

## PSALM 68:7 REVISITED

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In an article appearing in the last number of the *Journal*, B. Margulis offered the following reading and rendering for Ps. 68:7(6):

אלהים מושיב יהירים ביהה  
מוציא ארוסים (!) בכושרוה

The Lord finds a mate for the solitary;  
He escorts the betrothen along with the Košarot.<sup>1</sup>

This proposal seeks to offer a solution to the problematic MT *bakōšārōt* in terms of the matrimonial role of the Ugaritic *ktrt*, as well as the supposedly matrimonial context of the biblical verse. The proposed solution, however, is itself not free from difficulties, some of which the present paper will consider. Further, the occasion of the article presents an opportunity to reconsider generally some of the more widely held positions on this verse, especially the long-maintained<sup>2</sup> identification of the biblical *kōšārōt* with the Ugaritic *ktrt*, however the latter may be defined.

Turning first to the emendation of *'asîrîm* to *\*'arûsîm*, several points come to mind. The orthographic problem raised by finding *\*'arûsîm* written with *s* for *š* in so archaic a text as Psalm 68 was already anticipated by Margulis.<sup>3</sup> A more basic problem, however, stems from the very form of the word, a *qal* passive participle. It should be recalled that in Biblical Hebrew the root *'rš* is not attested in the *qal*.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the passive forms of the verb<sup>5</sup> are employed exclusively with feminine subjects. In the Mishnah, where the *qal* of the root is developed, the passive participle *'arûsāh*,<sup>6</sup> as well as the *pual m<sup>e</sup>ōrāsāh*,<sup>7</sup> designate the female betrothed, while the male is spoken

<sup>1</sup> B. Margulis, "The Kōšārōt/*ktrt*: Patroness-saints of Women," *JANES* 4 (1972), 61.

<sup>2</sup> See H. L. Ginsberg, "Women Singers and Wailers among the Northern Canaanites," *BASOR* 72 (1938), 13: "If, however, *ktrt* in Ugaritic means '(female) singers,' *kōšārōt*, Ps. 68:7, must mean 'song,' 'music,' or the like."

<sup>3</sup> B. Margulis, "Kōšārōt," 61 with n. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Any appeal to the Akkadian G participle *ērîšu* (*CAD*, E. 301) is seriously weakened by the fact that the meaning 'bridegroom' for the Akk. substantive is itself open to doubt. See M. Held, "The Action-Result (Factitive-Passive) Sequence of Identical Verbs in Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic," *JBL* 84 (1965), 278, n. 29. Highly uncertain is the suggestion made by Margulis in "A Ugaritic Psalm (RS. 24.252)," *JBL* 89 (1970), 296 with n. 2 (cited by him in *JANES* 4 [1972], 60, n. 38) that Ugar. *iršt* in RS. 24.252 Rev. 5 is cognate to BHeb. *'rš* and means 'betrothed'. Although the text is broken, it is not unreasonable to assume that the substantive *iršt* is here, as elsewhere in Ugaritic, to be translated 'request' (cf. Akk. *erîšu*, *CAD*, E. 298ff. See *Ugaritica* V [Paris, 1968], S57, n. 5 and J.C. de Moor, *UF* I, 176:5). Note that the usage with the verb *šyt* in that text is paralleled in *UT* 2065: 14-16 [i]rš 'my mnm irštk dšrt wank aštn liby 'request of me whatever is your request, what you require, and I will supply it to my "brother"' (see *UT*, Gl., 367, No. 379, cf. EA 158:17-19, where the Akk. has *nadānu* as the verb).

<sup>5</sup> *Pual*. perf.: Exod. 22:15, Deut. 22:28; *Pual*. part.: Deut. 22:23, 25, 27.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Mishnah *Sotah* 2:5.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 7:9.

of only as *m<sup>e</sup>'arrēs* (active!).<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, the conjugation, voice, and gender of \**'arūsīm* are all quite inappropriate in a biblical context.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, it is clear that MT *'asrīm* is highly appropriate, both in the psalm as a whole, and in our particular verse. Thus Gaster,<sup>10</sup> viewing Psalm 68 as one unified processional hymn, documents the specific action of freeing prisoners as an integral part of the ceremony reflected by the text. Or, following the view of Albright and others,<sup>11</sup> which treats the psalm as a collection of incipits or poem fragments, one still may view release of prisoners as a most fitting literary element. Reference to such activity as a divine attribute is amply attested as a conventional hymnic motif in the literatures of ancient Egypt,<sup>12</sup> Mesopotamia, and Israel.

In the case of the latter two, both Akkadian and Hebrew possess a particularly rich stock of expressions for 'liberation'. The respective terms employed in these languages, as well as the parallel conceptual patterns underlying them, are fully exploited in both Mesopotamian and Israelite religious texts to depict the divine liberator. Thus, in Akkadian hymns and prayers the most common idioms denoting the release of prisoners are *kasâ/šabta/kamâ paqāru*<sup>13</sup>/*eṭēru*<sup>14</sup>/*(w/mhuššuru*<sup>15</sup>/*rum-mū*,<sup>16</sup> as well as the figurative *nūra kullumu*.<sup>17</sup> The latter, which speaks of letting

<sup>8</sup>E.g., Mishnah *Sotah* 8:2.

<sup>9</sup>So, too, in an Ugaritic context, where the underlying concept of male activity and female passivity is operative. Thus the *trḥ* of IK (=CTA 14): 100, 189 (G participle *tāriḥu*; cf. Akk. *āḥizānu* 'bridegroom' [CAD. A<sup>1</sup>, 192], a form also derived from the G participle; so, too, note *ḥā'iru*, CAD. H, 31) is one who weds, while the *mtrḥt* is the one wedded, i.e., his wife. The passivity of the latter term is clear, whether one construes the form *mtrḥt* as a secondary G passive participle (so Gordon, *UT*, Grammar, p. 78, 9.24.1), or as a D passive participle (J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch [=WUS]*, 328, No. 2803; J. Gray, *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra* [Leiden, 1964], 31, ll. 12-13).

<sup>10</sup>T.H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament* (New York, 1969), 760.

<sup>11</sup>For a succinct formulation of Albright's view and a brief history of its forerunners, see W.F. Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm LXVIII)," *HUCA* 23 (1950-51), 9.

