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Studies in the Language of Job

Abstract

The Book of Job has long been a literary enigma. It is unique in the Hebrew Bible, not alone for the intellectual daring with which it elaborates upon a profound problem, but also because of its unusual and outstanding features of literary structure.

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STUDIES IN THE LANGUAGE OF JOB

by

NAHUM M. SARNA

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie College.
for Hebrew and Cognate Learning

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A P P R O V A L

This dissertation, entitled
STUDIES IN THE LANGUAGE OF JOB.

by

Nahum M. Sarna

Candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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INTRODUCTION.

The Book of Job has long been a literary enigma. It is unique in the Hebrew Bible, not alone for the intellectual daring with which it elaborates upon a profound problem, but also because of its unusual and outstanding features of literary structure.

In the first place, we have a combination of prose and poetry, yet with the two elements separate.¹ We are confronted with a work which so obviously belongs to the Wisdom Literature, but which follows, in the main, the style of the Prophets and Psalms. In fact, there is more sustained poetry than in any other Biblical book. Moreover, the use of dialogue as a literary device, while not exclusive to Job, is developed to a degree unmatched in the classical Hebrew literature.

But it is principally in the peculiarities and difficulties of the language - morphological, syntactical and lexical - with their special problems of interpretation that the unique character of the Book of Job is exhibited. I.M. Casanowicz enumerated sixty absolute hapax legomena with a total of 145 unique forms.² Fried. Delitzsch³

1. The Massorah has noted the difference between the Prose and Poetry by two distinct systems of accentuation. For details see צני הר-זנגב, דר-דיוק הלציון העברית, II, ג, פרק תשיעי (תל-אביב, תשי"ז)

noted no less than 259 words, forms and usages not met with elsewhere. In other words, Job displays the greatest concentration of literary difficulties and the largest vocabulary of any book of the Hebrew Bible. There is hardly a line but that contains some perplexing word, form or expression.

Any approach to these difficulties has to take account of the text. The earlier scholars regarded the text as excellent, although Houbigant in the 18th century had already pointed out some textual errors and had proposed emendations.⁴ Even Justus Olshausen, who generally showed a critical approach to the Massoretic Text, favorably regarded Job as being one of the better preserved texts.⁵ It was not until 1871 with the appearance of the metrical theories of Merx⁶ that this favorable view was challenged. From then on a general reaction set in among scholars who expressed a profound suspicion of the trustworthiness of our transmitted text and who proceeded

2. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol.VI, Article, "Hapax Legomena". The number is equalled only by Isaiah with also 60 absolute cases and 201 unique forms.

3. Das Buch Hiob, (Leipzig, 1902), p.125.

4. C.F. Houbigant, Notae Criticae (1777).

5. Cited by Karl Budde, Das Buch Hiob. (Göttingen, 1896), p. XLVI.

to the wholesale excision, emendation and rearrangement of the book.⁷

Since the present study is restricted to the linguistic problems of Job there is no need for more than a passing reference to the numerous reconstructions that have been proposed.⁸ But a word must be said about the emendation of the text. This may be of two types. It may be purely hypothetical or it may rest upon the ancient versions. The former is now being increasingly recognized as an unsatisfactory basis for textual interpretation. Recent research has more and more tended towards a growing respect for the reliability of the MT, so that many of the emendations proposed are now realized as being groundless.⁹ Even where emendation rests upon the readings of the versions considerable caution has to be exercised. Comparative Semitic philology no less than a study of the nature of the

6. A. Merx, Das Gedicht Hiob (1871).

7. For bibliographical details see Budde, op.cit., pp. XLVI -XLVII.

8. Detailed examples of such reconstructions are to be found in R.H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament (New York, 1948), p.671.

9. D. Winton Thomas, "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament", The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H.H.Rowley (Oxford, 1951), pp. 238 - 263.

particular version from which the emendation is drawn shows that many supposed divergencies of the versions from the MT are "not in reality divergencies at all, but on the contrary, reflect a text identical with the Massoretic text".¹⁰

In the case of Job the versions provide peculiarly little support for the emendation of the MT.¹¹ In short, the verdict of a recent writer¹² that "the reputation of the MT stands deservedly high and that for the serious study of the O.T. it must, in spite of its imperfections, constitute the proper starting-point", applies with particular force to the text of Job.

Quite a different line of approach to the linguistic problems of the book is pursued by those who have recourse to comparative Semitics. The result has been the uncovering of an astonishing variety of linguistic influences. Scholars

10. Ibid., p.242. cf. H.M. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint, its Use in Textual Criticism", BA, IX, (1946), pp. 21 - 34.

11. S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, The Book of Job (International Critical Commentary, New York, 1921), Vol. 1. pp. lxxi - lxxvi. P. Dhorme, Le Livre De Job (Paris, 1926), pp. clii - clxxv. H.M. Orlinsky, "Some Corruptions in the Greek Text of Job", JQR, xxvi, (1935), pp. 133 - 145. cf. W.B. Stevenson, Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Poem of Job (1951), p.3. "... sometimes variant Hebrew readings have been wrongly inferred from phraseology that is merely a paraphrase of MT".

12. D. Winton Thomas, The Recovery of the Ancient Hebrew Language (1939), p.37.

have found, or have professed to find, affinities with Arabic,¹³ Aramaic,¹⁴ Assyrian and Babylonian,¹⁵ Edomite,¹⁶ Egyptian,¹⁷ Mishnaic Hebrew¹⁸ and Sumerian.¹⁹ Some have even gone so far as to maintain that our present work is

13. Alb. Schultens, Liber Jobi (1737), opened a new epoch in Biblical studies by his philological approach, explaining words largely on the basis of Arabic. He was followed by J.J. Reiske, Conjecturae in Jobum et Proverbia (Lips., 1779), and by Schnurrer, Animadversiones ad quaedam loca Jobi (Tüb., 1781-2). B. Stade, Lehrbuch der Hebr. Grammatik (1879), p.12ff., noted several Arabisms in Job. See infra, note 22.

14. K. Budde, Beiträge zur Kritik des Buches Hiob (1876), p.141; T.K. Cheyne, Job and Solomon (1887), pp.293-295; E. Kautzsch, Die Aramaismen im Alten Testament (Halle, 1902). Kautzsch, who dealt only with the lexicon and not with grammar, counted 32 Aramaisms in the vocabulary. See further infra, note 21.

15. Dhorme, op. cit., pp.CXL -CXLI.

16. Pfeiffer, op. cit., p.682: "... its thought and language are characteristically Edomite." cf. ZAW, 44, (1926), pp. 13-25, where Pfeiffer concludes that the book is an Edomite production. Unfortunately, we do not possess a single line of "Edomite" from any other source to substantiate Pfeiffer's characterization of the language.

17. P. Humbert, Recherches sur les sources égyptiennes de la littérature sapientiale d'Israël (Neuchâtel, 1929), p.75ff., pointed to many phrases and expressions borrowed, in his view, from Egyptian literature and concluded that the author lived in Egypt.

18. J. Barth, Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches Hiob (1876), p.4; Stade, op. cit., cf. the instances noted by M.H. Segal, Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew (1927), Index "Job", p.246. It is interesting that while J. Meinhold, Einführung in das Alte Testament (1926), p.39 claimed that the language was post-exilic and similar to that of Ezra -

a translation. The first to do so was Abraham Ibn Ezra in the 12th century, though he failed to specify what he considered the original language to be.²⁰ H. Torczyner²¹ regards the book as an inexact translation from an original Aramaic, while F.H.Foster sees Arabic as the original.²²

How are we to account for this unparalleled diversity of linguistic affinities and for such a unique concentration of literary perplexities within the compass of a single book? No doubt, the very cosmopolitan character of Hebrew Wisdom literature, its proven indebtedness to extra-Israelite sources, incorporating as it did the best of the accumulated Wisdom writings of the ancient Near Eastern world, would of itself be expected to produce dialectic variety in the literary form in which it finally came to be expressed in Hebrew.²³

Nehemiah, A. Dillman, Hirzel's Commentary 4th ed. (1891), p.xxxv referred to its "classical elegance".

19. C.J.Ball, Book of Job (1922).

20. Commentary to 2:11. "וקרוב אלי כי הוא ספר מתורגם על כן הוא קשה בפרוש כדרך כל ספר מתורגם."

on 6:3, Ibn Ezra rejects an Aramaic origin of לעו. For his comment cf. Ibn Janah, Sefer ha - Shorashim ed. Bacher (Berlin, 1897), s.v. בלע

21. נ.ה. גורטלינג, ספר איוב, (ירושלים, תש"א), [מקדורה שניה (תל-אביב, תש"ד)]

22. "Is the Book of Job a Translation from an Arabic Original?" AJSL, 49 (1932 - 33), pp.21-45.

In considering therefore, the literary problems of the Biblical Wisdom books the possibility must always be present that morphological, syntactical and lexical peculiarities of any given work may as well exemplify the literary influences of the source material as characterize the style of the author or editor. Then it must be remembered that Hebrew poetry in general preserves linguistic strata that are not to be found in prose. Since Job contains more poetic material than other books we should not be surprised at a corresponding growth in the number of rare forms; and the presentation of Wisdom literature in poetic style provides a twin source of difficulty. There is also some evidence that in several instances dialectic variety is nothing more than a mere literary device.²⁴

The large number of hapax legomena may, moreover, be partly accidental. The subject matter of Job is removed

23. W.O.E. Oesterley, The Book of Proverbs (1929), pp.xxiv - lv. P.Humbert, op.cit.; Baumgartner, Israëlitische und altorientalische Weisheit (1933), pp.20ff. W.O.E. Oesterley and T.H.Robinson, An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament (1934), pp. 161-165; C.I.K Story, "The Book of Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Literature", JBL, 64 (1945), pp. 319-39; H.L. Ginsberg, The Legend of King Keret (1946), p.33; Pfeiffer, op.cit., pp.647-8, esp. p.648, note 1.

somewhat from the usual Biblical trend of thought and the wealth of ideas calls for a commensurate richness of language and variety of expression. The Hebrew Bible employs a very restricted vocabulary which certainly does not exhaust the ancient Hebrew lexicon. The fact that many vocables can be explained by reference to the cognate Semitic languages does not necessarily mean that these same words were not in use in Hebrew.²⁵

The wealth of inscriptional material that has been unearthed in the Near East during the past few decades has greatly enlarged the Semitic lexicon, has uncovered completely new features of Semitic grammar and syntax and, above all, has helped to place the Biblical literature in its appropriate cultural setting. The net result has been an elucidation of the written word to an extent not hitherto possible and this in turn has led to a positive re-evaluation of the scholarly attitude to the MT.

24. This subject will be further discussed in the body of the dissertation.

25. cf. Dhorme, *op.cit.*, p. cxli: La pénurie de notre documentation explique la disparition d'un certain nombre de mots ou d'expressions, qui étaient connus de la langue vulgaire ou littéraire, mais qui n'ont point été fixés dans la Bible".

reference to which has already been made.

The publication and interpretation of the Ugaritic material recalled several points of contact with Job.²⁶ But, as far as is known to the present writer, no attempt has as yet been made systematically and comprehensively to present, let alone evaluate, the numerous parallels between the Canaanite literature and the Book of Job.

Such a study will, it is contended, prove that while the book undoubtedly contains late features such as Aramaisms and Neo-Hebraisms, the greatest single literary influence is Canaanite and the language is saturated in all aspects with Canaanisms. The term "Canaanite" is here used in its most general sense to refer to the ancient dialects of Palestine and the Syrian (Phoenician) coast, including the language of the Amarna glosses from Palestine and of Ugarit.²⁷

26. H.L. Ginsberg, JBL, 62 (1943), p.111 noted several Canaanisms in Job; W.F. Albright, "The O.T. and the Canaanite Language and Literature", CBQ, vii (1945), p.29, noted that "Proverbs and Job gain immensely from the new Ugaritic data which have already cleared up wholly or partially scores of obscure passages... Job contains scarcely any literary points of contact with the rest of the Bible, though its extraordinary poetic richness demands literary contacts somewhere". C.L. Feinberg, BS, 103(1946), pp.283-92, deals with:"the poetic structure of the Book of Job and the Ugaritic literature"; T.H. Gaster, Thespis (1950), brings several references to parallels between Job and Canaanite mythological texts.

Dialects²⁷ (1938) pp.2-3; Z.S. Harris, Development of the Canaanite Grammar of the Phoenician Language (1936) pp.6-7.

10.

It is hoped to reveal several hitherto unsuspected morphological and syntactical features and to demonstrate, incidentally, that the weight of evidence is in favor of our Hebrew as the original language of the book.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROLOGUE AND EPILOGUE.

The relationship of the Prologue to the Epilogue and of both to the Dialogue has long been a subject of scholarly dispute.¹ Wellhausen² maintained that the poet borrowed from a folk-saga both the material and form for his own work. Duhm³ believed that the entire Prologue and Epilogue were excerpted from a "Volksbuch" and that these antedate the Dialogue. On the other hand, Kautzsch⁴ held that nothing more than the name of a righteous man called Job was borrowed from tradition.

It is not possible to decide between these extreme and contrary views with absolute certainty. However, the evidence in recent years has been accumulating in favor of an epic source for the prose sections.

Of greater significance since the discovery of the Ugaritic epics is the mention of Job by Ezekiel.⁵ Now that the Daniel referred to in the same context can without doubt be identified with the Daniel of the Legend of Aqht⁶

1. See K.Kautzsch, Das Sogenannte Volksbuch von Hiob (Leipzig, 1900), for the history of the problem.

2. J.Wellhausen, Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol. (1871), p.555.

3. B.Duhm, Das Buch Hiob (1897), p.vii.

there is every reason to believe that Ezekiel in the case of Job too refers to some well known and ancient story. This impression is further strengthened by two important factors. The Job of Ezekiel is described, not as a bakam, but as a sadig, an epithet exactly fitting the picture in the Prologue, whereas Daniel alone is specifically mentioned by Ezekiel as being a bakam.⁷ This suggests that the prophet had in mind a well-defined personality. Again, Job is mentioned in Ezekiel in connection with intercession on behalf of others. Is it mere accident that the Epilogue twice refers to Job in his capacity of an intercessor?⁸ This is not to say that

4. op.cit., pp.18ff, 87.

5. Ezek. 14: 14,20.

6. S. Spiegel, "Noah, Daniel and Job", Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume (1945), pp.305-356. For editions of the Legend of Aqht, see J. Obermann, How Daniel was Blessed with a Son (AOS offprint series No.20., New Haven, 1946); C.Gordon, Ugaritic Literature (Rome, 1949), pp.84-103; T. Gaster, op.cit., pp.270-313.

7. Ezek. 28:3.

8. Job 42:8,10.

the prophet refers to our Book of Job, but it does argue strongly for the existence of a common source to both.

The patriarchal setting of the story⁹ has long been noted but has generally been regarded as not being conclusive in determining the antiquity of the story. However, there is no satisfactory reason why the author should have invented such a patriarchal background since it really adds nothing to the understanding of the narrative. Moreover, in conjunction with several features that can now be recognized as characteristic of the Canaanite epic tradition, this primitive setting must be freshly evaluated.

We shall now proceed to trace these epic elements which we may enumerate as follows: -

9. The elements that go to make up the patriarchal setting are as follows: -

- (a) wealth is measured in terms of cattle and slaves (1:2) עבדו רבה occurs elsewhere only in Gen 26:14.
- (b) religion is very primitive, expressing itself in private sacrifice without central shrine or priesthood. Incidentally, the offerings in 42:8 correspond exactly to those of Balaam (Num. 23:1).
- (c) the mention of Sabeans and Chaldeans as marauding bands of nomads.
- (d). the mention of the קציטה (42:11), only elsewhere in Gen. 33:19 and Josh. 24:32.

(i) The Series of Misfortunes.

The unfolding of the miseries that beset Job in successive stages is paralleled by the description of the misfortunes that befall King Keret.¹⁰

(ii) Formulaic Repetition.

One of the universal characteristics of the epic is verbal repetition, a feature particularly prominent in the epics of Canaan.¹¹ The repetition of such formulae as

עוד זה מדבר וזה בא ; ואמלטה רק אנ is strongly reminiscent of an epic prototype.

(iii) The Schematized Use of Numbers.

This is now recognized to be a Hebraic borrowing of a typically Canaanite literary device.¹² Frequently, something is repeated day after day for six days, the seventh heralding a climax and inaugurating some new event.

(e) Job's longevity corresponds only to that of the Patriarchal and pre-patriarchal period.

(f) The prose-style generally is that of the narrative portions of the Pentateuch. Incidentally, the use of (2:10 bis) need no longer be necessarily an Aramaism in view קבל of its presence in the Amarna letters, v. BASOR, 89 (1943), p. 29ff. 2

10. Krt: 14ff.

11. This subject is fully discussed by U. Cassuto, 34-36 'עמ', (תשי"ג, ירושלים). האלה ענת

12. Ibid., pp. 84, esp. notes 1-2.

Thus, for six days a fire rages in the temple of Baal and ceases abruptly on the seventh.¹³ King Daniel wines and dines the gods for six days and on the seventh is visited by Baal.¹⁴ The same King celebrates the birth of a son for six days and his guests depart on the seventh.¹⁵ King Keret reaches his goal on the seventh day of his journey and invests Udm for seven days.¹⁶

In the same epic pattern is the seven day and night silent mourning of Job and his friends after which, Job opens his mouth to curse the day of his birth.¹⁷

Consistent, too, with classic Canaanite epic tradition, are the seven sons of Job¹⁸ like the seven of King Keret¹⁹ and of the god Môt.²⁰

13. 51:VI:24-33.

14. 2Aqht: 1:6-16.

15. Ibid., II:30-40

16. Krt:105-109; 114-120; 194-211.

17. Job 2:13.

18. 1:2; 42:13.

19. 128:II:24.

20. 49:VI:7-9.

(iv) The Prominence of Daughters.

The striking naming and describing of Job's three daughters as against the anonymity of the sons²¹ is in accord with the epic tradition. The Lady Hry bears Keret seven sons who remain anonymous but the one daughter is named.²²

(v) Bnei Elohim.²³

This is perhaps the oldest and most characteristically Canaanite element. Although the usage here probably implies nothing more than angels or heavenly host,²⁴ the monotheistic twist does not disguise its pagan origins. The identical term is found in the Ugaritic epics²⁵ and in the late 9th century Canaanite magical text from Arslan -Tash.²⁶ The same notion is also met with in the 10th century Phoenician Yḥmlk

21. Job 42:14-15.

22. 128:II:21-24; cf. Ruth 4:15.

23. Job 1:6; 2:1.

24. מ.ד.קאסוטו, "מעשה בני האלהים ובנות האדם", Essays Presented to J.H.Hertz (London, 1942), [Hebrew Section], pp. 35-44, esp., pp. 37-38. cf. Cassuto, 5 (תש"א) עמ' 41-47 עמ' 41-47. תרביץ י"ב; ידיעות של החברה לחקירת א"י ועתיקותיה כרך ט', (תש"ב) עמ' 41-47.

25. 2:17, 33; 107:3; 51:III:14.

26. line 11, " וכל בן אלהים ", v. T.Gaster, Orientalia xi, (1942), pp. 41-79.

inscription from Byblos.²⁷ We thus have here a reflex of the Canaanite assembly of the gods.

(vi) ימימה and קציעה

Of these two of the three names of Job's daughters, ימימה has generally been explained on the analogy of the Arabic يمامة to mean "little dove", and קציעה is taken to mean "fragrant bark". It is possible however, that both these names are Canaanite. ימימה may correspond to the Ugaritic yimmt limm,²⁸ an epithet of the goddess 'Anat. קציעה may represent the Ugaritic qs̄t, "a bow".²⁹

(vii) בלע³⁰

This vocable is used metaphorically in the sense of "killing", "destroying", a specialized meaning it has undoubtedly acquired as a reflex of Canaanite mythology. The reference is to the particular method by which the god Môt disposes of his victims. In the Ugaritic texts we read:

27. Yhmik, 2:4 מפחרת אל גבל; cf. T. Gaster, JQR, xxxvii, (1946), p.62, note 27; ibid. xxxviii, (1947), p.289; Thespis, (1950), p.76, note 6; Albright, FSAC (1946), pp.199,226-7, esp.331, note 26.

28. 'nt: III:9. Albright, BASOR, 70, p.19, n.6, suggests that the more usual epithet ybmt is dissimilated from yimmt;
^{so} Obermann, Ugaritic Mythology (1948), p.35.

29. UH, III, no. 1809.

30. Job 2:3.

lyrt bnpš bn ilm mt bmh/mrt ydd il g̃zr ³¹

"Thou shalt indeed go down into the throat of the god Môt/ Yea into the gullet of Il's Beloved, the Hero!"

al tgrb lbn ilm mt/ al y·dbkm kimr bph/klli b̃brnqnh thtan ³²

"Do not draw near the god Môt lest he make you like a lamb in his mouth, like a kid in his jaws ye be crushed."

y·rb b·l bkbdh bph yrd ³³

"So that Baal may enter his inwards, yea descend into his mouth."

From these passages and others³⁴ it is clear that the Hebrew בלע acquired the meaning of "annihilating", "destroying",³⁵ under the influence of the old Canaanite Môt myth and its usage in the Job context which is also mythological may well betray the original language of the folk-saga.

(viii) שבונה ³⁶

A recognition of the epic and Canaanite features may

31. 67:I: 6-18.

32. 51:VIII:15-20.

33. 67:II:3-4.

34. Text 51:VII:47-48, ygra mt bnpšh "Môt calls from his throat", may be a double-entendre in the light of 67:I:6-8, implying both the act of speech and a portent of destruction.

