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1912) and an important article on the classification of the Psalms in the November number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* edited by Julius Rodenberg. But the received text is correct. Duhm is right, however, in regarding the following שְׁנָה, *sleep*, as a mispointed haplography of שְׁנָה שְׁנָה, *year in year out* (cf. *Kings*, 243, 27).² On the other hand, בְּבִקְרָה, after דִּיּוּ, is vertical dittography of בְּבִקְרָה at the beginning of the following line, and חֻלְתָּהּ, or rather חֻלְתָּהּ, after יִצִּיץ, is vertical dittography of חֻלְתָּהּ, or rather חֻלְתָּהּ, at the end of the preceding verse.

In v. 14 the meaningless בְּבִקְרָה in the phrase שְׂבַעְנוּ בְּבִקְרָה חַסְדְּךָ, *satisfy us in the morning with Thy mercy*, is a corruption of a rare word for *abundance*, Heb. מְכַר. I have shown (*Kings* 238, 51; cf. ZDMG 65, 563, l. 23) that we have the same stem in מְכַר, 2 K 12 a. 8, which does not mean *acquaintance*, but *donor, benefactor*. Assyr. *makāru* means *to give in abundance*. We must read שְׂבַעְנוּ בְּמְכַר חַסְדְּךָ, *Sate us with the abundance of Thy mercy*.

While שְׁנָה must be repeated in v. 5, it must be omitted in v. 10, and the last word of that verse, וְנִצְפָה, should be pointed וְנִצְפָה, from יִצֵּף, *to be weary*, while the preceding כִּי נֹחַ חַיִּים seems to be a corruption of נִינֵץ חַנָּם, *we toil for nought*. Schultens, *Animadversiones* (Amsterdam, 1732) p. 175, translated: *Quia velociter transit, et avolamus*; but כִּי נֹחַ חַיִּים cannot mean *for it soon passes away* or *for it is soon cut off* (contrast *Nah.* 28, below). J. D. Michaelis' rendering: *Schnell fährt das Schiff über die See und fliegt*

⁴ *Die Psalmen erklärt von B. Duhm* (Freiburg i/B, 1899).

*davon*⁶ can be appreciated only in the light of our recent aviatic records. The divergences of the Ancient Versions show that the text is corrupt. The pointing נָצְפָה instead of נִצְפָה is supported by the Syriac Bible, which renders: *מטול דאתא עלין מוככא ואתמרפן us, and we are worn out.*⁶ I have stated in ZDMG that this familiar verse must be translated:

Our years are threescore and ten,
and, if one be strong, even fourscore;
Most of it is labor and sorrow,
we are ever toiling and moiling.

But instead of *בכל-צת נינע*, *we are ever toiling*, in the last hemistich, it is better to read *נינע חנם*, *we toil for nought*. Goethe said to Eckermann on Jan. 27, 1824, when he was 75: *Man hat mich immer als einen vom Glück besonders begünstigten gepriesen . . . allein im Grunde ist es nichts als Mühe und Arbeit gewesen.*⁷ The reading *most of it*, Heb. רַבָּם, is supported by 𐤒𐤆𐤀.² The Book of Common Prayer has: *Though men be so strong that they come to fourscore years.*

This Psalm is undoubtedly one of the most impressive poems in the Bible, but several of its familiar lines are meaningless, e.g. the well-known *Establish Thou the work of our hands upon us*. It sounds beautiful, but *upon us* in this connection is beyond explanation, and the meter shows that it is merely dittography of the *upon us* at the end of the preceding hemistich, *May the favor of the Lord be upon us*. The received text repeats the phrase *Support the work of our hands* without the meaningless *upon us*. This may be a correction of the preceding clause.⁸ The Book of Common Prayer has *Prosper Thou our handiwork*.

This beautiful poem is, of course, not a prayer of Moses, the man of God. Cheyne states in his *Bampton Lectures*⁹

⁶ *Deutsche Übersetzung des Alten Testaments*, part 6, p. 144 (Göttingen, 1782).

⁶ This Syriac verb does not mean *to be snatched away*, as some commentators suppose, but *to be weary, exhausted, worn out, afflicted*.

⁷ Cited by Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (London, 1888) p. 255.

⁸ Cf. Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 47, l. 42.

⁹ Cheyne, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (London, 1891) pp. 74/5

that almost all the ancient and medieval commentators, and many of the best modern Christian exegetes, deny the Psalm to Moses.¹⁰ Grotius (*Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum*) suggested that some later poet might have written the Psalm in the character of Moses; he remarks on the title *Oratio Mosis hominis Dei: Non ab ipso facta est sed ejus rebus animoque conveniens*. The title was suggested by the references in the opening couplet to the creation of the world and by certain phraseological parallels (שָׁנַת, יְמֹת) in Deut. 32 which had long since been ascribed to Moses.¹¹ The Mosaic authorship was denied by Melancthon's friend Esrom Rüdinger in his *Libri Psalmorum Paraphrasis Latina* (Görlitz, 1581).¹² Hitzig believed that the poem was written between 164 and 152 B.C., and C. v. Lengerke (1847) assigned it to the later Maccabean period. The preceding Psalm (89) is undoubtedly Maccabean, and I have shown in the *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris, 1909) p. 276, that the following Psalm (91) is a Maccabean talisman. The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God, may be almost as late as the Book of Ecclesiastes, which seems to have been completed about 100 B.C.¹³ Like Ecclesiastes this pessimistic

¹⁰ But Franz Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1894) p. 585 stated: *Es giebt kaum ein Schriftdenkmal des Altertums, welches das Überlieferungszeugnis seiner Abstammung so glänzend rechtfertigte wie dieser Psalm*, and Tholuck, *Psalmen* (Gotha, 1873) p. 569 said: *Die Stimme des alten Gesetzgebers lässt sich nicht undeutlich herauserkennen*. T. C. Murray, in his *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms* (New York, 1880) p. 271/2 says that none of the allusions of this song are unsuited to what we know of the Mosaic times It could well have been preserved in the early song book, "The Book of Valor."

¹¹ Cf. Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866) p. 37.

¹² He says, *Verisimilitus multo fuerit, magisque consentaneum, Antiochici temporis Psalmum existimare*; cf. Rosenmüller's *Scholta* (Leipzig, 1823) p. 1618; see also C. Ehrh, *Abfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters* (Leipzig, 1869) p. 8.