<sup>12</sup>For Egypt see, for example, the translations of J. Wilson in *ANET*: p. 366a ("Hymn to Amon-Re," IV) "who hears the prayer of him who is in captivity"; p. 371b ("Hymns to the Gods as a Single God") "He that is imprisoned turns about to thee"; p. 377b ("Hymn of Victory of Mer-ne-Ptah") ". . . that he might set free many who had been imprisoned in every district"; p. 379a ("Joy at the Accession of Ramses IV") "They who were in prison are set free; they who were fettered are in joy"; p. 380b ("Gratitude for a God's Mercy") "Thou rescuest him who is imprisoned."

<sup>13</sup>For *kasâ paqāru* as a divine activity, see K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (Helsingforsiae, 1938), 151. In the prayer literature this activity is attributed to various gods in their capacity as an *ilu rēmenū* 'merciful god', e.g., E. Ebeling, *Handerhebung [=AGH]*, (Berlin, 1953), 8:1-2; 12:19-21. For examples in the hymnic literature, see, e.g., P.A. Schollmeyer, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš* (reprint: New York, 1968), 34:78, 65:8, 96:5, 107:3. For *kasâ* see CAD. K, 247-48.

<sup>14</sup>For *kamâ eṭēru* see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, 7-8; Ebeling, *AGH*, 116:17. For *šabta eṭēru* see Šurpu IV: 32 (E. Reiner, *Šurpu*, p. 26).

<sup>15</sup>For *kalū muššuru* see CAD. K, 91. For *šabta muššuru* see CAD. Š, 45 (cf. CAD. K, 248), to which should be added *Iraq* 31(1969), 85:42 and N.B. I, 44).

<sup>16</sup>Note the parallelism of *šabta muššuru//kasâ rummū* in Šurpu II: 29. Cf. *AfO* 19(1959), 54:212. See *ibid.*, 57:60-61 for the parallelism of *makšî paqāru//makšî rummū*.

<sup>17</sup>For *nūra kullumu* see the references in CAD. K, 524. Particularly relevant here is Šurpu IV: 31, where this idiom appears parallel to *šūšū* (cf. the use of *mōšî* in our verse, and see nn. 25, 26 below). Some other idiomatic expressions for freeing, releasing, etc., are e.g.,

(a) *andurāra šakānu* (see CAD, A<sup>2</sup>, 115ff). Although not usually applied to prisoners in Akk. texts, the idiom does take on this meaning in Hebrew; see Isa. 61:1 where *qārā d'erôr* (*// p<sup>e</sup>qah·qo<sup>a</sup>h*, see S. Paul, "Deutero-Isaiah and Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions," *JAOS* 88 [1968], 182) is employed with *šebūm* (*// asūrīm*).

the prisoner see the light of day, is paralleled in Hebrew by *hōšî' le'ôr*,<sup>18</sup> for example, while the state of being free is described as seeing the light of day, Heb. *rā'āh 'ōr*<sup>19</sup>=Akk. *nūra amāru*.<sup>20</sup> The underlying idea of untying, basic to the verbs *paṭāru* and *rummū*, finds its expression in the Hebrew verbs *pittah*<sup>21</sup> and *hititū*<sup>22</sup> as used in the context of freeing prisoners. So, too, removal of, and thus salvation of prisoners, which underlies the usage of *eṭēru*, corresponds to Heb. *hōšî' min*.<sup>23</sup> The notion of

(b) *šubarrā šakānu*. Like *andurāra šakānu*, this idiom has to do with release from obligations such as corvée work. Thus in En. el. VI: 49-50, the release of the gods is expressed by *šubarrā šakānu*, but note that the same act is referred to in VI: 34 by the verb *muššuru*, and in VII: 29 by *padr*. In Atrahasis I (Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḫasis*, 58-60: 240-41, 243; cf. 80:19) the action is described by *andurāra šakānu*, and this usage may be viewed alongside the parallelism of *yōšēb hōšek// āšir* in Isa. 42:7 (cf., e.g., 49:9; Ps. 107:10). So, too, note the meaning 'prison' for *maḥšāk* in e.g., Ps. 88:19 (cf. v. 9), for which compare the Akkadian expression *bīt šibitti u ekleti* 'prison' in *Iraq 31* (1969), 87:44. On the equation of darkness and imprisonment, see the discussion in S. Paul, "Deutero-Isaiah," 182.

<sup>18</sup>E.g., Isa. 9:1, noting the occurrence with *hālak hōšek// yāšab b'e'ereš salmāwet*.  
<sup>19</sup>For references see *CAD*, A<sup>2</sup>, 21; cf. also <sup>d</sup>UTU (*Šamaš*) *amāru*, *ibid.*, 22-23.  
<sup>20</sup>The verb *pittah* is said of *mōšērōt* 'bands' (e.g., Ps. 116:16; Job 12:18, 39:5), just as in the Akk. idiom *maksi rummū/paṭāru* (*AfO* 19, 57:60-61). For its usage with related objects see Isa. 58:6 (with *ḥaršūbōt*), Job 30:11 (with *vetēr*). Like its Akk. counterparts, *pittah* is also employed with a personal direct object, e.g., Jer. 40:4 *pittahūkū*; Ps. 102:21 *l'paṭṭe'ah b'enē te'mūtāh* (*// āšir*). To be excluded here is the use of the root *ptḥ* in Isa. 14:17-18, which Ginsberg ingeniously recognized as the noun *petah* '[palace] gate', reading *ōs'it l'petah b'ētāh* 'who chains to his palace gate [all the kings of nations]?' ("Reflexes of Sargon in Isaiah after 715 B.C.E.," *JAOS* 88 [1968], 52). The corruption in MT is due, no doubt, to a confusion with the use of *pittah* as a term for liberation, which would have further suggested the MT reading *āsū'aw* 'his prisoners', taken as the direct object (see their juxtaposition in Ps. 102:21).

<sup>21</sup>E.g., Isa. 9:1, noting the occurrence with *hālak hōšek// yāšab b'e'ereš salmāwet*.

<sup>20</sup>For references see *CAD*, A<sup>2</sup>, 21; cf. also <sup>d</sup>UTU (*Šamaš*) *amāru*, *ibid.*, 22-23.

