

its way to recognition by modern historical students as a document of first-rate importance for two reasons. The first is, that literary analysis shews that it forms the base and foundation of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, works which themselves belong to a very early stage of Christianity, so that any document upon which they are founded must be in still closer contact with the underlying historical facts. The second is, that the Gospel of Mark, while in many ways out of touch with the interests and the tendencies of the Church in the second century, is permeated by ideas and expectations that belong to the first century. It is coloured by Jewish apocalyptic expectations; it is not coloured by the presuppositions and philosophizings of later Christian theology. The problem is, how such a work could survive at all. If we must add to the problem the supposition that the actual course of events at all resembled what is narrated in the Fourth Gospel, it becomes impossible to imagine how St Mark's Gospel ever came to be composed. What on the other hand the Fourth Gospel signified for the generation in which it was written may be seen in Dr Inge's contribution to *Cambridge Biblical Essays*.

F. C. BURKITT.

PSALM LXVIII *EXURGAT DEUS.*

IN attempting to determine the date and purport of this ode, of which Dr Cheyne once remarked, with entire truth, that 'there is no greater in Hebrew literature', our first consideration must, of course, be the internal evidence of the Psalm itself. The clue afforded by this evidence appears to me to be stronger than is the case with most other Psalms. Indeed, to my mind it is decisive.

The author is profoundly acquainted with the earlier literature of his people; but his piece is no mere cento of borrowed phrases, no mere poetical exercise or scholar's ingenious imitation of an ancient model. In spite of repeated echoes of the voices of the past, the whole is unquestionably inspired by the rush and stir of contemporary life.

It will be admitted that the Hebrew Scriptures alone have not supplied any sufficient explanation of this ode; for, upon any natural construction, it contains references to incidents certainly historical, about which those Scriptures are as certainly silent. If we had only to deal with obvious poetical allusions to the great Deliverances of the past, such as the Exodus and the passage of the Red Sea, or Joshua's victories, or the triumph of Deborah and Barak, or the conquests of David, we might well despair of ascertaining the age, occasion, and real significance of this noble hymn. Fortunately, when every allowance

has been made for the manifold corruptions of the text, due in part to the fact that the key to the import of the whole was lost within a generation or two after its composition, passages still remain which present insuperable obstacles to any interpretation which would reduce a magnificent Psalm of Thanksgiving to a catena of pious platitudes, and generalize the language of it to the point of sheer vacuity.

*The Lord said, 'From Bashan will I bring back,—
I will bring back from Salmon my people!'*

*(That thou mightest bathe thy foot in the blood of thine enemies,—
That the tongue of thy dogs might be reddened therefrom.)*

Why 'from Bashan', if the reference be not historical? The poet clearly ascribes to the divine Will and Agency an actual restoration of God's people, or a substantial part of them, from the land east of the Jordan to Judea; just as the Prophets of the Exile ascribed to the same high Will and Activity the Restoration from Babylon. And it is no peaceful Return that is thus commemorated, but one achieved by force of arms and the fruit of a fierce and vengeful warfare. It is true, indeed, that the Hebrew Canon gives no hint of events which could fairly be described as a Return of Jewish exiles from Bashan. But the long-sighted volume of the Deutero-canonical books has preserved an account which seems to chronicle in plain prose the series of events of which the psalm is a lyrical record. The First Book of Maccabees tells how the heroic Judas, after rebuilding and dedicating the altar and the sanctuary of Zion, sent his brother Simon with a force of 3,000 men to the rescue of their brethren in Galilee, who were threatened with extermination by their heathen neighbours; while he himself and Jonathan headed a more arduous expedition, marching to the deliverance of the Jews in 'the land of Gilead'. There they stormed city after city, putting all the males to the sword. Bozrah, Ashtaroth-Karnaim, and other strong places fell; and then '*Judas gathered together all Israel, them that were in the land of Gilead, from the least unto the greatest, and their wives, and their children, and their stuff, an exceeding great army, that they might come into the land of Judah*' (1 Macc. v 45).

Thus did the Lord 'bring back' (אָשִׁיב; the proper term for restoration from exile) His people from 'Bashan'; and thus was Judah's foot bathed in the blood of his ruthless enemies, who had conspired to 'destroy' him (τοῦ ἐξῆραι αὐτοῦς, 1 Macc. v 9). Indeed, if we have rightly divined the occasion of the Psalm, it is worth while to point out what may perhaps be called an undesigned coincidence between the narrative in 1 Macc. v and these verses of the psalm. For, according to the history, when Judas was leading the rescued Jews of Gilead ('Bashan') back to the homeland of Judea, the city of Ephron, a strong

place on the way, refused him passage. Whereupon, Judas stormed the town and razed it to the ground, and 'passed through the city *over them that were slain*' (ἐπάνω τῶν ἀπεκταμμένων, 1 Macc. v 51); that is, walking over and treading underfoot the bleeding bodies of the dead and dying, and thus washing his foot in blood, as the psalm puts it, in somewhat more than a metaphorical sense. Even the hideous detail of the dogs lapping the blood might also be fact; as doubtless the numerous families of Gileadite refugees did not leave their dogs behind them. There would be plenty of these animals in the 'exceeding great host' (παρεμβολὴν μεγάλην σφόδρα = מוֹחַב כְּבֵד מוֹחַב, Gen. 19) of the returning exiles. The episode in Maccabees ends with the record of a solemn Service of Thanksgiving at Jerusalem, when 'they went up to mount Sion with gladness and rejoicing, and offered whole burnt offerings, because not so much as one of them was slain until they returned in peace' (1 Macc. v 54). This epilogue of the history might well serve as a prologue to the psalm, with the language of which it in part coincides (see Stanzas i and vi). It is, in fact, quite likely that our Psalm, or the first draft of it, was the hymn composed for the festal Service on this occasion (cf. 1 Macc. iv 24). A detailed analysis and criticism of the text of this great ode will, I think, go far to establish this theory of its origin and historical relations.