¹³ See Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 8. My interpretation of Eccl. 4 11-16 as referring to Antiochus Epiphanes and Alexander Balas has been endorsed by Bertholet in TLZ 35, 389. Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (London, 1904) 2, 78, called attention to the fact that v. 10 of our Psalm is alluded to in the Book of Jubilees (23 12. 15) which was, according to Charles, written before 96 B.C. or some years earlier in the reign of

poem exhibits a number of theological interpolations, e.g. the couplet consisting of vv. 7 and 9:¹⁴

Through Thy wrath we end, snatched away through Thine ire;
For all our days decline, our years are ended in sighing.

This is a gloss to the third couplet of the original poem:

Thou hast gendered them year by year, like sprouting herbage they are:
In the morn it buds and blossoms, at even it is seared and withered;

and to the first line of this gloss, *Through Thy wrath we end, snatched away through Thine ire*, we have a tertiary gloss in v. 11:

Who minds Thy wrath? who heeds Thine anger?

Instead of the meaningless *וכיראתך*, and according to the fear of Thee, we must read *ומי ראה*, and who sees or heeds? The traditional rendering, even according to Thy fear, so is Thy wrath, is impossible.

Just as obscure is the traditional reading of the second hemistich of the following line, *ונבא לבב חכמה*, which is supposed to mean *that we cause our hearts to come unto wisdom* or *that we bring in (harvest) a heart of wisdom*. Wellhausen, followed by Gunkel, reads *ונבא לבב חכמה*, *that we may enter the gate of wisdom*. This is just as questionable as his reading *וְרַע מְתָם שָׁנָה*, *the generation of men is shifting*, instead of *ורמתם שנה שנה*, *Thou hast gendered them year by year*. Instead of *ונבא לבב חכמה*, we must read *ומלא לבבנו חכמה*, and fill our hearts with wisdom.¹⁵

V. 8 is a gloss to the first line of the third stanza:

Relent, O Живн! How long? take pity on Thy servants!

Heb. *עַד־מַתַּי*, *how long?* or *enough!* is used here elliptically

John Hyrcanus; see the new edition (1911) of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 15, p. 584; cf. Littmann's translation in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigraphen* (Tübingen, 1900) p. 79 and Schürer's *GJV* 3, 379 (1909).

¹⁴ I was very much interested in finding that Feodor Spanjer-Herford in his metrical version of the Psalms (Braunschweig, 1896) has bracketed all the lines which I regard as glosses, the only difference being that he has bracketed v. 13 instead of v. 12.

¹⁵ Graetz, *Krit. Commentar über die Psalmen* (Breslau, 1883) p. 512, read *בן הודע נבא לבב חכמה*, so hat uns kund getan ein Prophet weisen *Herzens*, and considered this an allusion to Is. 65 x.

like the Assy. *adi matî* in cuneiform penitential psalms. The synonym of *adi matî*, Assy. *axulâp*, which is connected with Heb. אָחַלִי, *O that!* is used in the same way.¹⁶ For the perfect שָׁתָה, *Thou hast placed*, in v. 8, we must read the imperative שִׁתָּה, *do place*, and the following עֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ, *our iniquities*, is a corruption of עֲנוּתֵנוּ, *our suffering*; we find the same word, mispointed עֲנִית in Ps. 22 25. Similarly עלִמְנוּ in the second hemistich, which is supposed to mean *our secret sins*, is a transposition of עֲמַלְנוּ, *our toil*. Instead of *Thou hast placed our iniquities before Thee, our secret sins in the light of Thy countenance*, we must read :

Oh! place our sufferings before Thee! our toil in the light of Thy face!
i.e. Consider our suffering, and have mercy upon us! Let the light of Thy countenance shine upon us! Beam love upon us! (Num. 6 25). A similar transposition has been suggested for Eccl. 3 11, where several critics read נֶחֱם אֶת־הַעֲמַל נֶחֱם בְּלִבָּם instead of the received reading אֶת־הַעֲמַל. The true reading, however, is הֶעֱלַם, *obscurity, dimness*: God has put obscurity in our heart, He has veiled our mental vision.¹⁷ Locke says, our human understanding is the divine revelation through which God has imparted to us a portion of the truth. Ⓞ has *ó aiwón hē eōwōn* in the present passage, reading עֲלִמְנוּ instead of עֲלִמְנוּ.

Duhm has pointed out that vv. 48, 49 of the preceding Psalm are a misplaced gloss to Ps. 90 :

עַל־מֶה־שׁוּא בְּרֵאת - אָדָם :	זָכַר אֲדֹנָי מִהַחֲלָד	48
יִמְלֹךְ נַפְשׁוֹ מִיַּד־שׂוֹאֵל : ¹⁸	מִרְגֵּבֵר לְאֲדִירָאָה מָוֹת ^β	49

1 יִדְדָה 49 (β)	48 כל בני (α)
------------------	---------------

48 Remember, O Lord, what life is, on what vanity a man is created!¹⁹
49 Who is he that β sees not death, and saves his life from Hades.

(α) 48 all the sons of

(β) 49 lives and

¹⁶ See Zimmern, *Babyl. Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885) pp. 28 and 118; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, pp. 44^a and 435^b; *Assyr. Lesestücke* (1909) p. 153^b.

¹⁷ See Haupt, *Kohleth* (Leipzig, 1905) p. 29, n. 7; cf. *Nah.* 32.

¹⁸ Read *šli*; cf. below, note on וַאֲשֶׁר־יָדָה, v. 4.

¹⁹ Lit. *Thou hast created man.*

The connection between Ps. 90 and Ps. 89 ¹⁸ was pointed out by Rüdinger; see Hupfeld's commentary (Gotha, 1888) 2, 364.

The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God, consists of three stanzas, each comprising two couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line. Duhm states in his commentary ⁴ that this poem is written in tetrastichs with three beats, but in his translation ²⁰ he has four beats in each stich, or rather hemistich; so, too, Bickell in his *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, part 3 (Innsbruck, 1883) p. 171. The original poem consisted only of the first two stanzas; the third seems to be a subsequent liturgical addition (so, too, Duhm and Gunkel). Hupfeld regarded vv. 1-12 as an introduction to vv. 13-17; he divided the poem into three stanzas: vv. 1-6, 7-12, and 13-17. According to Olshausen there are no regular stanzas. ²¹ Reuss ²² believed that there was a close connection between vv. 13-17 and the preceding verses, and contested the theory that the last stanza was secondary. Rosenmüller ¹³ divided the poem into two sections: vv. 1-11 and 12-17.