35. As in Job 2:3; 8:18; 10:8; 37:20 cf. 2 Sam. 10:19 where בלע || להמת. The celebrated Isa. 25:8 is very likely intended to mean that Môt shall be hoisted by his own petard!

36. Job 42:13.

help to explain this morphologically difficult form. This hapax legomenon is generally regarded as a scribal error for עבעה and emended accordingly.³⁷ The Targum rendered it ארבסר "fourteen". All the other versions have "seven". Dhorme³⁸ explains the form as a dual in -ān to which has been attached the -āh termination for masculine numerals. He thus accepts the Targum's rendering.

The difficulty is that the number of daughters remained at three, so that we should expect the number of sons also to have remained constant. Dhorme attempts to overcome the discrepancy raised by his interpretation by attributing the non-increase in daughters to the fact that girls in the Orient were not considered important.

However, Dhorme failed to reckon with the different situation created by the epic treatment which, on the contrary, tends to exalt the female, as was previously pointed out in connection with the anonymity of the sons as opposed to the naming of the daughters and the explicit mention of their beauty. Further, as if to dispel any idea of the inferiority of the female we are expressly told that

37. GKC §97c

38. cf. BH: "forma mixta ex עבעה (=2x7) et עבעה."

the girls received from their father an inheritance together with their brothers, although apparently the custom was for a daughter to inherit only in the absence of sons.³⁹ We are thus left without any adequate explanation for the disparity between the doubling of the number of sons and the constancy in the number of daughters. The translation of שבונה as "fourteen", must accordingly be rejected and the form otherwise explained.

As a matter of fact, שבונה has its counterpart in the Ugaritic šb^c-ny, in a similar context and in which there is no doubt of the meaning as "seven":

wld šb^c-ny att itrh⁴⁰

"the wives I have wed have born seven"

For the pattern -ny > -na we may compare the dual lany>lana (Aramaic לנא) and שרי > שה, so šb^c-ny > שבונה. This -ny is probably to be explained as an old adverbial ending which most likely has also persisted in בְּלִנָּה (Gen. 42:36) which has no feminine antecedent.

Accordingly, שבונה, meaning "sevenfold", is in all probability a fossilized literary survival from the epic original.

39. Num. 27:8

40. 52:64

(ix) צלעת אחיהם⁴¹

This unusual construction may well represent an archaic and original usage⁴² in which צלעת was a collective and abstract term meaning 'group of three', 'triad', and could still be used with either gender.⁴³

The cumulative effect of the evidence here presented is to show that the Prologue and the Epilogue are extracted from an ancient epic source, the characteristics of which are those of the Canaanite epic. Some traces of the original language are still recognizable in our present version.

41. Job 1:4

42. Contra GKC, op. cit.

43. G.R. Driver, "Gender in Hebrew Numbers", JJS 1(1948), pp.90-104.

CHAPTER TWO
STUDIES IN THE GRAMMAR

I. THE TENSES.

The sequence and function of the tenses constitute one of the most vexing problems presented by the poetry of Job. Not only is there a bewildering variety of sequence, but the combinations are not inherently functional.¹

A. Perfect and Simple Imperfect.

The two forms commonly interchange without any apparent difference in tense signification, while the order of sequence is not important.

1. Perfect followed by simple Imperfect.

4:3	יסרת	תחזק ;	6:15	בגדו	יעברו
14:3	פקחת	תביא ;	14:11	אצלו	יחרב
14:19	אחקו	תשטף ;	19:8	גדר	ישים
19:16	קראתי	אתחמך ;	21:10	עבר	יגעל
29:9	עצרו	ישימו ;	30:13	נסתו	יעילו
30:15	ההפך	תרדף ;	30:17	נקר	יטבון
30:29	קמתי, הלכתי	אשוע ;	31:20	ברכונ	יתחמם
31:21	הנפתי	אראה ;	32:11	הוכלתי	אזין
33:4	עשתני	תחיני ;	33:25	רפפ	ישוב
33:28	פדה	תראה ;	36:17	אלאת	יתמכו
36:25	חזו	יביט ;	38:17	גלו	תראה

1. Ibn Ezra acutely observed this situation:

"וכל מה שתמצא באיוב שהוא גשון עתיד הוא בינוני או גשון עבר." (איוב א': א)

38:22	תראה באת	39:29	חפר	יביטא
41:5	יבוא גלה	42:3	הגדתי	אדע , אבין

2. Imperfect followed by simple Perfect

9:13	שחחו ישיב	10:3	תעשק	הופעת
11:20	אבד תכלינה	15:7	תולד	חוללת
15:15	יאמין זכו	15:18	יגידו	כחדו
19:15	הייתי תחשבני	19:27	אחזה	ראו כלו
21:7	גברו, עתקו, ימיו	21:25	ימות	אכל
23:12	אמיש צפנתי	24:2	ישיגו	גזלו
24:4	יבאו חבאו	24:8	ירמבו	חבקו
24:11	יצהיח דרכו	24:19	יגזלו	חטאו
24:20	ישכחהו מתקו	25:6	יאהיל	זכו
27:19	יאסף, יסב פקח	27:20	תשיגהו	גנבתו
28:5	יצא נהפך	30:12	יקאפו	שלחו
30:20	עמדתו אשוע	31:7	תנאה	דבק, הקלך
31:25	אצא אצמח	33:21	יכל	ראו שפו
41:20	יברייחמו נהפכו			

B. Waw Consecutive.

Even more unusual is the effect of the so-called Waw consecutive. To be sure, the traditional construction of perfect followed by consecutive imperfect is fairly common².

2. e.g. 3:10,23,25,26; 5:3; 6:20; 7:5b; 8:4; 10:8; 16:12; 19:9; 24:2; 29:11,14; 30:11,19,26; 31:5,15; 32:6; 37:21.

But the presence of the Waw can in no sense be regarded as a necessary part of the construction in any way influencing the tense meaning. This is clear from the numerous examples cited above in which the perfect is followed by the simple imperfect, yet with past tense signification. Even more decisive is the use of a consecutive imperfect following a perfect as a frequentative or present tense, exactly as though it were punctuated as a conjunctive Waw.

7:6	וַיִּכְלֹ	קָלוּ	7:9	וַיִּלֶךְ	כִּלְה
7:20	וַאֲהִיָּה	שָׁמַתְנִי	11:11	וַיִּרְא	יִרְע ⁴
12:18	וַיֹּאסֶר	³ פָּתַח ⁵	14:2	וַיִּמְלֹךְ	וַיִּבְרַח יִצְחָק ⁴
15:27-28	וַיַּעַשׂ וַיִּשְׁכַּן	נִסָּה ⁶	19:20	וַאֲתַמְלֹטָהּ	דִּבְרָה ⁷
20:15	וַיִּקְיָאֵנוּ	בִּלְע	24:2	וַיִּרְעוּ	גִּזְלוּ ⁸
so 24:11	וַיִּמְצְאוּ	דְּרוֹנוֹ	30:20	וַתִּתְבַּנֵּן	עַמְדָתִי ⁸

The consecutive imperfect often has a frequentative or present tense meaning after a simple imperfect.⁹

3. cf. the preceding and following simple imperfects and participles.

4. cf. וְלֹא יַעֲמֶד

5. cf. v. 26 יִרְוֶן

6. cf. preceding and following simple imperfects.

7. cf. following simple imperfects.

8. cf. תַּעֲנִי

9. cf. Driver, Tenses §80; GKC §111t.

3:24	10	ותכו	תבוא	4:5	ותבלא	ותבהל	11
			תבוא				13
5:15		ויצע	ימשו, יפגשו	6:21	ותיראו		14
7:15		ותבחר	תבעתני	7:18	ותפקדהו		16
			15				16
9:20		ויצקני	ירשיעני	11:3	ותלעג		17
12:25		ותעם	ימשו	14:10	ותלעג	ותעם	18
14:20		ותהלל	ותתקפהו	17:7	ותכה	אהיה	18
19:10		ואלק	so following	ותסע	ותחר	ותחשבב	

10. Budde emends to ויתכו!

11. Dhorme maintains that the consecutive expresses Job's mood as a consequence of events summarized by תבא, תגע. However, elsewhere כי עתה seems to precede contingent assertions (3:13; 6:3; 7:21; 13:19; 14:16). Torcyner therefore, takes כי עתה as a condition with ותלג as the apodosis and emends to conjunctive Waw. Perles, Analekten (Neue Folge), p.9, emends to "denn sur Zeit, da es dich trifft, ermattest du", pointing to a similar corruption in Judg.13:12. However, the context clearly requires v.5 to be in contrast with vv.3,4, and is so understood by LXX, Vulg. An identical contrasting use of כי עתה is found in I.Sam.2:16, following Q, which is to be preferred. v. Driver, Notes, ad loc; B. Jacob, ZAW, 18(1898), p.295-298, ignores both this instance in Job and that in I.Sam.2:16, in neither of which would his explanation of כי עתה = תכעתה fit in.

12. cf. preceding participles.

13. For a similar word play of ירא followed by ראה cf. Zech.9:5; Ps.40:4; 52:8, in each, with Waw conjunctive - another example of the erratic punctuation of the Waw.

14. cf. v.17, תגדלנו, תצית

15. cf. תמאנ, אצדק

16. Gray-Driver, Dillmann, Bickell, Budde, Ehrlich, Kittel all emend both ותלעג and ותאמר to conjunctive Waw, taking the sentence as an interrogative.

	cf. v.12	יבאו	33:22	ותקרב	כל ¹⁹
		20			21
33:26		וישב וירא וירצהו	34:24	ירע ויעמד	
					23
36:9	v.10	ויגל	37:8	ותבא	תשכן
		22			
		24			
39:15		ותשכח			

In these examples it cannot be the sequence that determines the tense meaning since the consecutive imperfect can have the same present or frequentative meaning when following a participle.

17. Kittel emends to ויאזע, יהלף; G.R. Driver, Problems, p.68, takes חלץ = Acc. ḥašalu, "to crush", (metathesis); ibid., p.137, he explains the consecutive Waw as expressing preterite tense in future condition = 'When a man has died/dies, then he will have become/will become prostrate.'

18. In the preceding chapter Job has described his sufferings. In vv.6,7, he describes his present state.

19. See Driver, Tenses, §138, II.a.

20. cf. יעתר and v.27, יאמר, ישר
Budde emends every consecutive Waw to a conjunctive.

21. Budde emends to יעמד!

22. cf. v.8, ילכדון; Budde emends every Waw in vv. 9,10 to conjunctive.

23. Budde emends to ותבוא!

24. cf. v.14, תדושה, v.15, תחמם, תעזב
Driver, Problems, p.137, : "the general passes into the particular and back again". This seems rather a desperate attempt at explaining away the consecutive imperfect.

		25			
3:21	וַיַּחֲפְרוּ	הַמַּחֲכִים	12:22	וַיֵּצֵא	מִבְּלֵה
12:23	וַיִּנְחֵם	אֶת־עַיִן	12:24	וַיִּתְּעַם	מִעִיר
14:17	וַתִּגְּפֹל	חַתָּם	14:20	וַתִּשְׁלַח	מִשְׁנֵה

The cumulative effect of the evidence here presented is to establish beyond doubt that the presence of the so-called consecutive Waw does not determine the tense. There is no difference in signification between the conjunctive and consecutive Waw,²⁶ a fact that has misled many of the commentators into emending the punctuation where the consecutive Waw has a frequentative or present meaning.²⁷ This phenomenon, while outstandingly characteristic of Job is not peculiar to it, as may be seen from comparisons with early Hebrew poetry.²⁸

Ps.18 v.7	וַיִּשְׁמַע	=	II Sam. 22.	וַיִּשְׁמַע
12	וַיִּשֶׁת	=		וַיִּשֶׁת
14	וַיִּרְעַם	=		וַיִּרְעַם
16	וַיִּגְלוּ	=		וַיִּגְלוּ
39	וַאֲמַחֲצֵם	=		וַאֲמַחֲצֵם
44	וַתִּפְּלֹטֵנִי	=		וַתִּפְּלֹטֵנִי

25. Driver, *ibid.*, explains וַיַּחֲפְרוּ as a preterite referring to a particular case known to the speaker. However, this is unnecessary in view of the parallel verse 22 which is certainly a generalized statement, the verbs being frequentative. In the same construction in 12:22-24, it would require a long stretch of the imagination to maintain a preterite meaning for the finite verbs.

so, I. Sam. 2:6 כַּמִּית , מַחִיָּה , מוֹרֵד // וַיַּעַל

Similarly, the construction of perfect followed by simple imperfect with past tense signification is found in Exod. 15.

v.12 נִבְהָלוּ . יֵאָחֲזֶמוּ ; v.14 וַיִּמְצְאוּ יִרְגָזוּן ; v.15 וַיִּבְלַעַמּוּ , תִּבְלַעַמּוּ

The insertion of consecutive Waw here would not in any way affect the tense meaning. In fact, in the earliest poetry the Waw is used most sparingly, showing that it is not the tense determinant.

In order to be able satisfactorily to explain the apparent irregularities of the sequences of the tense forms, the time aspects involved in their usage have to be considered. To avoid an incongruence of function with nomenclature, the traditional "perfect" and imperfect" is henceforth replaced by the morphologically descriptive qtl and yqtl.

C. The preference for the Yqtl

One of the major characteristics of the verbal system of the poetry is the use of the yqtl as the regular and common verbal form. Its preference over the qtl is overwhelming. How far this tendency has gone may be gauged

26. See further below, for examples of conjunctive Waw with preterite connotation.

27. So Budde and others.

28. Cross & Freedman, JBL, LXXII (1953), p.17f.

from a comparison with the tense forms employed in passages paralleled in other books.²⁹

- 3:3 אָלד ³⁰ Jer. 20:14 יִלְדֵתִי
 5:18 תִּרְפִּינָה Deut. 32:39 אֶמְחַצְתִּי אֶרְפָּא cf. Hos. 6:1 וְיִרְפְּאֵנִי
 9:18 יִשְׁבִּיעַנִי מ' Lam. 3:15 הַשְּׁבִיעַנִי מ'
 12:4 שִׁחֵק... אֵהִיָּה Jer. 20:7; Lam. 3:14 הֵייתִי... שִׁחֵק
 19:7 אֶצּוּץ Hab. 1:2 צֹעֲתִי
 24:21 לֹא תִלְד Isa. 54:1 לֹא יִלְדָּה
 cf. also 12:6 יִשְׁלִינִי with Jer. 12:1 שָׁלוּ

22:19b יִלְעָג with the perfect in Ps. 107:42b.

In each case, be it observed, there is no distinction in time aspect between the parallel verbs although Job consistently preferred the yqtł while other writers used the qtł.

Gesenius³¹ failed to include this preference for the

29. In this connection it is of no consequence on which side the literary dependence lies.

30. cf. 15:7; 38:21 תִּחַלְלֶנְכֶם Is. 51:2 תִּחַלְלֶנְכֶם
 The yqtł can only be a pure preterite cf. Driver, Problems, p. 95. It is impossible to see how, with GKC §107k, אָלד can express an action "which from some point in the past is to be represented as future".

31. GKC, §2q-s.

yqtl among the peculiarities of Hebrew poetry. Driver³² attempted to explain the phenomenon as being due to the livelier image which the yqtl form presents. He vigorously denies that the yqtl can ever stand for the qtl or assume its meaning.

The evidence from Job contradicts Driver's assertions. The frequent and promiscuous interchange and "irregular" sequence of the two forms qtl and yqtl show that their functions are secondary. The yqtl represents a variety of tense meanings which have to be inferred from the context and which, as has been shown above, are not all dependent upon the presence or absence, or punctuation of the Waw.

This situation is not restricted to Job but is characteristic of the earliest Hebrew poetry³³ and is exactly paralleled in Canaanite poetry.³⁴ The preference for the

32. Tenses, §85.

33. See Cross & Freedman, op. cit.

34. See Goetze, JAOS, 54 (1938), p. 289f., esp. p. 309; UH, I, 9:2; 13:32; Harris, Development, p. 48; JAOS, 57 (1937), p. 152, n. 11.

yqtl therefore can only be regarded as a poetic archaism, a stylistic device developed in Job to its highest form of expression.

D. Yqtl expressing past time

The author of Job not only followed the old Canaanite poetic tradition in the overwhelming preference for the yqtl form but also, as in Canaanite, used it to express past time even without the Waw.³⁴ In other words, a very anomolous situtation exists. On the one hand, the yqtl with the consecutive Waw may express present tense, while on the other, the simple yqtl can express not only a past frequentative but even completed action.³⁵

Examples of a past frequentative abound.

3:12	אִינָן	4:3	תַּחֲזֹק
4:4	תִּאֲמָץ . יִקְיָמוּן	4:12	יָגַב
4:15	יַעֲמֹד , תִּסְמַר , יִחַלֵּף	15:5	יִתְבַּחַר , יִאֲלֹף
15:6	יַעֲוֶה , יִרְדִּיעַךְ	15:18	יִגִּידוּ
19:3	תִּכְלִימוּנִי	19:8	יִשִּׁים
19:10	יִתְצַנֵּי	19:12	יִבֹא
22:6	תִּפְשָׁא , תַּחֲבֹל	22:7	תִּמְנַע , תִּשְׁקֶה
22:9	יִדְכָּא	29:12	אִמְלֹט
29:13	אִרְנֶן , תִּבֹּא	29:16	אִחְקֶרְהוּ
29:17	אִשְׁלִיךְ	29:22	תִּשְׁלַף , יִשְׁנוּ
29:23	יִחַלּוּ	29:24	יִפְיִלּוּן , יִאֲמִינוּ , אִשְׁחַק
29:25	יִאֲשַׁכְּן , יִאֲצַב , אִבְחַר	30:12	יִקְיָמוּ

30:13	יעילו	31:7	תאה
31:13	אמאס	31:16	אמנע
31:19	אראה	31:20	יתחמם
31:21	אראה	31:25	אשמח
31:26	אראה	31:29	אשמח
31:32	אפרתח, ילין	31:34	אצא, יחתני, אפרוץ
31:38	יבכיון, תזעק	32:12	אתבונן, תחקרון, אציין
33:8	אשמע		

In all these cases the element of past time is undeniable, while in many the factor of continuity or repetition is not at all certain.

Thus in 4:12,15, Eliphaz may well be describing individual actions that occurred but once, in which case the yqt forms would all express completed action in the past. The same difficulty in differentiation between a continuous and a completed action exists in 6:15; 7:12; 19:11; 31:7,13,16,17,19,20,25,26,32; 32:12; 33:8; 42:3.

Undoubtedly expressing completed action are

3:3 אולד so 15:7; 38:21 תולד; 3:11 אמות, ואגוע!
 3:13 אשקא, 25 יבא; 10:18 אגוע, אובל,

The element of completed action is not affected by the fact that it may be merely hypothetical. The past time

is undoubted and the verbal form is the yqtl.

3:11 ינוח . ואשקוט¹³ ,! אגוע אמות
 3:16 תראני אגוע^{10:18} אהיה³⁶
 10:19 אובל , אהיה

It is to be noted that the past time element is maintained even with the conjunctive Waw.

3:11 ואשקוט¹³ ,! אגוע
 29:21 ויחלו²³ ,! וידעו ,! ויחלו
 29:25 ואיחלה^{30:26} ! אטב
 31:17 ואכל

There can no longer be the slightest doubt that the yqtl is the usual narrative tense in Job and that while it may accurately be described as "omnitemporal"³⁷ it is predominantly used as a preterite,³⁸ just as in Canaanite and East Semitic.³⁴

36. Hitzig, Beer emend to לא אהיה "which existed not". But the sentence would then lack a predicate. Wright, Budde omit לא. Gratz, Torczyner emend לא to לו. LXX does not translate the phrase. The reading לא is attested by the Targum לית אפטר דאהוי. Dhorme places the verse after v.12 with לא אהיה dependent on מה , מדוע. That the v. is connected with vv.11-12 is undeniable. The preterite signification of אהיה is also beyond doubt. A satisfactory solution to the difficulty could be obtained if we read א for א, the confusion arising out of an original abbreviation א', and construe לא as the emphatic לא/ל. The translation would be: "verily would I then have been..."

37. F.R.Blake, JBL, 63 (1944), p.276; cf. p.294.

E. The Jussive Form

Another peculiar feature of the verbal forms used in Job is the frequent employment of the jussive in place of the imperfect where the context could not possibly support a jussive meaning. Of sixty instances of this kind adduced by Driver,³⁹ no less than twenty-five are drawn from Job which exhibits a higher percentage of these forms than any other book.⁴⁰

These forms are of three types:

1. with the Waw conjunctive.⁴¹
2. with no conjunctive.⁴²

In both cases the jussives arise out of the vocalization.

3. The shortened form of the ה"ב verb.⁴³

38. For the question of yqtl as the original tense, see the full discussion in Driver, Problems, pp.9-31.

39. Tenses, §171.

40. The percentage is 3:1 over Psalms, the next highest frequency.

41. 13:23; 15:33; 20:23b; 24:25; 27:22; 34:29

42. 17:2; 18:9; 33:11; 36:14; 37:4-5; 38:24;
39:26; 40:9; 40:19.

43. 18:12; 20:23; 26,28; 23:9,11; 24:14;
33:21,27; 34:37.

In this type the jussive form is consonantal and independent of the punctuation.