Some may perhaps object that this view dwarfs the significance of the psalm. Truth, however, is careless of consequences. And let those who think the Maccabean age of little account in the history of Redemption remember that, without it, the age of Christ and Paul and John would have been impossible. Protestant dogmatism has come to reject a good deal besides the so-called Apocryphal portions of the elder Canon; but let a candid mind once perceive the fact that no less important a part of that Canon than Psalm lxxviii actually commemorates an episode of Maccabean history, and for that mind the supposed distinction between, say, Chronicles and Maccabees, must tend to vanish away.

Textual Analysis and Criticism.

Stanza i. The psalm opens with the martial prayer said to have been uttered by Moses, whenever the Ark of Jahwah 'set forward' at the head of the hosts of Israel while journeying through the wilderness (Num. x 35). Only a slight alteration was needed to adapt the spirited words of a virtual war-cry to the purpose of the poet.

*God ariseth—His foes disperse,
And His enemies flee before Him!*

That is to say, *When God ariseth, &c.*, or *Let God but arise, &c.* It is

what always happens, and has happened on the present occasion. To this echo of the past the singer adds in the same strain:—

*Like the driving of smoke they are driven ;
Like the melting of wax before fire,
The Wicked perish before God !*

We have pointed *יְנִדְפוּ* and read *יְנִדְפוּ*, after LXX. This makes sense, but is hardly so effective as the suspense of the verb until the third line:—

*Like the driving of smoke before wind,—
Like the melting of wax before fire,—
The Wicked perish before God !*

יְנִדְפוּ may conceal *רוּחַ* (*ל*), *before wind*.

*But the Righteous rejoice before God,—
They exult and are glad with rejoicing !*

The first line is unmetrical in M.T. We have transferred *יְעַלְצוּ* to l. 2 (so Kittel). The couplet refers to the joyous festivals of national Thanksgiving for Victory, such as Judas celebrated on his safe return from the expedition of rescue to the 'land of Gilead', when 'they went up to mount Zion with gladness and rejoicing, and offered whole burnt offerings' (1 Macc. v 54). Cf. 2 Macc. x 38 and Rawlinson's note: 'A formal service of thanksgiving, like a modern *Te Deum* after a victory, seems to be intended.'

Stanza ii.

*Sing ye to God, hymn ye His Name !
Acclaim Him who rideth through the deserts !
Praise ye His Name, and exult before Him !*

Here, in l. 2, we have read *הַלְלוּ רַב* for *סִלְלוּ רַב*. *Samech* and *He* might be confused in the old writing, and parallelism seems to demand a term denoting praise. Otherwise, *Make a highway for the Rider in the deserts* would agree with Isa. xl 3 ; lvii 14 ; lxii 10 ; and might refer to preparing the way for Jahwah's triumphal progress to the Temple with the warriors of Israel. But, further, it is a nice question whether, in the light of ver. 33 ('rideth upon the heavens') and Isa. xix 1 ; Ps. civ 3, we ought not to read *בְּעִבּוֹת* (Kittel) or even *בְּעִרְפִּים* 'on the clouds' (Isa. v 30), instead of *בְּעִבּוֹת*. If we do, *Make ye a highway for the Rider on the clouds !* seems incongruous in an address to mortals. Upon the whole, I prefer to retain M.T., as a possible allusion to the march of Judas through the desert (1 Macc. v 24, 28). See the note on Stanza iii, where we have a similar allusion.

In l. 3, M.T.—which can only mean *In Jah consists His Name, and exult ye before Him !*—violates the parallelism and is poor sense in the

context. Read הויו (Ps. cvii 1) for ביה, as parallel to הללו; cf. Ps. xxxv 18; xliv 8; xcix 3; or else ברכו, *Bless ye!* (K.).

*The Father of Orphans and the Judge of Widows
Is God in His holy Habitation*

(i. e. Heaven, Deut. xxvi 15); especially of the orphans and widows of those who had been slain in the persecution instituted by Antiochus Epiphanes, and of those massacred afterwards in 'the land of Tubias' or Tob (1 Macc. v 13), a district of the old Bashan, whose deaths Judas avenged.

'Tis God who settleth the solitary in a home,—

viz. such 'lone ones' (יחידים, Ps. xxv 16) as the widows and orphans just mentioned. But perhaps we should read משיב נדחים for מושיב יחידים; thus getting the sense

'Tis God who bringeth the banished ones home again;—

as Judas brought them all safely back from beyond the Jordan.

The general sense of the next line is clear. It is: *Who setteth prisoners at liberty*. The text is sound so far as regards מושיב אסירים, *who maketh prisoners go out*; and to complete the sense, we should expect *from prison*, or some poetical equivalent, e. g. *from darkness*, to follow; see Ps. cvii 10, 14; cxlii 8; Isa. xlii 7. But what are we to make of *into prosperity* (בבשרות; perhaps rather *prosperously*)? The Heb. word is probably corrupt; and it seems plausible to read מספנות, *out of the strongholds or castles* (Ps. xviii 45) or *dungeons* (plur. of מספר?) of the heathen. *Beth* and *Mem* are often confused in MSS, and כו may represent a broken כ. Similarly, ש may have originated in a broken or partially faded סנ (שנ).

Thus we get the line:—

Who bringeth the prisoners out of the dungeons (or castles).