The Hebrew text should be arranged as follows:

תפלה למשה איש האלהים

1	i	A	אֲדֹנָיִּי בְּדֶרֶךְ חַדְרִי	וּמִצְוֹתֶיךָ עֲדֵצְוֹלָם אֲתָהּ:
2			בְּמִרְמֵה הַרִים יֵלְדוּ	וּתְהוֹלֵל אֶרֶץ וּתְבַלְלֵם:
4	ii		כִּי־אֵלֶיךָ שָׁנִים בְּעֵינֶיךָ	כִּי־וַאֲשֶׁמֹרֶה־:
3			תִּשָׁב אָנוּשׁ אֶל־דְּבָרְךָ	וּתְאָמֵר שׁוּבוּ בְנֵי־אָדָם:
5	iii	B	וּרְמַתֶּם שָׁנָה שָׁנָה	דַּיִוִּי כַחֲצִיר חֲקֵלֶיךָ:
6			בְּבִקְרֵי יַפְרָח וּרְצִיץ־	לְעָרֵב יִמּוֹלֵל וּרְגָשׁ־:

²⁰ *Die Psalmen übersetzt von B. Duhm* (Freiburg i/B, 1890).

²¹ *Die Psalmen erklärt von Justus Olshausen* (Leipzig, 1863) p. 367.

²² *Das Alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert von Eduard Reuss*, vol. 5, p. 206 (Braunschweig, 1893).

10 iv ימי שנותנו⁹ שבצים ואם בנבורת שמונים¹⁰
 ורבים עמל ואון נינע חנם ונעספה:

13 v C שובה יהוה עד-מתי והנחם עלי עבדך¹¹
 14 שבצענו במקר הסדך ונרננה¹² בבל ימינו¹³:

16 vi וראה על-עבדך פעלך והדרך עלי בניהם:
 17 ויהי-נעם אדני¹⁴ עלינו ומעשה ידינו כוננה¹⁵:

1 (a)	מסח אתה היית לנו	2 (β)	אל	4 (γ)	כי עבר
4 (δ)	בלילה	5 (ε)	במקר	6 (ζ)	חלף
7 (η)	כרכלתי באפך	ובחמתך נבהלנו ¹⁶			
9	כרכל ימינו פנינו ¹⁷	כלי שנינו בענה:			
10 (θ)	בהם	11 (ι)	שנה	12 (κ)	שנה
8 (λ)	שתה עטתנו לענך	עמלנו לאור פניך		14 (μ)	ונשמחה
15 (ρ)	שמחנו כימות עטתנו	שנת ראינו רעה:			
17 (ε)	אלהינו	16 (ο)	עלינו ומעשה ידינו כוננה		
11 (π)	סירודע עראפך	וסי-ראה עברתך:		9 (pp)	בעברתך
12	לסנת ימינו כדירוע	וכלא לכנט חקסח:			

This may be translated as follows :

PSALM 90

A Prayer of Moses, the Man of God

- A i 1 O Lord,^a Thou art eternal,
 {without beginning or end,^β}
- 2 Ere mountains were brought forth,
 ere earth and land were born. { }

- ii 4 A thousand years in Thy sight
 are as yesternight^γ or as a night-watch.^δ
- 3 To dust Thou turnest mortals,
 and sayest, Return ye, men !

- B iii 5 Thou hast gendered them year by year,
 like sprouting herbage they are :^e

6 In the morn it buds and blossoms,⁵
at even it is seared and withered.⁷

iv 10 Our years⁶ are threescore and ten,⁴
and, if one be strong, even fourscore;⁸
Yet most of them — labor and sorrow,
for nought we are toiling and moiling.

C v 13 *Relent, O Jahveh! Enough!*
*take pity on Thy servants!*¹
14 *With the fill of Thy goodness sate us*
*that all our days we rejoice.*²

vi 16 *Manifest Thy work on Thy servants,*
and Thy glory on their sons!
17 *May the favor of the Lord³ be upon us,*
*support our handiwork!*⁵

(α) 1 Thou hast been a stronghold for us (β) 2 O God!
(γ) 4 when it is past (δ) in the night (ε) 5 in the morning (ζ) 6 it sprouts
(η) 7 Through Thy wrath we end, snatched away through Thine ire; ⁸
9 For all our days decline,⁹ we end our years in sighing.
(θ) 10 in them (ι) years (κ) years
(λ) 8 Oh! place our suffering be- our toil in the light of Thy face!
fore Thee,
(ρ) 15 Let us rejoice as many days as many years as we saw evil!
as we suffered,
(μ) 14 and be glad (ξ) 17 our God (ο) upon us, support our handiwork

(ππ) 11 Who minds Thy wrath? who heeds Thine anger?
12 Our days teach us truly to tell, and fill our hearts with wisdom!
(ρρ) 9 through Thine anger

I append two metrical translations in German and in Assyrian; cf. my Assyrian renderings of Pss. 23 and 137, and David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan, AJSL 21, 137; OLZ 10, 67; JHUC No. 163, p. 56; see *Preliminary Bibliography of Paul Haupt*, compiled by A. Ember, JHUC No. 240, p. 26, l. 6.

Gebet des Gottesmannes Moses

A i 1 Herr,^a Du bist für und für,
{ von Urzeit bis zur Endzeit,^β }
2 Ehe denn die Berge geboren
und Erd' und Land erschaffen. { }

