THE POETRY OF THE GREEK BOOK OF PROVERBS.

The late Dr Blass stigmatized as a waste of time the search for verses and fragments of verse in the New Testament. He admitted, however, that in this respect one book stood apart from the rest—the Epistle to the Hebrews. There not only did he note (in xii 13 ff) a faultless hexameter, followed almost immediately by two faultless trimeters, but (a far more essential matter) he discovered running through the Epistle 'a carefully executed mutual assimilation of the beginnings and endings of sentences and clauses'. The general tendency is for the στρίχος to run in couplets, the concluding (and sometimes the opening) syllables of the second line having the same scansion as the corresponding syllables in the previous line. In the attention paid to the balance of final syllables the system is a sort of approach to rhyme.

In the Greek Old Testament two books must be exempted from the general stricture above mentioned. I have previously pointed out in this Journal that the couplet system is illustrated, perhaps even more strikingly than in Hebrews, in the Book of Wisdom. In the Greek version of the book of Proverbs that rhythmical device is not, so far as my observations have gone, represented to any appreciable extent. On the other hand, the number of complete or fragmentary hexameters and iambic lines in that book is far too numerous to be the result of accident. My attention was first

1 Gramm. of N. T. Greek p. 297.  
2 vi 232.
drawn to this many years ago by my friend the late Dr Redpath. He
did not, however, I believe, place his observations on record, nor, to my
knowledge, has the subject been handled by others. It may, therefore,
be worth while setting out the evidence in extenso. The matter clearly
has a rather important bearing on the reconstruction of the text of the
'LXX', which in this book has suffered a good deal of contamination.¹

One instance will suffice to illustrate the sort of critical problem which
arises. The 'faultless hexameter' which Blass found in Hebrews (xii 13)
is a quotation from Proverbs (iv 26):

\[ \text{kai } \tau \rho \chi \nu \acute{a}s \ \theta \rho \beta \acute{a}s \ \pi \omega \sigma \varsigma \acute{a}t \varepsilon \ \tau \circ \iota \varsigma \ \pi \sigma \circ \iota \ \upsilon \acute{m} \omega \nu \].

But in the MSS of Proverbs² the line is different, and, unless it can be
classed as anapaestic, unmetrical:

\[ \theta \rho \beta \acute{a}s \ \tau \rho \chi \nu \acute{a}s \ \pi \omega \sigma \varsigma \ \sigma \o \omicron \varsigma \ \pi \sigma \circ \iota \].

Which of the two texts is the older?

It is not surprising that this particular book of the Greek Bible should
be the one conspicuous instance of an attempt at metrical arrangement.
Verse was the natural vehicle for proverbs. The metrical form helped
to impress these household sayings on the memory. The grammarian
Hephaestion, who wrote a manual on Greek metres, tells us ⁴ that the
metres employed for proverbs were the hexameter, the iambic, and the
\textit{versus paroemiacus}. A glance at the oldest collection which has come
down to us (that of Zenobius, who lived under Hadrian⁵) will verify the
statement. These metres are all largely represented in the Greek book
of Proverbs. That Hellenistic Jews produced paraphrases of Scripture in
Greek verse is well known. We have an instance of a hexameter collection
of \textit{γνωμαι} extending to upwards of 200 lines, largely based on O. T.
language, written in the Ptolemaic age by a Jew who sought to pass off
his work as that of a much older composer of apophthegms, Phocylides
of Miletus.⁶ We have a specimen shewing how a Jewish writer of the
same period handled a Biblical subject in iambics in the considerable
fragments preserved in Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius of the
tragedy entitled 'the Exodus' (\'Εξαγωγή), written by the Alexandrian
Ezekiel.⁷

¹ See Lagarde's \textit{Anmerkungen zur gr. Üb. der Proverbin} (Leipzig 1863) \textit{passim}.
² \textit{poiētē \textit{N}P 17, W.-H.}¹¹.
³ Holmes and Parsons cite Thdt. iii 627 for the N.T. form, but Theodoret is
merely quoting from Hebrews.
⁶ I have used the text of ps.-Phocylides contained in Bergk's \textit{Poetae Lyrici
⁷ Schürer \textit{ib.} 225, Swete \textit{Introduct. to O. T. in Greek} 369 ff.
The majority of the fragments of verse collected below require no alteration or transposition of words to give them a poetical form. But it may be regarded as certain that in the course of transmission of the text scribes have obliterated the rhythm in other passages which now read like prose. The commonest error exhibited by the copyist of Greek poetry consists in 'arranging [the words] according to the order which they would have in prose; according to their grammatical construction',¹ in bringing together article and substantive, adjective and substantive, giving particles an early position in the sentence, and so on. If this happened in transcribing what was known to be poetry, still more liable to similar corruption would be the text of a work mainly in prose with an underlying poetical element which has hitherto generally eluded detection. Transposition of the MS order is therefore, under certain conditions, quite a legitimate procedure in the reconstruction of the original text. Lagarde, who as a rule does not seem to have noticed the versification in Proverbs, remarks on ix 11 πολίν ζήτεις χρόνον: 'den sicher beabsichtigten jambischen tonfall vernichtet ιο3 πολλονς χρόνονς ζήτεις.'² Apart from transposition, I have not often indulged in the precarious task of conjectural emendation, which, I believe, is rarely called for. In what follows ( ) denote a conjectural addition or correction, ( ) unmetrical words standing in a metrical context, that words have been transposed. Figures below the words indicate the order in which they stand in the MSS.

HEXAMETERS

Complete or nearly complete hexameters.

The complete hexameters are few and rugged, though not rougher than many in pseudo-Phocylides or the old Greek proverb-writers. A high standard of versification would indeed be surprising. Greater regard seems to be paid to accent than to quantity. In particular, ο and η may be treated as short vowels. These licences are not peculiar to the translator, but are shared by him with other writers of this species of verse.

(1) ii 15 δων αἱ τρίβοι σκολιαι καὶ καμπύλαι αἱ τροχαι αἴτων.

¹ I quote from the late Dr Walter Headlam’s learned and copiously illustrated article ‘On Transposition of Words in MSS’ in the Class. Review xvi 245 ff. ‘The order of the words,’ he writes, ‘is the very thing which [the Scholiasts] most often think requires elucidation; there is no form of note in scholia so common as τὸ ἵζεις ὁδῶς, “the consecution is as follows”.’