This may very naturally refer to Jewish captives delivered from slavery by the arms of Maccabaeus and his brethren. The passage (1 Macc. v 13) which relates the slaughter of the Jews of Tob, expressly mentions the captivity of their wives and children. Among the great bodies of Israelites removed from Galilee and Gilead by Simon and Judas, there would doubtless be not a few individuals escaped from Gentile slavery. The fact may be vividly illustrated from 1 Macc. iii 41, where the slave-dealers are said to have joined the camp of the Syrians at Emmaus, bringing with them much money *and fetters*, in anticipation of the defeat of Judas, and in readiness to purchase and secure the prisoners. (Cf. 2 Macc. viii 10, 11.)

The closing line of the stanza might be rendered: *But (or Only) the rebellious abide in a scorched land*. As pointed out by Dr Kirkpatrick,

the term סוררים denotes, not the heathen (רשעים, ver. 2), but refractory Israelites (cf. the use of the word in Deut. xxi 18, 20; Ps. lxxviii 8). In our view, then, they will be the Jewish renegades, who were in sympathy with the Hellenizing policy of Antiochus Epiphanes, and, as such, were the bitterest enemies of the Hasmonean patriots. If צרחה, 'scorched ground', or more lit. *dazzling* or *glaring* land (cf. צרחה, Ezek. xxiv 7, 8), be correct, the line may refer to the fact that these apostates sought refuge in the desert from the sword of Judas. In their life-and-death struggle for hearth and altar, the *Chasidim*, or 'Pious', could afford no compromise with the opposing forces of the 'Lawless' (ἀνομοι) and the 'Ungodly' (ἀσεβείς), but did their utmost to exterminate them (cf. 1 Macc. i 43, 52; ii 23; iii 5, 6, 8). Possibly also it is meant that not all the Jews of 'Bashan' cared to return with Judas; some (viz. the Hellenizers among them) preferring the glaring rocks (or the 'moral desert') of the Haurân to the hills of the Judean homeland. The rendering, however, which we find in LXX and Syr., 'in graves' (ἐν ταφοῖς = חב סבסב), appears to favour a reading צרחה, 'keeps' or central towers of fortresses; cf. Judges ix 46; 1 Sam. xiii 6. The line will then be:—

Only the Renegades abide in the holds;

a reference to the occupation of the citadel of Jerusalem and similar strong places by the 'ungodly' and 'deserters'. It is expressly recorded that these were confined by Judas to their refuges and not allowed to go abroad into the country (ἀνεστάλησαν τοῦ πορευθῆναι εἰς χώραν, 1 Macc. vii 24). See also 1 Macc. xiii 49 ff. (the reduction of the citadel of Jerusalem by Simon, after it had so long been a thorn in the side of the Chasidim).

Stanza iii. We have here another coincidence with the narrative of Maccabees describing the relief-expedition of Judas to Gilead.

*O God, when Thou wentest forth before Thy people,—
When Thou marchedst through the wilderness,—
The earth did quake, the heavens also dropped
At the Presence of God, the God of Israel!*

The Psalmist, while borrowing almost word for word from Deborah's great Song of Triumph (Judges v 4, 5), makes one or two changes which, upon our view of the matter, are neither capricious nor void of significance.

In 1 Macc. v 24, 28 we are told that 'Judas Maccabaeus and his brother Jonathan passed over Jordan, and went three days' journey in the wilderness. . . . And Judas and his army turned suddenly by the way of the wilderness unto Bosora' (Bozrah). Therefore, instead of going forth 'from Seir' and marching 'from the field of Edom', Jahwah goes

forth 'before His people' and marches at their head 'through the wilderness', leading them on to victory as in the days of old. (בישימון) is in LXX τῆν ἐρημον; cf. 1 Macc. 1. c. ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ . . . εἰς τῆν ἐρημον.)

As it stands in M.T., the second distich is completely unmetrical. I have omitted the first מפני אלהים and the obvious gloss זה סיני (= 'This refers to the Theophany at Mount Sinai'), already inserted in the text of Judges v, but probably not adopted by the Psalmist, who has altered the references to Seir and Edom. Some scribe, who remembered it in the ancient ode, has added it here. (It is possible that the couplet:—

אף עבים נטפו מים
הרים נולו מפני אלהים

has fallen out of M.T.; but שמים נטפּו is perhaps a sufficient link with what follows).

*Abundant rain Thou sendest down, O God!
And for the pastures of Thine Heritage Thou didst prepare it!
The hapless hath settled therein;
Thou providest in Thy goodness for the oppressed, O God!*

The first couplet, at any rate, is a natural continuation of the statement that 'the Heavens dropped,—(the Clouds also dropped water)'; the general sense being that the God of the storm is also the God of the fertilizing rain (Amos iv 7), so necessary to the parched hill-country of Judea. But we may also recognize something more in the verse, and indeed an apparent note of time; for according to 2 Macc. xii 31, Judas returned from the expedition to Gilead ('Bashan') just before the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost. He may therefore probably have started during the prevalence of the latter or spring rains in the previous April; which would at least explain why the poet makes so much of the rain.

In the first line תניף may mean *shake(d)st out, sift(d)st, or sprinkle(d)st*; but the more usual תריר (Ezek. xxxiv 26; Joel ii 23) seems preferable with נשם, which implies rather a steady downpour, as in the rainy season. In line 2 read: ולנאת נחלתך כוננתה; cf. המכין לארץ מטר, Ps. cxlvii 8. We might also suggest הרננתה for the verb, which would give the sense *And the pastures of Thy domain Thou madest shout for joy!* (cf. Ps. lxxv 9, 14). In the second distich we have substituted חלכה, *wretched*, for חיתך (corrupted from חילך): see Ps. x 8, where, as here, עני follows as the parallel expression. The settlers so described may very well be the great body of refugees whom Judas Maccabaeus led back from 'Bashan' to Judea. (If חיה is ever equivalent to Ar. حَيَّة, *tribe*, 'such a kindred group [of clans] as was guided in war and on the march by one chief, migrating together, and forming generally a single settlement' [W. R.