- ii 4 Vor Dir sind tausend Jahre
wie die gestrige Nacht,^δ eine Wache.^δ
3 Zu Staub machst Du die Menschen
und rufst sie wieder in's Dasein.
- B iii 5 Jahr für Jahr hast Du sie erzeugt,
sie sind * wie sprossendes Gras :
6 Am Morgen wächst es und blüht,^ε
am Abend ist's welk und verdorret.^ν
- iv 10 Unserer Jahre Zahl^θ ist siebzig *
bei grosser Kraft auch achtzig ; *
Doch ist's meist nur Mühe und Arbeit,
vergebliches Plagen und Quälen.
- C v 13 *Lass ab! O Jahveh! Genug!*
hab' Mitleid mit Deinen Dienern!^λ
14 *Mit der Fülle Deiner Gnade lab' uns,*
*lass' uns frohlocken * all' unsre Tage!*^ν
- vi 16 *Zeig' Dein Walten an Deinen Dienern,*
Deine Grösse an ihren Kindern!
17 *Des Herren † Huld sei bei uns,*
unsrer Hände Arbeit fördre!°
-
- (α) 1 eine Feste bist Du für uns (β) 2 O Gott (γ) 4 wenn sie vorüber
gewesen
(δ) 4 in der Nacht (ε) 5 am Morgen (ζ) 6 sprosst
(η) 7 Vor Deinem Grimm ver- weggerafft durch Deinen Zorn.^{ωω}
gehn wir,
9 Denn all' unsre Tage schwin- unsre Jahre vergehn in Jammer.
den,^{ρρ}
(θ) 10 darin (ι) Jahr (κ) Jahr
(λ) 8 Unser Leiden stelle Dir vor, unsre Not vor Dein leuchtendes Ant-
litz!
(ν) 15 Für die Tage unsres Leidens für die Jahre da wir Unglück er-
gieb uns Freude, fahren!
(μ) 14 und uns freuen (ξ) 17 unsres Gottes (ο) 17 bei uns, unsrer Hände
Arbeit fördre!
-
- (ωω) 11 Wer bedenkt Deine Zornglut? wer beachtet Deinen Unwillen?
12 Lehr' uns recht zu zählen unsre Tage und füll' unser Herz mit Weisheit!
(ρρ) 9 durch Deinen Unwillen

Tislitu ša Mūsā amēl ili

- A i 1 *Belum* * dārū attā {ultu-ullā ana-arkāt ūmē^β}
 2 *Lam* sadē 'aldū-ma erçitu u-nābalu ibbanū.}}
- ii 4 *Ina-pānika* līm šandti kīma-amšdt^γ u-kīma maççarti^δ
 3 *Tēnišēti* ana -liti tatār-ma "Tārū amēliti" taqdbi.
- B iii 5 *Šatta* ana-satti tazrīšun * kīma-urçti açti ibdā^ε
 6 *Ina-šēri* iddāš-ma isāmaz^ζ ina-lildti ibbal-ma irrur.^η
- iv 10 *Ūmē* šandtini^θ sebā-ma ina-emūqē rabdti samānd^ι
Ma'adūssun pušqu u-dan- ana-šnimma šānuzdni šumru-
 natu çāni.
- C v 13 *Tāra* Idma adī-mali ana-ardēka rēma rišīšun^λ
 14 *Ina-makār* salīmika šu- ina-kal ūmēni nirēša.^μ
 qīni-ma
- vi 16 *El-ardēka* epistuka linna- tanittuka eli mārēšun
 mir-ma
 17 *Lū-dumqu* ša Bēlini ē eli- šipir qātāni šutēšir.^ν
 ni-ma

(a) 1 <i>dannatu</i> ana-nāši tabšī	(β) 2 <i>ilu</i>	(γ) 4 <i>ša</i> ētiqū
(δ) 4 <i>ina-mūši</i>	(e) 5 <i>ina-šēri</i>	(f) 6 <i>uççā</i>
(η) 7 <i>Ina-uzzatika</i> niklī	<i>ina-uggatika</i> nillaqit **	
9 <i>U-kal</i> ūmēni izliqū-ma **	<i>šandtini</i> ina-tānizi kalū	
(θ) 10 <i>ina-šāšunu</i>	(i) <i>šandti</i>	(κ) <i>šandti</i>
(λ) 8 <i>Maruštani</i> mazarka šukun	<i>šapšaḡanti</i> ina-nūr pānika	
(ρ) 15 <i>Kī-ūmē</i> maruštini zuddīni	<i>šandti</i> ša-limutta nīmuru	
(μ) 14 <i>u-niçādū</i>	(ξ) <i>ilini</i>	(o) <i>elīni-ma</i> šipir qātāni šutēšir

(**) 11 *Mannu-uggataka* idī-ma *mannu-kimūtaka* updā
 12 *Ana-mani* ūmēni kēniš-šidī-ma *ibbanī* nīmēqa mułlī (pp) 9 *ina* kimūtika

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT

V. 1. — The name משה may have been originally מושע so that משה would correspond to ירושל as מאיר to יאר; see note 24 to my paper *An ancient protest against the curse on Eve* in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, p. 513 (Philadelphia, September, 1911).

For אִישׁ הָאֵלֹהִים has נביא יהודה.

For *מצון* in the gloss *מצון אתה היית לנו*, read *מצח*; cf. *Die Psalmen übersetzt von E. Kautzsch* (Freiburg i/B, 1893) p. 204. This word, however, does not mean *καταφυγή, refugium*, but *stronghold*, from *צח*; see *Mic.* 80, below. Duhm thinks that this clause was probably added by the author of vv. 13-17 (stanza C).

בדר ודר means *in all* (GK § 123, c) *generations*, i.e. *everlasting*; so, too, in Syriac. *ܫ* has here *ܠܕܪܕܪܝܢ* (cf. Assy. *ana dār dāri*) which has the same meaning (*for ever and ay*).

V. 2. — The two halves of v. 2 must be transposed (cf. *Mic.* 94, vi): *ומעולם ערעולם אתה* (lit. *from the dim past to the dim future*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 17; contrast AL⁵, 153^b, line 20) is the second hemistich to the first line of the poem; so Bickell, Duhm, and Zenner-Wiesmann, *Psalmen* (Münster i/W, 1906/7). Cheyne in his translation of the Psalms in the Parchment Library (London, 1884) p. 246 renders *from æon to æon*, one æon extending indefinitely in the past, and the other in the future.

אל, at the end of the verse, was combined by *ⲄⲔ* (*μη ἀποστρέψης, ne avertas*) with *תשב* at the beginning of the following verse; cf. second note on v. 3. This is endorsed by Paulus in *Philol. Clavis über die Psalmen* (Heidelberg, 1815) p. 897; also by Zenner-Wiesmann, and by Briggs, *Psalms* (1907). But *ⲚⲤ* have *את הוא אלהא*. In *Ⲛⲁ*, however, *אל* (cf. *Mic.* 71, l. 2; 86, a) is vocative, not predicate.

יִלְדוּ is impf. pass. Qal like *יָקַח, יָקַח, יָקַח*, etc. (GK § 53, u).