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<sup>22</sup>Although the etymology of this verb is obscure and much confused in the lexicons, the meaning in our context is clear. Note the use of *hititū* in Ps. 79:11 (reading *hattēr*) with *b'enē te'mūtāh*, exactly as *pittah* is employed in Ps. 102:21. So, too, the verb is paralleled by *pittah* in, e.g., Isa. 58:6 (with object *band*), Ps. 105:20 (used with a personal object).

<sup>23</sup>For the underlying sense of removal, i.e., rescue (of prisoners), inherent in *eṭēru*, see *CAD*, E, 404 (and note the meanings 1c and 2 given on 402). For Heb. *hōšî' min* see, for example, Ps. 107:14 where *darkness* (*// mōšērōt*) refers to prison (cf. v. 10 and see n. 18 above). This idiom is employed with terms specifically associated with imprisonment, e.g., *abōtīm* in Ezek. 3:25, and *masgēr* in Ps. 142:8 and Isa. 42:7. In the latter verse the idiom is also employed with *b'ēt kele*, for which cf. Jer. 52:31. So, too, *hōšî' min* may be compared to the expression *la-māwet tōšā 'ōt* 'escape from death' in Ps. 68:21 (cf. Ugar. *l=* 'from' and note W.G. Lambert, *BWL*, 54, line (f) *ša Ištar ana ištati ušēšā* "Whom Ishtar had rescued from fire").

Moreover, the notion of removal, underlying *eṭēru* 'to save', is clearly present in Akk. *šūšū ina (=šūšū ultu*, see *CAD*, A<sup>2</sup>, 382, meaning 7o). This is clear, for example, from the parallelism of *šūšū ina // nasāhu* 'to uproot, dislodge' (said of demons, illness, etc., see, e.g., KAR 184 Obv. 14, cited in *CAD*, A<sup>2</sup>, 383). Compare also the idioms *ina pušqi šūšū* (KAR 100 ii 3 cited in *CAD*, A<sup>2</sup>, 375; cf. KAR 26:26 cited in *CAD*, A<sup>2</sup>, 383, meaning 10) and *ina pušqi eṭēru* (*CAD*, E, 403, especially En. el. VI:150), which both denote 'to rescue from difficulties'. So, too, note the same idiom with the verbs *šūzubu* (e.g., Ebeling, *AGH*, 122:6) and *šaṭāpu* (e.g., CH iv: 38).

It is clearly this usage of *hōšî'* with the preposition *min* which suggested the variety of emendations for MT *ba-kōšārōt* in Ps. 68:7, e.g., *mi-mōšērōt*, *mi-masgērōt*, or interpretations like *bik'e bālim*, *b'eziqim* (see U.M.D. Cassuto, "Tehilim 68," *Tarbiz* 12 [1940], 12, n. 48).

It should be noted that *hōšî' min*, like *eṭēru*, need not always express physical extrication, but develops into a general term for salvation. It is thus that *hōšî' min* in 2 Sam. 22:49 could easily be replaced by *pillēt min* in the Ps. 18 parallel.

To be compared with *hōšî' min* is the usage of *hālaš* 'to remove', which due to this same semantic development may be used either with or without the preposition *min*, taking on the more general meaning of 'to rescue' (c.f., e.g., Ps. 119:153 alongside Job 3:15). Given this usage, *mōšērōt* in Ps. 68:7, which is used without the preposition *min*, may be grouped together with the idiom *hōšî' min*. Alternatively, see n. 26 below.

sending away, or letting go, is expressed both by Akk. *(w/m)uššuru* = Heb. *šillah*<sup>24</sup> and Akk. *šūšū*<sup>25</sup> = Heb. *hōšī*.<sup>26</sup>

In light of this highly developed usage, it would seem unwarranted to do away in our verse with so pervasive a hymnic motif as the divine liberator, in favor of the clearly less familiar role of bridal attendant, best man, or the like. The point is further borne out by the specific employment of *hōšī*, which has been shown above to have had a prominent place in the stock of idioms denoting liberation of prisoners. On the other hand, it will be recalled that the usage of *hōšī* in matrimonial contexts was demonstrated by Margulis only by a citation from *Pirqē dē-Rabbī 'Eli'ezer*.<sup>27</sup>

So, too, the very context appealed to by Margulis, namely, the reference to "the father of orphans, the adjudicator of widows" (v.6),<sup>28</sup> would seem to argue against his interpretation. Thus in Ps. 146:7, for example, the Lord is called *mattir 'asūrim* 'one who releases the imprisoned', which is followed in verse 9 by mention of the *yātōm w'e'almānāh* 'orphan and widow'. Moreover, the identical association of unfortunates is paralleled in both Egyptian<sup>29</sup> and Akkadian<sup>30</sup> hymnic literature, where the socially

<sup>24</sup>For *šillah* with the object *'asūr* see Zech. 9:11. Note the parallelism of *šillah*//*pittah mōšērōt* in Job 39:5. In the latter verse the idiom occurs tautologically as *šillah hōpšī* (c.f. Exod. 21:26, 27; Deut. 15:12, 13, 18; Isa. 58:6; Jr. 34:9-11, 14). The same meaning is present in the expression *šillah l'nefeš* (+possessive suffix) in Deut. 21:14, while the two idioms are combined in Jer. 34:16 *'āšer šillahtem hōpšim l'napšām* 'whom you set free'.

<sup>25</sup>Although *šūšū* is not among the most common verbs denoting 'to free' in the prayer and hymnic literature, this seems due to stylistic preference rather than to any real distinction between it and the more regularly employed Akkadian terms discussed above. Note, in this connection, the parallelism of *šūšū + nūra kullumu*//*e'ēru* in Surpu IV: 31-32. So, too, *ana nūri šūšū* 'to liberate' (see *CAD. A*<sup>2</sup>, 372) may be viewed alongside the more usual *nūra kullumu*.

The relationship of *šūšū* to *muššuru-šillah* in the sense of 'to send away free' is clear from the fact that the releasing of birds in the biblical flood story is expressed by *šillah* (see Gen. 8:7-12), while in Gilg. XI:146, 149, 152 the Akk. has *šūšū*//*muššuru*. Compare also the royal act of freeing a prisoner expressed by both *kalū šūšū* (*KAR* 178 r. i 43 cited in *CAD. A*<sup>2</sup>, 375) and *kalū muššuru* (4R 33\* ii 24 cited in *CAD. K*, 91).