The phenomenon has been variously explained and treated.

a). Böttcher regards such forms as genuine, with the jussive expressing "the resented compulsion of an alien will".⁴⁴ This explanation is so forced and gives the jussive such a reversal of its ordinary meaning as to raise more difficulties than it attempts to solve.⁴⁵

b). Ewald⁴⁶ and Dillmann⁴⁷, followed by many commentators⁴⁸, assume that in most, if not all, cases the consecutive Waw should replace the conjunctive and should be added where the jussive form is without a Waw. In other words, these apparent jussives are due to mistakes of the punctuators. This view is followed by Driver,⁴⁹ but with

44. Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebr. Spr. (1866), II, p. 183, ref. to 13:27, 24:14; 34:37; "das Übel empfundene Muss des fremden Eigenwillens".

45. cf. Driver, op.cit., §172.

46. Lehrbuch der Hebr. Spr. (ed. 8, 1870), 233a, 343b.

47. Hiob, ed. 2. (1891), to 31:21.

48. e.g. Gray-Driver, who more or less consistently emend the text.

49. Tenses, §§172-174.

certain modifications. According to him, since the majority of the forms stands at the beginning of a clause they have been influenced by the normally expected form with Waw-consecutive, while the desire to preserve a connection with the preceding, which the fuller form with ! gave, further influenced the imitated vocalization of the jussive (i.e. consecutive) form.

c). Hitzig⁵⁰ assumes that the Waw consecutive construction may be broken up and still retain consecutive sense. According to this view

$$\text{בְּיָמָיו} \dots \text{!} = \text{בְּיָמָיו}$$

d). Gesenius⁵¹ explains this jussive form on rhythmical grounds. Since the majority of cases occur at the beginning of a clause, the shortening is due to the distance of the imperfect-form from the principal tone.

None of these explanations is fully satisfactory. To assume a mistaken vocalization in the seven instances of Waw conjunctive is possible, but the same explanation is unlikely in the much more frequent examples without a Waw and especially where the jussive form is consonantal.

50. v. Driver, ibid., §172; cf. §85 obs; Davidson, Syntax, §55R.5.

51. GKC, §109k.

Even Driver's theory does not adequately explain why the writer, or scribe, did not use the full consecutive form. As a matter of fact it is highly doubtful whether the form with the Waw consecutive at the beginning of a clause is indeed the norm which is said to have influenced the use of the jussive form.

Cross and Freedman⁵² in a careful study of the use of the Waw at the beginning of cola in Biblical Hebrew poetry came to the conclusion that, as in Ugaritic, the conjunction follows no determinable set of rules but seems to be distributed at random. It is, moreover, used most sparingly in the earlier poetry,⁵³ not appearing once in Psalm 68 which is full of Ugaritic parallels.⁵⁴

Hitzig's theory, apart from being very doubtful in itself⁵⁵ does not explain the examples with the conjunctive

52. op.cit., note 28.

53. ibid., p.19f note v.

54. UH,I, 14:2.

55. Thus, if the prefixion of the Waw is not the tense determinant then there is no need to assume a "disintegration" of the consecutive-imperfect construction at all.

Waw, for which resort must be had to emendation. Nor does it explain over a dozen cases where the jussive form cannot possibly be regarded as due to disintegration of the Waw-consecutive construction.⁵⁶

In the circumstances, the explanation of Gesenius presents the least difficulties. However, a different, less mechanical, approach is possible.

It has previously been observed that the use of the conjunction at the beginning of a clause is capricious and that the time aspect is determined by the context, not by the presence or absence of the Waw.⁵⁷ Bauer-Leander⁵⁸ noted the possibility of the jussive expressing the same meaning as the full imperfect form. Since this is

56. 18:9,12; 20:23,26,28; 33:11,21,27. 36:14; 38:24; 37:4,5; 39:26.

57. cf. e.g. II Sam. 22:14 וַיִּרְעַם with Ps.18:14 וַיִּרְעַם and many other examples cited by Cross & Freedman, op.cit.

58. HG p.274L citing Gen.49:17 וַיִּהְיֶה; Deut. 28:21 וַיִּהְיֶה; 32:18 וַיִּהְיֶה; Ps. 11:6 וַיִּהְיֶה

precisely the usage in Ugaritic where the jussive with or without Waw may even indicate past time,⁵⁹ there seems not to be the slightest doubt that a similar situation obtains in Biblical Hebrew poetry.

Accordingly, these verbs, jussive in form but not in meaning, are to be explained as archaisms after the pattern of early Canaanite poetry and there is no need to treat them as textual corruptions. As G.R. Driver has expressed it; "It is----- wrong to see a jussive in every yaqtul; its jussive use is only an offshoot of its universal function".⁶⁰

F. The Tense Sequence in Verb Repetition.

In several instances the same verb is repeated in both stichoi of a sentence.

8:3	יָעוֹת	...	יָעוֹת
13:7	תִּדְבְּרוּ	...	תִּדְבְּרוּ
27:16-17	יָכִין	...	יָכִין
37: 4-5	יִרְעֶם	...	יִרְעֶם
41:16	יִצְוֶן	...	יִצְוֶן

In these cases it has been usual to regard the

59. UH, I, 9:7; 13:32; cf. Harris, Development, p.85.

60. Problems, p.10.

text as corrupt.⁶¹ Torczyner explains the repetitions as being due to the limitations of the "translator". Neither of these explanations can any longer be maintained in view of the frequent use of the identical construction in Ugaritic poetry.⁶²

e.g. yšq/ksp yšl/h bṛš yšq ksp/lalpm bṛš yšq/m
lrbbt/yšq hym wtbtb⁶³

"He casts silver, He smelts gold, He casts silver by thousands (of shekels), Gold he casts by myriads, He casts hym and tbṫh!"

špq ilm krm y[n] špq ilht ḥprt [yn]..⁶⁴

"He satisfied the sheep gods with wine, He satisfied the ewe goddesses with wine..."

špq is repeated no less than eight times.

61. See the commentaries to 8:3, 41:16. The versions differ in their degree of faithfulness to the MT. An excellent case in point is 8:3.

LXX	ἀδικήσας	...	τὰ κλέπτει
Vulg.	supplantat	...	subvertit
Targ.	(a) יעקם	(b)	יקלקל

On the basis of these differences and the supposed unlikelihood of the repetition, moderns generally emend the text. Kittel gives four possibilities for the first יעות - viz.

יעקל, יעקו, יעוה, יעוה

Apart from the fact that Symmachus and Syriac agree with MT, this mode of reasoning involves a methodological error.

v.3a is confirmed by 34:12. Targum to 3a renders יעות by יעקם but in 34:12 the same word is rendered יקות. Moreover, an examination of the Targum renderings to Job 19:6 תרפני; 34:12 יקלקל Ps. 119:78 עותו; 146:9 ילללל; Amos 8:5 לטקרא. The variations in the versions must therefore be regarded simply as attempts at stylistic improvements and not as evidence of the corruption of MT.

tb' ktr/lahlh hyn tb' lms/knth⁶⁵

"Ktr departs to his tent(s), Hyn departs to his tabernacles."

Accordingly, the five cases cited above of the repetition of the same verb in parallel clauses must be regarded as another example of the influence of Canaanite poetic style on the language of Job.

62. Cassuto, Tarbiš, 14 (1942), p. 9f.

63. 51:I:26-30

64. 51:VI:47-54

65. 2 Aqht:V:31-33.

II SOME VERBAL FORMS.A. t- preformative with 3rd m.s. imperfect.

A peculiarity of the language of Job, hitherto unrecognized, is the use of a t- preformative with the imperfect in parallelism with the normal 3rd m.s. in y-, or under the government of a masculine subject. This phenomenon has caused great confusion to the commentators. The following examples demonstrate the point:

1. 18:14. ינתן מאהלו מבטחו תצעידהו למלך בלהות
2. :15. תשכון באהלו מבלי-לו יזרה על מהו גפרית

The difficulty of finding the subject of תצעידהו and תשכון has given way to various emendations and much forced exegesis.¹ What has not been sufficiently appreciated, however, is the mythological background of the entire section which alone can explain these verses.

The "first-born of Death" (v.13) is usually interpreted figuratively as "fatal disease". "the terrors of death", "one doomed to death". The Targum, followed by Rashi, took the phrase to mean "the Angel of Death".²

1. For details, see Gray & Driver, op.cit., ad loc.

2. The other versions give no help. LXX has simply πρῶτος θάνατος, Theod. & Symm. translated the phrase as πρῶτος θάνατος, Vulg. has primogenita mors.

The mention of עֵלֶךְ בְּלֵהוֹת (v.14) confirms a literal rendering for בְּכוֹר אֹת, but with a mythological implication. Môt, as is well known, is the Canaanite god of Death associated with disease, destruction and aridity. Cassuto has pointed to several passages in Scripture in which the Hebrew אֹת has acquired a specialized personified meaning analogous to its usage as a proper name in the Ugaritic epics.³ Specific mention of Môt's first-born has not yet turned up, but reference may be made to Ugaritic Text 49:VI:7-9, which speaks of the "seven sons of the god Môt". Moreover, in Mesopotamian mythology Namtar, the god of pestilence, is the first-born and grim messenger of Ereshkigal, mistress of the netherworld.⁴ Môt too is king of the netherworld and it would be quite in keeping with the Near Eastern motif for his first born son too, to be his grim messenger.

The use of the verb אָכַל in connection with Môt's activities (v.13) again harks back to mythology. The

3. U. Cassuto, The Goddess Anath (Jerusalem, 1951), pp.48-49, cf. p.22.

4. Ibid., p.49.

special characteristic of this Canaanite god is that he devours his victims.⁵ In a typical passage Môt boasts of his prowess and describes to Anath his methods, saying:⁶

bklat ydy ilhm ...
"with both my hands I shall devour" ...

It is more than likely that the difficult בדיו may mean "with his hands", thus giving an exact phraseological correspondence with the Ugaritic passage cited above. There is no need to emend בדיו to בדין, as the uniconsonantal d, "hand", appears fossilized in the combination bd, "in the hands of", in Ugaritic, as ba-di-u in a Canaanite gloss of the Amarna letters and in Phoenician inscriptions.⁷

מלך בלקות is to be rendered "king of the netherworld". The description of the fate of the wicked leaves no doubt that death is here intended. That בלקות is an epithet for the netherworld is clear from Ezek. 26:20-21 where it is used synonymously with בזר and ארץ תחתיות and antithetically

5. For references and texts see the note on בלע on p.17 of this dissertation.

6. 67:I:19-20.

7. UH, I, 8:20.

with אֶרֶץ חַיִּים⁸ The "king of the netherworld" can be none other than Môt himself. Several Ugaritic passages refer explicitly to Môt's throne in the underworld.⁹ If "the firstborn of Môt" is the grim messenger who brings victims to Môt in the netherworld, then it is most reasonable to assume that he is the subject of תַּצְעִידֵהוּ. This, indeed, was recognized by Duham and Gray who, however, emended the verb to יַצְעִידֵהוּ, in the masculine.¹⁰

The second clause of v.15 and the following verses show that utter ruination follows the action of someone who inhabits the house of the wicked. With this use of שָׁכַן may be compared several instances of its employment in a figure of destruction:

Isa. 13:21	וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ שָׁמַיִם בְּטַח יָעִנָּה
34:11	וַיִּנְשֹׁף וַיַּעֲרֹב יִשְׁכֵּן בָּהּ
Ezek. 31:13	עַל מַפְלְתוֹ יִשְׁכֵּן כָּל עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם
32:4	וְהִשְׁכַּנְתִּי עָלָיִךְ כָּל עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם

Thus תַּשְׁכֹּן בְּאַהֲלוֹ is a figure of destruction and the architect of the destruction, or the subject of תַּשְׁכֹּן would,

8. cf. also Ezek. 27:36; 28:19.

9. e.g. 51:VIII:7-14; 67:II:14-16.

10. cf. BH ad loc.

most consistently with the mythological picture, be Môt's first-born, in the same way that Namtar, his Mesopotamian counterpart, is the agent of pestilence and destruction.¹¹

The Idea is that the entire household disintegrates with the death of the wicked master.¹²

מבלי-לו, on the analogy of 39:16 בלא-לה and Hab 2:6 לא-לו, requires no emendation, the phrase meaning "without him", i.e. he, the owner, being gone.

To sum up: Bildad describes the ineluctable fate of the wicked in terms borrowed from the language of myth.

בכור מות is to be taken literally and is the subject of תצעידהו and תצכון. We have here two examples of a t-preformative referring to a masculine antecedent in 3rd. s.

3. 20:9 ולא עוד תצורנו מקומו
This construction is unique.¹³ The obvious incom-

11. Here too, BH emends to יצכון

12. v.16 is a stereo-typed curse formula, being found with variation in the Bible in Isa.37:31, Amos 2:9; and Mal.3:19; in the Phoenician Eshmun-azar Inscription line 11; in Ugaritic in 1'Aqht: 159-160; and in a Hittite text, for which see Gaster, Thespis. p.304 n.

13. Gen.18:24 בקרבה refers, not to מקום but to עיר. In II Sam.17:12 אחת has been corrected by Q.

patibility of the undoubtedly masculine מקום with a verb in the feminine has either led to the emendation of the verb to ישורנו¹⁴ or been explained by taking מקומו as the object of the verb with עין in 9a as the subject.¹⁵ Against this is the pronominal suffix of תשורנו which, as in the parallel שזפתו and ימצאנו, must refer to the wicked. This is the tradition of Theodotion and the Vulgate and is supported by the equivalent ולא יכירנו עוד מקומו (7:10 = Ps.103:16). Accordingly, מקומו must be the subject of תשורנו. In fact, were it not for the feminine form of the verb none would question the predicate-subject construction. We are thus faced with another instance of a t-preformative with a masculine connotation in the 3rd s.

4. 22:29 כי השפילו ותאמר גוה ושמ עינים יושיע

The two clauses are obviously intended to be parallel. The second clause is perfectly clear: He (God) saves the lowly. שמ עינים, while a hapax legomenon, is the opposite of גבה עינים¹⁶. שמ is derived from שמח, "to

14. So Gray and Driver, BH.

15. So Torczyner, op.cit.

16. Ps. 101:5.

be humble, abased". It is used in the same sense in 9:13. Significantly, it is found together with פָּלַח in Isa. 25:12; 26:5. It may therefore be safely assumed that הַפְּלִיחַ in clause 'a' corresponds in meaning to פָּלַח עֲנִיִּים in 'b'. It is to be understood as an "internal" Hiphil¹⁷ as used in Isa. 57:9; Jer. 13:18; Ps. 113:6, and with an indefinite subject in the plural,¹⁸ meaning: "when men are brought low". לוֹהֵ is a contraction of לְגֹאֵה [לְגֹאֵה] "pride",¹⁹ which is by no means always used in a bad sense.²⁰

Whether וַתִּצְרַח be taken in the sense of "proclaim" or, with Torczyner, as the Acc., amâru, "to be high", "exalted", the clause is parallel to יוֹצִיעַ and the subject must therefore be God. The meaning of the clause is then, that when men are brought low, He (God) restores their pride - an exact parallel to clause 'a'. This conclusion may be confirmed by a striking equivalent of our verse, though in the exact opposite sense, in the Aramaic (Dan. 4:34) וְדִי מִלְכִּין בְּגוֹה יִכַּל לְהַפְּלִיחַ. The use of פָּלַח with גוֹה, as in our verse, nullifies

17. GKC §53d.

18. A.B. Davidson, Hebrew Syntax (3rd ed. 1901), 108. For a similar usage in Job cf. 6:2 יִצְוֶה.

19. GKC §23f. cf. Jer. 13:17.

20. cf. Deut. 33:26, 29, Ps. 68:35.

all attempts at emending the latter word. Both the Daniel and Job verses may be grounded in a popular proverb, a fact which would also help account for the terseness of language as well as for the use of what will later be shown to be an archaism in the Hebrew. At any rate, נתאמר גוה is parallel to ווייע and represents a t- preformative used as 3 m.s.²¹

Two further, though uncertain, examples of this phenomenon may be cited:

5. 5:17 הנה אצרי אנוש יוכיחנו אלוה ומוסר צדי אל תמאס

Since אל is frequently used in place of לא in Job,²² and since מאס would be more natural in the context, תמאס may well be 3 m.s. However, two other explanations are also possible for the sudden change of person. The speaker may be quoting a general maxim which he then applies directly to Job and since the phrase is found in almost identical form in Prov. 3:12 and may here be a direct quotation.

6. 16:8 ותקמאני לעד היה

הלאני in v.7 refers to God as do the following verbs in 3rd. m.s. The only other usage of קמא in Job (22:16) also has God as the subject.

21. Vulg. and Syr. overcome the difficulty by reading ויע:

22. cf. 5:22; 9:34; 20:17; 32:21.

It would thus be tempting to explain ותקמלני too, as a 3rd. m.s. and so obviate the incongruence of 2nd person with היה. However, the impossible הלצאות in v.7. and the general obscurity of the verses must render this suggestion tentative.

Having established at least four, and possibly six, instances of a 3rd. m.s. imperfect with t- in Job, we now turn to the cognate languages where, as a matter of fact, the same phenomenon can be found in Phoenician and the Canaanite glosses of the Amarna tablets.

The 10th cent. Aḥiram Sarcophagus Inscription has the following:

line 10 תחתסך חלר מצפאה תהתפך כסא אלכה

Now it is true that כסא might be a feminine noun as in Ugaritic,²³ but there is no evidence for חלר as other than masculine. We have here a case of t- preformative for 3rd. m.s. imperfect.²⁴

Similarly, Ebeling in his study of the verbal forms of the Amarna letters pointed out several undoubted instances of the same phenomenon there, e.g. tirām "he loves", tiqbi

23. 51:V:103, t·db ksu.

24. So Harris, Grammar, p.65. cf. L.H. Vincent, "Les Fouilles de Byblos", RB, 34 (1925), p.186.

"he says", tidin "he gives".²⁵

Dhorme²⁶ has commented on the evidence as follows: -

"On ne doit pas s'étonner de trouver ce préfixe ta ou ti au plur. masc. puisqu'il apparaît même au masc. sing..... La conclusion qui s'impose, cest qu'on employait l'une pour l'autre les 3^{es} pers masc. et fem., tant au sing. qu'au plural".

The evidence cited here shows conclusively that a 3rd. m.s. form with a t- preformative existed in the Canaanite dialects²⁷ and the examples of the same phenomenon in Job cited above fall into the same pattern and should be so explained, no emendation from fem. to masc. being required.

B. t- preformative with 3rd. m.pl. imperfect.

That such a form existed among the Canaanite dialects is no longer in dispute²⁸ Equally certain it is that vestigial

25. E.Ebeling, Das Verbum der El-Amarna Briefe, (Berlin, 1909), p.12, cf. paradigms p.10,15.

26. "La Langue de Canaan", RB, X (1913), p.379.

27. It is interesting to note that the promiscuous interchange of masc. and fem. verbal forms is to be found in the Nuzu dialect where it is Hurrian substratum.

28. For the literature up to 1951 see W.L. Moran, JCS, V (1951), pp.33-35. Previously, Moran (with Albright) had expressed doubt on the existence of such a 3rd.pl. t- preformative on the grounds that (a) such forms may be f.s. verbs employed with m.pl. subjects as collectives as in Arabic and Hebrew, (b) they may be conflate Canaanite-Accadian formations (JCS, II (1948), pp.243-244, esp. Comm. No.6). Subsequently, Moran (op.cit.) withdrew his objection because of new evidence provided by the syntax of purpose clauses in the Amarna letters from Byblos. As to the explanation of this taqtulu form, Moran was inclined to accept the suggestion of Cross and Freedman (JBL, 67 (1948), p.201, fn.16) that it arose by the analogical

usages of this form are to be found in Biblical Hebrew.²⁹ Job 19:15 תחטבני may be another such example.³⁰ Most scholars re-arrange vv.14-15 so that גרי ביתי is attached to the previous verb. While this has the merit of improving the metrical arrangement, it is not without objection:

- (1) גרי ביתי goes better with אמקתי.
- (2) שכחונני is more appropriate to מידעי than to גרי ביתי
- (3) irregular metrical division is fairly common³¹.
- (4) the m. suffix of בעיניהם, while not entirely anomalous,³² goes better with גרי ביתי attached to אמקתי than to the previous verse.³³
- (5) The form תחטבני still remains morphologically difficult even if it refers to אמקתי alone. Accordingly, it would be best to leave the text as it is and to explain תחטבני as a Canaanism, an instance of t- 3rd m.pl. imperfect form.

change of prefix y->t- on the basis of the idiomatic use of the 3rd. f.s. indicative tagtulu with a plural subject. For another explanation, see that of Dhorme cited above, note 26.

29. See UH, I, p.63, for examples. A survival of this Canaanism is to be found in a late Aramaic magical text: J. Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur (1913), Texts No.21-23, line 2:

ומן כל נזקין דלג תקבון

30. GKC §60 merely records, but does not explain, the form.

31. cf. Job 4:8; 14:13; 26:5.

32. GKC §135 o.

33. GKC §132 d, §46d.

C. The Qatlâti Perfect.

The usual perfect Qal form of רִיב in the 2nd m.s. is רִיבָּ. Job, however, in one instance, has the unusual form רִיבוֹתָ (33:13). Ebeling³⁴ has pointed out that this corresponds to the well-attested Qatlâti³⁵ perfect form, used side by side with the Qatalti form in the Canaanite glosses to the Amarna tablets. Accordingly, רִיבוֹתָ is to be classified as a Canaanism.