For *תחולל* (from *חיל*; cf. *Mic.* 82) read the passive *ותחולל* (*Ⲅ* *πλασθῆναι, Ⲕ formaretur, Ⲥ* *איתבריאת*). *Ⲛ* has two verbs (cf. note on *ימולל*, v. 6) for *ותחולל*, one active, and one passive: *ועדלא תחבלי ארעא ועדלא תתקני תאביל*. Luther's *ehe . . . die Erde und die Welt geschaffen worden* is better than AV *before . . . thou hadst formed the earth and the world*.

תבל does not mean *world*, but *land*, especially *terra firma*; *Ⲅ*, therefore, *ἡ οἰκουμένη* (cf. Syr. *תאביליא, ecumenical*). *Ⲥ* *יתבי תבל*. Michaelis, correctly, *Erde und Land*; also Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 586 explains *ארץ* as *Erdkörper*, and *תבל* as *Festland*. The original meaning is *dry land*; *תבאל* (Syr. *תאביל, תאבל, תביל, תיבל, תדבאל*) is the

Assyr. *tábalu*, a byform of *nábalu* (for *ma'balu*; cf. BA 1, 175) from אַבַל = אַמַל, *to be dry*; cf. note on יַמּוּלַל, v. 6. Heb. אַבַל represents a later pronunciation of Assyr. *tábalu*, viz. *tébilu*; cf. Assyr. *erritu* = *arratu*, curse; *erçitu* = *arçatu*, earth. A similar Assyrian loanword is אַבַח (*Est.* 23). According to Gen. 1 9 the dry land appeared after the earth had been created.

V. 3.—This verse should be preceded by v. 4. Bachmann, *Psalmen*, part 5 (Berlin, 1891) p. 342 remarked: *Vers 4 passte besser als v. 3, und vielleicht darf man eine Umstellung dieser Verse vornehmen.* But more than 60 years ago Ernst Meier, *Die poetischen Bücher des AT* (Stuttgart, 1850) p. 122 added to v. 4 the note: *Dieser Vers steht im Hebr. unrichtig hinter dem folgenden.* The same transposition has been adopted by Spanjer-Herford (cf. above, p. 119, n. 14).

For אַבַח read אַבַח; cf. *Mic.* 70, μ . The traditional pointing presupposes the reading אַבַח-אֵל, $\mu\eta$ ἀποστρέψης; see second note on v. 2. Graetz, *O, vergilt den Sterblichen nicht bis zur Vernichtung.* Briggs, *Do not turn man back to dust.* Bachmann's conjecture, אַבַח אַנּוּשׁ עַד-דָּבָא, *Thou hast pronounced a curse, Return, O man, to dust*, is gratuitous.

עַד עַד-דָּבָא is not equivalent to עַד הַיּוֹת רָכָא (Hitzig). עַד is miswriting for אַל = אַל; cf. Gen. 3 19, Eccl. 12 7, and *Kings* 142, 23; *Mic.* 80, ϵ .

For רָכָא read רָבָה, fem. of רָך = רָך Ex. 16 14, Is. 40 15, Arab. *duqq*, fine dust, lit. *powdered matter* (Hupfeld, *zu Malm*). Cf. אַבַח לַעֲפָר 2 K 23 6. Some MSS read רָכָא instead of רָבָה in Deut. 23 2; see Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 587, n. 1. If we retain רָכָא, we must point רָכָא, a form like אַבַח. Isaac Leeser's Bible renders, *Thou turnest man to contrition.* ᾠ εἰς ταπεινωσιν; so, too, ᾠ עַד-דָּבָא לְמוֹפְכָא; cf. v. 11). ᾠ עַד מוֹתָא.

For אַבַח אַבַח read אַבַח אַבַח; it is the *modus rei repetitae* (GK § 107, e). Cf. note on אַבַח in v. 6.

אַבַח should be accented on the ultima; cf. *Nah.* 18, conclusion of note on 1 1. It does not mean *Werdet was ihr wart*

(J. D. Michaelis). Similarly J. A. Cramer has in his *Poetische Übersetzung der Psalmen*, part 3 (Leipzig, 1763) p. 23:

Wenn Du gebietest: Sterbt! Kommt Menschenkinder wieder,
und werdet was ihr waret, Staub.

Gunkel, *Kehrt wieder zurück zum Staub, daraus ihr erschaffen seid*. This explanation, which is advocated also by Briggs and in third edition of Kautzsch's HSAT, is incorrect; the present passage must be explained according to Eccl. 1 4: דור הולך ודור בא, *generations are going and coming*. The Coranic passage Sur. 30 10, cited by Cheyne, *Psalms* (1888) p. 254, has a different meaning.

V. 4. — For the etymology of אַתְּמוּל see AJSL 22, 251.

In the gloss כִּי יַעֲבֹר the prefix ' is due to dittography.
⊗ διήλθεν, & דַּעֲבֹר.

וַאֲשֶׁמֹרֶה was pronounced *washmuráh*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 18, and *Mic.* 69, ii. A night-watch lasted four hours. אַתְּמוּל is a synonym of אַמֶּשׁ; it denotes the first half of the (Jewish) day, from sunset to sunrise (see JBL 21, 65, n. 17). Cf. German *nächt* = *yesterday*, and *über Nacht* in the sense of *in a short time*. The poet means to say, in JHVH's eyes 1000 years are like 12 hours; nay, like 4 hours. The point is not, as Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 588 and Cheyne, *Psalms* (1888) p. 254 suppose, that a watch in the night has no duration at all to the unconscious sleeper. Far more correct is the rendering given in the fourth stanza of Isaac Watts' famous hymn, *O God, our help in ages past*, quoted in C. G. Montefiore's *Psalms* (London, 1901) p. 472:

A thousand ages in Thy sight
Are like an evening gone;
Short as a watch that ends the night
Before the rising sun.

The chiliastic doctrine that the world will last for 6000 years of toil and labor, to be followed by 1000 years of sabbath rest for the people of God in the Messianic Kingdom, is based on the present passage (cf. 2 Pet. 3 8 and Sir. 18 10) combined with Gen. 1 and Dan. 9; see Harnack's article on *Millennium* in the new edition (1911) of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 18, p. 461.