<sup>26</sup>As noted above, (n.23), verbs denoting the freeing of prisoners undergo a semantic development which might tend to blur original distinctions. Accordingly, the conceptual patterns of (a) loosening, (b) removing, (c) sending off free, with which the material presented above has been schematized, are to be viewed more as conveniences than as constraints. The distinction between 'removing from' and 'sending away' is largely a question of directional focus, viz., focusing upon the prison or upon the outside world. To be consistent with the three patterns, however, Akk. *ina X šūšū*, indicating removal, is to be kept distinct from *šūšū*, without the preposition. The latter would seem to fall together with *muššuru* in the sense of 'letting go [free]'. The usage of *hōšī* in Ps. 68:7, i.e., without the preposition, would logically belong to this grouping. So, too, in Isa. 49:9 and Ps. 88:9, *yāšā' (qal)* is employed without the preposition *min* in contexts involving being set free. The same underlying notion is more clearly expressed in the idiom *hōšī*<sup>1e</sup> in, e.g., Mic. 7:9 and Ps. 18:20 (cf. 2 Sam. 22:20).

<sup>27</sup>Margulis' reference to Ps. 19:5-6 and Joel 2:16 ("Kōšārōt," 58) is less than convincing. In both cases the verb *yāšā'* is employed in the *qal*, not the *hiphil*, and in neither case is the activity or even the presence of a bridal attendant, best man, etc., in evidence. Indeed, the use of *yāšā'* in Joel 2:16 involves the interruption or cessation of marital proceedings, rather than their proper execution. The citation of Gen. 24:63 (B. Margulis, *ibid.*, 59) is likewise inappropriate since the action of "going forth" in that verse is unrelated to any kind of marital proceedings. (Isaac is not formally made aware of his intended bride until v. 66, and the actual marriage is not described until v. 67.)

<sup>28</sup>B. Margulis, *ibid.*, 61.

<sup>29</sup>See, e.g., *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 371b "Do (not) widows say: 'Our husband art thou,' and little ones: 'Our father and our mother?' The rich boast of thy beauty, and the poor (worship) thy face. He that is imprisoned turns about to thee, and he that has a sickness calls out to thee . . ." Cf. 379a "They who were in prison are set free; they who were fettered are in joy . . . The homes of the widows are open (again), so that they may let wanderers come in . . ."

<sup>30</sup>See, e.g., *Iraq* 31 (1969), 85:37 *tušēšer ekūtu almattum nassu dalpu* alongside l. 42 *tu'āšsar šabtu* and l. 44 (p. 87) [*kašū*? *bit šibitti u ekleti [āsi]ru? tukallam nūra*].

unprotected female and child are mentioned together with prisoners as recipients of divine mercy.

It will be recalled that Margulis laid the groundwork for the emendation of *'asîrîm* to *\*'arûsîm* by initially determining matrimony as the context of the first hemistich of our verse.<sup>31</sup> Such an interpretation, however, is open to question. At the outset, it must be clarified that Margulis' appeal to the Targum on Ps. 68:7 is an appeal to midrash,<sup>32</sup> and in this case can hardly be considered legitimate support from an ancient Bible translation.

Further, reference made by Margulis to the commentaries of Qimḥi and Ibn Ezra would have been more appropriate had he translated *bayîṭ* by 'household, family', father than by 'mate, wife'. This is clear from Qimḥi's own explicit statement: "They that are solitary ones, a man and his wife who have not produced children, [the Lord] installs them in a household, which is the totality of sons and daughters, as in [the biblical expression] *waya'as lahem bātîm*."<sup>33</sup> Ibn Ezra also cites this verse along with others<sup>34</sup> which call for a translation 'household, family' and to which he adds his comment: "And its meaning is that He made them numerous and settled them."

As to biblical *hōšîb* as "an idiomatic if not technical designation for 'marriage'," the unusual and clearly restricted usage<sup>35</sup> in Ezra 10:17-18, Neh. 13:23, and so forth, can hardly be relevant to what appears in our verse. Suffice it to note that in these passages the action is performed by the groom and that the object of the verb *hōšîb* is his (foreign) bride. In Ps. 68:7a, however, the action would have to be performed by the Lord (presumably as a matchmaker), and the object *yehîdîm* would, at the very least, have to include the male. Such an interpretation ignores the various roles involved in the usage of the verb as a matrimonial term. It would also seem to violate the underlying concept of male activity and female passivity, as did the suggested reading *'arûsîm*, which, again, would include the male as a passive recipient of the action.

Nor should the passages from Ezra and Nehemiah be grouped together with Ps. 113:9, which has less to do with marriage than with the granting of fertility.<sup>36</sup> Just as

<sup>31</sup>B. Margulis, "Kōšārôt," 57-58. The remarks which follow deal with the assertions made on these pages.

<sup>32</sup>On the midrashic character of the Targum on Psalms in general see A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic* (Leiden, 1968) IVA, foreword p. viii. That a matrimonial interpretation of the first part of our verse is specifically, midrashic is clear from a comparison of, e.g., *Genesis Rabbah* 65:2 and 68:4 (cf. e.g., *Leviticus Rabbah* 8:1) with the Targum to our verse. In each of these two midrashim, a different homily is developed, each having as its theme the Lord as divine matchmaker. The very language of these texts, e.g., *m'ezawwēg* (*ziwwūgîm*) is evident in the phraseology of the Targum to our verse.

<sup>33</sup>Exod. 1:21. For Qimḥi's statement see A. Darom, ed., *R. David Qimḥi: The Complete Commentary on Psalms* (Jerusalem, 1967), 146-47 [in Hebrew].

<sup>34</sup>2 Sam. 7:11; Exod. 1:1; 12:3.

<sup>35</sup>Not only is the meaning to marry restricted to such late texts as Ezra and Nehemiah, but even there the verb occurs only with foreign women as its object. Given the context of the campaign against intermarriage, it is not unreasonable to suppose that *hōšîb* was here consciously employed, in place of what were considered more formal or legitimizing terms, to so denigrate such unions. When speaking of marriage between Jews, the common idiom *lūqah 'išāh* is employed (e.g., Ezra 2:61; Neh. 6:18; 7:63). It should be noted, however, that the verb *nāšā* is used in, e.g., Ezra 9:2, 12; 10:44, when speaking of intermarriage, and in Neh. 13:25, when speaking of unions between the offspring of mixed marriages.