² On xvi 28 he writes: ‘dass λαμπτήρα δόλου πυρσοῦ κακοῖς nach einem tragiker klinge, fühlte Jäger.’ I have not had access to Jäger’s eighteenth-century work.
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(2) iii 13 (μακάριος ἄνδρωτος)
(δ') εἰρήν σοφιάν καὶ θυητός δ' εἶδεν φρόνησιν.

(3) xxv 25 ὦστερ ὑδωρ ψυχρόν ψυχῆς διῆγεται προσερνέες,
οὕτως ἀγγελιά τ' ἀγαθή κ' ἥδες μακρόθεν (ήκει).

Cold water to a thirsty soul.

So runs the original of the first line of this couplet, and the point to note is that it has no equivalent for ὦστερ and προσερνέες, which seem clearly to be inserted merely to round off the verse. For the short η in διῆγεται (which is actually written διψωσι in cod. 297) we may compare Ps.-Phoc. 197 . . . μηδ' ἐμπέσῃ ἄνδιχα νεῖκος,

and, for a = a in the same position, the proverb (= our 'At Rome do as Rome does') in

Zenob. i 24 ἀλλοτε δ' ἀλλοϊν τελέθειν καὶ χώρα ἐπέσται.

would be complete were τ' replaced by δ' τ'. The line has previously occurred (with οἴδας for γινώσκει) in iii 28, and finds a close parallel in Ps.-Phoc. 116 οἴδεις γινώσκα τ' μεταφέν τ' ἃ μεθ' ὄραν.

Then we find lines just falling short of completeness by a syllable or two at the beginning. Here is practically a complete hexameter preceded by the end of an iambic line:—

(5) ii 16 f viē, μή σε καταλάβῃ κακή βουλή, ἡ 'πολιτεία οὐ διδασκαλίαν νεὔτητος.
(6) vi 21 ἄφαψαι δ' αὐτός ἐπὶ σῇ ψυχῇ διὰ παντός.

The δ' is an insertion, metri gratia, as in the parallel passage

iii 3 ἄφαψαι δ' αὐτὸς ἐπὶ σῷ τραχήλῳ.

This last appears to be an example of what I call 'Heads and tails' (see below).

(7) xv 6 (πολλῇ,) οἶ δ' ἀσβεσὶς ἀλώριζοι ἐκ γῆς ἀπὸλονται.
(8) xix 4 . . . ἐννοί ἀγαθὴ τοὺς εἰδότων αἰτήν (ἐγγείλα).

Transposition, with in some cases a slight alteration, of words produces the following further instances.

I (9) vi 11 a ἡ δ' ένδεια δρομῆς κακὸς ὦστερ ἀπαντομολῆσει.

1 Or διήν MSS. 2 Or ἀγγελία (Ἀ'). 3 ἀπολιπόσωσα should be read with Ν &c., not, pace Lagarde, ἀπολείπουσα of B &c. The tendency of correctors was to alter the o forms of the second aor., which were becoming obsolete; cod. A constantly alters -έλειν to -έλειν, Gramm. of O. T. in Greek. p. 234.

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So the Armenian Version according to Holmes and Parsons: the Greek MSS end the line with νυκτερινός ἰχθύς ἦσται. For further verses in this dramatic episode see below.

Heads and tails: hexameters incomplete in the middle.

In these instances the στίχος, designedly as it seems, begins and ends like a hexameter. The middle of the hexameter is unrepresented. Sometimes the hexametrical extremities are united, and there are no intervening words. Thus:—

(16) iv 17 οὐδὲ γὰρ συνόνται σὺν ἀσβεσίας.
(17) xxv 3 οὐρανὸς ὕψιλος, γῆ δὲ βαθεία.

In the former of these instances the pronoun has no equivalent in the Hebrew, being apparently inserted, just as it is in (18) below, metri gratia. The latter instance finds an echo in Job xi 8, where the Λ text appends to ὕψιλος ὦ [om. ὦ Ν] οὐρανὸς the words γῆ δὲ βαθεία (sic). These metrical tags were easily remembered, and have a way of repeating themselves.

At other times the hexametrical extremities are separated by unmetrical words intervening. Thus:—

(18) i 5 τώνως γὰρ ἄκουσας σοφὸς σοφότερος ἦσται.

The first two words, unrepresented in the Hebrew, recall (16) above; the last two similarly end a στίχος in ix 9, cf. σοφὸς ἦσται x 4a. The whole line was probably, in view of his laxity in the matter of long and short vowels, intended by the writer as a rough hexameter.

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1 μὴ χρονὶς ἐν τῷ τῶπῳ may be a gloss on ἀποσήφῃσον.
2 οὕμα ΒΝ is an obvious error (cf. xxiii 5).
3 So 109; ἱματήριος (cett.) may have come from xxiii 5.
4 No Heb. equivalent. The word is inserted metri gratia, as is e.g. ἄνθρωπος: ἐνεπάνω συνάγη (τοὺς) ἄνθρωποι λύπασ.
(19) xiii 12 κρείσσον \( \epsilonπαρχομένου \) (βοηθών καρδία τού \( \epsilonπαγγελλομένου \) καὶ) εἰς \( \epsilonλπίδι \) άγοντος.

(20) xxiii 20 \( \muη \) ἵθι οἰνοπότης, (μηδὲ ἕκτείνου συμβολαίς,) κρεῖν \( \alphaγορασμοῖς \).

Lagarde has shewn that συμβολαίς is a duplicate rendering of the words translated by οἰνοπότης; the line may therefore once have been a complete hexameter.

(21) xxix 1 κρείσσον \( \alphaνὴ \) (\( \epsilonλέγχου \) \( \alphaνδρός \) σκληροτραχήλου, \( \epsilonξαπίνης \) γάρ (\( \phiλεγομένου \) \( \alphaτοῦ \)) \( \οὸν \) ἵθιν \( \τάοις \).

(22) xxix 42 συνίνας (\( \epsilonποίησιν \) καὶ \( \απέδοσιν \), \( \περιζώματα \) τοὺς \( \Χάνα \) \( \ναιοίς \).

Hexameter endings: versus paroemiaci.