Smith quoted by Kirkpatrick], it would not be unsuitable here. Cf. 2 Sam. xxiii 13 and Ps. lxxiv 19.)

Stanza iv. However obscure in other respects the poet's language may appear to be, it is at least evident that he is here describing a signal victory much nearer to his own day than the times of Joshua or the Judges.

*The Lord giveth the word (i. e. tidings or message);
The women who publish it are a great army:—
'Kings of armies are flying, flying;
And the Lady of the House shall divide the spoil!'*

Instead of אָמַר, *word, tidings* (= דָּבַר in prose)—which would seem to suggest the well-known classical idea that Rumour is of Divine origin—I am inclined to read either אָשַׁר, *luck, success* (Gen. xxx 13), since W may be confused with אָ; or גְּבוּרָה, *strength, victory*. (The final ה may have fallen out before הַמְבַשְׂרִית.) Or, instead of יִתֵּן אָמַר, we might restore יִתְנַבֵּר, *playeth the warrior or sheweth Himself mighty*: cf. Isa. xlii 13; Exod. xv 3. We should then have for the first distich:—

*The Lord giveth victory (or is victorious);
The women who tell the good news are a great army.*

The 'women who tell the glad news' (cf. Isa. xl 9) may be a touch partly reminiscent of Judges iv 22, where a woman announces the death of Sisera to Barak (instead of one woman, on the present occasion there is a 'great army'); partly, perhaps, of Miriam and the women singing and dancing at the Red Sea (Exod. xv 20). But the poet may really mean the women of Galilee, rescued by the prowess of Simon, and those of 'Bashan' who had been saved by Judas; the latter forming part of 'an exceeding great army' (1 Macc. v 23, 45). The peculiar phrase 'kings of armies' is probably no more than a grandiose expression for commanders, mighty captains of war. Cf. 1 Macc. ii 48; iii 7. Apparently, Judges v 19 suggested the phrase to the psalmist; and the last line of the stanza seems to echo Judges v 30, where the mother of Sisera speaks of her share in the spoil taken by her son. I have pointed נִוֹת = נְאוֹת, *the Beauty* (cf. Jer. vi 2). Otherwise, we might restore בַּעֲלָה; see 1 Kings xvii 17 ('the mistress of the house'). The Book of Maccabees often refers to the spoil taken by Judas (see 1 Macc. vi 6, and the passages cited below).

The poet (or some one else) now asks a rhetorical question of the victorious warriors of Israel; a question which is partly reminiscent of Deborah's sarcastic interrogation of the slothful Reubenites (Judges v 16), partly of the disparaging description of Issachar in the Blessing of Jacob

(Gen. xlix 15). Keeping M.T., except in the closing line, we might translate:—

*Did ye 'lie idle between the twi-folds',
(O ye Wings of the Dove that is decked with silver,
And her pinions with the yellow sheen of gold!)
While Shaddai was scattering the kings,
Like the snow on Salmon? (Or, While He snowed on Salmon?)*

In line 5 we have read *בְּהַשְׁלֵן בְּצִלְמֶן*, or *בְּהַשְׁלֵן בְּצִלְמֶן*; but with no great confidence in either emendation of a certainly corrupted text. If the above interpretation be right, the 'Dove' will have to be Judah (Ps. lxxiv 19; cf. Hos. vii 11), and her 'wings' will be her swiftly moving military forces (cf. Isa. viii 8). The decking with silver and gold may allude to the rich spoils taken from the enemy (cf. 1 Macc. iv 23, 57; v 28, 35, &c.). The uncertainty which attaches to the meaning of *בֵּין הַמְּשַׁפְּתִים* in Judges v 16 and Gen. xlix 15 naturally affects the interpretation of the similar (probably identical) phrase in the psalm. Then, again, there is nothing in the Hebrew to connect the first stichus with the distich (obviously a simile) which follows it. Whatever the precise meaning of *הַמְּשַׁפְּתִים*; whether it be the ash-heaps or fire-places of the villages or tribal encampments, or *the sheepfolds* (a more poetical idea, as we may think); it is clear from the context of all three passages that to *sit* or *couch* or *lie between* the objects so designated was a proverb of indolent inactivity.

If we fill up the apparent lacuna with some such line as *כִּי כָל לְבוּשְׁכֶם יִלְבֵּן* (cf. Isa. i 18), and read *כַּנְנָפִי* in the third line, we seem to get a reasonable sense:—

*Did ye lie idle between the ash-mounds (or sheepfolds),
[That all your apparel grew white,]
Like the wings of a dove decked with silver,
And (like) her pinions of gold-green shimmer?*

In the next couplet the warriors reply to the poet (or to the women?), or he replies to himself (cf. Judges v 28 f; Isa. lxiii 1 ff):—

*'While Shaddai was scattering kings,
We (They?) were snowed upon in Salmon.'*

This is reading *גִּישְׁלֵנוּ* or *יִשְׁתְּלֵנוּ* (= LXX *χιονοθήσονται*) for *בַּהֲתִשְׁלֵנוּ* in the last line. We may suppose the question addressed to a procession of warriors arrayed in festal white (cf. Eccles. ix 8). They give a jesting answer to a merry demand.