In any event, one should not assume that *hōšîb* as a marital term in Ezra and Nehemiah derives from a root other than *yšb* 'to dwell' (so D.N. Freedman, "Orthographic Peculiarities in the Book of Job," *Eretz Israel* 9 [1969], 39). This usage of *hōšîb* (with an object *bayîṭ* understood?) might be viewed alongside such expressions as Akk. *ana bīti X erēbu* (said of the wife) or Ugar. *lqh bt/šrb hzr* 'to take to house'. For these terms and their Hebrew equivalents see the discussion in J. Greenfield, "Some Glosses on the Keret Epic," *Eretz Israel* 9 [1969], 63-64.

<sup>36</sup>See, for example, 1 Sam. 2:5 where the *'aqārāh* is specifically blessed by the granting of offspring. The

the barren woman is ensconced "in a household,"<sup>37</sup> the *yehîdîm* of our verse; also individuals without family or progeny, would understandably be shown the same compassion, that is, be set up as the head of their own households. If Ps. 113:9 and Ps. 68:7a are to be so connected, and the *yâhîd* is specifically mentioned here as one who lacks progeny, then the parallelism of *yehîdîm*//*asîrîm* in our verse may be compared to that of Akk. *lā ālitti*//*kasû* 'barren woman//prisoner' in a SU.ILA prayer.<sup>38</sup>

In Akkadian literature the *ēdu/ēdēnu* 'unattached individual' is provided by the deity with a companion<sup>39</sup> or with progeny,<sup>40</sup> but not necessarily with a wife. Further, in contexts mentioning the solitary person, the emphasis is upon his lack of, or alienation from, family associations, rather than upon his being a bachelor. Thus one finds the complaint: *ana rapši kimāti ēteme ēdāniš* 'to [my] many relatives I seem as one without family [lit. a solitary individual].'<sup>41</sup>

The assumption that the usage in our verse is related to that in Ps. 113:9, while highly probable, is not the only possible interpretation for the first hemistich. It will be recalled that in the Ugaritic legend of Keret, the *yhd*/*aḥd*<sup>42</sup> is listed among those for whom going off to war represented a definite hardship. In his particular case, he is depicted as having to close down his home, there being no one to maintain it in his absence. What comes to mind, then, is the reading<sup>43</sup> *mēšib*[!] *yehîdîm bāyētāh* 'One who allows *yehîdîm* to return home'. The sense here might be either a reference to a specific divine exemption from military service, or the special protection shown by the Lord to this disadvantaged social class in wartime.<sup>44</sup> The military context of returning

parallel usage is especially significant when it is recalled that this text shows close affinities to Ps. 113, both sharing the passage *mēqîm (mēqîmî) mē āpār dal mē āspōt yārîm 'ebyôn l'ehōšîb(l) 'im n'ēdîbîm . . .*

<sup>37</sup>Both the grammar and syntax of Ps. 113:9 are far from clear, which complicates the seemingly natural connection to Ps. 68:7a. What is clear, however, is that Heb. *bayit* 'household', i.e., progeny (see nn. 33 and 34 above), is more relevant to an *'aqārāh*, than is an idiom denoting marriage.

<sup>38</sup>See Ebeling, *AGH*, 150:7-8 where the text is restored: [a]na [lā]ālitti [apla tanamdin]/[a]na [ka]sî [šubarā tāšakkan] 'You give an heir to the barren woman, /you effect the release of the fettered.'

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 48:105 *eḥlu ēdu tappā tušarši*. Note the proper name *Marduk-tappî-ēdi-šubši* 'Marduk-Provide-a-Companion-for-the-Lonely' cited in *CAD*, E, 36. In this connection, see the NEB translation 'friendless' for the *yahîd* of Ps. 68:7a. Significantly, the theme of isolation from one's friends and acquaintances is directly paralleled by the motif of imprisonment in Ps. 88:9 (cf. v. 19).

<sup>40</sup>See, e.g., the proper name *Gula-šumi-ēdi-libši* 'Gula-Let-There-Be-Progeny-for-the-Lonely' cited in *CAD*, E, 36-37. Note that the *ēdu* appears together with the *lā isari* 'impotent' in Ebeling, *AGH*, 48:105-106, which would seem to further link the *yâhîd* and *'aqārāh* as social types deprived of progeny, albeit for different reasons.

<sup>41</sup>Ludlul I: 79; see W. G. Lambert, *BWL*, 34-35 and cf. *CAD*, K, 376. For the clear sense here of rejection by the family compare Ludlul I: 91-92, for which see Lambert, *ibid*.

<sup>42</sup>IK (=CTA 14):96 *yhd bth sgr* 'the solitary man closes down his house' (*sgr*=*ysgr*?, as in l. 184; see the infinitive absolute construction *škr tškr* in ll. 97-98 for a possible source of contamination). Problematic is the substitution of *aḥd* (l. 184) for *yhd* in the repeated portion of this command-action sequence. It is unlikely that these two words in our passage are to be separated in *yhd* 'a solitary individual' and *ḥd* '[the numeral] one', since only the former would have the social implications indicated by the context (viz., the grouping of *almnt*, *zbl*, *wr*, *trḡ*, *ḥd*).

<sup>43</sup>This reading suggested in *BH*<sup>3</sup> is excluded from the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Psalms [Fasc. No. 11], 1969). Although not specifically acknowledged in their critical notes, the reading *mēšib* would seem to account for the rendering 'restore' in the translations of, e.g., Oesterley (*The Psalms*, [London, 1939; reprint, 1962], 321) and Buitenweiser (*The Psalms*, [1938; reprint: N.Y., 1969], 257).