The instances of hexameter endings are very numerous. I will place in the forefront those consisting of the second half of a hexameter, the portion following the caesura. This half of the hexameter is metrically equivalent to the line which in anapaest metrical is known as the versus paroemiacus, the 'proverb verse'. The proverb verse seems, in fact, in its origin to have been an incomplete hexameter, and to have had no connexion with the anapaestic system. It is notorious that the paroemiac in Greek tragedy rarely, if ever, contains a proverbial saying. Greek proverbs, on the other hand, if metrical (as a large proportion of them are), are written in one or other of the two most familiar metres, hexameters and iambics; anapaests are unrepresented, unless the 'paroemiac' is to be regarded as such. We find proverbs consisting of complete hexameters or complete iambics; the more pithy of them are, however, compressed into a few words forming the beginning or the end of either of these lines. In the circumstances it is reasonable to regard the 'paroemiac', which is very common, as the latter half of a hexameter. The name was taken over as the designation of the concluding line in the anapaestic stanza, the scansion of which accidentally coincided with that of the semi-hexameter of the proverb-maker. This may be common knowledge, but I have failed to find any authoritative statement on the subject. In the Greek version of Proverbs there is a similar large use of hexameter endings and beginnings, but an almost complete absence of any approach to anapaestic rhythm. I have therefore classed the paroemias under hexameters. The translator in his fondness for this form of ending is certainly conscious that it had inherited a name which marked it as par excellence the most suitable

1 κρείσσων MSS, except 103 in (19). In (21) the word may be inserted metrigratia.

2 The i in lāσθαι may be short in late poetry (L. and S.). Cf. the conjunction of εξαπίνης (a form more suitable for hexameters than the usual LXX ίξάμπα or ιξαῖφησ) and δώλαρος in vi 15.
medium for a writer of maxims. The fact that one phrase has for him become stereotyped, recurring as a sort of refrain in four passages, puts out of the question the possibility of undesigned coincidence.

(23) x 3 ζωήν δ’ ἀσέβων ἀνατρέψει.
(28) x 28 ἑλπίς δ’ ἀσέβων ἀπολείται.
(29) xi 23 καρποὶ δ’ ἀσέβων ἀπολούνται.

In ii 22 ὅδοι δ’ ἀσέβων ἐκ γῆς ὀλούνται probably the text is at fault (read ἀπολούνται). Cf. Job viii 13 ἑλπίς γὰρ ἀσέβως ἀπολείται (ἀπελεῖται Α). Other examples of this ending are:

(24) i 26 = 27 ἔρχεται ἡμιν δ’ ἀλεθρος.
(25) iv 27 b αὐτὸς δ’ ὅρθος ποιήσει τὰς τροχιὰς σου.

The last instance, practically a complete line, recalls the hexameter form of iv 26 as cited by the auctor ad Hebraeos (xii 13). The Greek version of Proverbs has, besides τροχιά, an alternative word for 'cart-track' (ἐρυμ), namely ἄξων. This is not necessarily an indication of a plurality of translators. The choice of words made it possible to keep the hexameter rhythm when τροχιά was useless for the purpose:—

ii 18 παρὰ (τῷ) ἄδη 4 τοὺς ἄξωνας αὐτῆς.
(26) vi 10 (ἄλγον μὲν) ὑπνοῦς, ἄλγον δὲ καθησαί.5

The refrain is repeated with a slight variation in

xxiv 48 ἄλγον νυστάζω, ἄλγον δὲ καθινᾶ,

and is followed in both passages by an imperfect senarius.

(27) x 11 πηγή ζωῆς ἐν χειρὶ δικαίων.
(28) xi 20 προσδεκτοὶ δ’ αὐτῷ πάντες ἄμωμοι.

Πάντες is inserted metri gratia; we should follow codd. 109, 147, 157 in rejecting ἐν ταῖς ὅδοις αὐτῶν at the end of the line as a Hexaplaric gloss. The refrain recurs in

xxii 11 δεκτοὶ δ’ αὐτῷ πάντες ἄμωμοι· ἕκλεισι ποιμαίνει βασιλεύς.
(29) xxiv 14 ἑλπίς σ’ οὖκ ἐγκαταλείψει.
(30) xxiv 35 τὴν δ’ ἐξοδουν 6 οὖκ ἄπενυψεν.

1 Hephaestion (loc. cit.) objects to the name because it was not the exclusive metre for proverbs; his Scholiast defends it.
2 Insert δ’ with A 68, 103, 106, 109, &c.
3 For accent see Monro Homeric Grammar p. 86.
4 metὰ τῶν γηγενῶν is a doublet; Lagarde considers παρὰ τῷ ἄδη to be the older rendering.
5 μερὸν δ’ νυστάζειν is a doublet, omitted by V (= 23′), 109 and the Armenian VS.
6 αὐτοῦ is doubtless a later insertion.
To these instances we should probably add

The following are examples of semi-hexameters (3 feet), just falling short of the full *versus paroemiacus*.

Here the translator's apparent intention is to set out, as it were, in tabular form the 'three things which are too wonderful for me', by giving each of them a separate hexameter ending; there are 'yea four', but the fourth has defied his efforts. In the middle half-line concerning the ship 'in the heart of the sea' (ἵνα ἐν θαύματι) we have a Homeric reminiscence:

The foregoing instances amply suffice to establish that the hexameter endings at the close of the *οτίχοι* are the result of design. If all the examples falling short of three feet were added, the total would be brought well up to a hundred. At the risk of wearying the reader and for completeness I will add those which I have noted amounting to at least two feet. The following are between two and three feet:

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1 The added words *σοι ἀγαθά may be due to a scribe's unwillingness to leave the direct and indirect object unexpressed; ἀγαθά has no Heb. equivalent and is omitted in cod. V.

2 So cod. 149; ὀφελήσουσιν cett.

3 Also xiv 21 ἔλεον (δι, om. 295) πτωχόδες μακαριστός. Μακαριστός is written *metri causa* at the end of a *οτίχοι* (xvi 20, xxix 18), *ποιότερο* (the usual LXX word) in an earlier position.

4 The last word inserted *metri gratia*; cf. 1 11.
The following are two feet only:—

(64) iv 12 οὐ κατάσωσαι.

(65) iv 24 μακρὰν ἀποστασαῖ.

(66) vii 26 ὁδὸς πεφόνωσεν.

(67) viii 1 σοι ὑπακούσῃ.

(68) xiv 15 εἰς μετάνοιαν.