Wetzstein has identified 'Salmon' as the *Jebel Haurân*, which Ptolemy calls *Ἀσαλμανός* (v 15). This volcanic range, about ten miles east of 'Bosora', and thirty-five east of 'Carnaim' (1 Macc. v 26),

bounded the field of Judas's campaign on the east, as the summits of Hermon bounded it on the north (*see* Deut. iii 8-10).

Stanza v. The mention of Salmon reminds the psalmist of the majestic Hermon, the grandest of the mountains of Bashan and, indeed, of Palestine.

*A mountain of God is the mountain of Bashan ;
A mountain of domes is the mountain of Bashan !*

The 'domes' or rounded tops (Heb. גבננים) are, according to Wetzstein (quoted by Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.*), 'a picturesque description of the crater-formation of this highly volcanic region'. But Hermon, with its three rounded summits, seems to be intended here. 'At sunrise the shadow of the great dome is projected far west to the Mediterranean, and at sunset . . . it stretches over the eastern desert, and stands up against the haze. The appearance of the Jaulân craters, as seen from this point some 7,000 feet above them, is very remarkable ; and the plains of Bashan are visible throughout, with the northern part of Gilead' (Conder in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.* ed. 2, s. v. Hermon).

*Why look ye askance, ye domed mountains ?
This is the mountain that God yearned to inhabit,—
Yea, Jahwah will here abide for ever !*

In line 2, read *זה הר (יה) st. constr.* before the Relative Clause). Otherwise *ההר* must be taken as direct object of the verb *רעד*: *Why look ye askance . . . At the mountain, &c.* (cf. *Ecclus. xiv 22 Heb.*). But this is against the rhythm. The general sense is clear. The mountains of Bashan, though built on a far grander scale than Sion, are envious at the sight of the Mountain of the House, which Jahwah chose for His Abode, and where the Festival of Thanksgiving is being celebrated. Not Hermon only, but, as Kirkpatrick observes, 'the rugged basaltic mountains which rise in precipitous peaks', are included in the poet's outlook.

Stanza vi. The text of M.T. is evidently corrupt. The psalm opens with an adaptation of Num. x 35. Now the next verse there contains the words *רבבות אלפי ישראל*, which resemble our *רבתיים אלפי שנתאן* sufficiently to suggest *ישראל* for the meaningless *שנתאן* of our text. Further, the precise number 'twenty thousand' (cf. 1 Macc. vi 30) seems an unlikely one for the Chariots of God, and a connecting word is needed in the middle of the line. I therefore propose *רבתיים עם* for *רבתיים*. This gives us for the first line:—

The chariots of God are myriads with the 'Thousands' of Israel.

Judas restored the old military organization of the people in 'Thousands', &c.: *see* 1 Macc. iii 55.

The second line may be restored thus :—

ארני בא (בתוכם) מסיני בקדש

The Lord is come (in the midst of them) from Sinai into the Sanctuary.

Verse 25 (Stanza ix 1 b) corroborates this correction.

The stanza continues :—

*Thou art gone up to the height, hast led the captives captive,
Hast received tributes in men ;
Yea, the Renegades also must dwell with God !*

The poet imagines Jahwah as coming from Sinai with His countless chariots and horses of fire (2 Kings vi 16, 17), to take part in the triumphal procession of Judas and his warriors up the sacred height of Sion (cf. Ps. xlvii 5 ; Jer. xxxi 12). There He receives His share of the prisoners, to serve as Nethinim or Hieroduli in the Sanctuary ; among them, it would seem, some of the apostate Jews (see on Stanza ii), who had surrendered to the arms of Judas.

Stanza ii proves that the poet also believed that God had headed the expedition against the heathen, and that the heavenly hosts had made the little army of Judas victorious (1 Macc. iii 16-22 ; iv 8, 10, 30 ff) over the horse and foot and chariots (2 Macc. xiii 2) of the Syrians. Jahwah and His chariots had, in fact, been the real conquerors, and therefore figure as such in the triumph.

For the progress of Jahwah from Sinai, cf. Deut. xxxiii 2 ; Hab. iii 3, 8 ; Judges v 4. The phrase 'Thou art gone up to the height' (sc. of Sion) may be compared with *καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Σιών* (= ויעלו אל (הר ציון) in the prose-account of the matter (1 Macc. v 54). The line לקחת מתנות באדם may mean either (1) *Thou hast received gifts* (consisting) *in human beings*, as explained above ; or (2) *Thou hast received gifts for* (= in exchange for ; *beth pretii*) *persons* ; i.e. Thou hast accepted ransom for Thy captives, as a conqueror might do. The former seems to suit the context better. The same word מתנה is used, Num. xviii 6, of the 'gift' of the Levites in a similar sense. In the last line of the Stanza I have merely substituted עם, *with*, for יה. Cf. Ps. cxx 5, 6. The 'rebellious' or 'renegades' are apostate Jews, as in Stanza ii. They have been living among their friends the heathen, but have now (however unwillingly) to 'dwell with God', as bondservants of the Temple. The Syriac turns לשכן into ישכנו לא, with its rendering *And also the rebels shall not dwell before God* ; probably a mere guess, due to missing the idiom.

Stanza vii. The Hebrew is rugged, but presents no serious difficulty. The whole verse applies very well to the unexpected victories and hair-breadth escapes of the Maccabean heroes

*Blessed be the Lord, who day by day carrieth us !
The (one) God is our Salvation !*

For the meaning of *יעמס*, see Isa. xlvi 3 ; lxiii 9 ; Deut. xxxiii 27. The ל marking the object of the verb (as in Aramaic) is not surprising in a late poem.