<sup>44</sup>That is, to speed their path and direct them home after the fighting. Although our verse, taken by itself, presents no evidence that they *yehîdîm* in question were ever engaged in fighting, or were ever in enemy hands, one is inclined to compare here the repeated references in Akkadian hymnic literature to the safe and sure conduct home provided by a merciful deity for refugees in wartime. Thus, for example, in Ebeling, *AGH*, 52:7 *Šamaš* is called *mušēšir urḫi munnarbi* 'he who directs the path of fugitives'. Similarly, it is

home, that is, returning to civilian life, is clear from such passages as 1 Kgs. 12:24 (= 2 Chr. 11:4) and 1 Kgs. 22:17 (= 2 Chr. 18:16) where the command  $\text{šūbū } \text{š } l^e b^e t^e$  indicates an ending of hostilities. The same idiom is used to describe the release of various hardship cases from obligatory military duty in Deut. 20:5-7. Note that verse 5 of this passage expresses special concern for the fate of a man's newly built, unprotected home, a problem reminiscent of that faced by the *yhd* in Keret.<sup>45</sup>

From a grammatical standpoint, the verb *šwb*, being a verb of motion, comports nicely with what may be the usage of locative *heh* in our verse. Locative *heh* in this context is little different from the usage of the preposition *l<sup>e</sup>* in the idioms cited above, and may be directly compared to that of 1 Sam. 6:7 *wah<sup>a</sup>š<sup>e</sup>b<sup>o</sup>t<sup>e</sup>m b<sup>e</sup>n<sup>e</sup>ḏhem mē<sup>a</sup>ḥ<sup>a</sup>rēhem ha-bāy<sup>e</sup>tāh* 'bring their offspring back from them to the house'. As against this use, note that the verb *yšb* does not appear in idioms with locative *heh*. It was probably this very problem of syntax which suggested the reading *bth <m>* 'their household' to Albright,<sup>46</sup> and the interpretation by Dahood<sup>47</sup> of the final *-āh* as a preserved archaic accusative ending, both of which obviate the locative in our verse.

The confusion of the roots *šwb* and *yšb* is, of course, easily explained on orthographic grounds. Note, for example, the MT vocalization *wahašibōtū* in Ezek. 29:14 derives the form from *šwb*, while LXX renders by *katoikizein*<sup>48</sup> which assumes that the root is *yšb*.<sup>49</sup> More strikingly, in Zech. 10:6 MT *wēhōš<sup>e</sup>bōtīm* offers a con-

said of a goddess in *AGH*. 152:6, *tutār ḥabtam šalla ana nišēšu* 'you return to their folk runaway [or released] captives' (for *ḥabtu* see *CAD*. *H*. 18. The usage here is as a hendiadys). This latter example is especially significant in its use of *tāru*, the exact semantic equivalent of Heb. *šwb*. The same usage is seen in, e.g., *Šurpu* IV:35 *šalla u kamā ana nišēšu turru* 'to return the prisoner of war and the captive to his people' (cf. ll. 33-34). Note also that in the *Šurpu* passage there is a combination of the motifs of emancipation from prison (ll. 31-32), and the return of displaced persons (ll. 33-34), all of which may be significant for the proposed parallelism of *mēšīb* 'return'//*mōšī* 'release'. The same contextual pairing of fugitives being directed home and mercy shown to the imprisoned may also be clearly seen in "The Šamaš Hymn" (Lambert, *BWL*, 130:71-74; for Lambert's new restoration of l. 74, see *CAD*. *A*<sup>1</sup>, 53, s.v. *abku*).

<sup>45</sup>The interpretations suggested here for *mēšīb*, viz., either as safe conduct home from war, or a divinely granted exemption, were prompted chiefly by the Ugaritic context for *yhd*, i.e., wartime conditions. It must be candidly admitted that the very same Ugaritic passage led Albright ("Catalogue," 18-19) to retain MT *mōšīb* and interpret our verse as a "reference to the creation of homes for unmarried men." As stated above, such an interpretation of our hemistich is highly probable, especially in light of Ps. 113:9. Yet, mention of the hardship involved in the drafting of *yēhidīm* in Keret is not necessarily an isolated case. Rather, it may be viewed alongside provisions for the *ēdēnu* in Akkadian texts from Nuzi, which include men so designated in a list of individuals released from military service: *amēlū ša ana bitišunu muššurū* (*RA* 28, p. 37: Nos. 4 and 7 cited in *CAD*, *E*, 27; cf. *CAD*. *A*<sup>1</sup>, 461).

<sup>46</sup>W.F. Albright, "Catalogue," 19 n.(c). The assumption of a haplography here aims at a perhaps overly formal congruity between pl. *yēhidīm* and the substantive *bayit*. The reading, and the interpretation of the form as an accusative would agree, however, both with MT *mōšīb* and the proposed *mēšīb*. For the former see Isa. 44:13 *tāšebet bayit*, 'to inhabit a house' and for the latter, a verb of motion, cf., e.g., 58:7 *tābī bayit* '[the downtrodden poor] shall you bring [to your] home'.

<sup>47</sup>M. Dahood, *Psalms II* (New York, 1968), 137. For other nouns so construed by Dahood, see *idem*, *Psalms III* (New York, 1970), 381. One assumes that Dahood is here referring to an ancient Israelite scribal practice, rather than to a Masoretic convention. If so, it would seem odd that the nominal ending *-āh* in Hebrew, which already represents the Ugaritic fem. sing. ending *-(a)tu*, as well as locative *heh*, should have also been employed to represent the accusative case ending *-a*. The examples given by Cross and Freedman, where long (!) *ā* is represented by the letter *heh* (*Early Hebrew Orthography* [New Haven, 1952], 57) do not include cases where the *heh* clearly reflects an accusative ending. Indeed, the accusative *-a* in Ugaritic, not being long, would hardly be represented in Hebrew by *-āh*.

<sup>48</sup>The same Greek verb is used to translate *mōšīb* in Ps. 113:9, as well as MT *mōšīb* in Ps. 68:7a.

<sup>49</sup>Following the LXX, the alternation of *šwb* and *yšb* in this verse could be viewed as an instance of paronomasia reminiscent of Jer. 32:37 *wahašibōtīm . . . wēhōšabōtīm*. More probable, however, is the

flated form of *hōšîb* and *hēšîb*,<sup>50</sup> no doubt the result of this ambiguity.