34. E. Ebeling, Das Verbum Der El-Amarna Briefe, (Berlin, 1909), p. 21; Dhorme, RB, X, (1913), p. 391, n. 3.

35. The use of -â- as a binding vowel is regularly found in the Accadian status indeterminatus and the permansive forms. It has survived in Hebrew regularly in such forms as סְבוֹתַי בְּקִימוֹתַי where it gives biconsonantal verbs triconsonantal appearance. That it once was used more widely in Hebrew may be conjectured from the K. and sometimes even from the Q of many irregular forms e.g. II Kings 4:23 אֶתִּי הוֹלֵכְתִּי K, Jer. 8:18 אֲבִלְגִיתִי, for the î vowel of which cf. Acc. belêta; 10:17 יֹשְׁבְתִי k; 15:10 אֲקַלְלוֹנִי = אֲקַלְלוֹנִי; 22:23 אֲקַנְנִיתִי k; יֹשְׁבְתִי k; 51:13 שְׁכַנְתִּי k. All these cases may be explained as having the verbal suffixes attached to the nominal (participle) form just as in the Accadian status indeterminatus.

III The Relative Pronoun ו

The relative pronoun ו occurs but once, in k. וְיָשָׁב (Q וְיָשָׁב) 19:29, and is so understood by Aqu. Theod. Symm. Targ. Syr. Vulg. as well as in Rabbinic literature.¹ The Jewish commentators Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Ralbag, similarly construed the form.

Some moderns² prefer to emend ו to וְיָשָׁב. This, however, is highly objectionable, for while the omission of the relative pronoun is frequent in Job nowhere is וְיָשָׁב used in the direct object of the verb. On the analogy of 11:18 a preceding כִּי would be required. No-one familiar with Biblical Hebrew idiom could tolerate a construction ... לְמַעַן תִּדְעוּן וְיָשָׁב

The use of the relative ו is characteristic of Moabite³ and is mainly confined in the Hebrew Bible to those books that have Northern origins or affinities⁴. It is undoubtedly connected with Phoenician וּ⁵ The vocalization וְ is that

1. Minhath Shai, ad loc.

2. Budde, Klostermann, BH, Gray-Driver.

3. v. Driver, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (9th ed. 1913), p.449, n.

4. HG, p.29 maintains that וְ in Hebrew is original to Northern Israel. cf. Dahood, Biblica, 33 (1952), p.44f. esp., p.45, n.1.

5. W.Wright, Comparative Grammar (1890), p.119.

of the proto-Semitic ša which is the regular form of the Canaanite relative pronoun as found in the Amarna letters.⁶ As a matter of fact the latter yields a construction identical with that of Job in the use of ša in the sense of "that" after the verb idu.⁷

6. Dhorme, "La Langue de Canaan", RB, XI (1914), p.360.

7. EA, 149:82, pointed out by Dhorme, ad loc.

IV THE DEFINITE ARTICLE.

One of the characteristics of Hebrew poetry is the tendency to omit the definite article where it would be expected in prose.¹ This phenomenon is explained by the fact that poetry, consciously or otherwise, imitates the older forms of the language, and since Ethiopic, Accadian and Ugaritic have no definite article it may be assumed that there was none in proto-Semitic. The peculiarity of Job lies, not in the rarity of the article, but in the inconsistency and erraticism in its use.

The definite article has a dual function - as a relative pronoun in a participial sentence, and as a noun determinant.

A. The Article as a Relative.

There is a complete lack of consistency in this type of construction. The article is present in 9:5,6,7; but absent in vv.8,9,10. The participle is defined in 5:10 but not in vv.9,13. With the following instances which have the article:- 3:8,14,15,21,22; 6:16; 22:17; 30:3-4; may be contrasted the omission in the series 12:17,19-24 and 26:7-8.

The conclusion is unavoidable that the presence or

1. GKC §126h; Wilson, Hebraica, VI (1889-90), p.214
Lambert, REJ, 37 (1898), p.203.

absence of the article with a participle is entirely capricious, a mere stylistic device for which no controlling conditions can be determined.

B. Determination of the Noun.

The most frequent use of the article² is in clichés especially of the kind composed of two nouns in construct relationship. Here again there is a most haphazard and inconsistent determination. The following contrasts illustrate the point:

חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ 5:22	but	עֵפֶר אֶרֶץ 14:19
עֶשֶׂב הָאֲרֶץ 5:25		עֲנִי אֶרֶץ 24:4,18
עִם הָאָרֶץ 12:24		בְּהֵמוֹת אֶרֶץ 35:11
קִצּוֹת הָאָרֶץ 28:24		
כִּנְפוֹת הָאָרֶץ 37:3,38:13		
דְּגַי הַיָּם 12:8	but	חֹל יָם 6:3
אַרְשֵׁי הַיָּם 36:30		בְּמַתֵּי יָם 9:8
		נִבְכֵי יָם 38:16
לְגַבֵּי הַיָּם 11:8	but	עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם 12:7,28:21;35:11
לְגַבֵּי הַיָּם 22:12		
חֹג הַיָּם 22:14		
עַמּוּדֵי הַיָּם 26:11		
כַּפֵּר הַיָּם 38:29		
חֻקֹּת הַיָּם 38:33		
נִבְלֵי הַיָּם 38:37		

2. The use of the full form of the definite article with the noun must be distinguished from the apparently elided form with the

Similarly difficult to understand are the inconsistencies in the following cases:

a) In clichés we find לילה consistently without the article
 article לילה 4:13 חזיונות

לילה 20:8; 33:15 חזון

לילה 34:20 חצות

Yet in 3:3, the undefined ה לילה is parallel to יום.

We find מן גו 30:5; מן הארץ 30:8; מן החדר 37:9, but מן גו 30:5.

b) The poetic preposition מני usually goes with an undefined noun: -

מני חשך 12:22; מני ים 41:11; מני ארץ 18:17,³ but

מני הדרך 31:7 occurs. שמים, with the exception of the cliché עוף השמים, is always undefined.

c) The particle כל too, never takes the article, Yet we find the combination כל השמים 28:24; 37:3; 41:3.

d) The interrogative איזה 38:19, 24 takes the article but not מי זה⁴ 38:2; 42:3 or מי הוא 4:7.

e) We find הקרח 38:29 and קרח 6:16; 37:10; חכמה 28:12, 20, otherwise always simply חכמה⁵.

Finally, comparison between Job and other books is instructive.

prepositions בבל. In such cases, as will be shown later, the vocalization is not necessarily a guide to the presence of the article.

3. so מני שחת 33:30; מני בני 16:16;

4. cf. Ps. 25:12 מיזה הארץ

Job 3:3 ארור הים

Jer. 20:14 ארור היום

14:19 עפר ארץ

Isa. 40:12 עפר הארץ

22:14 חוג אצמים

Isa. 40:22 חוג הארץ

On the other hand, Job 28:13, but Isa 53:8 ארץ חיים

How is this erraticism in the use of the article to be explained? König⁶ maintains that in two parallel clauses, the presence of the article in the first clause also determines thereby the second.⁷ The evidence however, is against such an interpretation of the omission of the article, for in the majority of cases in Job the article is present in the second clause but omitted in the first. We should have to assume retrogressive functioning of the article - an impossible situation.

Thus, the article is present in the first clause, but absent in the second, only three times.

28:12 (=20) והחכמה - בינק

37:9 מן החרר - מאצרים

38:29 הקרח - כפר אצמים

5. 11:6; 12:2; 15:8; 26:3; 28:28; 32:7,13; 33:33; 38:36; 39:17.

6. Syntax §292n cf. Lambert, op.cit., p.206f.

7. Among the examples he cites is Job 5:10 הנתן - ושלח

On the other hand, the reverse situation occurs nine times.

3:3	יום - והלילה
5:22	למד ולכפן - חית הארץ
12:7	בהמות - עוף השמים
28:21	כל חי - עוף השמים
33:30	מנחת - באור החיים
35:11	בהמות ארץ - עוף השמים
38:12 (Q)	בקר - השחר
39:15	רגל - חית הצדה
40:20	בול הרים - חית הצדה

In fact, since the article is actually present in both members of the parallelism only four times,

3:4	הלילה הוא v.6 היום הוא
5:23	אבני הצדה - חית הצדה
28:24	קצות הארץ - כל השמים
37:3	כל השמים - כנפות הארץ

the evidence unmistakably demonstrates that the absence or presence of the article is capricious and that König's rule cannot be substantiated.

Tur-Sinai⁸ suggests that the article may have

8. טפר איוב (2nd. ed., 1954), p.362.

been later inserted with nouns on the analogy of the prose style. However, we should still be without explanation for the capriciousness of the editors in inserting the article. Furthermore, Psalm 104 and Isaiah 40ff share with Job the peculiarity of the participial sentences used indiscriminately, with or without the article.⁹

Psalm 104, moreover, exhibits a large number of Canaanite forms and has numerous phraseological correspondences with Job. It exhibits the same erraticism in its use of the article with the noun, e.g. v.14 **הָאָדָם**, v.23 **אָדָם**

v.14:24 **הָאָרֶץ**, but v.30 **אֲדָמָה**; v.19 **הַשָּׁמַיִם**, v.22 **הַשָּׁמַיִם**,
v.23 **זֶה הֵימָּן גִּזְזָל**

Ecclesiastes too, shows the same inconsistent insertion of the article: - 2:8 **וְהַמְדִּינֹת מַלְכִּים**; 10:20 **דָּבַר... הַקּוֹל**
12:6 **הַגִּלְגָּל... כִּד** etc. Thus, the inconsistency and erraticism in the placement of the article must have some explanation other than the whim of the redactor, especially since it occurs in precisely those texts which otherwise exhibit strong Canaanite influence.

No help can be obtained from Ugaritic since it lacks the article entirely. But Dahood¹⁰ has effectively demonstrated

9. Pfeiffer, Introduction, p.468.

10. M.J.Dahood, op.cit., 33 (1952), pp.197f.

that in the case of Ecclesiastes the phenomenon is the result of Phoenician syntactical influence.¹¹ The following examples of the inconsistent Phoenician use of the article may be compared with those of Job cited above: -

yḥmlk line 4, פתח חרץ זן; 5, הפתח חרץ זן
 " 6, ערפת זא; 12, והערפת זא
 Sidon, Tabnith" 3, מאנן ז; Eshmunāzar; 4, מצב ז
 Eshmunāzar " 9, אלנם קדשם; 22, האלנם הקדשם

The evidence would seem to decide in favor of the variability in the use of the article as a genuine feature of the language of Job and against the assumption of late editorial addition. Rather is it to be considered another proof of its archaic character and a point of contact with Phoenician and Northern Hebrew.

C. Omission of the Article with the Nota Accusativi

Three times in Job the nota accusativi את occurs without a following definite article:

- | | | |
|----|-------|-----------------|
| 1. | 13:25 | ואת קש יבש תגדץ |
| 2. | 36:7 | ואת אלכים לטא |
| 3. | 41:26 | את כל גבה ידאה |

In each of these instances the commentators have seen fit to emend the text so as to eliminate the syntactical

11. Friedrich, Grammatik, §300 "Im Phönizischen scheint keine Regel über Setzung oder Nichtsetzung des Artikels beim Substantive erkennbar". cf. Schröder, Die phönizische Sprache (Halle, 1869) p.161. Harris, Grammar, p.66; Cooke, North Semitic Inscriptions (1903), p.21.

difficulty. Before considering the merits of the emendations we have to examine the suppositions upon which they rest.

These are two-fold:

a) that the nota accusativi is alien to the language of Job.¹²

b) that every nota accusativi must be followed by the definite article.¹³

a) The nota accusativi in Job

The restricted use of את is characteristic of Hebrew poetry in general¹⁴ and of Job in particular¹⁵. However, the particle is to be found several times with suffixes¹⁶ and even with a noun as the direct accusative of a verb.¹⁷ There can

12. W.B.Stevenson, Notes on the Poem of Job (1951), p.55: "The accus. particle is not used before a noun elsewhere in the poem". Tur-Sinai, op.cit., to 13:25. cf. on 5:2;

13. Ibid. p.176, "אין את אלא לפני הא הידוע בכלל" Gray-Driver, op.cit., II, p.86: "את before an indeterm. noun is very anomalous".

14. GKC §117a; A.M.Wilson, op.cit., pp.139-150, 212-224.

15. Ibid. p.140, Wilson points out that Job proportionately uses את less than any other Biblical book, with the exception of Lamentations, Proverbs and Nahum.

16. אתי 14:3; אתכם 13:9,10,11;27:5;11; cf. אתי 19:4, אתך 14:5.

17. 7:21 ותעבור את עוני; 26:4 אתמי הגדת. For את הגיד את cf. 32:6 אשיבך... ואת רעיקך 35:4, ידע את מקומה 28:23 חזה את

be no objection therefore, to the use of the nota accusativi as such.

b) The nota accusativi without the article.

This construction is not uncommon in Hebrew poetry¹⁸ as may be shown by such examples as Isa.33:19 את עם נועז

41:7 את צרף ; Ezek. 26:19 את תהם ; Ps.146:9; את גרים

Prov.3:12 את בן ; Eccles.3:15 את נרדף ; 4:4 את כל עמל ואת כל כשרון

Eccles.7:7 את לב ; 8:9 את כל זה ; 12:14 את כל מעשה

This looseness in the combination or omission of the article with את corresponds exactly to the general erraticism in the use of the article itself. Here too, the explanation lies within the sphere of Phoenician syntactical influence. As with the article, there are no fixed rules in Phoenician for the insertion of the nota accusativi or for its use with a defined noun.¹⁹

Kilamuwa II:15: ישחת ראצ בעל צמד 20
 Karatepe I:21-11: דננם ישבת עם 21
 Esmun'azar 4f: אל יפתח אית משכב צ
 Karatepe, III:14-15: יחמד אית הקרת צ

18. Wilson, op.cit., p.214

19. Friedrich, op.cit., pp.274-278 cf. Schröder, op.cit., p.213

20. = 'השחית את ראצ'

21. = 'את הד' הוצבתי עם'

All the afore-going evidence points to the following conclusions: the use of את with a noun in Job is attested firmly; the omission of the article after את is not anomalous in poetry and is common Phoenician usage. These facts should warrant a cautious approach to the emendation of the text in the three Job passages cited at the outset, a detailed consideration of each of which is now called for.

1. העלה נדף תערוץ ואת קט יבש תרדף

It is usual to emend ואת to ואם²². However, the pattern א... ה is by no means invariable. The conjunction ! may frequently replace אם in the coordinate clause of an interrogative sentence, e.g. 4:2; 6:26; 15:7;8,11; 18:4 38:16,17,22,38. Again, in two or more parallel or coordinate clauses one may take the nota accusativi and the other omit it. This construction is common in Biblical Hebrew: -

	Isa. 49:21	אלה - את אלה	
	Ezek. 4:5	עין-את שני עונם-את ען	
	Prov. 22:23	את קבעיהם ריבם	
	II Chron. 32:14	עמו ,15 את עמו	
cf.	Zech. 2:1	את עמי ,5 עמי	

In Job itself it is found three times: -

7:21	פשעי - את עוני
26:4	נשמתי - את מי
28:23	דרכה - את מקומה

22. so Gray-Driver, Beer, Budde, Duhm, Kittel.

23. cf. Prov. 23:11 את ריבם

Accordingly, there can be no objection to the presence of את and since, as has been shown, the omission of a following article occasions no difficulty, the emendation to ואם is entirely unnecessary.

2. 36:7 ואת מלכיהם לכנסא וישיבם לנצח וכו'

The exegetical difficulty occasioned by the inappropriate mention of מלכיהם is independent of the syntactical problems of the sentence, which alone engage our attention. Duhm's suggested emendation to ואם in no wise improves the text.²⁴ Perles²⁵ proposed the reading ואת. However the Targum and Theod. אזמא נא, testify to the antiquity of MT ואת. It has already been shown that there can be no objections as such to the combination ואת מלכיהם. It remains to point out that ואת introducing casus pendens followed by the imperfect with Waw is a legitimate construction.²⁶ Three such examples will suffice for our purpose, each being syntactically equivalent to our Job passage:

I Kings 15:13 וגם את מעבה אמו ויסרה מגבירה
 II Kings 16:14 ואת המצבח הנחשת... וינקד...
 Isa. 57:12 ואת מעשיך ולא יועילוך

24. cf. the remarks of Dhorme, ad loc.

25. F. Perles, Analekten (1922), p.41.

26. GCK §111h.

Thus, in Job 36:7, as in the previously cited case, the emendation ^ואת is unnecessary.

3. 41:26 את כל גבה יראה

It is common to emend את to אתו and יראה to ירא:

The MT however, is supported by 40:11,²⁷ 12a ראה כל גאה

We have here another instance of את without a following article.

The three cases of the nota accusativi with an undetermined noun are consistent with the erratic placement of the article generally, and the archaic phenomenon is another point of contact with the area of Phoenician and Northern Hebraic syntactical influence.

27. So Budde, Duhme, Beer.

V THE PREPOSITIONSA. The Vocalization of the Prepositions, בבל

There are no non-syncopated forms of the article with the prepositions, the determination of which is indicated solely by the vocalization. There are excellent reasons for doubting whether the Massoretic vocalization really indicates the presence of the article.¹

1. The Massorah would indicate a prodigious use of the elided article with the prepositions in inexplicable contrast to the very sparse use of the article otherwise.

2. The shortened preposition ב with which the article does not elide, never appears with the article.

3. Many nouns have the defined form of the prefix although they are never otherwise determined by the definite article in Job, e.g. אביון, אור, אל, בינה, חטך,

מטפא, מחת, מחקים, אל, עב, מים, מות

4. There are numerous inconsistencies in the punctuation of the prefix with the same noun: -

בָּאוֹר 33:28	לְאוֹר 12:22 etc.,	לְאוֹר 30:26
לְאֵל 13:8;	לְאֵל 13:7	
לְעַב 20:6;	פְּעַב 30:15	
לְקַבֵּר 10:19;	לְקַבְרוֹת 21:32	

1. cf. GKC, §126n, note 2,

בַּשְׁחָקִים 37:21;	לְשַׁחֲקִים 37:18	
בַּמֶּשֶׁפֶּא 9:32;	בַּמֶּשֶׁפֶּא 14:3	לְמֶשֶׁפֶּא 9:19
בַּתְּהוּ 6:18;	בַּתְּהוּ 12:24	

5. There is a large number of inconsistencies within a single context: -

3:21	קִבֵּר v.22 , לְמֹת	
5:22	לְצֵד וְלִכְפֹּץ - חֵית הָאָרֶץ	
9:6	כּוֹכְבִים , לְחִרֹס v.7 , אֶרֶץ	
11:17	בְּהַטָּת - עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם ; 12:7 מִצְהָרִים - בְּבִקֵּר	
12:22	בְּצִיץ - בְּצֵל ; 14:2 חֶשֶׁךְ - לְאוֹר	
18:9	בַּחֶשֶׁךְ - אוֹר ; 24:16 לְטָרֶף - לַחֵם ; 24:5 בְּאֶרֶץ - לְתִיב	
24:24	לְמַעַר - חֲדַיִץ קוֹלוֹת v.26 ; לְחוּח - מִיָּם ; 26:6 בְּכָל - בְּרֹאשׁ שְׂבֵלֶת	
28:25	בְּמַעַר - לְמַלְקוֹשׁ ; 29:23 שֶׁר - בְּרוּחֹב	
29:7	כְּעֶפֶר - וְעֶפֶר ; 30:19 כְּרוּח - כְּעֵב	
30:15	זֶהָב - לְכַתֵּם ; 31:24 אוֹבֵד - לְאַבְדוֹן	
31:19	שַׁחַת - בְּשַׁלַּח ; 33:18 אֶרֶץ - לְאַרְחָא	
31:32	בַּשְׁחָקִים v.21 ; לְשַׁחֲקִים ; 37:18 הַחֲדָר - לְמַזְרִים ; 37:9	
37:9	בְּעֶמֶק - בְּכֹחַ ; 39:21 חֲמָה - בְּבִימָה ; 39:17	

For all these reasons, the vocalization of the preposition cannot possibly represent the presence of the article. Several explanations have been offered for this state of affairs. Konig's phonetic theory² was criticized by

2. Syntax, §292n, note 1.

Lambert³ and the evidence from Job completely refutes it, for we find the indefinite preposition extensively prefixed to nouns in the pre-tone and before gutturals. Lambert⁴ himself thought that the traditional pronunciation of the prefixes with sheva was altered by the punctuators, probably to accord with the prose style in which the article was much more frequently used. However attractive, this theory does not explain the numerous inconsistencies, why the punctuators should have altered some forms but not others, even within the same verse.

An alternative explanation may lie in the nature of the original vowel of the prepositions which in each case was patah, later shortened to sheva. The original vowel remained frequently in the pre-tone lengthened to gametz. It is probable that there was a transition period in the shift from a > ě in which both forms existed side by side. Poetry, in its tendency to use archaism, may well have frequently preserved the older pronunciation of the prepositions with patah.

3. REJ, 37, p.209 note 2.

4. Ibid. p.208, cf. BDB, 208b.

B. The Preposition ב "from"

The recovery of the Ugaritic language, in which the preposition ba has the meaning "from"⁵ in addition to the significations well known from Hebrew, drew the attention of scholars to the fact that the same phenomenon is to be found in Phoenician⁶ and Old South Arabic.⁷ In Biblical Hebrew too, the use of ב as "from" has been increasingly recognized.⁸ Several cases of this phenomenon are to be

5. Gordon, UH, 10:1, p. 81ff. ב is not attested in Ugaritic.

6. This was first observed by H. Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen, I, pp. 63-67; cf. Harris, Grammar, p. 120, s.v. ב; J. Friedrich, Grammatik, 251. For a criticism of Friedrich's "dissimilation" theory, see Gordon, Orientalia XXI (1952), p. 121. The observation of Cooke, North Semitic Inscriptions (1903), p. 35, that "the preposition itself cannot denote 'from' is, of course, invalidated. On the other hand, the remark of Albright, JAOS, LXVII (1947), p. 158 n. 42, that ב "from" is not attested in Phoenician, is not to be taken too literally in view of such forms as למען and the suffixed בם.