*The (one) God to us (hath been) a God of saving deeds ;
And to Jahwah, the Lord, (belong) escapes from Death !*

Omit ל before *מושעות*, as dittogr. from אל (which, however, many MSS omit). In the next line perhaps we should read ויהיה and לַמַּת to the perishing (Gen. xx 3 ; xxx 1), as a parallel to לנו.

But God doth break the head of His foes,—

The crown of the wicked one walking in his trespasses.

Cf. the death of Apollonius, 1 Macc. iii 10-12 ; and that of Nicanor, 1 Macc. vii 47. רישע, 'the Wicked', seems necessary as a parallel to איבין, and as a noun of reference for מתהלך. M.T. means 'the hairy crown walking' ; but the reference to hair is superfluous, and the head or crown would hardly be spoken of as walking.

Stanza viii. We have already commented on the historical bearing of this important stanza. We have now to note one or two corrections of the text.

The Lord said, 'From Bashan will I bring back,—

I will bring back from Salmon My people !'

That thou mightest bathe thy foot in the blood of thy foes,

And the tongue of thy dogs might be reddened therefrom.

In line 2, M.T. has *ממעלות ים*, 'from the depths of the sea' (Mic. vii 19), because some scribe was thinking of the Deliverance from the Red Sea at the Exodus. ים must be a disguise or relic of עם (עמי) ; the natural and necessary complement of the transitive verb *אשיב*. The line might be :—

I will bring back out of deep distresses a people.

For *מצולה* in this figurative sense, see Ps. lxix 3 ; lxxxviii 7. But we want another name as parallel to Bashan ; and *מצלמן* (from 'Salmon', Stanza iv) consists of almost the same letters as *ממעלות*. In the next line, Olshausen's תרחץ for תמהץ is certain ; and for מאיבין we must read תאזרם. Probably איבין originally closed the previous line. מנהו should be pointed *מְנֵהוּ* (Job iv 12).

Stanza ix. An interesting glimpse of the festal procession of singers, musicians, and tribal chiefs, at the Thanksgiving Service.

Stately is Thy march, O God !—

The march of my God, my King, into the Sanctuary !

The singers go first, behind are the harpers,

In the middle are the maidens playing timbrels.

Line 1. Or, *Fair are Thy Processions*. For ראו read נאו (Isa. lii 7). Kittel proposes נראו = LXX ἐθεωρήθησαν. LXX at least felt the difficulty. Its rendering of the next couplet is: *First went princes* (שרים) *following close upon harpers, Amid tambourine girls*; as if the dancing-girls were on each flank of the Procession, instead of in the middle of it. This last feature may be right (= M.T. בתוך), although we have pointed בתוך above (so Kittel).

('In the congregations bless ye God,—
The Lord in the assemblies of Israel!')

Perhaps intended for the cry of the singers; but the connexion becomes easier if we point בְּרַבִּי, *they bless* (Kittel). In the second line, במקראי is a very attractive correction of the meaningless ממקור. But the word (Isa. i 13; iv 5) is not found elsewhere in poetry. One may suggest 'מקוה יש', *the Hope of Israel* (Jer. xiv 8); or, if a parallel to במקולות (cf. Ps. xxvi 12) be desired, במקושי [ישראל], *in the holy places of El* (Ps. lxxiii 17; ver. 36) or *of Israel*.

*There little Benjamin leadeth them on,
With the princes of Judah at his heel;—
The princes of Zebulun, the princes of Naphtali!*

The verse names those who took part in the festal gatherings, or the lay-folk in the processions. Zebulun and Naphtali may denote the Jews from Galilee and the north (1 Macc. v 14, 23). The mode of expression depends, of course, upon Judges v 14-18.

For the unsuitable לָרַם, which LXX connects with ררם by its curious rendering ἐν ἐκστάσει (cf. Gen. ii 21), an easy exchange is לָרַם, *led them on* in the procession (cf. Ps. xlii 7). The second line may have been: ושׂרי יהודה ברנליו, *With the emirs of Judah behind him* (cf. Judges iv 10; v 14, 15; viii 5; 2 Sam. xv 17).

Stanza x. A prayer for the continuance of Divine Help, in the spirit of Isa. xix 25; xlv 14; Ps. lxxii 10, 11.

*Appoint, O God, Thy Might
As the Help that Thou hast made for us!*

Omit מֵאלהים from line 2, as a marginal correction belonging to the former line, where M.T. has צָוָה מֵאלהיך, *Thy God hath appointed*, which is corrected as above by the Versions and many Hebrew MSS. For עו and עֲוֹנָה as parallels, see Ps. xlv 2. For the sense, cf. Ps. xlv 5: *Appoint Thou the victories of Jacob!* Cf. also the watchword of Judas 'The God of Help' (Θεοῦ βοηθίας = אֱלֹהֵי עֲוֹר; like אבן עזר, 1 Sam. vii 12), 2 Macc. viii 23.

*Unto Thy Temple at Jerusalem
To Thee let kings bring the gift!*

Read לְהִיבָלֶךָ (Isa. xviii 7; Hos. x 6); or perhaps בָּה, since ב is more

liable to confusion with ז . For the matter of the distich, cf. 1 Macc. x 39; 2 Macc. xiii 23 (*offered sacrifice, honoured the sanctuary*); Ps. cii 15 f; 21 f. (The pointing הַיִּבְלֵךְ may be meant for an honorific *plur.*; cf. Ps. xlv 9.)