(69) xvi 12 οὕτω τοις θρόνοις ἀρχής.

Hexameter beginnings.

These are far less numerous than the endings. The στίχος opens with the first half of a hexameter in i 10 (omitting u16), ν 16, 20 μὴ πολὺς ἵστατο ἀλλιτριαν, vi 4, 25, xi 29b, xxiii 2c, xxviii 12b.

Consecutive hexameters.

The dramatic scene of the seduction of the young man by the harlot abounds in fragments of poetry. After what looks like a senarius in the earlier part of her address

there follow fragments of several consecutive hexameters:—

16 ἀμφιστάτους θ' ἐστρώκα τοῖς ἀπ᾽ Ἐγκυπτοῦ, 6

17 (καὶ ὅ)' ἐφραγκα 7 κρόκῳ τῶν δ' οἰκῶν μου κυναμώμων. 8

1 σοφὸς ἵστο of B, which Lagarde adopts, is an accommodation of the text to the M. T. For συμπροείρωμεν (2ν) we should read συμμεμβόλωμεν with 68, 109, 147, &c., cf. vii 12 ἡμέληται.

2 Perhaps a paroemiac: γνώσων (τ') ἄγ. Ἰπ.

3 A paroemiac, if with Ν we read διάκρινε.

4 The next line, without ἔκλειψιν (cf. cod. V), is a rough hexameter.

5 The last word inserted metri gratia: cf. i 11.

6 Ἐγκυπτόν MSS. One hesitates to fill the blank with κλίνῃ μου from the previous line.

7 διέφραγμα (ἐφραγμα Χρυσ.) τὴν κλίνῃ μου MSS.

8 κυναμώμων MSS. For the spelling see L. and S.
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18 ἐλθ', ἀπολαύσωμεν φιλίας ἐως ὄρθροσ ἴκηται, 

δεῦρο ἕκαστον ἐρωτι. 

19 ἄνηρ οὐδὲν πάρεστιν, ὅδε μακρὰν πεπόρευται. 

2 3 1

The result of her blandishments (21 f) is described in iambic rhythm (see ex. (23) below). For further examples of consecutive fragments of hexameters see (3) and (28) above.

IAMBICS

Complete or nearly complete iambic lines.

A fair number of complete lines are to be found in the received text as it stands. The number may be very largely increased by minor additions or alterations, or by transposition of words on the principle stated above.

(1) xii 26 ἀμαρτάνεται κακά.
(2) xiv 16 ὁ σοφὸς φοβηθεὶς ἐξέκλινεν ἀπὸ κακοῦ.
(3) xiv 24 στέφανος σοφῶν πανόρμητος, ἥ δὲ διατριβή . . .
(4) xvi 22 πηγὴ ἢ ὅψις ἐννοια τῶν κεκτημένων.
(5) xx 1 ἀκόλουθον ἄνομοι καὶ ὑβριστικῶν μέθη.
(6) xxii 24 μὴ ἵθι ἔταιρος ἀνδρὶ θυμῶδες, φιλῶ . . .
(7) xxvi 1 διότι ἐν ἀμάχῳ χῶστερ υἱὸν ἐν θέρει . . .
(8) xxii 26 ἀμαρτίας εὔγνωστος ἐν συνεδρίῳ.
(9) xxvii 13 ὁ βραβευθεὶς ὅσις τὰλλότρια λυμαίνεται.

For η treated as a short vowel compare hexameter (3) above and the secular proverbs quoted later in this paper. The iambic endings to the lines preceding the last instance ( . . . ἐπονεῦστον λόγους, . . . ἀπεκρύβη, . . . παρῆλθε γάρ) should be noted.

A very slight alteration or addition completes the line in the following passages:

(10) xi 12 μεκτηρὶ(σ)εὶ πολίτας ἐνθεὺς φρενῶν.

MSS μεκτηρίζει, which should perhaps stand: ἰ and ἰ, ἀ and α are used indiscriminately in this species of poetry. These iambic fragments

1 + καὶ MSS. 
2 ἐως ὄρθρον MSS. 
3 So 109: δεῦρο δὲ V, perhaps rightly: δεῦρο καὶ the rest. 
4 οὐ γὰρ πάρ. ὁ ἄν. μὲν ἐν ὄπος MSS. Omit the δὲ after πε. with 68, 109, &c. 
5 The δὲ in the first passage is omitted by the cursives 68, 103, 106, 109, &c. 
6 The constant form in the Tragedians; ἐρ ΜSS. 
8 Not in the Heb.: inserted apparently metrigratia. Cf. (17) below.
often come in clusters. Note the metrical endings to the preceding στίχοι: . . . κατώρθωσεν πύλει, . . . ἀσεβῶν κατεσκάφη, and in the next verse

ἀνήρ δέγλωσσος (ἀποκαλύπτει) βουλᾶς ἐν συνεδρίῳ,¹

and, with transposition,

πνοή δὲ πιστὸς πράγματ' ἐγκρύπτει . . .

The convenient phrase ἐνδείγκτος φρενῶν recurs at the end of a στίχος in vii 7, xii 11, xv 21, xviii 2, xxiv 45. The verb in (10) suggests that the same hand is at work in the next instance:—

(11) xii 8 〈ὁ〉νωθροκάρδιος δὲ μυκτηρίζεται.

Traces of iambics underlie the lines immediately following (in v. 10 ἀνέλειμμον should be pronounced or written ἄνελειμμον, for which there is authority), and then, by transposition of one word, we have

(12) xii 11 a ὄσιν ὃς ἐστιν ἤδεις ἐν διατριβαίς. Cf. (3).

(13) xiii 10 〈ἀνήρ〉 κακὸς μεθ' ὑβρεῖς πράσσει κακά, the next line ending . . . ἐπιγνώμονες σοφοί.

(14) xxiv 45 〈χῶς〉 ἀμπελῶν ἀνθρωπος ἐνδείγκτος φρενῶν.

Transposition of words, with minor alterations, produces a large number of instances, extending sometimes to several consecutive lines. I feel convinced that a good deal of transposition has taken place in the MSS on the principle stated in Dr W. Headlam's paper. I do not lay stress on any further emendations suggested, and think it may be lost labour to attempt to complete the verses. It seems unquestionable that the translator consciously imparted an iambic ring to portions of his version, but the impression produced is that he was content with a partial approximation to poetry, and did not always trouble to produce finished lines. We must, however, allow for the possibility that his work is based on an older poetical source. I will revert to this later.