7. See Maria Höfner, Altsüdarabische Grammatik (1943), § 123k.

8. cf. Gordon, op. cit., J. Reider, JJS, III (1952), p. 78; Cross & Freedman, JBL, LXXII (1953), pp. 17, 24, n. 20, 25, n. 35, 26 n. 42; S. R. Driver, Notes on... Samuel (2nd. ed. 1913) p. LXVII, cites a variety of instances of "orthographic confusion" of the prepositions ב and ב between MT and LXX. Many such can now be explained on the basis of MT ב = "from". The same applies to several of the examples cited by Fried. Delitzsch, Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament (1920), pp. 113f. For a case in Biblical Aramaic cf. בתי Dan. 5:2, 3. It is interesting to note that Ibn Janāh, Sefer Harikmah 33, already observed that the preposition in Lev. 8:32, and elsewhere, has the function "from".

found in Job.

1. 4:21 הלא נסע יתרם במ

The preposition was understood by Vulg. (auferentur ex eis) and Targ. (אנטל סעיד מנהון) in the sense of "from".

נסע in the Niphal is elsewhere only found in Isa. 38:12 where significantly, the preposition is מני. In the sense of deprivation, the verb has the same meaning in Ugaritic -ns, "to remove".⁹

For יתרם cf. Ps. 17:14 ונהיחו יתרם לעולליהם
Job 22:20. ויתרם אכלה אש

Fried. Delitzsch,¹⁰ even before the days of Ugaritic studies, pointed out that the preposition here is equivalent to the Accad. ina = "in", "from". There can be no doubt that the correct rendering of the passage is:

"Their substance is removed from them".

2. 5:19 בשש צרות יצילך

Elsewhere in Hebrew ב after נצל always indicates the agent¹¹. Following the LXX most moderns emend

9. e.g. 49:VI:27 = 129:17 ; cf. Job 19:10 Hiph. יִסַע
|| v.9 יִסַר.

10. Das Buch Hiob (1902), p.145.

11. e.g. Ps. 33:16; 71:2; Ezek. 14:14, 20. The only exception, Isa. 57:13, is more apparent than real since the preposition there introduces an initial circumstantial verbal clause.

מבט to מט, an emendation now rendered unnecessary by the recognition of the true function of the preposition. An excellent Ugaritic parallel¹² is provided by 3'Aqht: rev.14:

wy-šrk byd btlt [nt]
"and may he save thee from the hand of "Anat".

3. 5:21 בטו לטון תחבא

ב in connection with חבא always elsewhere indicates place-where. LXX, Syr. and Vulg. all render the preposition "from", on the basis of which, moderns emend to מטו. Here, again, the MT has preserved a vestigial meaning of the preposition.

4. 7:13 וחתני בחלומות ומחזיונות תבעתני

This verse affords an excellent example of the interchange of the functions of the prepositions מ and ב.¹³

5. 20:20 בחמורו לא ימלא

Despite the textual difficulties of 20a and 21b,

12. Incidentally, the passage has other Canaanite affinities in the climactic use of numbers, on which see further, above, p.14.

13. Otherwise, חתת takes מ, Isa.31:4,9; 51:7; Jer.1:17; 10:2 bis.

the general sense is abundantly clear. The emphasis is on the fact that in the end the wicked are forced to relinquish their ill-gotten gains. מלט in the Piel is always transitive and means to "save, deliver". Wherever the verb in this form is without an object one has to be understood.¹⁴ It is possible so to take ימלט here with נפשו understood, but it would then shift the emphasis from the miscreant's treasure to his life - a thought which is not natural to the context. Moreover, in vv.20,21 we have chiastic parallelism, בחמורו לא ימלט = אין צריך לאכלו. It is simplest to take בחמורו as the object of the verb and to regard the preposition as another instance of ב = "from". The rendering then is: "He shall save (nought) from his goods".

6. 21:25 ולא אכל באובה

The phrase אכל ב is equivalent to אכל מן.¹⁵

7. 35:16, 36:12 בבלי דעת

בבלי is equivalent to מבלי

14. Ps. 33:17 ברב חילו לא ימלט in which the ב is instrumenti. Amos 2:15a is not really a case in point since נפשו in ב is the object of both clauses. In Isa. 46:4 an object is clearly understood.

15. For the interchangeable use of מ and ב after אכל, cf. Exod.12:43,44,45 אכל ב, with Lev.7:21 אכל מ.

8. 36:15 יחלץ עני בעניו

That ב here means "from", may be shown by such parallel phrases as:

Prov. 11:8 צדיק מצרה נחלץ
Ps. 116:8 כי חלצת נפשי מאמות

C. The Preposition ל = "from"

Like the preposition ba, la too in Ugaritic and Hebrew, has the meaning "from".¹⁶ Several examples are attested:

1. 8:8 כי שאל-נא לדר רישון

It is possible to treat the preposition as ל rei and translate, "concerning the former generation". Such a construction however, is precluded by v.10. which shows that asking for information from some-one is presupposed. The usual idiom for this is שאל מן, but the use of ל with the same function is not unknown elsewhere¹⁷ With this vestigial use of Canaanite ל cf. the phrase שאל ב Judg. 20:18; I Sam. 28:6; 30:8.

2. 12:6 ישליו אהלים לשודדים ובטחות למרגיזי אל לאשר...

16. Gordon, UH, 10:1. For additional examples in Hebrew, cf. Judg. 3:28; 7:24, and Patton, Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms (1944), p. 41.

17. e.g. II Kings 8:6. Both functions of ל are to be found in I Sam. 30:21. Our phrase שאל ל in 8:8 is thus to be compared not with Deut. 4:32, but rather with Deut. 32:7.

The preposition in each clause has generally been taken as expressing the periphrastic genitive¹⁸. Such an interpretation is unwarranted. In the first place, robbers do not usually possess tents but ravage those of others¹⁹. Secondly, the reference here is to the state of the righteous, not of the wicked²⁰. Zophar in the previous chapter has taken the fact of Job's suffering as evidence of his guilt, for, he implies, the righteous do not suffer. (11:13 -19). Job counters this by sarcastically agreeing with Zophar on the blissful state of the righteous and then exposing the falsity of the idea by citing the bitter facts of reality. The close connection between the two speeches is seen by the mention of לבטח , ובטחת in 11:18 and of בבטחות in 12:6. ואולם v.7, shows that what follows is meant to contradict the preceding. Understanding the passage in this manner, the repeated preposition ל means "from":

18. GKC. §129 a-f.

19. cf. Jer.4:20. שרדו אהלי

20. This was correctly noted by Tur-Sinai, but he did not recognize either the sarcastic nature of the speech or the true function of the preposition.

"The tents (of the righteous) are at ease from robbers, and secure from those who provoke God, from etc."

3. 12:20 מסיר שפה לנאמנים

The difficulty of ל after a verb of removing has been explained away either as "ל of respect", or as a periphrastic genitive. The Targum renders the preposition by "from" - ממהימנין, and there can be no doubt that this is the simplest and most natural solution. A similar use of ל after a verb of deprivation is to be found in Ps.84:12 לא ימנע טוב להולכים

4. 20:26 כל חשך ארון לצפונין

The difficulty here lies in the preposition. ל nowhere else means "reserved for". Furthermore, the context requires precisely the opposite expression since darkness suggests security rather than peril for treasures. If the ל be taken as "from", the difficulty disappears. The meaning is: the security is removed, the treasures of the wicked are exposed to plunderers.²¹

5. 38:41; 41:25 לבלי

The dictionaries²² take the ל as designating a

21. cf. Isa.45:3 for the same figure of darkness protecting treasures.

22. cf. BDB, p.516b.

condition or state. Rather we have here an interchange with מבלי. Nowhere is the interchange of functions of ל, ב, מ, better illustrated than in the equation מבלי = בבלי = מבלי.

D. The Combination of Prepositions.

A characteristic of Phoenician is the accretion of different prepositions before a substantive, giving rise to such forms as: ל-מ-מצא שמט, ל-מ-נערי, ל-מ-ב-חיי, ל-מ-ב-ירח²³. Biblical Hebrew shows traces of this phenomenon in the combination ל-מ-, למין. A pure Phoenician form appears in I Chron. 15:13 למבראשונה, which should undoubtedly be vocalized למב-א. The same tendency is present in Mishnaic Hebrew in a form like לכשאפנה (Aboth 2:4).

This phenomenon may be recognized in several passages in Job.

1. 36:3; 39:29 למרחוק²⁴
2. 5:5 אל מצנים

This phrase has been variously emended, principally

23. J. Friedrich, Grammatik, § 253.

24. Elsewhere only II Sam. 17:19 (= I Chron. 17:17); II Kings 19:25 (= Isa. 37:26); II Chron. 26:15; Ezra 3:13.

2
1

because of the difficulty of combining אל with על. Since however, אל and ל are interchangeable, the combination should not be inherently impossible. As a matter of fact, it is actually to be found in:

Lev. 16:15 אל מבית לפרכת
 II Kings 11:15 (= II Chron. 23:14) אל מבית לשדרות

However, the phrase מצנים יקחהו is perfectly intelligible. If אל be taken pleonastically, as one or other of the prepositions must be in these combinations, the verse may be translated:

"Whose harvest the hungry devour, yea they take it out of the (very) thorns", i.e. even that which is overgrown with thorns, and usually escapes the reapers attention, is not spared.

3. 9:15 למטפטי

As the text stands this is an unusual Poel form.²⁵ Hitzig and Budde prefer למטפטי, while Gratz emends to למטפטי. There can be no doubt that the verb חנן goes much better with an active noun מטפטי. It would be simplest to read למטפטי, i.e. a combination of מ + ל with מטפטי.

25. GKC. §55b,c.

4. 20:23 בלחמו

We have here a description of the ineluctable fate of the wicked. This word is parallel to חרון אף, but so far, has defied all the efforts of the lexicographers to find a satisfactory etymology within the context. The various emendations suggested - חבלים²⁶, בלחמו²⁷, בלהות²⁸, חמתו²⁹, פחם³⁰, are either too difficult to explain as the original of בלחמו, or do not suit the context. On the critical principle, 'lectio difficilior praeferenda est', it is best to treat בלחמו as ב-ל-חום i.e. as a combination of prepositions with the noun חום,³¹ "heat", "anger", equivalent to חמה and synonymous with חרון אפו. For its use in Job, cf. 6:17 בחמו. In Ugaritic literature, in a not dissimilar context in which a curse is put on the land, we find the same word hm with the same denominative verb mtr used in the parallel clause:

26. LXX.

27. Dillmann, Budde.

28. Bickell.

29. Duhm.

30. Beer.

31. cf. Arab. زأع, "poison, venom."

·rpt bhm un yr ·rpt tmtr bqz³²

"Clouds in the heat of evil; the early rains; clouds that rain on the summer fruit".

Accordingly, we should translate: "he raineth upon him in/ with his venom".

5. 33:22 לַמֵּתִים

The contrast of לַמֵּתִים with חַיִּים in v.30 suggests that our word here means "death" or "the dead" rather than "killers". Syr., Targ., both so understood it. Perles emends to לְמֵתִים while Dhorme prefers לְמָקוֹם מֵתִים.

The original reading may well have been לְמֵתִים with the מ pleonastic, another instance of an accretion of prepositions obscured by the Massoretic vocalization.

32. I'Aqht, 39-41 on which see Gaster, Thespis, p.12, n.62.

VI THE LAMEDH OF REINFORCEMENT.

The deictic element la as an adverbial emphasizing particle, used proclitically, is a well known feature of the Semitic languages.¹ It appears regularly in Accadian,² Arabic³ and Ugaritic⁴ and is attested in Phoenician.⁵

In 1894, P. Haupt⁶ drew attention to ten instances of this particle in Biblical Hebrew and still others were noted

1. See I. Eitan, AJSL, XLV (1929), p.202; Albright, CBQ,VII (1945), p.24.

2. W. von Soden, Grundriss, §81. The usual form is lu. but la is also frequent. For an example of the asseverative la in the Nuzu dialect cf. la inandinu, "we shall give", - E. Chiera, Excavations at Nuzi, vol. 1. (Harvard Semitic Series vol. v.(1929), 9:12.

3. Wright, Arabic Grammar (1951),II, p.41D.

4. Gordon,UH, 9:12; A Goetze, JOAS, 58 (1938), p.291, n.132.

5. Friedrich, Grammatik,§257e; Albright, JBL, 69 (1950), p.389, has drawn attention to the fact that the emphatic la is present in the Amorite pr.n. Sidqu-la-nasi and in the pr.n. Adon-la-ram found on a graffito at Hamath.

6. Johns Hopkins University Circulars, XIII (1894), No.114.

by Casanowicz⁷ and Smith.⁸ While not all of these proposed examples have been accepted there is not the slightest doubt that this usage of the Lamedh is a feature of Biblical Hebrew.⁹ I. Eitan,¹⁰ in an exhaustive study, showed that since it appears in the MT as לא, it was often mistaken for the negative particle.¹¹ He pointed to no less than seven instances of the emphatic Lamedh in Job, viz.

8:12	יבט		עודנו באבו לא יקטף
11:11	ירע, וירא		ולא יתבונן
13:12			לעבי חמר לביכם
14:16	תספר		לא תשמר
23:17	ומפני כמה אפל		לא נצמתי מפני חילך
30:6			בערוץ נחלים לשכן
33:14			לא ישורה

Further examples of the particle, not hitherto recognized, may be cited as follows: -

1. 3:16 או כנפל טמון לא אהיה

7. JAOS, XVI (1896) pp. clxvi-clxxi.

8. JBL, 24(1905) p.30.

9. cf. GKC §143e; Brockelmann, Grundriss, 2.p.110; Albright, CBQ, op.cit., points out that the most frequent usage, as indicated by Ugaritic, appears to be with the imperfect.

10. "La particule emphatique la dans la Bible", REJ, 74 (1922), pp.1-16. M.J. Dahood, Biblica, 33 (1952), p.192,n.1, points out that "it is important to note that the majority of examples of this particle cited by Eitan come from passages which are now known to contain Canaanite influence".

11. For the confusion of לו and לא cf. e.g. LXX to Ps.55:13; Job 9:33.

The difficulty of the negative particle has been universally felt and variously treated. Gray-Driver render: "I had not been", meaning I would have had no existence at all. Tur-Sinai¹³ likewise interprets the last two words as equivalent to ללא אהיה i.e., I would have been as nothing. However, all the cases cited for the existence of such a construction without the preposition are themselves difficult and problematical. Hitzig and Beer read לא היה, but the sentence is then/a predicate. Wright and Budde merely omit לא. It is simplest to take לא as the emphatic, and translate:

"I would indeed have been".

2. 9:35 כי לא כן אנכי עמדי

The negative clearly gives a sense contrary to that expected. v. 35a emphasises Job's fearlessness in protesting his innocence and the justice of his case. It would be unthinkable to suppose that in 35b he suddenly declares that he is not correct. Moreover, the phrase was obviously designed to be a repetition of the first line of the argument, v. 2. אמנם ידעתי כי כן. If לא be recognized as the emphatic, the difficulty disappears and we have the

12. On the interpretation of this crux, v. AJSL op.cit. note 1. For the asseverative ל attached to nouns in Ugaritic, v. J. Obermann, Ugaritic Mythology, (1948), p. 85, n. 75.

13. ספר איוב (2nd. ed.) ad loc.

very definite statement:

"I am certainly correct".

3. 21:16 הן לא בידם טובם

Here again, the whole tenor of the chapter demands a positive statement that the wealth of the wicked is secure. The commentators accordingly either take לא as an interrogative negative or, with LXX, omit the offending particle. It is best to take לא as emphatic and render as a strongly affirmative statement.

4. 27:19 עטיר יטכב ולא יאסף

The parallel clause, עיניו פקח ואינו, and the subsequent verses, make it clear that a negative with יאסף is out of place. Most moderns accept the emendation of Houbigant - ולא יוסף, although the Niphal of אסף in the sense of death is well attested.¹⁴ No emendation is required if לא be recognized, not as a negative, but as an emphatic particle.

14. e.g. Jer. 8:2.

VII THE ENCLITIC -m.

The enclitic particle -m(a) is familiar to students of Akkadian and Ugaritic,¹ although its origin is obscure.² Syntactically it may be added to a finite verb, it may interpose between the infinite absolute and the verb,³ it is appended to nouns and may even intervene between the construct and its genitive.⁴ Its function with verbs and nouns alike is emphasis and/or stylistic variation.⁵

The enclitic -m has been recognized in recent times as existing in Biblical Hebrew in numerous passages, having been mistaken by the Massoretes for the possessive or pronominal suffix or for the preposition ·m.⁶

Further Biblical examples would seem to be presented by the following passages in the book of Job:

1. For a case in Phoenician see CIS. 119.2
2. For a comprehensive review of the literature. see M. Pope, "Ugaritic Enclitic -m", JCS V (1951) pp.123-128.
3. For an example in Accad. cf. Mari Tablets, III:8:16-17 šū-ta-aš-bu-tum-ma uš-ta-ša-ab-ba-at, "I caused to be undertaken." Similarly, in Ugaritic, 75:I:38,, b'1 hndm yhndm "Baal verily covets."
4. cf. Gordon, UH pp.44,90.
5. Pope, op.cit., p.128.
6. Ginsberg, JRAS (1935), p.47; JBL, LXII (1943), p.115; LXIX (1950), p.54; Kithbei Ugarith, p.130; Albright, JBL, LXIII (1944), p.215, n.45, p.219, n.83; CBQ, VII (1945), p.23; Gordon, UH, p.115, n.4; Gaster, JQR, XXXVII (1946), p.65, n.32; p.58, n.9; Patton, Canaanite Parallels, p.12. Dahood, Biblica, 33 (1952), p.194; Cross & Freedman, JBL, LXXII (1953), p.26, n.41, p.28, n.63; Reider,

1. 5:15 וַיִּצַע מַחֲרֵב מִפִּיהֶם וּמִדַּחַן אֲבִיוֹן

The imbalance of the parallelism is obvious. The sequence מַחֲרֵב מִפִּיהֶם is extraordinary. Syr., Targ., and Vulg., all omit the preposition and read מַחֲרֵב פִּיהֶם,⁷ "from the sword of their mouth", figurative for calumny.⁸

Ewald, Fried, Delitzsch, Dhorme, emend to מַחֲרֵב. However, this root is no-where else used of persons and would be an unlikely parallel to אֲבִיוֹן.⁹

It is here suggested that the translation of the Syr., Targ., and Vulg., be adopted in respect of this phrase without resort to textual emendation. The preposition in מִפִּיהֶם is the enclitic -m to be attached to the preceding word to read מַחֲרֵב(מ) פִּיהֶם . אֲבִיוֹן is the object of וַיִּצַע and the Waw of מִיֵּד is epexegetical. The meaning is that God protects the needy from slanderous

JJS, III (1952), 78-79; HUCA, XXIV (1952-53), p. 97. Another example is most likely to be found in Judg. 5:13 לְאֲדִירִים עִם = בְּגִבּוֹרִים || לְאֲדִירֵי (מ) עִם

7. So the reading in 20 Mss. v.G.Beer, Text des Buches Hiob, (1895). But these probably represent scribal attempts at removing the difficulty.

8. For the connexion of "sword" with "mouth", cf. Ps. 57:5 עֵט כַּחֲרֵב לְשׁוֹנִים; 59:8 חֲרִיבוֹת בְּשִׁפְתוֹתֵיהֶם; 64:4 חֲרִיבוֹת לְשׁוֹנִים.

9. For other, more radical, emendations see the commentaries.

accusation and physical violence. The translation is:

"He delivers the needy from the sword of their mouth, yea from the hand of the strong".

2. 7:15 וּתְבַחַר מִתּוֹךְ נַפְשִׁי מוֹת מֵעַצְמוֹתַי

The preposition with the final word has either yielded the awkward translation "... death rather than these my bones", or misled the translators into emending מֵעַצְמוֹתַי to מֵעַצְבוֹתַי "... death rather than my pains". If however, the preposition be taken as the enclitic of the preceding (מ) מוֹת the perfect balance of the two parallel clauses is restored. מוֹת becomes the object of וּתְבַחַר. The correct translation is then: "So that my soul (= I) chooseth strangulation, my bones (= I) death".¹⁰

3. 8:8 כִּי שְׂאֵל-נָא לְדֹר רִישׁוֹן וְכוּן לְחַקֵּר אֲבוֹתָם

The possessive suffix with אֲבוֹת is inconsistent with the parallel clause and unlikely within the context. Both the LXX and Vulg. omit the suffix, while Syr. and Targ. translate it. The difficulty may be satisfactorily overcome by regarding it as the enclitic -m.¹¹

The translation is:

"For inquire, I pray thee, of the former generation, and apply thyself to that which the fathers have searched out".

10. For the combination נַפֶּשׁ || עַצְמוֹת cf. Ps.6:3-4; 35:9-10; Prov.16:24. cf. also Isa.66:14 וְלֵבָבְךָ עַצְמוֹת; Prov.15:30 לֵבָבְךָ עַצֵּם.

11. cf. Torczyner, ad loc.