V. 5. — For ורמתם see above p. 115. Mohammed says (e.g. Sur. 80 18) that God creates men *min nūṭfatin*, i.e. from a drop of semen. Ehrlich, *Psalmen* (Berlin, 1904) reads וְרִמָּתָם, and explains this as *der Samenfluss, woraus sie werden*; he renders the passage: *Im Keimen sind sie ein Jahr; am folgenden Morgen sprossen sie wie das Gras*. Zenner adopts Wellhausen's reading ורע מתים שנה, but combines this with כירק, which he substitutes for בבקר, thus rendering: *Das Geschlecht der Menschen wandelt sich wie Laub*. Oort, *Emendationes* (1900) p. 85 reads וְרִמָּתָם, which seems to be a misprint (?) for וְרִמָּתָם. Graetz, וצמתנו, *Du hast uns gezürnt*.

The reading שנה שנה, *year in year out*, is supported by \mathfrak{C} τὰ ἐξουδενώματα αὐτῶν ἔτη ἔσσονται, \mathfrak{B} quae pro nihilo habentur eorum anni erunt. Ἐξουδενώω (cf. Mark 9 12) = ἐξουδενίζω is derived from οὐδέν, *nothing*, and means *to regard as nothing* (cf. Hag. 2 3) or *worthless, to hold in little esteem, attach small value to it*; ἐξουδένωμα means here *vain pursuit, fruitless effort* (not *contempt*) = רח ורעיון רח in Eccl. 4 16. According to \mathfrak{B} , \mathfrak{C} should read τὰ ἔτη αὐτῶν ἐξουδενώματα ἔσσονται. \mathfrak{C} took ורמתם as a noun; so, too, \mathfrak{S} . \mathfrak{C} may have read בוחתם instead of ורמתם (ב = מ, ו = ר; cf. Mic. 90, l. 6). The conjectures that \mathfrak{C} read והמתם (cf. Job 33 20) or וזיהם (cf. Job 19 17) are not probable. \mathfrak{S} שרכתהון may be a corruption, or correction, of שרכוניהון, *their trifles*; שרכונא is a diminutive (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 131) of שרכא, *affair, matter* (cf. Arab. *šurūdiyyun*). \mathfrak{T} paraphrases, ואין לא תייבין, *if they do not repent, Thou bringest upon them death; like sleepers (i.e. dead) will they be*.

יהיו belongs to חלף חלף; כחציר חלף; חלף is a relative clause (GK § 155, g). Hupfeld-Nowack, correctly, *sie sind . . . wie das Gras das sprosst*.

For חלף חלף read חלף; cf. Syr. אחלף, *to sprout*. \mathfrak{S} has אך עופיא דתחלפי דכצפרא יעא ומחלף.

V. 6. — For חלף, after יציץ, read חלף, vertical dittography of חלף at the end of the preceding verse.

Before יציץ we may insert יפרח, which may have been displaced by the gloss חלף = חלף. Or חלף (= חלף) may be

a scribal error for פָּרַח'. For similar erroneous repetitions cf. JBL 29, 106, n. 81.

יָמוּל must be derived from מָלַל = אָמַל, *to wither*, not from מוּל, *to remove the front or top, to crop* (*Mic.* 86, a; ZDMG 64, 710, l. 18). Cf. Ps. 37 2 and Is. 40 6-8; see my translation in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (Leipzig, 1902). Ⓞ has a double translation for יָמוּל: ἀποπέσοι, σκληρυνθείη (3 *decidat, induret*). Ⓢ, correctly, חָמַא, *withers*; but Ⓢ מתמוּלל, *cut off*.

For וַיִּבֶשׁ we had better point וַיִּבֶשׁ, *modus rei repetitae*; cf. last note but one on v. 3.

V. 7. — This verse (and v. 9) is a gloss on vv. 5 and 6. The meter of v. 7 is 2 + 2, whereas v. 9 has 3 + 3 beats.

Zenner inserts v. 7 after v. 10.

נִבְהַלְנוּ (cf. ZAT 29, 286, n. 4) does not mean *turbati sumus* (Ⓞ ἐταράχθημεν, Ⓢ אֶתְרַלְחֵן) but *we are despatched, snatched away* by a premature death. Luther, correctly, *wir müssen plötzlich dahin*. The theological glossator wants to emphasize the point that the reason why our life is so short is that we have provoked God's wrath by our sins; cf. Rom. 5 12.

V. 8. — This verse is a gloss to v. 13; see above, p. 119.

Zenner suggested that שֵׁת might be taken as imperative.

For עֲנֹתֵינוּ (instead of עֲנוֹתֵנוּ, *our suffering*; cf. v. 15) Ⓢ has חֻבְנֵינוּ, Ⓢ חֻבְנֵינוּ.

For עֲלַמְנוּ (instead of עַמְלֵנוּ) Ⓢ has עֲנֵיית מְלִיּוֹתָנָא, *the sins of our youth* (cf. חֲטָאוֹת נְעוּרַי, Ps. 25 7). Cheyne (1904) reads מְעַלְנוּ. Ⓢ עֲלַמִּין = Ⓞ ὁ αἰὼν ἡμῶν. Briggs, *Thou hast set our youth in the sunlight of Thy face*.

For לְמֵאֹר read לְאוֹר; cf. Pss. 4 7, 44 4, 89 16, Prov. 16 15. Ⓞ εἰς φωτισμὸν τοῦ προσώπου σου; in Ps. 44 4 Ⓞ has ὁ φωτισμὸς τοῦ προσώπου σου for אֹר פִּנֵּךְ. Cheyne (1904) suggests לְמֵאֹר (cf. AJSL 22, 250, below; 24, 124) for לְמֵאֹר.

V. 9. — פָּנוּ (Ⓢ אֶתְפִּינְאוּ) means *they decline*; so Briggs and Zenner (*gehn zur Neige*). Cf. פָּנָה הַיּוֹם, Jer. 6 4, and Syr. לָהּ יוֹמָא, *the day declined*, פָּנִיָּא, *declining day, early evening*.

בְּעִבְרַתְךָ is a tertiary gloss.