The last three words are added in a group of cursives (68, 109, 147, &c.). Their source is presumably Wis. viii 8 (unless there is an older source behind both passages), but that would not absolutely preclude their having stood in the original text of the Greek Proverbs, which is, I believe, the later book of the two.

¹ In συνεδρίῳ a free rendering, metri gratia. The large use of συνεδρίον in this book is noteworthy.

² The addition is perhaps unnecessary. For an iambic proverb lacking the initial syllable cf. ἡ πόθεν κατεῖδε χρόνον εἰς τὰς διψάντας, Paroem. Graeci i p. 87.

³ MSS καὶ δισερ.

⁴ MSS πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐγγίζονσιν αὐτῷ. Cf. (8) above.
No transposition or emendation is made in the remaining instances. The following are examples of what I have called Heads and tails.

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Iambic endings.

An initial foot or more is wanted in—

(32) i 21

(33) iii 22 a

(34) v 10

(35) xvii 16 (i na ti) ύπηρξε χρήματα ἀφρονί;

(36) xviii 3
eis βάθος κακών, καταφρονεί.

(37) xx 4
dικηρός οὐκ αἰσχύνεται.

(38) xxii 29
βαστιλεύσα δεὶ παρεστάναι.

(39) xxvii 22
ἀφρόν ἐν μέσῳ συνεδρίῳ.

(40) xxviii 18
πορευόμενος ἐμπλακήσεται.

The following consist of the latter half of the line, the 3½ feet following the caesura, and are therefore comparable to the paroemiacs. I place first three recurrent instances, one of which is important.

(41) vi 29 3
xvi 6 { οὐκ ἄθρωθήσεται. 4
xvii 5

(42) xi 21 5
xvi 6 { Χείρι 5 Χείρας ἐμβαλῶν...

(43) xx 21, 24
... ταμεία (ο ἐς ταμεία) κολλίας.

cf. xxvi 22 v. 1.}

(44) i 11
... κοινόντην αἵματος.

(45) ii 14
... ἐπὶ διαστορφή κακῆ.

(46) vi 23
... λύχνος ἐντολή νόμον.

(47) ix 12
... μόνος ἀν ἀντλήσεις κακά.

(48) xv 7
... ἀφρόνων οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς.

(49) xvi 18
... (πρὸ δὲ) πτώματοι κακοφροσύνην. 6

(50) xxiv 6
... καρδίας βουλευτικής.

(51) xxiv 64
... εὐδόκω πορεύεται.

(52) xxvi 11 a
... ἐπάγουσ' ἀμαρτίαν.

= Sir. iv 21

The phrase in example (43) εἰς ταμεία κολλίας has an important bearing on the date of the translation. The shorter form ταμείον is unattested in the papyri before the first century a.d.; the correct ταμεία is invariable in the third century B.C., and occurs once in the second. For the first century B.C. evidence is wanting; that is the earliest date at which

1 Omit δὲ with V, 252.
2 οὐκ ἄθρωθήσεται.

3 With the words immediately preceding we get another complete line: γεναι' ὑπανθω, οὐκ ἄθρωθήσεται.

4 An alternative rendering, possibly by another hand, is οὐκ ἀτμήρητος ἐσται, xi 21, xix 2, 6, xxviii 20.

5 The δὲ in the second passage is omitted by nine cursives (68, 106, 149, &c.).

6 Following a 'head and tail': πρὸ συντριβῆς (μίν) ἦγειται ὃβρει.
ταμεῖον is likely to have been written. The Ταμ(έ)α in these passages has the support of BN and of some cursives which elsewhere prove themselves trustworthy. The metre also favours the text. If the reading is right, it goes to confirm the inference, which I have elsewhere drawn from another orthographical detail, that the Greek version of Proverbs is not older than 100 B.C. This instance further suggests that the translator himself is responsible for the partial versification, and that he is not culling excerpts from an older collection entirely in verse.

It would be tedious and is unnecessary to catalogue the examples of στίχου with an iambic ending of 3 feet and under, which would bring the total number of lines and fragments in this metre well over 100.

Iambic openings of lines, like hexameter openings, are fewer than endings. Among other instances we have:—

(53) vii 11 ἀνεπτερωμένη δέ (ἔστω) κάσωτος...
(54) viii 30 καθ’ ἡμέραν δ’ εὐφραμώνη...
(55) ix 16 ὀφέλειν ἦμῶν ἀφρονάστατος...

cf. (56) xxiv 25 ἀφρονάστατος γάρ εἴμι...
(57) xiv 1 σοφαί γυναῖκες ὕψος(δόμησαν οἶκους).
(58) xxiv 67 εὰν πρὸς σεαυτόν (εἰς εὐφροσύνην).
(59) xxvi 19 ὅταν δὲ φωραθῶσι...

Consecutive lines. To those produced by transposition, &c., quoted above we may add these fragments:—

(60) v 4 ἡκονημένον | μάλλον μαχαίρας διστόμον...
(61) xix 4 ὁς σωθήσεται | δ’ κτώμενος φρόνησιν...

In both the hexameter and the iambic portions one small grammatical point—the use or omission of the article before a possessive pronoun or before an adjective used substantivally—is governed by metrical considerations. Contrast the following:—

Hexameters.

ix 18a τὸ σὸν ὄμμα πρὸς αὐτήν. ii 10 εἰς σήν διάνων.
xxv 2 καὶ μὴ τὰ σὰ χείλη. vi 21 ἐπὶ σῇ ἔνυχῇ διὰ παντὸς.
xxvii 27 τὴν ζωὴν σῶν θεραπύντων.