4. 8:18 אם יבלעו ממקומו וכחש בו לא ראיתך

As the text stands the subject of יבלעו must either be "He", i.e. God, or "one". It is true God is mentioned in v.20, but the two verses do not form a contextual unity. In fact, God as the subject would be very strange in view of the particular verbs used. The translation "one" adds nothing to the interpretation of the verse. The difficulty lies in the preposition in ממקומו. If this be taken as the enclitic -m belonging to the preceding יבלעו the difficulty disappears. מקומו is the subject of both verbs and the translation is:

"If his place devour him and then deny him (saying),
'I have not seen thee!'"¹²

5. 15:18 אשר חכמים יגדו ולא כחדו מאבותם

To avoid the obviously impossible translation "and have not hid from their fathers", the translations resort to a tour-de-force and take ולא כחדו parenthetically, with מאבותם meaning "having received it from their fathers". Clearly the second clause exactly expresses the first negatively and אבותם must be the subject of כחדו. LXX and Vulg. both omit the preposition from מאבותם. If this be taken as

¹². For the idiom of a "place devouring", cf. Exod.15:12; Num.16:32, 34.

the enclitic of the preceding verb (כחדו(מ)), the perfect balance of the parallelism is restored. The translation then is:

"Which wise men tell and their fathers did not conceal".¹³

6. 17:7 ותכה מכעש עיני ויצרי כצל כלם

The line would be considerably improved by the presence of a verb in clause 'b' parallel to ותכה. Houbigant suggested קלים. However, a perfect would be more natural after the imperfect consecutive ותכה. The difficulty lies in the final -m. If this be taken as the enclitic we have the superior reading קל(מ).

13. i.e. litotes for, "their father plainly declared".

VIII THE PARTICLE AY22:30 ימלא אי-נקי

The crux here is the word אי. Elsewhere in Biblical Hebrew it is found only in the combination אי-כבוד (I Sam. 4:21), usually taken as the negative, common in post-Biblical Hebrew and in Phoenician and Ethiopic. However, the etymology of אי-כבוד is very doubtful.¹ אי as a negative in our passage, although attested by the LXX ἄκαθαρτος and the Targ. גבר דליתוי זכאי gives precisely the opposite meaning to that required by the context. Notwithstanding the great textual difficulties in the third cycle of speeches (chapters 22-31), the theme is clear, viz, that Job's sufferings must be caused by great wickedness and that the wicked must in the end be punished. To declare that the guilty (אי-נקי) can escape is to vitiate the force of Eliphaz' entire argument. Moreover, v.30 is obviously intended to be parallel to v.29 ימלא אי-נקי אווה עינים יוציע. Without doubt, therefore, the MT, as it stands, is corrupt.

The Medieval Jewish commentators, Ibn Ezra and Ralbag, tried to overcome the difficulty by taking אי, not as a negative, but as "island". (cf. A.V. "the island of the innocent") and this has been followed in modern times by Torczyner who regards the phrase as a popular proverb with

1. See Driver, Notes on Samuel, ad loc.

"island" in the sense of "land" and נקר as the subject of the sentence, i.e. "the innocent deliver a land".

Ibn Parḥon suggested the emendation את or אי, a reading which has been followed by nearly all commentaries and which is certainly preferable to the complete deletion of אי.² The requirements of parallelism are in favor of some word before נקר. However, it is difficult to see how את or אי could have been corrupted into the nonsensical negative אי, especially in view of the LXX and Targ. readings supporting the MT and it is best to look for a different explanation of the MT.

Fortunately, this may be supplied by reference to the well known Semitic particle 'ay,³ used frequently as an indefinite pronoun or exclamation.

In Accadian⁴ we find ayyû (masc.), ayyitummā (fem):

"ilu ayyummā" "some god or other"

"sarru(m) ayyummā" "some king or other"

and as a generalized indefinite relative pronoun, ayyummā ša (ayyū ša) "who-ever".

Similarly in Arabic⁵ we find,

أَيُّنْ 'ayyun, "he who", "whoever".

أَيُّنْ وَأَيْنِكَ كَانَ شَرًّا فَأَخْرَاهُ اللَّهُ

2. cf. Vulg. "salvabitur innocens."

3. Wright, Comparative Grammar, pp.120f. I. Eitan, in his study of the Hebrew and Semitic Particles in AJSL, XLIV, No.3.(1928), p.191, deals with the demonstrative 'iy but not with 'ay.

"Whichever of us (two) be the bad one may God bring him to shame".

وَمَا تَدْرِي نَفْسٌ بِأَيِّ أَرْضٍ تَمُوتُ

"and no soul knows in what land it shall die".

That this particle existed within the Canaanite dialects is clear from Ugaritic where it is found in the exclamatory

'ayah⁷, "O what a brother",

as well as in the indefinite,

lhm. blhm 'ay wšty bhmr yn 'ay⁸
"eat of some bread and drink some liquor of wine"

With this latter should be compared the almost identical phrase in

Prov. 31:4 אִי לֹכֵר (Kthib אִי)

which should accordingly be translated:

"... it is not for kings to drink wine or for princes (to drink) any liquor".

Turning now to the usages of this particle in Job, we find the exact parallel to אִי לֹכֵר in a phrase identical with the Ugaritic lhm 'ay in 15:23 לֶחֶם צִיָּה which should be translated: "he wanders about for some food", i.e. for anything at all to eat.⁹

4. A. Ungnad, Grammatik des Akkadischen, §15d.
w. Von Soden, Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik, §48b, §49b.

5. W. Wright, Arabic Grammar, II, 220B, 315B.

6. UH:III:No.101.

7. Ibid., Text 333:6.

8. Ibid., Text 52:6.

9. This identification was tentatively put forward by H.L. Ginsberg, Kithbei Ugarith, p.78.

The final ה may be due to a scribal misunderstanding and hence expansion of the original particle אי to איה or may well represent an original final vowel as in the Arabic 'ayya.

We may now proceed to a consideration of the crux

22:30 יאלמו אי-נקר

in which we should recognize, not the meaningless negative, but the indefinite particle, reading:

אי-נקר

and translating:

"He delivers whomsoever is innocent".

This explanation has the merit of preserving the Massoretic consonantal text, restoring the meaning to the passage and exactly fitting the parallel clause in the preceding verse. In short, all the textual difficulties disappear if we recognize the existence here of the Semitic particle 'ay.

IX THE "PLEONASTIC" Waw.

Attention has recently been called to the striking use of the "pleonastic" Waw in Ugaritic and to a similar phenomenon in Biblical Hebrew.¹ In these cases the text would be perfectly clear if not for the disturbing Waw. Thus, in Ugaritic text 51:V:107-8:

st alp qdmh mr(i)a wtk pnh.
"An ox was placed before her, a fattling right in her face".

so also text 52:51:

bm nšq whr
"together with kissing there is conception".

In Hebrew the same obtrusive Waw, as pointed out by Pope, appears in:

II Sam.13:20 ... ותצב תמר וצוממה
"And Tamar remained desolate ..."

II Sam.15:34 עבד אביך ואני מאז ועתה ואני עבדך
"Your father's servant I was previously, but now I am your servant."

Hos.8:6 כי מיצר אל והוא
"Surely it is (only a product) of Israel".

Amos 3:11 צר וסביב הארץ
"An enemy is around the land".

Amos 4:10 ואעלה באש מחניכם ובאפכם
"And I caused the stench of your camp to rise to

1. M. Pope, "Pleonastic Waw before Nouns in Ugaritic and Hebrew", JAOS, 73 (1953), pp. 95-98.

your nostrils", (literally, "so that it is")

In all these examples the disturbing Waw seems to be used as an auxiliary verb, "to be". Indeed, G.D. Young has drawn attention to the Egyptian auxiliary verb iw "to be", which he regards as the base of the Waw consecutive as well as of this "pleonastic" Waw.²

In Job, one such case has hitherto been identified:³

1. 4:6 הלא יראתך כסלתך תקותך ותם דרכיך
 "Is not your piety your confidence, Your hope your perfect conduct?"

The perfect chiastic parallelism which results from a recognition of the true function of the Waw here, leaves no doubt as to the soundness of the identification.

Other instances of this "pleonastic" Waw in Job, not previously recognized, are as follows:

2. 3:19 קטן וגדול עם הוא

No satisfactory rendering has so far been proposed to explain the anomalous reference of the pronoun הוא to two persons. The suggestion of Gesenius,⁴ followed by Budde and Dhorme, to take הוא in the sense of "the same",

2. G. Douglas Young, "The Origin of the Waw Conversive", JNES, XII (1953), pp.248-252.

3. Pope, op.cit., p.97.

4. GKC §135a n.1.

is not supported elsewhere, but does not remove the syntactical difficulty. The latter applies also to the proposal of Gray-Driver to take עם as the predicate and הוא in the sense of "to be". The emendation of Gratz עוה הוא is open to the same objection. If we recognize the Waw as having the function of the verb "to be", the syntactical difficulty disappears. גדול עם הוא becomes the predicate of קטן, yielding the excellent sense, "there the small becomes (as) the great, and the slave is free from his master".⁵

3. 20:2 ובעבור חוסי בי

The Waw has occasioned considerable difficulty since it seems to detach the second clause from the first and leave it incomplete. Hence, it is usual to read or understand בעבור זאת or בעבור כן. However, the difficulty disappears if the Waw be translated, "it is (because of) ..."

4. 26:5 הרפאים יחוללו מתחת מים ושכניהם

The mention of water in connection with רפאים and the antecedent of the plural suffix of שכניהם have given rise to numerous emendations and much strained exegesis.

5. D.Yellin, חקרי-מקרא-איב (1927), sensed this meaning but proposed the deletion of the Waw.

It is here proposed to read וּצְכִיָּהֶם, from a noun צֶכֶן, "dwelling-place", found in Deut. 12:5 לְצֶכְנָו and now confirmed by the Genizah Ben Sira 14:25 where צֶכֶן is synonymous with אֵהֶל⁶. As another example of "pleonastic" Waw the rendering is: "The shades tremble, whose dwelling-place is beneath the waters", or, "The shades tremble; Their etc."

In several Ugaritic passages the rpim are mentioned in parallelism with ilnym⁷ which in one text are said to reside "two layers beneath the springs of the earth..." (ṯḥt ṯnt arṣ).⁸ The mention of תַּחַת מַיִם in our Job passage in reference to רַפְּאִים may well be connected with this notion.

All the afore-mentioned examples have been cases of the "pleonastic" Waw with nouns. The same phenomenon with verbs, though more complex, is well attested in Semitic. Goetze⁹ pointed out several instances in Ugaritic as did König¹⁰ in regard to Phoenician and Hebrew. In the following

6. M. D. Segal, ספר בן-סירא השלם (1953), p. 92.

7. 62:45-46; 122: 2-4, 9-12 etc.

8. 'Anat:IV:79.

9. A. Goetze, "The Nikkal Poem from Ras Shamra", JBL, 60 (1941), p. 355-6.

cases the understanding of the text is considerably improved if the Waw be accepted as "pleonastic".

5. 10:8 יחד סביב ותבלעני

It has been usual to accept the Greek reading

יחד / סביב - μετὰ ταῦτα μετὰβλήων με ἕκαστος

as superior to the Hebrew.¹¹ However, both יחד and סביב are frequently used as adverbs determining verbs of destruction.

<u>יחד</u>	II Sam. 14:16	להשמיד... יחד
	Ps. 49:11	יחד... יאבדו
	Ps. 74:8	נינם יחד
	Isa. 27:4	אציתנה יחד
<u>סביב</u>	Zech. 12:6	ואכלו... את כל העמים סביב
	Ps. 97:3	ותלהט סביב צרי
	Job 19:10	יתצני סביב ואלך
	Lam. 2:3	ויבער... אכלה סביב

In some of the cases it is clear that סביב and יחד may be used interchangeably. The combination of the two adverbs in our passages conveys the idea of intensity.

Taking the Waw of ותבלעני as "pleonastic", we get the excellent translation:

"Thou wouldst utterly destroy me".

6. 15:17 אזה חזיתי ואספרה

The conjunction with the imperfect is usually taken to introduce the predicate of a casus pendens and has been termed Waw apodosis.¹² This is the only instance of such a

10. E. König, Lehrgebäude, II, 2, §§341, m-r cf. Brockelmann, Grundriss, II, p. 442f.

case with cohortative. It is far simpler to ignore the conjunctive Waw as being "pleonastic" and render:

"That which I have seen I shall relate".

7. 23:12 מִצְוַת שְׁפִתָּיו וְלֹא אֶמְצָא

This verse too, is treated as casus pendens and the verb taken as "internal Hiphil". Rather we should accept the verb as transitive, as in Mic.2:3, with מִצְוַת ש' as the object. This fits in better with the two clauses of v.11 and the parallel clause inv.12 in each of which the verb is transitive and takes a direct object.

The translation then is: -

"I did not put away the commandment of His lips".

11. v. Gray-Driver, ad loc.

12. GKC, §143d; Driver, Tenses, §125.

X INTERJECTIONS.

— | ד

This interjection, in place of הנה, is used 22 times in Job,¹ it being confined elsewhere in poetry mainly to Deutero-Isaiah.² The predominance of the shorter form³ may be explained as a Canaanism or at least an archaism, for Ugaritic has hn⁴, Phoenician attests הנ⁵ instead of Hebrew הנני, pointing to an original ה, and the 8th cent. archaising Zenjirli dialect has הנ.⁶

1. v. Pfeiffer, Introduction, p.467
2. v. BDB, p.243c; cf. Pfeiffer, op.cit., for other correspondences between Job and Deutero-Isaiah.
3. For the origin of the particle hn, v.l. Eitan, AJSL, XLV (1928), p.142.
4. UH, 12:7.
5. Friedrich, op.cit., §259.
6. Cooke, North Semitic Inscriptions, p.161, lines 30,31.

XI THE NEGATIVE WITH ν

The combination $\nu \cdot \chi^b$ (9:33) is unique. LXX and Pesh. read χ^b = $\cdot \nu^b$, a reading adopted by many scholars.¹ Targ. and Vulg. support MT. There are good reasons for preferring the MT reading.²

Job asserts (v.32a) that God and man are not equal contestants. This inherent inequality itself makes litigation not feasible (v.32b), a situation aggravated by the impossibility, for the same reason, of finding an umpire (v.33). If the reading $\cdot \nu^b$ be adopted we should have to assume that Job knowingly expresses an idle wish. Moreover, the following verse (34) rests on the assumption that no such umpire exists. The reading $\nu \cdot \chi^b$ thus fits the context better. It is also supported by the assonance with $\nu \cdot \chi \chi^b$ in the preceding verse.

Apart from the exegetical and technical considerations the MT can be supported by comparative Semitic idiom.

Reference to the cognate languages reveals a diffused and variegated negation of ν . In Accadian we find laššū = lâ-îšū as well as ul îšî³; Arabic has ليس = ي with the

1. v.W.B. Stevenson, Notes on the Poem of Job (1951), p.37.

2. So Gray-Driver and Dhorme.

unused أَبْس⁴. The eighth century Zenjirli dialect of Aramaic, which has affinities with the Canaanite group, Hebrew, Moabite and Phoenician, as well as with Arabic,⁵ yields the form לִישָׁה = לֹא יֵשׁ + 3 f.s. suffix⁶. The Biblical Aramaic לֹא אִיתוּהִי (Dn.2:11) and the later Aramaic לִישָׁה, לִישָׁה = לֹא אִית . לֹא יֵשׁ is certainly an analogic formation, whatever the etymology.⁷

Because of the cognate Aramaic forms, Tur-Sinai⁸ regards לֹא יֵשׁ as an example of the poor Hebrew translation from the Aramaic original. But against this is the Ugaritic construction bl it, while Hebrew itself

3. Ungnad, Grammatik, §55; Von Soden, Grundriss, §111a.

4. Wright, Arabic Grammar, 1,96c, Rem.a.

5. Cooke, op.cit., p.181,184; Eitan "Hebrew and Semitic Particles", AJSL, XLIV,3, (1928), pp.187-189; Harris, Development of the Canaanite Dialects (1939), p.17; Cross and Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography, p.23, and especially, Appendix, p.61-64.

6. Zenjirli Bar Rekub inscription, line 16.

7. v. Eitan, op.cit., p.188, who doubts the etymological identity of Aramaic אִית with Hebrew יֵשׁ,

8. ספר איוב, (2nd ed.) p.369.

has a significant parallel to ו' אב in the form of
ו' אב (Ps.135:17).

In short, the evidence points to the conclusion that our ו' אב is a well established Semitic idiom, that no emendation of the MT is necessary and that it is more likely a Canaanite archaism rather than late Aramaism.

9. 2'Aqht:I:21.

XII THE SCHEMATIZATION OF THE NUMERALS.

The schematized, or climactic use of numbers as a literary device, common to Job and Canaanite literature, has been dealt with previously in connection with the Prologue.¹ An extension of this usage as a purely technical and poetic contrivance, likewise common to Canaanite literature, is found several times in the Dialogue. Outside of Ugaritic literature, the Arslan Tash inscription provides a good example of this Canaanite device:

line 17-18 לבע צותי ושמנה אשת בעל
 "seven-fold co-wives and eight-fold consorts of Baal",

In Job itself, the following numerical series are attested:

1. one-two

With Job 33:14, 40:5, may be compared Ugaritic išt
ištm "a fire, two fires".²

2. two-three

33:29 פעמים-שלוש is paralleled by

tn dbhm šna bcl tlt rkb rpt

"Baal hates two sacrifices, three the Rider of the Clouds",³

1. see above 14f.

2. 137:32

tn mtpdm ... tlt mth gyrm
"two stages ... three marches in the hills"⁴

3. six-seven

With the several examples from Ugaritic cited previously⁵
may be compared Job 5:19.

3. 51:III:17-18.

4. Ant:IV:79-80.

5. page 15, notes 13-15.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDIES IN THE LEXICON.

The literary dependence of the Book of Job upon the ancient Canaanite literature is nowhere better illustrated than in the large number of points of contact of a lexical, phraseological, mythological and stylistic nature. Such correspondence, it is true, may be found in good measure in any one of the books that make up Biblical literature and maybe explained by the fact that the Hebrews inherited from the Canaanites a polished literary tradition.¹ To appreciate therefore, the full, direct and unusual extent of the dependence of Job upon Canaanite source material we shall, in the main, ignore the more common stylistic parallels such as fixed pairs of synonyms, stereotyped epithets and clichés and confine our present study to those that are unusual and outstanding and that throw light upon the problems of the language and interpretation of the Book.

יִדְלֵא 41:12. The usual meaning "reed" does not fit in here with יִשְׂרָאֵל, נִיבְנֵי הַיָּם which rather suggests a connection with fire. Hence, the final י is generally regarded as a dittograph and the resultant דִּלְא is associated

1. The literature on the subject is now too vast to be listed. The most comprehensive treatment is that of Cassuto, conveniently summarized in The Goddess Anath (Hebrew, Jerusalem, 1951), pp.19-41.

with Arabic احم and Assyrian agâmu, "to be hot, boil". In Ugaritic this vocable appears as agn, "fire".² It is possible that אגמן is a conflation of two forms אגם, אגן. אהל with מטכנות, 21:28, is a distinctly Canaanite collocation.³ אצן parallel to בין. 32:11-12, v. infra s.v. בין אי in 15:23, לחם איה corresponds exactly to Ugaritic, lhm ay (52:6). אי-נקי 22:30 should be vocalized אי נקי, "whomsoever is innocent he delivers". v. supra pp.91ff. איתנים 12:19. From the parallel "priests" and the connection with "counsellors", "judges", "kings", "elders" and "nobles" in the preceding and following verses, this word has been recognized as referring likewise to a class of persons. Duhm identifies them with "permanent and powerful families, primarily descendants of David". Most scholars, without accepting Duhm's fanciful and precise identification, agree that this word is the usual Biblical איתן derived from the Arabic⁵ وَأَيْتَن, "strong", "permanent", "existing ceaselessly"

2. 52:15, parallel to išt.

3. 2Aqht, V:31-33; 128:III:18-19. cf. Cassuto, op.cit., p.26.

4. Duhm, Das Buch Hiob (1897), p.69.

5. I.Eitan, A Contribution to Biblical Lexicography (N.Y.1924), pp.50-53, who deals only with the verbal form in Hebrew. The first to suggest the Arabic cognate was Schultens, Orig. Hebraeae (1724), i.8

The difficulty is however, that אִיתָן is nowhere else used of persons and the nexus of thought would suggest some precise class, rather than a vague and general definition.⁶ Ugaritic suggests another possibility. We find there the ytnm as a certain guild of temple servitors,⁷ now accepted as being connected linguistically with the Nethinim mentioned in Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah.⁸ Consonantly, the equation נְתִינִים = ytnm = אִיתָנִים presents no difficulties. The root ytn early displaced ntn in Phoenician and Ugaritic⁹ and even spread to Southern Palestine as is evidenced by the Amarna preterite form ya-di-in.¹⁰ In Hebrew a further shift from yit'it took place,¹¹ giving rise to the nominal forms אִתָּן and אִתָּה (Hos.2:14) = Ugaritic ytn "gift".¹² As to the vocalization of our passage, it is probably a Massoretic confusion with the usual Hebrew אִתָּה.

6. Budde, op.cit., p.63, noting the difficulty, suggested the reading אִתָּה or אִתָּה.

7. 301:I:1; 52:3, which should now be read: ytnm qrt l'ly, and translated, "the ytnm of the city on high".

8. UH, I, 8:28, p.51; For the 10th cent. Canaanite origin of the Temple guilds in Chronicles, v. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (1942), pp.126-9; CBQ. VII (1945), p.26; Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume (1950), p.66. cf. B. Maisler, אִתָּה (שְׁנֵה יָצָא) יְדִיעוֹת הַחֲבֵרָה לְמַקְרֵית אִי.