In the second hemistich, בְּלֵינוּ שְׁנֵינוּ כְּמִרְדְּהָנָה, we may sub-

stitute כלו for כליו, as suggested by Buhl in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. ונרמי שנין אך נוני S, τὰ ἐρη ἡμῶν ὡς ἀράχνη ἐμελέτων, 3 anni nostri sicut aranea meditabuntur. Cheyne (1904) suggests that ἐμελέτων may be a corruption of ὡς ὁ μελετών, 3 sicut sermonem loquens (הגה). The original text, it may be supposed, was כלו שנינו כגונה, *our years are ended in sighing*; גונה (for גוני, a form like הוֹדֵד) corresponds to Syr. גוּנַיָא (also גוּנַיָא, גוּנַיָא) *piping, peeping, chirping* of a bird, or *piping, crying, weeping* of a child; cf. German *piepsen*, Greek *πιπιζειν*. G (followed by S3) took גונה (= Syr. גוני, *piping*) in the sense of Syr. גוּנַיָא, *spider*, reading כגונה, *like a spider*, instead of כגונה, *in piping, weeping*. For confusion of כ and כ cf. *Mic.* 92, ii. GB 172^a s.v. הגה states that GS suggest the reading גונה, *cobweb*; see also Buhl in Kittel. But in the original Heb. text of the present passage גונה meant *sighing*, not *cobweb*. RV has, for *a tale that is told*, in the margin: or *a sound* or *sigh*. Schultz in Strack-Zöckler's commentary renders *Gemurmel*. Kirkpatrick, *Psalms* (Cambridge, 1903) p. 551 translates: *we consume our years as a sigh*. In the Talmud, גונה, *spider* appears as כוכיא (miswritten כוכיא, כוכיא). We read *Suc.* 52^a (cf. *Snh.* 99^b; BT 3, 146; 7, 435): אמר רב אסי יצר הרע בתחילת דומה לחוט של כוכיא ולבסוף דומה כעבות הענלה, *Rabbi Asi said, The evil desire is at first like a thread of a spider, but finally it is like cart-ropes* (Is. 5 18). This word is found also in Persian in the form *kakiyā*; see Vullers' lexicon, 2, 779^b; it may be a Semitic loanword; contrast Graetz's commentary, p. 510, and Delitzsch's *Psalmen* (1894) p. 590, n. 1.—Duhm renders, *Our years are like a weaver's shuttle, a sound (?) the days of our years; their utmost limit is 70 years*; he proposes to read, שנינו כמו ארנ הגה ימי, שנותינו נבהם שבעים שנה. The emendation נבהם has been adopted by Gunkel and Zenner. According to the 'Arākh, כוכיא means *weaver's shuttle*; for ארנ cf. Job 7 6.—In כגונה (misread הגה כמו) was substituted for כגונה; הגה (for *higai*,²³ a form like שָׁרָב, לָקַב) means *moaning* in

²³ For *hegēh* instead of *higēh* cf. JAOS 28, 112.

Ez. 2 10 (קנינים ודגה²⁴ ונדה) just as דגני, from the allied stem דגג, has the same meaning; cf. Ps. 5 2, 39 4. Also in Gen. 3 16 we must read דגגה instead of דגה; see n. 2 to my paper cited in the first note on v. 1. For דגה in Job 37 2, where it refers to the thunder, cf. my paper *Die Posaunen von Jericho* in WZKM 23, 361. Ehrlich reads כמו דגה, like them, i.e. in the same way, for כמו דגה. — For *ὡς ἀράχην* in \mathfrak{S} we must read *ὡς ἀράχη* (so several MSS). *Μελετώ* means not only to care for, attend to, but also to take care, take pains, labor. \mathfrak{S} may have interpreted the hemistich to mean that we labor all our life like a spider, spinning webs which are easily destroyed (cf. Job 8 14, Is. 59 5; see AJSL 26 10) so that our endeavors are fruitless. This hemistich would then have nearly the same meaning as \mathfrak{S} 's rendering of the beginning of v. 5, τὰ ἐξουδενώματα αὐτῶν ἔτη ἔσονται, or rather, τὰ ἔτη αὐτῶν ἐξουδενώματα ἔσονται. Luther remarks in his *Scholae de Psalmis, habitae annis 1513–1516*, edited by J. K. Seidemann (Dresden, 1876) vol. 2, p. 96: *Opera inutilia sicut araneorum tela efficiunt*; contrast Luther's *Psalmen-Auslegung*, compiled by Chr. G. Eberle, vol. 1, p. 848 (Stuttgart, 1874). Matthias Claudius says in the fourth stanza of his well-known song *Der Mond ist aufgegangen*:

Wir stolzen Menschenkinder
Sind eitel arme Sünder
Und wissen gar nicht viel;
Wir spinnen Luftgespinste
Und suchen viele Künste
Und kommen weiter von dem Ziel.

The last line but one of this stanza is based on the theological gloss in Eccl. 7 29: דגמה בקשו חשבנות רבים, they have sought out many inventions, i.e. devices, theories, speculations (Luther, aber sie suchen viele Künste). — Cheyne (1904) renders v. 9: *Our doings are like spider's webs, our works have been crushed like locusts*. Cheyne's conjectures in his new commentary (cf. above, p. 118, n. 13) are like spider's webs, and the words of the Bible are crushed like locusts. He

²⁴ דג instead of נדה (cf. Mic. 72, vi) is due to haplography (3 omitted after 1).

translates e.g. v. 2: *Before Thou didst exalt Jerahmeel, and didst magnify Micçur and Ishmael.* He thinks (2, 76) that אִשׁ הָאֱלֹהִים may be an editor's conjectural emendation of a corrupt form of the words לְהִימֵן הָאוֹרֵחַ. More probable, however, אִשׁ מִשָּׁה אִשׁ = שְׁמַעֲלָל, and הָאֱלֹהִים = יְרַחֲמָל. *Sapientia sat!* Contrast *Mic.* 79, below. — ℣ paraphrases the present hemistich: אִשׁ יְצִינָא יוֹמֵי חַיִּינָא דְּךָ הַבֵּל פּוֹמָא דְּסַתּוּוּא, *we end the days of our life like a breath from the mouth in winter.*

V. 10. — According to Herod. 1, 32; 3, 22 (cited by Hitzig) Solon said, Ἐσ γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζῆσης ἀνθρώπων προσιθῆμι, and the Ichthyophagi sent by Cambyses to the Ethiopians stated, ὀγδώκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζῆσης πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκέεσθαι.

The psalmist uses the feminine plural שְׁנוֹתַי; in the preceding gloss we have the masculine plural שְׁנֵינוּ.