1 Gramm. of O. T. in Greek i 63 ff.
2 In passage (1) 157, in (2) 109, 157, 295, in (3) 147, 149, 157, 159, 295.
3 Gramm. of O. T. i 61. Oděis is used throughout the book to the exclusion of oδθείς, which was almost universal in the Ptolemaic age until about 130 B.C., when it began to go out of fashion.
4 So AN V, 68, 106, 109, 147, &c. Their text, as producing an approximate (or rather, since o and w are used interchangeably, a complete) senarius, is preferable to εν εὐφροσύνῃ of B &c.
5 So A 68, 106, 149, &c.; ὁράθαιν of B &c. is obviously inferior.
6 Note, too, the omission of the article in Hex. (17) above. 7 τὴν male B.
What explanation are we to give of the phenomena? Were the half-verses ever complete? Are they the *disiecta membra* of an original work or works written entirely in verse? The late Dr Redpath, if I remember right, was inclined to adopt some such view, though I do not think that he had formulated any definite theory. One hypothesis may, I think, at once be set aside, namely that the version which has come down to us was ever wholly in verse. Large portions of it are unmetrical, and the text of some of these prosaic portions is attested in the earliest known citations from the Greek Proverbs in the pages of Philo and the N. T. It is difficult to suppose that the translation, which we have seen reason for thinking was not made before 100 B. C., had within about a century after its production undergone such radical change. And if the bulk of the version was in prose, it is improbable that the translator (like Dante in *La Vita Nuova*) on occasions altogether abandoned prose for poetry, interspersing large patches of the latter in two different metres; that he attempted with varying success to impart a poetical colouring to the whole seems more natural.

Another possible explanation has more to recommend it. It might be thought that our translator made use of an older verse translation or paraphrase of select passages from the book of Proverbs, or perhaps rather two translations, one in hexameters, the other in iambics, and that he incorporated phrases from one and the other in turn. Some warrant for a belief in the existence of a lost collection of proverbs, partly Biblical, partly unscriptural, written in iambic metre, has been found in a passage in the N. T. I refer to the allusion to the uncleanly habits of the dog and the sow in 2 Pet. ii 22 ἠμφατέβηκεν αὐτῶι τὸ θής ἀληθοῖς
The reference to the dog seems clearly derived from Prov. xxvi 11, though not from the LXX, which has here a quite different and purely prosaic rendering: ὁστερ κόνων ὡταν ἐπέλθη ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνυτον ἕμετον καὶ μυστίκα γένησα. The sow has no equivalent in the Hebrew or Greek book of Proverbs; its origin has with much probability been traced to a parable in the Story of Ahikar about a pig which went to the bath with people of quality and on coming out went and rolled in a muddy ditch. It has often been pointed out that the pair of proverbs in 2 Pet. runs easily into iambic trimeters:

ἐπ' ἐδον ἐξέραμ' ἐπιστρέφας κόνων
λελουμένη δ' ἢ ἐς κύλισμα βορβύρου.

Here then, it might be thought, is a relic of a lost iambic collection of miscellaneous proverbs, in which the Biblical dog was associated with the unbiblical sow, just as in Proverbs LXX the canonical parable of the ant is reinforced by that of the bee (vi 8 a). Again, we have to account for Blass’s ‘faultless hexameter’ (not from LXX) in Heb. xii 13:

καὶ τραχιὰς ὀρθὰς ποιήσατε τοὺς ποσίν ὕμων,

which might be regarded as a survival from a lost hexameter collection. But the auctor ad Hebraeos has just before (xii 5) quoted two verses from Proverbs LXX verbatim, and it is therefore probable that he is quoting from it again, only more freely. The hexameter is produced by conversion of the singular verb (which in the O. T. occurs in the address to ‘my son’) into the plural, and by transposition of two words. The plural is necessary to the N. T. writer in order to adapt the citation both to his readers and to the immediately preceding citation from Isaiah. That he threw the line, unconsciously perhaps, into hexameter form is in keeping with his proclivity for rhythm. A ‘tendency to fall into iambic rhythm’ has likewise been noted as a ‘feature of the style of 2 Peter’, together with a preference for grandiose language. The iambic ring of 2 Pet. ii 22 and the rare words ἐξέραμα and κύλισμα may therefore be explained without recourse to the hypothesis of a lost collection of proverbs in iambic metre made by a Jew of Alexandria. Such a collection may very well have existed; but the point to be

1 The Story of Ahikar, ed. Conybeare, Rendel Harris, and Mrs. Lewis (Camb. Univ. Press 1898) lxxv f. As Rendel Harris points out, the story of the pig ‘going to the bath’ explains and justifies the middle voice (λουσαμένη) in 2 Pet.

2 See in particular the interesting remarks of Dr Bigg in his introduction to the Ep. in the Int. Crit. Comm. 227 f.

3 Bigg in I. C. C. 227.

4 This, as was pointed out to me by the Rev. E. D. Stone, extends to the introductory words which with a slight change might be written τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἔλειθνον παροιμίας; but obviously this introduction could not have formed part of the hypothetical poem.
emphasized is that the theory of a lost poem or poems lying at the back of the Greek book of Proverbs does not help to account for the phenomena which it presents.

For (1) internal evidence proves that the hexameter and the iambic fragments in Proverbs LXX are the production of a single hand. The two metres have a common vocabulary and the same phrases recur in both. Compare the hexameter endings—

\[ \text{x i i . . . πηγή ζωής ἐν χειρὶ δυκαίον} \]
\[ \text{xix 4 . . . έννοι' ἀγαθὴ τοῦ εἰδόσιν αὐτὴν} \]

with the iambic line—

\[ \text{xvi 22 πηγὴ ζ(δ)ης έννοια τοῦ κεκτημένοις.} \]

"Έννοια occurs twelve times in this book, but only once again in the 'LXX' proper. Compare again:—

\[ \text{Hex. xxii 29 . . . παρεστάναι ἀνθρώπος νωθρὸς} \]
\[ \text{Iamb. xii 8 . . . νωθροκάρδιος δὲ μυκτηριζέται.} \]

Νωθροκάρδιος is a ἀπ. λεγ.; νωθρός occurs only twice again, in Sirach. Again:—

\[ \text{Hex. xxix 7 . . . νοὶς ἐπιγινώσκων} \]
\[ \text{Iamb. xiii 10 . . . ἐπιγινώσκομεν σφοι.} \]

The adjective (4 exx.) with the substantive ἐπιγινωσκόμη is peculiar in LXX to this book. Again:—

\[ \text{t Hex. xxix 23 τοῦ δὲ ταπεινόφρονος δόξῃ (θεὸς αὐτὸς) ἰρείδει} \]
\[ \text{t Iamb. iv 4 . . . εἰς σὺν καρδιάν ἰρείδετο.} \]

'Ερείδειν occurs nine times in Proverbs, only once elsewhere in LXX.