9. Z.S.Harris, Grammar, op.cit., p.44; Development of the Canaanite Dialects (1939), p.37.

10. EA, 337:13.

11. J.A. Montgomery, JAOS, 58 (1938), p.135. For the shift yit'it cf. also the Aramaic proper name בִּלְאֵתָן "Bel gives (a son)",

This identification of our איתנים = ytnm fits in excellently with the parallel "priests" and the other officers of government mentioned in the passage. That the Nethinim were closely connected with the Priests is evident from several passages¹³ and they were also numbered among the rulers of the State.¹⁴ The use of ytnm instead of the Judean Nethinim would be another point of contact with Canaanite source material, suggesting Northern origins.¹⁵

אל as the personal name of God is one of the peculiarities of Job in which it appears no less than 55 times,¹⁶ never with the definite article. This strongly suggests literary dependence on El, the head of the Canaanite Pantheon.¹⁷

cited by S.A.Cook, A Glossary of Aramaic Inscriptions (1898), p.30.

12. Krt. 135:258.

13. Neh. 11:3; I Chron.9:2 etc.

14. ראשי האדינה Neh.11:3 with which cf. ראשי עם הארץ in Job 12:24.

15. cf. mention of קדשים and נער in 36:14. Incidentally, the medieval Jewish commentators, Kimchi, Rabbag, and the Mezudoth took נאמנים, parallel to זקנים, v.20, as a fi'lan formation from נאם, "orators" (cf. Je23:31), on the analogy of פשתן, כבשן, בנין, an explanation accepted by Har-Zahav, op.cit., III:i:12 (p.157).

16. ע.צ. מלמד, ספר דבונג (ירושלים, תש"י), 4. הערה 28. Memaled failed to recognize the implications of this phenomenon, attributing it to Arabic and Aramaic influences.

17. v. Cassuto, op.cit., p.45.

אני is used twenty four times in the Poem while the variant אנכי occurs fourteen times. However, if it be taken into account that Elihu alone uses אני nine times as opposed to אנכי twice, it will be seen that the numerical disparity between the usages of the variants in the body of the Poem is negligible. The relative frequency of אני-אנכי as a criterion for the determination of date, source and linguistic influence¹⁸ has lost much of its validity since the discovery of Ugaritic in which, like Hebrew, both forms of the pronoun occur in the same text.¹⁹ As Z. Harris has pointed out,²⁰ while anâku is characteristic of E. Semitic and Canaanite, as ana is of S. Semitic and Aramaic, both are reflexes of Proto-Semitic forms and early Canaanite also used ani, though infrequently. Harris, therefore, describes as "unnecessary" the view²¹ that ani was an Aramaic form belonging to the hypothetical younger (Aramaic) stratum in Hebrew. The use of ani may as well be an archaism as an Aramaism.

18. F. Giesebrecht, "Zur Hexateuchkritik", ZAW, 1 (1881), p. 251ff, more or less accepted by Driver, Introduction, (9th ed.), p. 155n., and GCK, §32c, n.1.

19. UH:I:6:3.

20. op.cit., pp. 10, 74-75.

21. HG, 248-9.

אפיק נחלים 6:15 With this is to be compared Ugaritic apq thmtm (49:I:6; 51:IV:22). Ugaritic orthography does not permit a decision on MT use of the singular as against the usual emendation אפיקי.

אף עם 36:29 is unique in the Bible.²² The locution is a purely Phoenician conjunction.²³

ארץ in the unusual sense of the netherworld, is found in 10:21,22, corresponding exactly to this usage of Ugaritic ars.

אתה 3:25 (and so four times) is one of the supposed Aramaisms.²⁴ The observation of Kautzsch²⁵ that the root had not yet appeared in Canaanite is now nullified by its presence in Ugaritic tw.

ב meaning "from", used regularly in Ugaritic and Phoenician is to be found in several passages. v. supra, p.71f.

22. cf. the semantic parallel אם אם, Eccles. 8:17, on which v. Dahood, Biblica, 33 (1952), p.48.

23. CIS, 3:6; cf. Friedrich, op.cit., §257b.

24. cf. Dhorme, to 3:25.

25. Die Aramaismen Im Alten Testament (1902), p.8.

- בד I. This vocable, in some instances, seems to be a fossilized combination of the preposition ב with the uniconsonantal ד "hand", exactly as found in a Canaanite gloss of the Amarna letters ba-di-u,²⁶ in Ugaritic bd "in the hands of",²⁷ and in later Phoenician inscriptions,²⁸ This meaning of בד is to be found twice in Job. בדִּי מָאוּל,²⁹ (17:16), and יֹאכֵל בְּדָיו = "the first-born of Death (Môt) will devour with his hands," (18:13). In both these cases the association of "hand" with "Death" or "Sheol" is appropriate in view of Môt's own description of the method by which he disposes of his victims:
bklāt ydy ilhm³⁰... "with both my hands I shall devour...".
- בד II. 11:3; 41:4. In both instances something like "word" is required by the context. In the Eshmun-azar inscription בד is used with exactly this meaning.³¹

26. EA, 245:35.

27. 51:I:25 etc.

28. UH, 8:20, p.48.

29. I.Eitan, "Hebrew & Semitic Particles", AJSL, 44 (1928), p.260, n.1. suggested reading בְּדָדִי but this now seems unnecessary.

30. 67:I:19-20.

31. line 6, אַל תִּשְׁמַע בְּדָנָם "do not listen to their words", v. Slouschz, ... אוצר הכתבות p.21; ט (תרצ"ז), ספר היובל לפני ש. קניוס

בוא 6:8, used in the sense of granting a request has its exact semantic equivalent in the Amarna usage: ³²la-a ka-šī-id i-re-šū, "as soon as the request is granted". Accadian kašadu = Heb. בוא in the mind of the scribe who was giving contemporary usage of בוא to the Acc. Our Job passage is thus a very early idiom.

בין || שמע (13:1; 26:14) corresponds exactly to Ugaritic³³
šm^c laliyn b^el/bn lrkb ^crpt
 "Hear, O abyn Baal! Perceive, O Rider of the Clouds!"

Semantically equivalent is בין || אצן, 32:11-12.

בלע in the specialized metaphorical sense of "killing", "annihilating" (2:3; 8:18; 10:8; 37:20;) is a reflex of the old Canaanite Môt myth. v. supra, p.17f.

בני אלהים is found three times (1:6; 2:1; 38:7;) always within a mythological context. The phrase is found in Ugaritic, in Phoenician and in the Canaanite inscription from Arslan Tash.³⁴ As parallel to בני אלהים (38:7) we find the equivalent in Ugaritic³⁵

bn il || pbr kkbm,
 "The sons of El" || "the assembly of the stars".

32. EA, 82:16-17.

33. 51:V:121-22.

34. For sources, v. supra chap.1, notes 24-27.

35. 76:I:3-4. Cassuto, Essays Presented to J.H.Hertz, (Hebrew Section), p.39, n.25. Albright, FASC (1946), p.331, note 26.

גלה || בוא 41:5. This unusual parallelism corresponds exactly to the common Ugaritic locution gly || bw'.³⁶ In one Ugaritic text³⁷ bw' is followed by pnm, just as here we have גלה פנ. The phrase should therefore be translated, "who can penetrate?".

גער 26:11. This word, used of God's rebuke to the Sea, is the same used when Baal rebukes the gods³⁸ and Astarte censures Baal.³⁹ Both instances, like our Job passage, refer to the combat with the Dragon.

דאבה 41:14. This hapax legomenon is generally connected with the Aramaic root דוּב, "to flow", "melt", "waste away". However, the parallel צ suggests a meaning "strength". Almost certainly⁴⁰ we have here metathesis for דבאה as in Deut. 33:25, which corresponds to Ugaritic, dbat "strength".⁴¹

36. 49:I:6-7; 51:IV:23; 127:4, etc.

37. 127:4.

38. 137:24.

39. 68:28.

40. F.M. Cross Jr., VT (1952), p.162f.

41. 76:II:21,22. UH, I, p.40, note 5.

דן 36:31. The difficulty of accepting the usual meaning of דן here in view of the parallel יתן אכל has long been noted and Houbigant's emendation of the MT to דן has been widely accepted.⁴² However, it is also possible that this word is a denominative of the Semitic dn, a jar for the storing of food and drink. This word twice appears in Ugaritic⁴³ and is common to Accadian, Arabic, Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew.⁴⁴ The verb would therefore mean "to distribute food (or drink)" parallel to יתן אכל.

דרכ 26:14 40:19 In both cases the meaning "rule", "dominion", fits the context more appropriately than the usual connotation. This would correspond exactly to the Ugaritic usage of drkt.

הלך 14:20, has the meaning of "perish". This signification, as in Arabic ملك, appears in Ugaritic in the šafel.⁴⁵

המר 17:2. בהמרותם; This difficult word, following קברים v.1, and ארת לא אשוב 16:22, may well be connected with Ugaritic hmr -mhmr,⁴⁶ throat, or gorge, of Môt.

42. so Graetz, Bear, Dhorme, Kittel.

43. 126:III:14; nt 1:12, so the reading of Cassuto, Anat, pp.63, 75.

44. v.E.L. Sukenik, PEQ (1940), p.59-60.

45. nt: v:10-11; 3 Aqht, Rev.11-12; Cassuto, op.cit., p.86.

46. 67:I:7-8.

תלן עיני, on the analogy of the figurative use of לון in 19:4; 29:19; 41:14, would mean "my eye is ever fixed upon their throats", i.e. 'I am ever aware of the constant peril I am in from my enemies who would devour me". ותכה מכעס עיני v.7. would then follow naturally this verse. In Ps. 140:11 בהמרת is used similarly and may be a metaphor of Sheol, especially in view of the Talmudic מהמורות "burial places"⁴⁷ תמורתא 20:18, in view of the parallel בלע, עלס, may also be connected with the same root.

1 The "pleonastic" Waw as found in Ugaritic⁴⁸ explains several passages in Job v. supra, pp.95ff.

זמר 35:10. It has long been felt that זמרות here cannot be appropriately translated "songs". LXX σααααααα is usually taken to reflect an alternative reading זמרות (א). It is now recognized that Ugaritic šmr = Arabic زَمَرَ "to be strong, brave," is sometimes behind the Hebrew זמר⁴⁹. This applies to זמרות here and we should translate:

47. v.Jastrow, s.v. המר; Ben Yehuda, Thesaurus, VI, p.2832, s.v. מהמירה.

48. 51:V:107-108; 52:51.

49. v.Koehler & Baumgartner, Lexicon, s.v. זמר; Cassuto, Commentary on the Book of Exodus (1954), Hebrew, p.120; so Ex.15:2 לצני וזמרת; Gen.43:11 זמרת הארץ; Isa.25:5 where read תכריע || זענה "he humbles the power of the terrible"; Ps.119:54.

"who giveth strength in the night",⁵⁰ LXX reading could well have arisen from MT, and no emendation is required.⁵¹

חזקה 3:6 אלי יחד MT points to חזקה "to rejoice", which Kautzsch⁵² regards as a pure Aramaism. But the exact phrase is found in Ugaritic al thd || altsmh.⁵³

חלק 21:17 is to be understood as the Ugaritic hlq "to destroy". Accepting Dhorme's identification of חבל with Acc. habâlu⁵⁴ the phrase is to be translated "Does he destroy the wicked in his anger?"

חנף This adjective to describe the wicked is characteristic of Job. The locution חנפי לב, 36:13, is unique. 8:13 defines the חנף as one who "forgets God". That this sin is really an act of presumption is clear from 17:25 and 20:6. Now the identical phrase hnp lb is to be found as a characterisation of 'Aqht by El because

50. For נת as abstract ending as a variant of נת- v. GKC §861.

51. זמר in this sense is also to be found in the pr.n. זמר, זמריהו, in Phoenician pr.n. זמר and in Old S. Arabic זמר "strong", and pr.n.s. זמר אל, זמר כרב.

52. op.cit., p.29.

53. 3 'Aqht : rev.9; nt:V:30.

54. Dhorme, ad loc.

he was guilty of an act of presumption against the gods, in this case against Anat.⁵⁵ There can be no doubt that our

חנפי לב and the use of חנף is borrowed from Canaanite usage.⁵⁶

חפץ 3:19 חפצי as used here is a double entendre based on the specialized Canaanite usage. Firstly, in the servant-master relationship חפצי corresponds to hpt "a freeman"; then in the particular context referring to the netherworld it is undoubtedly connected with bthpht, a synonym for Sheol.⁵⁷

יד 7:12; 26:12; 38:8 used in the sense of Sea Dragon in the context of the fight between God and this mythical monster, figures so prominently in the Baal Epic.

יד used with שאל 7:9 etc. and נחת 33:24 corresponds to the Ugaritic expression yrđ arš with identical meaning.⁵⁴

כי The unique negation with לא 9:33, is paralleled by Ugaritic bl it.⁵⁹

55 3Aqht rev:17.

56 v.Gaster, Thespis, p.261, n.10, who refers to the use of the cognate verb, hanapu, "to insult," in Amarna letter 288:8. Incidentally, BDB derivation of חנף from חנף has to be revised since the Ugaritic is ḥ not h.

57 cf. בית חפצית II Kings 15:5 = II Chron.26:21, cf. Ps. 88:6.

58 51:VIII:7-9.

59. 2Aqht 1:21, v. supra, p.102f.

יבה is thrice employed as an unusual parallel to יום or גילה,⁶⁰
a usage intelligible only in a Ugaritic context.

ym ymm y-tqn lymm lyrbm.⁶¹

"a day, two days pass, from days to months,"

l [ymm] lyrbm lyrbm lšnt⁶²

"From [days] to months, from months to years".

כוכבי בקר 38:7 v. supra, s. בני אלהים.

ל in the sense of "from" occurs in several passages v.
supra p.75ff.

For "Lamedh of reinforcement" v. supra, pp.82ff.

לויתן 3:8; 40:25 is ltn, the sea Dragon of Canaanite mythology.

ל enclitic occurs several times. v. supra, pp.86ff.

מות as the genius of destruction and aridity as in Canaanite literature is clearly indicated in 18:13. The reference to בכור מות, "first born of Môt", must be connected with the "seven sons of the god Môt" of Ugaritic.⁶³ מות in the sense of the netherworld 27:15; 28:22; 30:24; 38:17 is a reflex of Canaanite mythology.

60. Job 3:6; 7:3; 29:2.

61. 49:II:26-27.

62. Ibid., v:7 = I 'Aqht 175-6.

63. 49:VI:7-9.

מחץ 26:12 מחץ רהב. The usage here in connection with the victory of God over the Sea Dragon is significant since מחץ is the common Ugaritic verb for the gods smiting their enemies. Significantly, the only other usage of מחץ in Job (5:18) also refers to God.

מנה 7:3 מנה in the sense of "fated" corresponds to Ugaritic mnt "lot", "fate".⁶⁴

מכר 24:24 is regarded as a pure Aramaism.⁶⁵ However, it may well be connected with Ugaritic lymk,⁶⁶ "he is not vanquished".

מלל used over thirty times either as a verb or noun is generally taken as a sign of Aramaic influence.⁶⁷ The verbal form has now turned up in the Karatepe⁶⁸ inscription suggesting that the early usage of this vocable in Canaan was more widespread than is commonly supposed.

מבך 38:16 מבכי ים; 28:11 מבכי נהרות are phraseologically equivalent to Ugaritic mbk nhrm, "sources of the rivers",

64. 49:II:36.

65. E.Kautzsch, op.cit., p.57.

66. 68:7.

67. E.Kautzsch, op.cit., p.60, disputed by Nöldeke, ZDMG LVII, p.413.

68. Gordon, JQR, 39 (1948), p.47, n.18; p.48, n.21. Friedrich, op.cit., §149.

cf. Ug. nbk "a well", MT אבבי should now be emended to אבבי.⁶⁹

נח 36:16 נח is an exceptional nominal formation in Hebrew⁷⁰ but perfectly usual in Phoenician. The word occurs several times in Phoenician inscriptions.⁷¹

נח is clearly the root of נח 21:13 despite the anomalous vocalization, and was so understood by Symm. Vulg. Targ. Syr. It need not be an Aramaism⁷² since nb "to go down" appears in Ugaritic and Phoenician.

נסע 4:21; 19:10, in the sense of "remove" corresponds exactly to Ugaritic, ns' "to remove". To be noted also is the Canaanite usage of the preposition נסע ב' 4:21, "remove from!"

נעים parallel to טוב 36:11; The same pair of synonyms occurs in Ugaritic n'm || tb.⁷³ In Phoenician likewise נעים means "good".⁷⁴

69. Ginsberg, JRAS (1935), p.53; כתבי אוגרית p.29; Albright, AJSL, 35 (1919), 161-195

70. GKC, §95k.

71. Harris, Grammar, p.123; JAOS, 67 (1947), p.156, n.26.

72. Kautzsch, op.cit, p.64.

73. 'nt:I:19-20.

74. cf. yhmlk, line 8 ופעל לי נעים.

נער 36:14. v. infra, s.v. קדושים.

נפש 33:20 is parallel to חיק which means "appetite, as established from 38:39; so Ugaritic npš, "appetite".⁷⁵

סכה 36:29 used of the abode of God. The term is semantically equivalent to the Ugaritic, mzll (cf. Aramaic מטללתא = סכה) used of the abode of the children of El.⁷⁶

ספר The "counting of months" in Ugaritic has two significations, implying either the months of pregnancy⁷⁷ or the passage of time.⁷⁸ Both usages are found in Job, the former in 39:2 and the latter in 3:6; 14:5; 21:21. - another example of a phrase intelligible only in a Ugaritic context.⁷⁹

עבד עולם 40:28 עבד עולם. This phrase, found only three times in the Bible, signifies here total subjugation and abject surrender. The identical phrase, used in the same figurative sense, is employed by Baal in

75. 127:11 etc.

76. ant, pl.VI:IV:1; 51:I:13,18;:IV:52:56, always parallel to mtb il, abode.

77. 2Aqht, II:43-44.

78. Ibid, VI:28-29.

79. Cassuto, Anath, pp.21-22.

his message of surrender to Môt:

‘bdk an wd ‘lmk
 "Thy slave am I, yea thine for ever."⁸⁰

גצב 39:14 is more likely to be connected with Ug. ‘db
 "to prepare, arrange, set", than with גצב "to forsake".
 The nexus of thought with v.15, shows that the
 emphasis is clearly on לאדץ, על עפר rather
 than on the verb. The sense is therefore: she
 places her eggs on the ground, yea hatches them
 in the dust, where they get crushed.

ציפתה 10:22. This form is generally taken as an old
 locative of ציפה.⁸¹ However, the word occurs as
ציפתא in the Arslan Tash inscription lines 1,19,
 where it is the name of a demoness. It must have
 the same connotation in Job since ציפתה parallels
אפל, צלמות. In the afore-mentioned inscription
 we read line 19, לציפתא בחדר חסך. There can
 be no doubt that Job is referring to this demoness
 that haunts the dark places. Our ציפתה is thus
 a Hebraized orthography for the Aramaic f.pl.

80. 67:II:12.

81. GKC §90g.

emphatic form עיפתא. Such an Aramaic form is no more an indication necessarily of late influence in Job than it is the Arslan Tash inscription which belongs at least to the 7th century and which is "pure Canaanite".⁸²

עלם This vocable is used in two distinct senses, although subsumed in the dictionaries under one root. נעלמה 28:21, has the usual signification "hidden", parallel to נסתרה. On the other hand, 42:3 מי זה מעלים עצה corresponds exactly to 38:2 מי זה מחסוך עצה, i.e. עלם means "to be dark". This applies to 6:16 where the parallel קדר means, "to be dark". Now it is true that there is a semantic relationship between "to conceal" and "to be dark", but the equation עלם = חצך = קדר is very precise. Philological evidence also points to two unrelated Semitic stems. עלם "to conceal" corresponds to Arabic علم. But in Ugaritic we also find złmt parallel to glmt, meaning "darkness".⁸³

82. Gaster, Orientalia, XI (1942), pp.41-79, esp. p.43.

83. 51:VII:55; frag:8; cf. Ginsberg, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, (ed. J.B.Pritchard, 1950), p.131, n.11.

It is this root g^hlm that must lie behind the Job passages cited above. Since Ugaritic g^h = Hebrew ג only when g^h is proto-Semitic,⁸⁴ we are accordingly dealing here with an ancient Canaanite root g^hlm "to be dark", distinct from clm "to conceal". The translations of עלם in Job should be revised as follows:

6:16 יתעלם שלג "snow becomes dark".⁸⁵

42:3 מעלים "who darkens ...?"

In all probability the nominal form תעלמה 11:6;

28:11, should be rendered "dark places".⁸⁶

עמק 39:21 is here used in its Ugaritic signification of "strength", parallel to כוח.⁸⁷

84. Otherwise the equation is Arabic z = Hebrew ז = Ugaritic g^h or z.

85. See the description in Gray-Driver, I, ad loc.

86. In 28:11 תעלמה is contrasted with יוציא אור

87. J. Reider, VT, II, (1942), p.129.

לפעף 3:7; 41:10. In Ugaritic⁸⁸ l-p means "eyes". This signification rather than "eye-lids" better fits the phrase לפעפי שחר and is supported by לינין in 41:10.

עשה 23:9. Eitan identified בעשותו with Arabic عشا "to go to", "approach"⁸⁹ יעטף = عطف "to turn".

As early as the Targum it was recognized that "left" and "right" here stand for "North" and "South". The root עשה has now been attested in Ugaritic, used too in connection with direction.⁹⁰ The North is the abode of the gods in Canaanite mythology.⁹¹ The entire chapter expresses Job's intense, but unsuccessful search for God. The verse may therefore be interpreted: I behold Him not when He approaches His Heavenly abode in the North, nor do I see Him when He turns Southward, i.e. emerges from the North. No emendation of בעשותו to בקצתו or of יעטף to אעטף is required.