We come now to what is perhaps the most obviously corrupt verse in the psalm. Something of this kind may have been the gist of it in the original form:—

*Rebuke Thou the Wild-beast of the Reeds, the herd of Bulls!
Consume the tribes from Pathros, greedy for pelf!
Scatter the nations that delight in battles!*

In line 2, instead of בְּעֻלְעֵמִים (*in calves of peoples*), I have supposed an original בְּעֻרְלֵאֲמִים , *Consume the tribes!* An imperative was wanted to introduce the parallel stichus; and עֵמִים recurs in the third line, where it is clearly right. I have adopted Nestle's מִפַּתְרִים , *from Pathros* or Upper Egypt, in place of the certainly wrong מִתְרַפֵּס , and רִצִּיב for רִצִּי , after Cheyne (see Ps. cxlvii 10, where also חֲפִץ is ||, as here). It is possible that 'from Pathros' (Isa. xi 11; Jer. xlv 15; Ezek. xxx 14) is a more or less correct gloss which has crept into the text. Doubtless LXX, Syr., Vulg. are right in pointing בֹּר (or rather פֹּר ; cf. Ps. liii 6) as an imperative in the third stichus also.

As regards the exegesis of the verse, the 'Beast of the Reeds' must be some wild animal which haunts the jungle on the border of lakes and rivers, such as the crocodile or the hippopotamus (Job xl 21). The Nile, we are told, was anciently infested by malicious hippopotamuses and crocodiles, both now extinct (*Enc. Bibl.*). Egypt, therefore, will be intended by the symbolic animals of line 1. For the 'Bulls' (which the Apis-bulls make specially appropriate here), cf. Ps. xxii 13.

The strife between the rival powers of Syria and Egypt for the possession of Palestine was sufficiently calamitous for the Jewish community, to justify the prayer of the verse. But in view of the fact that the preceding verse links on to that which follows without any apparent break in the sense, it seems probable that this prayer did not belong to the original ode. A later editor may have added it as an allusion to contemporary troubles. We know how the hymns of our own time have been tinkered by successive collectors and would-be improvers.

Of the final couplet of the stanza I make the following:—

*Let them bring an offering from Egypt!
Let Cush direct his hands unto God!*

If we retain M.T. חֲשֵׁמֵינִים , the meaning will have to be something like 'ambassadors' or 'envoys' (so LXX, Syr., Vulg.; cf. the Rabbinic 'nobles', Kimchi's 'great men and princes', and Isa. xxx 4). Aquila's ἰσπευσμένως (= Jerome's *velociter*) points the first two letters $\text{חֵש} = \text{חֵש}$,

'quickly'; see Ps. xc 10. This seems to be a guess depending, perhaps, on the supposed connexion of *הריץ* (line 2) with *רוץ* 'to run'.

Apart from the fact that *השמינים* occurs nowhere else, the collocation of letters *חשמינימנימצרים* has a suspicious look, with its repeated *מנימ*; and as *Mem* and *Shin*, *He* and *Yod*, might be confused in the old writing, it seems possible that *חשמונה* is a transformation of *מנחה*. Read, therefore, *יִאֲחִיזוּ מִנְחָה*, *Let men bring an offering . . .* (pointing the verb as Hiphil, with Aquila and Jerome).

The verb of the second line, *תריץ*, gives no likely sense; not to dwell on the difficulty of the genders of the stichus. Have we not here an Aramaism (*יהרץ*)? At all events, in Assyrian *qât-su ana ili tarâçu* means 'to stretch forth (or *direct*) his hand to the god'. Cf. Luke i 79 Pesh. Otherwise, we must read *יִפְרֹשׂ* (Ps. cxliii 6; with *ירי*, instead of the usual *כפי*).

Stanzas xi-xii. This closing Doxology is generally clear in expression, though not entirely free from textual defects. Thus the second member of the first distich seems too short metrically. Supply *ברכו שמו* or something similar. This bears some resemblance to *לרכב בשמי*, which immediately follows; and the fact may account for its omission. *לאדני* (2 MSS) would be a better parallel to *לאלהים* in the first line. In the next couplet read *הללו רכב*, and omit *בשמי* after *שמי* (*vid. supr.*). *שמי* (cf. *הררי קדם*, Deut. xxxiii 15) should perhaps be *שמי קדש* (cf. Ps. xx 7), since *W* and *מ* may be confused. These changes give us the quatrain:—

*O ye kingdoms of the earth, sing ye to God!
Hymn ye to the Lord, bless ye His Name!
Acclaim ye Him who rideth on the holy Heavens!
Lo, He uttereth His Voice, a Voice of Might!*

Stanza xii. Two triplets follow. In the first we should probably read *השמים* (Deut. xxxiii 26; Kittel) instead of *ישראל*, which may be due to a scribe's eye having wandered to the fourth line below. In the second, read *במקדשיו* (cf. Jerome's *in sanctuario suo*), which may be an honorific plur., or may include the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries; and *לעמו ירבה* (cf. Isa. xl 29, where we have also the || *לתו*). The last word, which is metrically necessary, may have fallen out before the somewhat similar *ברוך*.

*Ascribe ye Might unto God!
Upon the Heavens is His Majesty,
And His Might is in the Clouds!
Terrible is God in His Sanctuaries!
The God of Israel, He giveth Might,
And increaseth Strength unto His people!
[Blessed be God!]*

We append a connected version of the entire Psalm.

A PAEAN OR FESTAL 'SONG OF THANKSGIVING' (I MACC. IV 24)
FOR THE VICTORIES OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS IN GILEAD (BASHAN).

Καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Σιών ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ χαρᾷ
(= ויעלו אל הר ציון בששון ובשמחה), I Macc. v 54.