The same conclusion is suggested by another line of reasoning. The hexameter fragments not infrequently come in clusters, and the iambics similarly tend to fall into groups in consecutive στίχοι. Were this invariable, it would lend some support to the theory that the translator worked with two older poetical collections before him, using first one and then the other. But not seldom we find a fragmentary hexameter and a fragmentary senarius in the parallel members of one and the same Hebrew verse. This again suggests that a single hand is responsible for the two metres; a piecing together of distinct sources within a single sentence is highly improbable. Thus we have:—

\[ \text{v 2 0 f (H.) μὴ πολὺς ἵσθι πρὸς ἄλλοτριαν, (μηδὲ συνέρχον)} \]
\[ \text{(I.) ἀγκάλας τῆς μὴ ἵδιος.} \]
\[ \text{t ἐνώπιον γὰρ ἐίσου ὀφθαλμῶν θεοῦ . . .} \]
\[ \text{xxii 29 (I.) . . . βασιλεῖσθαι δὲ παρεστάναι,} \]
\[ \text{(H.) (καὶ μὴ) παρεστάναι ἀνδράς γνωθι.} \]
\[ \text{xxiv 48 (H.) . . . ὅλιγον νυστάζω, ὅλιγον δὲ καθημένον,} \]
\[ \text{(I.) ὅλιγον δ’ ἐναγκαλίζομαι χερσίν (στήθη).} \]

1 The first η is probably, as elsewhere, treated as a short vowel.
Parallel instances of the collocation of the two metres in the balancing clauses of a sentence occur in the collections of Greek secular proverbs. Thus:—

(H.) ὅνος τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὸς ἵππος ᾠδῶρ,
(I.) ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων χρηστῶν οἴδεν ἄν τέκοις.¹

Is it then possible that the translator had before him, not two poems, but a single collection written in the two metres? No; internal evidence suggests further (2) that the hand responsible for the metrical portions is that of the translator of the whole (or the bulk) of the book. For the characteristic vocabulary of the metrical portions reappears in passages which are, and probably always have been, unmetrical. An examination of the use made throughout the book of such words as ἀρμονίας, σκολιώς, τεκταίνεις, ὑπαρξεῖσι will illustrate this. Again, in numerous passages with a metrical ring which is obviously intentional it would be difficult or impossible to complete the broken lines. For instance, the three consecutive hexameter endings in xxiv 54 serve a definite purpose (see above on Hex. (42)), but it is extremely improbable that the lines were ever spun out to their full length. The book, as we have it, doubtless contains many later glosses and accretions, but the versification is fairly evenly distributed over the whole of it, so that it is probable that the bulk of our text goes back to the original version. The versification, it should be added, extends to those portions which are peculiar to the Greek text.

We are driven therefore to the conclusion that the translator, sporadically, in places where he could readily do so without departing too widely from his original, imparted a metrical colouring to his work. He was mainly concerned to give the στίχοι a metrical ending; more rarely he gave them a metrical opening; on occasions he wrote a complete line or couplet; in passages where the string of detached proverbs was replaced by a connected and dramatic narrative, such as that of 'the strange woman' (chap. vii), there may originally have been several consecutive lines of poetry.

His procedure in fact seems closely to resemble that of the old Greek proverb-writers. We can trace in the Paroemiographi Graeci the stages in the growth of the metrical proverb: first the purely prosaic maxims, then the rugged jingles aping poetry, the faulty or faultless half of a hexameter or senarius, usually the latter half (i.e. the paroemiac or the portion of the senarius following the caesura), and last, the complete line or couplet, not always immaculate. For the purpose of com-

parison I have roughly analysed the proverbs in the oldest collection preserved, the six ‘centuries’ of Zenobius. Zenobius quotes in all 552 proverbs, of which at least 160 are metrical and perhaps 380–390 unmetrical; some of the approximations to metre may have been overlooked. The metrical proverbs may be divided as follows:—

**Hexameters.**

- Perfect (or approximately) 21
- Endings. Paroemiacs (perfect) 10
- Paroemiacs (approx.) 10
- Between 3 and 2 feet 10
- Beginnings. 2½ feet 6
- ‘Head and tail’ (?) 1

**Iambics.**

- Perfect (or approximately) 48
- Endings. Over 3½ feet 4
- Between 3 and 2½ feet 15
- Between 3 and 2 feet 20
- Beginnings. Over 2½ feet 7
- ‘Head and tail’ 2½ feet 8

58 102

The most interesting of these are the crude and illiterate attempts at verse, which betray their plebeian origin. A jingle with a metrical ring is a sufficient substitute for metre. The vowels η and ο, and the diphthongs ει and οι may be treated as short; ε and ο may be long. Similarly, in our language, ‘A stitch in time saves nine’ fails to achieve rhyme where ‘There’s many a slip’, &c., succeeds. The following are approximations to complete lines:—

**Hex.** . . . Αἰγύπτες οὐτε τρίτοι οὐτε τέταρτοι.
κλαίει ὁ νικήτας, ὁ δὲ νικηθεὶς ἀπόλλωλεν.

**Iamb.** δεινὸς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἐν χυρότερον.
δις πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν αἰσχρὸν προσκρούειν λίθον.

The following appears to be a ‘head and tail’:—

ἀντὶ κακὸν κυνὸς ὑν ἀπαιτεῖς.10

But the numerous approximations to the paroemiac furnish the quaintest instances:—

ԿԱԲՕΣ, ԿԱԼՀ ԴԻԱԱՏԱ.