88. Krt: 147, 295.

89. I. Eitan, A contribution to Biblical Lexicography, (N.Y., 1924), p.56.

90. Cassuto, עמ'ק (ירושלים תשי"ט) ספר דיבורג; Ugaritic Text 51:VII:41.

91. Isa. 14:13; Ps.48:3 and Job itself 37:22.

צתק 21:7 is generally taken as "grow old", in which sense it is an Aramaism.⁹² צתק as a verb occurs nine times in the Bible, five of which occur in Job and four of these latter have the primary meaning "to pass". This would correspond to Ugaritic ʿtq. In one Ugaritic text⁹³ we find this verb together with ymm denoting the passage of time. We may therefore have here, Job 21:7, an elliptical usage of ʿtq in the same sense: "They pass (their days) in amassing wealth." cf. v.13. יבלו ימיהם

צמת 6:17; 23:17, corresponds to Ugaritic smt, "to destroy".

צפון 26:7 in a cosmogonic context; 37:22 referring to the appearance of God in His splendor. This term reflects the Canaanite conception of the North as the Heavenly abode.⁹⁴

קבל 2:10 bis, is usually regarded as an Aramaism. However, the vocable has now been attested in the Amarna texts.⁹⁵

92. E. Kautzsch, op.cit., p.73.

93. 49:II:26-27; :V:7.

94. v. Morgenstern, HUCA, 16 (1941), p.65.

95. BASOR, 89 (1943), p.29ff.

קִרְץ 33:6. The phrase, equivalent to the Accadian expression garâsu tîta, now has its counterpart in Ugaritic grš rt "to shape clay into an effigy".⁹⁶

קִדְשִׁים 5:1; 15:15. This term is found in the Arslan Tash inscription, line 11-12, where כל קדשים is parallel to כלבן אלם, leaving no doubt that the קִדְשִׁים are gods. Similarly, Ugaritic bn gds' means "the gods".⁹⁷ Our Job passage thus uses another term directly borrowed from Canaanite mythology.

קִדְשִׁים 36:14. As temple (male) prostitutes, this term is well known from other passages. The parallel בנער is very strange and moreover presents a syntactical difficulty. As an abstract noun with the force of an adverb it is not exactly parallel to בְּקִדְשִׁים. Dhorme takes קִדְשִׁים as an abstract noun meaning "adolescence". But from the analogies he quotes we should expect a form קִדְשִׁים, while there is no evidence for the use of קִדְשִׁים in this sense. Others⁹⁸ have argued that the קִדְשִׁים probably died at an early age worn out by their excesses and so became proverbial as victims of

96. 126:V:29.

97. 137:21,38; 2'Aqht:I:4,9,14.

98. Gray-Driver, ad loc.

an untimely death. This explanation does not remove the syntactical difficulty. In Ugaritic we find a class of priests known as gdšm. A list of temple functionaries mentions n-rm together with gdšm and khn.¹⁰⁰ It is here suggested therefore, that our גַּר refers to a guild of temple servitors (cf. supra, s.v. אִיתָנִים). The reference here maybe to some historic event. The Book of Kings mentions repeated persecutions of the קָרְעִים beginning with Asa (I Kings 15:12) and continuing through the days of Jehoshaphat (22:47), until the thorough-going reformation of Josiah (II Kings 23:7). Certainly these guilds did not survive the Judean Exile. The plausibility of a historic explanation is increased by 12:17ff., which seems likewise to have a historic background. Both passages may well refer to the same event.

רַחֵם The locution יֵצֵא סִרְחָם 3:11; 10:18; 38:8 is phraseologically equivalent to the Ugaritic yšl lpit.¹⁰¹

100. 113:60.

101. 2'Aqht:II:9, according to J. Obermann, How Daniel was Blessed with a Son, (A.O.S. Offprint Series, No.20), p.4. line 93.

רפצים 26:5 "shades", are mentioned in the Phoenician inscriptions¹⁰² and in the Ugaritic texts. It is noteworthy that in several passages in the latter, rpim parallels ilnym,¹⁰³ In one passage¹⁰⁴ the ilnym are said to reside "two layers beneath the springs of the earth... "(tht'nt arq). The reference to תחת צים in our Job passage may well be connected with this.

רשף 5:7 Reshef was one of the gods of the Canaanite Pantheon, being found in Ugarit¹⁰⁵ and Phoenician.¹⁰⁶ He was even adopted by the Egyptians of the New Empire into their Pantheon.¹⁰⁷

רשף is used eleven times in Job, but רשף never appears. From Judg.16:25 it may be inferred that רשף belongs to the spoken language, רשף to the literary dialect. The exclusive use of רשף in Job is another indication that the answer to many of the linguistic difficulties lies in the direction of dialectic variation.

102. Sidon, Tabnith, line 8,

103. 62:45-46; 122:2-4, 9-12 etc.

104. nt:IV:79.

105. Text 17:5.

106. v. Cooke, North Semitic Inscriptions, p.56f., and more recently R.O. Callaghan, "An Approach to Some Religious Problems of Karatepe", Archiv Orientalni XVII, 360).

107. Albright, Stone Age, (2nd ed., 1946), p.160.

צאול 26:6; צחת 17:14. Both these synonyms for the netherworld are masculine only here in Job. It is quite possible that the gender has been influenced by the identification of the netherworld with Môt who ruled it, so 27:15, 28:22; 30:23; 38:17. The employment of the masculine for these terms shows the strong mythological strain underlying their usage.¹⁰⁸

צבענה 42:13; This hapax legomenon corresponds to Ugaritic sb'ny¹⁰⁹ (v. supra, pp.18ff).

צוץ 36:19 may be connected with צועת, "sacrifice" as¹¹⁰ in Phoenician. This fits in well with רב כפר v.18

צחת v. supra, s.v. צאול

צלח 33:18; 36:12 עבר בצלח. This unique phrase has been variously explained. Duhm went so far as to emend to בצאלה.¹¹¹ Those who retain צלח regard

108. v. supra. s.v. מות

109. 52:64.

110. Marseilles Tariff, lines 3,4.v. Slouschz, opcit., p.143.

111. cf. BH, ad loc.

it as a late word.¹¹² In each case the context leaves no doubt that the phrase is synonymous with death.

עבר in Job is frequently used in the sense of "passing away", "disappearing". (6:15; 11:16; 30:15; 34:20; cf. 17:11). The integrity of the reading בעלה is now attested by the Ugaritic equivalent

mšb^ʿt hn bšlh ttp^l¹¹³
 "A seventh, lo, he fell by the sword;"

שרה 37:3; This hapax legomenon is regarded as a pure Aramaism¹¹⁴ cognate to שרא "to loosen". However, Ugaritic

šrh lars brqm¹¹⁵
 "he flashes lightning to the earth";

suggests rather that the final ה is radical and original and that we have here a Canaanite root šrh "to flash" (lightning).¹¹⁶

112. cf. Gray-Driver II ad loc.

113. Krt, 20-21, cf. Joel 2:8. On שרה v. Ginsberg The Legend of King Keret, p.14. S. Yeivin, בן לזיונו, p.139.

114. Kautzsch, Aramaismen, p.90.

115. 51:V:71.

116. On this word v. Ginsberg כתבי אוגרית p.31; JBL, LXII (1943), p.109f; BA., VIII (1945), p.57.

שרש is frequently used figuratively for offspring (5:3; 18:16; 29:19). This usage is typically Canaanite, Thus, in Ugaritic we find šrš parallel to bn.¹¹⁷ With

18:16 בנתחת שרשיו יבשו ואמעל ימל קצירו

cf. Phoenician,¹¹⁸ אל יכן לם שרש למא ופר למעל

and Ugaritic, šršk barṣ al yṣ/riš gly bd ns - k.¹²⁰

תהום is thrice synonymous with ים (28:14; 38:16; 41:23-24)

The identical parallel occurs in Ugaritic ym - thm.¹²¹

תנין 7:12 as the mythological sea-monster corresponds exactly to Canaanite tnn.

117. 2'Aqht:I:19-20 etc.

118. Eshmun'azar Inscription, lines 11-12.

119. I'Aqht, 159-160.

120. For the translation of this line, v. Gaster, Thespis, p.303, and cf. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature (Rome,1949), p.99.

121. 52:30 etc.

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing studies have been mainly confined to the points of contact between the Canaanite material and the language of Job. While there is no claim to exhaustiveness, the material presented is regarded as being sufficiently comprehensive and weighty as to ^{justify} certain conclusions.

I The Prologue and Epilogue

These contain several important characteristic features of the classical Canaanite epic tradition. Certain morphological, syntactical and linguistic peculiarities have been shown to be archaisms paralleled in Ugaritic. The probability is that the Prologue and Epilogue have been extracted from an ancient epic source (referred to by Ezekiel), traces of the original language of which are still to be found in our version.

II The Date of the Poem

The problem of the age of the Poem, controversy over which has raged since Talmudic times, is nearer a solution.

With no other Biblical work has there been such great diversity of opinion and such a wide gap between the extremes of dating. Already in the Talmud, practically every possible viewpoint was expressed, covering the patriarchal age, the Mosaic

era, the times of the Judges, even the exilic and Persian periods.¹ Almost every one of these views has found a protagonist among modern scholars who have done little more than enlarge the range of possibilities. Thus, Ébrard and Rawlinson supported Mosaic authorship. Luther and Franz Delitzsch argued for the Solomonic age. Nöldeke and Hitzig assigned the book to the times of Isaiah, whilst Ewald looked to the seventh century and Cheyne, Duhm and Budde to the fifth, for the time of composition.² C. Siegfried³ has even argued for a Maccabean dating - a claim obviously absurd, since Ben Sira was certainly influenced by Job.⁴

A mere listing of such widely differing views is sufficient to show that they can rest only upon evidence of the most uncertain nature. It is appropriate to consider, therefore, whether the foregoing studies shed any fresh light upon this problem and whether they provide additional evidence for a more precise formulation. In the opinion of the present writer, the material assembled in this

1. B. Baba Bathra 15a; J. Soṭah v.8.

2. For details, see Karl Budde, Das Buch Hiob, (1896) pp. XL ff.

3. Jewish Encyclopedia, VII, art., "Job".

4. M. H. Segal, op.cit., pp. 3ff., 16ff.

dissertation must inevitably favor an early dating.

(i) Morphologically, the poetry exhibits a striking phenomenon in the use of t- preformative for 3rd m.s. This corresponds exactly to the use of the identical form in a tenth century Phoenician inscription and, frequently, in the much earlier Canaanite glosses to the Amarna letters.

(ii) Another specific point of contact with the Amarna Canaanite glosses is to be found in the Qatlâti perfect form, used once in Job.

(iii) The Canaanite poetic tradition is followed in the employment of the yqtl as the predominantly characteristic tense-form, mainly expressing past time.

(iv). Similarly, the poetry contains an extraordinary high percentage of jussive forms expressing past time, a usage characteristic of Ugaritic poetry.

(v) The repetition of the same verb in the same tense form in parallel clauses is likewise to be regarded as evidence of the syntactical influence of Canaanite poetry and not of poor style or textual corruption.

(vi) The inconsistent and erratic use of the article can be satisfactorily explained only on the assumption of Phoenician or Northern Hebraic influence. The same applies to the use of the nota accusativi without the definite article.

(vii) The schematized or climactic use of numbers, attested several times in the poetry, is a typical Canaanite literary device.

(viii) A study of the prepositions is particularly revealing.

The vocalization most frequently betrays the older pronunciation with a patah.

Both ו and ב are employed in the sense of "from", exactly as in Ugaritic.

The accretion of prepositions represents a significant point of contact with Phoenician.

The Lamedh of Reinforcement" is frequently attested.

Recognition of the true function of the prepositions removes many exegetical obscurities and obviates the need for textual emendation.

(ix) Textual and exegetical clarification likewise results from recognizing the presence of the archaic enclitic particle -m in several passages and of the indefinite particle 'ay twice.

(x) The Waw in a number of difficult passages is seen to be employed "pleonastically", as is the case in Ugaritic, and the understanding of the text in such cases is considerably improved.

(xi) The studies in the lexicon reveal a considerable number of points of contact with the ancient Canaanite literature of a lexical, phraseological, mythological and stylistic nature.

Several common Hebrew vocables have specialized meanings or usages, specifically Canaanite, viz., בלע, בוא, ארץ, אל, מנה, מחץ, מות, לויתן, ים, חפץ, חנף, הלק, דרך, גצר, צפון, עתק, עפעף, עלם, עזב, ספר, סכה, נעים, נמע, תנין, תהום, שרש, שחת, שאול, רשף, רפאים, קדושים,

Many rare or difficult words can be explained by reference to the Canaanite dialects, viz.,

זמר, המרות, דין, זאבה, גלה, בד, איתנים, אגמן, צרה, צווע, קדץ, צמת, עצה, עמק, נער, חלק.

Several unusual word-combinations, pairs of synonyms, clichés and stylistic peculiarities are seen to belong to the Canaanite literary heritage, viz., אפיק נחלים, אף-אם,

אל יחד, קן; בוכבי בקר בני אלהים, שח אבן, גלה אבוא, נבכי ים, ספר ימים, גילה יום ירח, לא יצ, נעים אטוב, חנפי לב, עבד עולם, ירד שאול, מבכי ים.

Some previously believed Aramaisms can now be shown to be, on the contrary, early Canaanisms, viz.,

צרה, קבל, ציפתה, נחת, מלל, מקך, זאבה, אתה.

(xii) The Book of Job is extraordinarily rich in mythological references, note of which has been constantly taken

in these studies as a background for the proper understanding of the text. Practically all of the mythological terminology and motifs used have their parallels in the Canaanite literature. These correspondences may be summarized as follows:

EL as the personal name of God; קרוצים (5:1; 15:15) and בני אלהים (38:7) to designate the pantheon; the council of God (15:8); the gods quarrelling on high (25:2); the north as the heavenly abode (26:7; 37:22); the סכה as the appellation of the Divine throne (36:29); חנפי לב to describe those guilty of acts of presumption against God (36:13); God as a lightning-slinger (36:32; 37:3; 38:35); the mention of the god Reshef (5:7); Môt as the king of the netherworld and the genius of destruction and aridity, and the reference to his "first born son" (18:13-14); מות, by metonymy, used of the netherworld (27:15 etc); the method by which Môt disposes of his victims (17:16; 18:13); רפאים as the shades of the dead residing beneath the waters (26:5); the specialized use of ארץ in the sense of the netherworld (10:21:22); the exceptional employment of עגול and סחת in the masculine as a hypostasization of the god Môt (17:4; 26:6); the frequent reference to the combat of God and the Dragon with its stereotyped terminology:

גַּעַר (26:11); יָם (7:12; 26:12; 38:8); לוֹרִיתָן (3:8; 40:25);
מַחֵץ (26:12); נַחֵץ בְּרִית (26:13); תְּהוֹם (28:14; 38:16;
 41:23-24); תַּנִּין (7:12).

Such a vast array of mythological correspondences sharing a common technical terminology with the Canaanite epics, taken in conjunction with the numerous morphological, syntactical, lexical and general stylistic evidence, leads to one conclusion - that the language of the Book of Job is saturated with Canaanisms and archaisms, and that the Canaanite literature is probably the greatest single literary influence upon it. The book may, in fact, be said to represent the high water-mark of Canaanite literary influence upon Hebrew.

To what period then, is Job to be assigned? It has been frequently claimed in recent years that a "revival" of Canaanite influence took place in Israel between the seventh and the third centuries B.C.E. "which brought with it not only a renaissance of the early epic literature but also an unexampled diffusion of Phoenician writings".⁵ It should be pointed out,

5. Albright, FSAC., (1946) p.243; cf. BASOR 46 (1932), pp.15-20. Gaster, Thespis, pp.145, assigns an exilic or post-exilic date to Biblical passages containing pagan mythological influence. He explains them as an attempt to recapture the allegiance of the returning and assimilated Jewish exiles by representing their ancestral religion in terms of the heathen mythologies with which they had become acquainted. Dahood, op.cit., p.34, explains the Canaanite influence by a supposed movement of Jews from South to North after the Babylonian destruction where they came into close contact with Phoenicians. Gordon, "North Israelite Influence on Postexilic Hebrew", (Hebrew), Eretz-Israel,

however, that while Canaanite literary influence in the Prophetic and Wisdom literature is undeniable, both the use of the term "revival"⁶ and the period to which it is ascribed are very arbitrary. In the first place, since literary prophecy began relatively late we have no means of knowing exactly how early is the Canaanite influence and whether, in fact, the sources at our disposal represent a revival, i.e., an innovation in Israel, or the continuance of a literary tradition. Secondly, it is arguing in a circle to assume that all "heathen" influence must be exilic or postexilic and then to assign all passages exhibiting such influence to the exilic or postexilic periods. This is particularly true of such references in the first Isaiah, Nahum, Habakkuk and the Psalms.⁷

As far as Job is concerned, the evidence all points, in the opinion of the present writer, to an early, i.e., pre-exilic

III (Jerusalem, 1954), pp.104-105, attributes the Canaanite forms in exilic and postexilic prose to the contacts and intermingling of the Judeans with the Northern tribes during the Babylonian exile. The numerical superiority of the Northerners affected the language of those who returned from the Exile.

6. Albright op. cit.

7. cf. especially, Gaster, op. cit.

dating for the great mass of material that goes to make up the book.⁸ It is not only a question of numerous mythological and lexical correspondences for, as a matter of fact, unlike in the Prophets and Psalms, the mythology is completely devoid of any national element and there is no attempt at reinterpretation in terms of Israel's history and religious experiences. This alone would argue for an early dating. But even more decisive is the presence of a large number of morphological and syntactical peculiarities characteristic of the Canaanite dialects. This is supplemented by a point of historical interest. The supposed references in 12:16 ff. are far too vague to be of value. But the mention of קְדָשִׁים, אֲתָנִים and נָעַר, identified as temple functionaries, points again to the pre-exilic period.⁹

8. This conclusion is not affected by the fact that there are many parallels between Job and other Biblical books. All those who claim literary dependence on the part of Job do so on the assumption that the book is late. In fact, there need be no interdependence at all since a large number of the so-called borrowings comprises clichés. See above page 29 for some evidence that Job represents an older version in many of these instances.

9. For identification of these terms see the Lexicon under their respective headings.

III The Language of the Book.

The conclusion arrived at as to the period in which the book was written inevitably affects the problem of the original language. If the work be a translation we have to assume that the translator deliberately introduced a vast number of Canaanite archaisms into his work - a most unlikely situation. At the same time, we should have to explain why the translator chose to give many common Hebrew vocables a specialized meaning, intelligible only in a Canaanite context. The problem is further complicated if Aramaic be assumed to have been the original language. In the first place, the number of so-called Aramaisms has been greatly reduced by reference to the Canaanite dialects, Accadian and Arabic. Secondly, the very presence of Aramaic words - if, indeed, they be exclusively Aramaic would tend to argue against an Aramaic original, for several occur in conjunction with a Hebrew synonym: e.g., אתה - בוא (3:25); עד - עתד (16:19); חנה - ראה (19:27); דבר - מלה (29:22); פרא - ערוד (39:5); עצם - גרם (40:18).

In all these instances we must ask ourselves what the original of the Hebrew term was, or are we to assume that the Aramaic prototype contained Hebraisms? The presence of Aramaisms in the vocabulary is nothing more than an idiosyncrasy of the Hebrew writer. In any case it has no bearing on the

problem of dating since the Arslan Tash, Kilamu and Zakir inscriptions all show that Aramaic had penetrated the Canaanite linguistic sphere as early as the eighth century B.C.E.

Nevertheless, there are two aspects of the language which still have to be taken into consideration. The first is the striking absence or extreme sparsity of some archaisms otherwise characteristic of Hebrew poetry. The relative זן and the feminine demonstrative pronoun זה never occur. Totally absent too is the Hireq compaginis - very remarkably, in view of the relatively large number of participial forms. The Holem compaginis likewise does not appear - again surprising since the frequently used cliché חית ארץ appears elsewhere as חיתו ארץ. In general, there are practically no remains of the early case-endings.¹⁰

The second striking feature is the presence of certain late Hebrew forms.¹¹

These two elements, in contrast to the otherwise early characterization of the language lead to the conclusion that the book in its final form has undergone some later revision.

10. Only the accusative is attested: ארצה 34:13 is a genuine object, on which see Wright, Comparative Grammar p.141; ארצה 37:12 and עלתה 5:16, are fossilized accusatives used nominatively. On ציבתה 10:22, see above p.124, contra GKC §90 g.

11. See p.5, n.18, for the literature.

The final conclusions are, therefore, that the weight of evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of our Hebrew as the original language, that the book is saturated with Canaanisms and archaisms, that the text is in a far better state than is supposed, and that the book, as such, is pre-exilic but that, in its present form, it is the result of later revision.

ABBREVIATIONS

(* indicates that the item is fully listed in the Bibliography)

AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages & Literatures.
Aqu.	Aquila
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BDB	Brown, Driver & Briggs*
BH	Biblia Hebraica*
BS	Bibliotheca Sacra
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
EA	Knudtzon*
FSAC	Albright*
GKC	Gesenius*
HG	Bauer-Leander*
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature & Exegesis
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JJJ	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland.
K	Kethib

LXX	Septuagint
MT	Massoretic text
PEQ	Palestine Exporation Quarterly
Q	Qere
RB	Revue Biblique
REJ	Revue des Etudes Juives
Symm.	Symmachus
Syr.	Syriac
Targ.	Targum
Theod.	Theodotion
UH	Ugaritic Handbook*
VT	Vetus Testamentum
Vulg.	Vulgate
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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