(*Precentor's Book, Part 'David'. Hymn for Accompaniment.*)

i

First If God but arise, His foes disband,
Prelude.— And His enemies flee before Him.
God's Like the driving of smoke before wind,—
Presence Like the melting of wax before fire,—
Death to The Wicked perish before God.
His foes, But the Righteous rejoice before God,—
Joy to His They exult and are glad with rejoicings.
friends.

ii

Praise Sing ye to God, hymn ye His Name!
Him for Acclaim Him who rideth through the deserts!
bringing Praise His Name and exult before Him!
home the The Father of Orphans and the Judge of Widows
'exiles' of Is God in His holy Habitation.
Bashan! God bringeth the exiles home again;
He letteth the prisoners out of the dungeons;
Only the Renegades abide in the holds.

iii

Jahwah O God, when Thou wentest forth before Thy people,—
leads His When Thou marchedst through the wilderness,—
people to Earth trembled, yea Heaven dropped,—
the rescue Yea the clouds dropped water;
of their The mountains flowed down before God,—
brethren in Before God, the God of Israel.
the season Free rain Thou sendest down, O God!
of the And for the pastures of Thine heritage Thou didst prepare.
Latter The hapless hath settled therein;
Rains Thou providest in Thy goodness for the oppressed, O God!
(2 Macc. xii 31).

iv

The women The Lord giveth victory;
spread the The women who tell the glad news are a great army.
news of 'Kings of armies are flying, flying,
the Lord's And the fair dame of the house may divide the spoil!
victory. 'Did ye lie idle between the sheepfolds,

Bantering the happy warriors at the festival. That all your apparel did whiten
Like the wings of a dove decked with silver,
And (like) her pinions of gold-green shimmer?
'While Shaddai was scattering kings,
We were snowed upon in Salmon.'

v

The Alps of Bashan envious of little Sion. A mountain of God is the mountain of Bashan,—
A mountain of domes is the mountain of Bashan!
Why look ye askance, ye domed mountains?
This is the mountain that God yearned to inhabit,—
Yea, Jahwah will here abide for ever!

vi

Jahwah's triumphal ascent of Sion, with His heavenly and earthly hosts. The chariots of God are myriads with the 'Thousands' of Israel;
The Lord is come in their midst from Sinai into the Sanctuary!
Thou art gone up to the height, hast led the captives captive,
Hast received tributes in men,—
Yea, the Renegades also must dwell with God!

vii

Second Prelude.— Bless Jahwah who saves us from death, and crushes His heathen foes! Blessed be the Lord, who day by day carrieth us!
The (one) God is our Salvation;
The (one) God to us (hath been) a God of saving deeds;
And Jahwah, the Lord, is escape to the perishing!
But God doth break the head of His foes,—
The crown of the wicked one walking in his trespasses.

viii

The Exodus from Bashan Jahwah's work. The Lord said, 'From Bashan will I bring back,—
I will bring back from Salmon My people!'
(That thou mightest bathe thy foot in the blood of thy foes,
And the tongue of thy dogs might be reddened therefrom.)

ix

Order of the festal Procession to the Temple. Stately is Thy Progress, O God,—
The Progress of my God, my King, into the Sanctuary!
The singers go first, behind are the harpers,
In the middle are the maidens playing timbrels.
(1) *The choir and musicians;* In the Congregations they bless God,—
The Lord, the Hope of Israel.
(2) *The lay (warriors?) of Judea and Galilee.* There little Benjamin leadeth them on,
With the chiefs of Judah at his heel,—
The chiefs of Zebulun, the chiefs of Naphtali!

x

*A Prayer
that the
heathen
may do
homage to
Israel's
God.* Appoint, O God, Thy Might
As the Help Thou hast made for us!
Unto Thy Temple at Jerusalem
To Thee let Kings bring the gift;
(Rebuke the Beast of the Reeds, the herd of Bulls!
Consume the tribes from Pathros, greedy for pelf!
Scatter the nations that delight in battles!)
Let them bring an offering from Egypt!
Let Cush direct his hands unto God!

xi

*Doxology.
'Let all
the Earth
bless the
Lord!'* O ye Kingdoms of the Earth, sing ye to God!
Hymn ye to the Lord, bless ye His Name!
Acclaim ye Him who rideth on the holy Heavens!
Lo, He uttereth His Voice, a Voice of Might!

xii

*The Lord
of Victory
in His
Sanctu-
aries.* Ascribe ye Might unto God!
Upon the Heavens is His Majesty,
And His Might is in the Clouds!
Terrible is God in His Sanctuaries!
The God of Israel, He giveth Might,
And increaseth Strength unto His people.
(Blessed be God!)

A structural peculiarity of the poem appears to be well worthy of notice. It is that the themes of the successive stanzas of the first half of it meet us again in the corresponding stanzas of the second half. Thus, Stanza i = Stanza vii, both treating of the difference God makes between the heathen and Israel; Stanza ii = Stanza viii, both regarding God as the Restorer of Exiles; Stanza iii = Stanza ix, the one describing God's march to battle, the other His march of triumph to Sion; Stanza iv = Stanza x, both relating to the spoils or tributes of 'kings', consequent on the Lord's victory. The similarity or equivalence of Stanzas v and xi is not so clear; and I have felt some uncertainty as to the real point of division between Stanzas xi and xii. Still, it may be said that, as in Stanza v the loftiest mountains (symbolizing the heathen world-powers? cf. Isa. xli 15) recognize the unique greatness of little Sion, so Stanza xi calls upon all the 'kingdoms of the earth' (i. e. the world-powers) to do homage to the Lord of Sion; while Stanzas vi and xii resemble each other, in that both alike contemplate the Divine Conqueror, the omnipotent God, in His Sanctuaries. This peculiar structure of part against part tends generally to confirm our division of the stanzas, of which the number appropriately corresponds to that of the tribes of Israel.

C. J. BALL.