Clearly, whether one retains MT *mōšîb* or adopts the reading *mēšîb*, little support for a matrimonial interpretation of Ps. 68:7a seems in evidence. Accordingly, one is hard put to demonstrate the relevance here of the Ugaritic *kłrt* in their nuptial role. A more basic question, however, is whether these female members of the Ugaritic pantheon, no matter how construed, are at all relevant to *kōšārōt* in Ps. 68:7.

At the outset, it may be observed that the practice of isolating one function performed by the *kłrt* as attested in a particular text (e.g. NK = CTA 24), and then proceeding to assume that this one aspect is that which was transmitted to and preserved in ancient Hebrew hymnic literature, is highly questionable. Clearly, 'bridesmaids' can not be favored over 'midwives', if equal weight is given their roles in Ugaritic literature. This point would seem to have been appreciated by Margulis, given the appropriately general subtitle of his study "Patroness-saints of Women." Yet, such a neutral understanding of the Ugaritic term could hardly prompt an emendation of *'asrîm* to *\*'arûšîm*.<sup>51</sup>

The stock epithet *bnt hll snnt* 'jubilant ones [lit. daughters of jubilant song],<sup>52</sup> swallows' is, perhaps, a more reliable guide to the general nature of these personages than the individual contexts, since the appellation is employed both in NK<sup>53</sup> and in Aqht (=CTA 17).<sup>54</sup> Accordingly, Ginsberg's attempt to isolate this particular aspect of the *kłrt*, and assume its preservation as 'song, music' in Biblical Hebrew would seem to be on surer ground than the deduction from their nuptial role. Yet if an abstract noun *kōšārōt* denoting 'music' were to be sought in the Ugaritic pantheon, an even clearer association than these female personages would seem to be the god *kłr*. Thus in RŠ. 24.252:5 one encounters *hbr kłr t̄bm* 'goodly companions of Kothar',<sup>55</sup> who are clearly musicians, dancers, or the like.<sup>56</sup> This usage might suggest that the Ugaritic *kłrt* were accorded the epithet *bnt hll snnt* partly because of their relationship, nominal and otherwise,<sup>57</sup> to the divine craftsman-musician, rather than to any specifically musical role of their own.<sup>58</sup>

retention of the MT reading, especially in light of the usage of the preposition 'al in the Ezekiel passage. To be compared with this usage are, e.g., Jer. 16:15; 23:3; 24:6 (cf. Hos. 11:11 where read *wahašîbōtîm*).

<sup>50</sup>The language of Zech. 10:6 closely links this verse with, e.g., Jer. 12:15 and 33:26, which, along with context, call for the root *šwb*, rather than *yšb*.

<sup>51</sup>The same problem of overly restricting one's definition of the *kłrt*, and so coloring one's understanding of *kōšārōt* in Ps. 68:7 is evident in Albright's most recent treatment. Thus in *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (New York, 1968), 136, Albright renders the biblical term " 'birth pains' (literally, divine midwives)," cf. 143, as well as " 'the process of birth', (originally the goddesses of birth)" on 187.

<sup>52</sup>Note especially the Akk. hendiadys *ina ełli ningūti* 'in jubilant song' (lit. in jubilation, (in) music), e.g., Streck, *AAb.*, 88:95.

<sup>53</sup>CTA 24, ll. 6, 15 (restored), 40-42.

<sup>54</sup>CTA 17, II, ll. 26-27 and *passim*.

<sup>55</sup>For the translation see *Ugaritica* V, 553; cf. J.C. de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra I," *UF* 1 (1969), 175; S. Parker, "The Feast of Rāpi'u," *UF* 2 (1970), 244.

<sup>56</sup>Contrast B. Margulis, "A Ugaritic Psalm," *JBL* 89 (1970), 293, and 295 nn. 12ff., where the line is translated "Kothar pours spirits from the vat." Note that for this translation one would have expected the verb *yšq* 'to pour' (cf. e.g., IIIRp [=CTA 22], B: 17ff.), rather than the supposed Ugaritic verb *\*dšn*.

<sup>57</sup>In light of the correspondence of *kłrt* to *Yassarūtu*, and that of *kłr* to Ea (see *Ugaritica* V, 51, l. 15), it is suggestive to consider the close relationship of Ea (Enki) with the birth goddesses in, e.g., Atrahasis I:200ff. The connection between *kłr* and *kłrt*, however, may be little more than the fact that they each perform their respective functions "skillfully" (Ugar. *kłr*).

<sup>58</sup>Contrast the generalized epithet *bnt hll snnt* with the more specific Akk. divine title *bēlet zamāri* 'Mistress of Song'.

It should be pointed out, moreover, that little attention was originally paid to the precise contextual suitability of a rendering 'with music' for MT *ba-kôšārôt* in Ps. 68:7.<sup>59</sup> Dahood<sup>60</sup> cites Ps. 105:43 *wayôšî' ammô beššôn b'erinnâh 'et behîrâw hōšî'* here, especially in the syntactical pattern *hōšî' X b<sup>e</sup> X*, is certainly parallel to that in Ps. 68:7b, but this hardly helps to establish the meaning of *kôšārôt* as 'jubilation, music'. For in verse 37 of Psalm 105 we find attested *wayôšî' em bekesep wezâhâb* 'he brought them out with precious goods [lit. silver and gold].'<sup>61</sup> Accordingly, one might just as well cite this verse, and so substantiate the traditional translation of our *ba-kôšārôt*, namely, 'into prosperity'.<sup>62</sup>

Further, Dahood's citation is closely tied to his interpretation of Ps. 68:7b as a reference to the exodus from Egypt. In a wider context, however, Ps. 105:43 may be viewed alongside Isâ. 35:10 = 51:11, and 55:12 which also speak of the mass movement of exiles "in joy, in jubilation." It remains to be demonstrated, however, that 'song, music' is equally appropriate when speaking of the specific divine activity of releasing prisoners, as expressed in the stock formulae of ancient Near Eastern hymnic literature.

If the role of 'song, music' in Ps. 68:7b is open to question, and, so, also the relevance of the *ktr* as songstresses, not to mention as bridesmaids or as midwives,<sup>63</sup> then the texts from Ugarit may yet provide material for the resolution of our crux. As was alluded to above in noting the musical role of the god *ktr*, rather than looking to the activities of the female goddesses, the focus should instead be upon their name, and more specifically the root *ktr*. In attempting to discuss this particular Semitic root, one is overwhelmed by an embarrassment of riches.<sup>64</sup> Yet the usage of the root in Ugaritic may serve to limit the range of possibilities to basically two meanings. These, in turn, suggest two alternative interpretations for our *ba-kôšārôt*.