§ has לְמַחֲסָן, *hardly*, for בְּנִבְרֹת; the Heb. phrase, however, does not mean *hardly* or *at the most*, but *in* (the case of) *great vigor* (intensive plural). The Ethiopic text of the Book of Jubilees, 23 15, where this passage is quoted, has *if he be strong*; cf. above, p. 118, n. 13. Leeser's Bible renders, *If by uncommon vigor they be eighty*. Similarly, Augusti and De Wette's translation of the OT, part 3 (Heidelberg, 1809) p. 237 has, *wenn mit grosser Kraft, achtzig Jahr*. Grotius explains, *si autem viribus eximiis praeditus aliquis fuerit*. AV *by reason of strength* is correct, and Luther's *und wenn es hoch kommt* is wrong. Graetz's conjecture וְאִם בֵּן נִבְרֹת is gratuitous.

For רַהֲבָם we must read רַבָּם (so Zenner). ℣ has τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῶν, § סוֹנְאָהִין, ℣ סוֹנְעָהִין, ¶ *amplius eorum*.

The second hemistich of this verse is corrupt; see above, p. 117. For וְנִקְפָּה, at the end, we must read וְנִקְפָּה, *modus rei repetitae*, and the preceding כִּי נֹ חַיִּשׁ seems to be a corruption of וְנִינַע חֲנֹם (כ = ב = ג, cf. *Mic.* 74, ii; ו = ע; ' = נ; ש = ם). Hubert Grimme's conjecture, in his *Psalmen-Probleme* (Freiburg, 1902) p. 88, שְׁדִי, *death*, is impossible. According to J. D. Michaelis (cf. above, p. 116) the meaning of the passage is: *wir segeln über die See des Todes d. i. wir gehen in jene Welt; wir sterben*. ℣ has ὄρι

ἐπιήλθεν πραύτης ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ παιδευθησόμεθα, § quoniam supervenit mansuetudo et corripiemur, § מִמּוֹל דְּאֵתָא עֲלֵינוּ מִפְּנֵי מוֹכַחַא וְאֵתְרַפְּן (cf. above, p. 117, n. 6). § may have read: כִּי בָאנוּ חָן וְנִסְחָר, and *corripere* in § may be a correction for *corrigenere*. Briggs considers the first two hemistichs of v. 10 a prosaic gloss. He renders the third hemistich of v. 10, preceded by the end of v. 9: *As a sigh are the days of our years, and their breadth is travail and sorrow.*

V. 11. — This is a tertiary gloss to v. 7; cf. above, p. 119.

For וּמִי רָאָה וּכִירָאתָךְ read, with Duhm and Zenner וּמִי רָאָה. Both וּדַע and רָאָה mean here *to heed, to pay attention to* (cf. Gen. 39 v. 23). We pay no attention to the manifestations of God's wrath, but continue to sin, and are therefore snatched away by a premature death. Luther's *und wer fürchtet sich vor solchem Grimm?* is better than AV *even according to Thy fear, so is Thy wrath*, but Duhm's וּמִי רָאָה is preferable to Luther's וּמִי יָרָא, although this reading is endorsed by Wellhausen and Gunkel.

V. 12. — כִּן הָדוּדֵעַ לִמְנוֹת יְמֵינוּ does not mean *So teach us to number our days*,²⁵ but *Make us know accurately how to number our days*, i.e. Make us realize that our days are numbered. According to Hitzig, followed by Kirkpatrick, כִּן = וּכִירָאתָךְ, but this is a corruption of וּמִי רָאָה. The adverb כִּן does not mean *thus* in this connection, but *truly, correctly*, Assyr. *kénis*. We have the same כִּן in לְכִן, *all right*, lit. *verity* (it is) *right*; see ZDMG 65, 565, l. 13. J. D. Michaelis, *Lehre uns unsere Tage richtig zählen*; Delitzsch, *zu zählen unsere Tage lehre recht verstehen*. Also in 1 S 23 17 וְנָם כִּן שְׂאוֹל אָבִי יָדַע כִּן אֲדַעֵן מִיָּנָא § has τῆν δεξιάν σου γυώρισον, § *dexteram tuam sic notam fac*, for כִּן הָדוּדֵעַ. § read יְמִינְךָ instead of יְמֵינוּ. This mistake is endorsed by Briggs, who renders: *Thine hand so make us to know*, the hand as stretched out in anger and in doing awful deeds. Luther, *Lehre uns bedenken, dass wir sterben müssen*.

²⁵ Cf. Ps. 44 11.

²⁶ St. Jerome's *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos* renders: *ut numerentur dies nostri, sic ostende*.

For the second hemistich, see above, p. 119.

V. 13. — שובה = שוב מחרון אפף, Ex. 32 12, 2 K 23 26, Jon. 3 9; ערמתי תפך (תשמר) = ערמתי. This elliptical *how long?* is equivalent to our *enough!* Zenner reads ער שובה ער מתך (or על), and translates: *Wende Dich wieder zu Deinen Kindern* (מתך!).

For על read עלי; see *Mic.* 70, γ.

V. 14. — For the phonetic corruption (*Mic.* 69, i) בבקר instead of במכר, *with abundance*, see above, p. 116.

V. 15. — Instead of עניתנו (⊗ ἐταπεινώσατο ἡμᾶς), read עֲנִיתָנוּ, *our toil*, as in v. 8.

V. 16. — For אל read על. JHVH's work is to manifest itself on His servants: ²⁷ as long as His chosen people suffer, He seems to be asleep and inactive; as soon as they prosper, it is evident that He is working for them, and this prosperity is to be vouchsafed not only to the present generation, but also to their children. Otherwise the heathen may say, Where is their God? Cf. my interpretation of Ps. 130, in *AJSL* 2, 100, n. 5. According to Ehrlich, this passage, especially the word הִרְדָּךְ, shows that the worshipers of JHVH were poorly fed and clothed at that time. ⊗ ὀδύγησον seems to have read הוֹרְדָה (not הִרְדָּךְ, Briggs) for הִרְדָּךְ; for the confusion of ו and ד cf. *Mic.* 71, below.

V. 17. — *Establish the work of our hands* means, Give stability and prosperity so that we may live in peace and enjoy the fruit of our labors (מעשה ידים = יניע כפים, Hag. 1 11).

עלינו is an erroneous repetition of עלינו at the end of the preceding hemistich, and the final ומעשה ידינו כוננה, without the meaningless (Wellhausen) עלינו, may be a correction of the preceding clause (*Pur.* 47, 42). The explanation that עלינו, *super nos = nos protegens*, is not satisfactory. The final ומעשה ידינו כוננה is omitted also by Zenner.

²⁷ Kirkpatrick explains, Manifest Thy power on their behalf.