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1 e. g. ἀγαθῇ καὶ μάζα μετ’ ἄρτου : ἐφύγων κακῶν, εἰρων ἁμείρων.
2 e. g. ἀλλ’ οὐκ αἰθίς αλάτης : 'Ραδαμάμθυος ὅρασις : σύκων ἅπ' 'Ερμῆ.
3 e. g. πάντα λίθον κίνει : σὺν δὲ θεοὶ μάκαρες.
4 e. g. ἀγρικὸν μὴ καταφρόνει βῆτορος : θεῖοι ἄσπερ εἰς Δήλον πλέων.
5 e. g. κανθάρου σοφότερος : οὐκ ἀνευ γε Θησέως.
6 e. g. βατράχοις οἰνοχοεῖς : Λίδιαι τὴν θυσίαν.
7 e. g. τάλαντα Τατράλου : 'Ιλίας κακῶν.
8 e. g. ὑπὲρ παροιμίας ἔκει μὴ ἐξεί (η = ας in exx. in Prov. LXX above) : εἰ μὴ δίνανο θρόων, ἔλαυν ὁνόμ : ἐγείστερος κρότανοις (Κρόντ.).
9 e. g. γλαύξ (γλαύκε) εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς : Δίως Κέρωνος.
10 Examples of ‘Heads and tails’ in iambic metre occur in Menander’s γνώμαι (οφ. cit.), e. g. μὴ πρὸς τὸ κίρδος . . . δεῖ περὶ βλέπειν : νέμειν φυλάσσον μηδὲν . . . ὑπερφρονών.
All the features which are found in the collection of Zenobius reappear in fact in the Greek book of Proverbs. The translator employs the two metres which by long tradition had been considered appropriate for these homely maxims. He shews the same partiality as the old proverb-writers for half-lines, beginning or ending at the caesura, and in particular for metrical endings; the same disregard for nice distinctions between long and short vowels. On the whole he uses the iambic metre slightly more often than the hexameter. We may be certain that he was quite familiar with many of the old secular proverbs; it is sufficient to quote vii 22 κύων ἐπὶ δεσμοῦς, xxiii 31 γυμνώτερος ὑπέροιον. As we have seen, he probably produced his version in the first century B.C. and in the first half of the century, about the time when Tarrhaeus of Crete and Didymus of Alexandria were engaged in putting together their collections of proverbs, upon which Zenobius subsequently drew. If we had any reason to doubt that Alexandria was his home, we could infer that he was a city-dweller from the fact that, in common with the translator of the latter half of Jeremiah, a 'neighbour' (λείπον) is for him a πολίτης, a 'fellow-citizen'.

The partial versification pervading the Greek version serves a practical purpose of some importance in textual criticism, though its utility in this respect is limited by the fact that it is only partial. Absence of metre is obviously no infallible criterion for detecting later interpolations and corrections in a work in which the prosaic element predominated from the first. But (I will conclude by attempting to sum up some of the uses to which this metrical test may legitimately be put): (1) absence

1 Cf. Jo. iv 38 ἄλλοι καμάν, ἄλλοι ὄναντον.
2 ἄλωτης διὸ δουροδοκεῖται.
3 Βοῦς ἐφ’ ἐνετὶ κοινεῖται (? transpose ἐφ’ ἐ. β. κ.).
4 Δισμίδεος ἀνάγκη.
5 εἰκός πηλοῦ πόδας ἔχεις.
6 Λυδος τὴν θόραν ἐκλεύεσαι (?)
7 λύκος περί φρέαρ χορεύει (?)
8 οὐθ’ ἔτεια οὐθ’ ἠλισταί.

Cf. Jo. iv 38 ἄλλοι καμάν, ἄλλοι ὄναντον. Following close upon two other proverbs, 35 τετράμφων ἵς ἵπ τριφύλλου ἔρχεται, and 37 ἄλλος ἵς ἵπ στείρων καὶ ἄλλος ἵπ θερίζων = ἄλλοι μὲν στείρουσαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀμήαςτοίς Diogen. ii. 61 (Par. Gr. i p. 205). This little group of three Greek proverbs attributed to Christ within the compass of four verses is curious.

This little group of three Greek proverbs attributed to Christ within the compass of four verses is curious.

8 A occasional anapaestic line like viii 15 δὲ ἵμα τβαυκίς βασιλεύουσιν may be accidental; another rendering would hardly be possible.

9 Κώνιον ἦλθε δεσμά, Zenob. iv 73.
10 οὐμιστέρον ὑπέροιον λόγον πολαιὸς φθοράς Eustath. (ap. Paroem. Gr. i p. 228); cf. οὐμιστέρον λεβήθιον etc. Zenob. ii 95.
11 In xii 9, 12, xxiv 43; but elsewhere in Prov. φίλοι.

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of metre does become a criterion where a choice has to be made between two ‘doublets’, one of which has a metrical ring and the other has not. Thus, in i 14, the first of the doublets, κοινόν δὲ βαλλάντιον κτησόμεθα πάντες, is, on account of the hexameter ending, besides other reasons, to be preferred to the second, καὶ μαρτίττων ἐν γενηθητώ ἡμῖν; we should perhaps go further and adopt the order of words in cod. V, which gives the sentence an iambic opening as well, βαλλάντιον δὲ κοινόν κτλ. For, (2) where there is a diversity of readings affecting the order of words, that reading which produces rhythm, especially a rhythmical conclusion to a sentence or sense-line, is to be preferred to a variant which lacks rhythm and places the words in their simplest prosaic order or in the order in which they stand in the Hebrew original. (3) Where there is no variant reading, but the language is poetical and transposition of words prosaically arranged will produce a complete or fragmentary verse, transposition is generally legitimate, notwithstanding the lack of MS authority. (4) Where a hexameter or iambic ending occurs near the close of a sentence or sense-line, there is some ground for suspecting that any appended unmetrical words are an interpolation.

Judging by metrical tests, I should infer that the minuscules 109, 147, 157 possess a high value in this book; the group 68, 161 &c., and cod. V are also important. Occasionally the original text seems to be preserved in the Armenian Version; it is perhaps significant that Proverbs was the first book of the Greek Bible to be translated into that language.¹

H. St J. Thackeray.

Of words in the Old Testament which have apparently a fixed and settled meaning, one which occurs pretty frequently is the word קָרֶם, generally rendered by 'palace' or 'castle'. In the Authorized Version it is translated ‘palace’ in 31 places out of 32 in which it occurs ('castle' once only). And the Revised Version is almost equally uniform, giving ‘palace’ 28 times and ‘castle’ 4 times (with margin ‘palace’ 3 times). But there is no like uniformity in the most ancient versions. The renderings of the LXX comprise θεμέλιον (10 times), χώρα (6), βῆρις (5), ἄμφοδον (2), with οἶκος, πόλις, γῆ, λαός, ἄντρον, πυργὸβαρις, and ἐναντίον once each, while in two passages there is no word which certainly answers to it. In the Vulgate there is not quite the same variety. Turris occurs 4 times, templum once, urbes once; more often it falls

¹ Swete Introd. to O.T. 118.