<sup>59</sup>Ginsberg (see above, n. 2) did not deal with this particular aspect, and Albright's comment ("Catalogue," 19) that "such singing women were employed by the Canaanites to help celebrate joyous occasions (as in the Aqhat epic)" would seem overly general.

<sup>60</sup>*Psalms II*, 137, n.7.

<sup>61</sup>So, too, compare the language of Gen. 15:14 *yēs'û bir'ekûš gādôl* (cf. Dan. 11:28), also said of the exodus from Egypt.

<sup>62</sup>E.g., RSV, JPS, etc.

<sup>63</sup>See. S. Spiegel, "Noah, Daniel and Job," in *L. Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (1945), 312, n. 5. Cf. A. Caquot, "Le psaume LXVIII," *Revue de L'histoire de Religions* 177 (1970), 154, who renders *kôšārôt* by "les expertes," i.e., skilled midwives who deliver fetuses "imprisoned" in the womb.

<sup>64</sup>In Akkadian alone three distinct verbs have been isolated for *kašāru*, denoting respectively: (a) to repair (usually said of walls and buildings); (b) to succeed, to achieve; (c) to replace, to compensate (so *CAD*, *K*, 284-86; contrast von Soden's treatment in *AHW.*, 461-62, where only one verb is listed, and the above meaning subsumed under it). In Arabic the root *k-ṭ-r* denotes 'to be or become much, copious, abundant, etc.'; see E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, (reprint: Beirut, 1968), Part 7, p. 2593. In Syriac the root *k-ṣ-r* (for this loan see n. 70 below) denotes 'to prosper, succeed, be fortunate, be favorable, be of use, serve well' (see J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* [reprint: Oxford, 1957], 229-30).

A connection between meaning (b) for Akk. *kašāru* and the Syriac is clear, as is the connection with BHeb. (Esther and Ecclesiastes) *kūšēr* 'to be proper, succeed' and the noun *kūšrôn* 'success' (less transparently with the meaning 'skill' as in Eccl. 2:21). However, the attempt by Driver (*Canaanite Myths and Legends* [=CML] [1956; reprint: Edinburgh, 1971], 145, n. 5) to connect Akk. *kašāru* (meanings (a) and (b) with the Arabic, and so derive the Syriac, is considerably more difficult. So, too, J. Aistleitner, *WUS*, 159 has assumed an equally tenuous connection between the Akk. meaning (a) and the Hebrew/Syriac usage 'to be proper, succeed.' The semantic problem is only further aggravated by the Ugaritic usages 'to be discussed below, viz., (1) *ktr* 'health, well-being [?]; (2) *ktr* 'to be skilled, expert'.

(1) Ugaritic *kṭr* 'health, well-being (?)'; Biblical Hebrew *ba-kôšārôt* 'safe and sound, unscathed'.

The idiomatic 'safe and sound' by which NEB has rendered our crux may be supported by Ugaritic usage. Thus in the first tablet of the Keret legend (ll. 16-17), the text has *mṭltt kṭrm tmt/mrb't zblnm*, which Ginsberg now translates, "One-third died in health/One-fourth of sickness."<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Driver renders *kṭrm* "in (their) prime (?)," "good health,"<sup>66</sup> followed by Gray "perfect in health,"<sup>67</sup> although they each construe the couplet in a way different from Ginsberg's. In his discussion of Ginsberg's previous suggestion for *kṭrm*, namely, 'at birth,'<sup>68</sup> Gaster<sup>69</sup> adduced a convincing parallel in Job 21:23-26, which served to highlight the antithetical nature of the parallelism in the Keret passage. At the same time, he cited Syriac *kšr* to support his translation "in full vigor." Since this etymology is problematic,<sup>70</sup> for the present, context will have to remain the surest support for rendering *kṭr* 'health'.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>65</sup>ANET<sup>3</sup>, 143a.

<sup>66</sup>CML, 29, 145.

<sup>67</sup>J. Gray, *The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1964), 11, 32. Compare also the translation 'in good health' in J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), 242.

<sup>68</sup>H. L. Ginsberg, *The Legend of King Keret* (New Haven, 1946), 14, 34. Note that this largely abandoned translation is retained in C. H. Gordon, *Ugarit and Minoan Crete* (New York, 1966), 102.

<sup>69</sup>T. H. Gaster, "The Canaanite Epic of Keret." *JQR* 8 (1947), 289, 291.

<sup>70</sup>The etymology has been since taken up by Gray (*KRT*, 32). Syriac *k-š-r* is clearly a loan, since otherwise the root would have appeared as *k-t-r*. The problem is, however, that the meaning 'vigour', and thus the proposed 'health', is not to be found in Akkadian, Hebrew, or Arabic, but rather, is restricted to Syriac. Further, in light of this restriction, one wonders whether the meaning of the adjective 'vigorous' here really refers to 'health' or is simply related to the adjectival meanings 'diligent', 'industrious', 'active', etc., (J. Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, 229-30). Accordingly, it is difficult to appeal to a Syriac word, itself a loan which has undergone its own semantic development, to explain the usage in Ugaritic.

<sup>71</sup>If etymological speculation has been disappointing, one might hazard a suggestion based on semantics. It will be assumed for the moment that the noun *kṭr* in Keret is related to Akk. *kašāru* B 'to succeed, achieve' and, hence, should be compared to the noun *kušīru* 'success, profit' (and, perhaps, so vocalized). What then emerges is an association between 'health' and 'skill' (the two usages in Ugaritic, based on context) and the Akk. sense of 'success', 'profit'. For this association one might compare Akk. *dumqu* (n.) and *damqu* (adj.) which do embrace all of the above meanings (see *CAD*, D, 68, 180). For the specific usage in the sense of 'health', note especially the use of *lā damqu* as 'unhealthy' cited in the lexical section s.v. "damqu." Further, the association of Akk. *kušīru* and Akk. *dumqu* may be seen in the blessing "[may the gods let you achieve] good fortune [*dunqi*] in the morning, profit [*nēmeli*] in the afternoon, success [*kušīru*] at night" (see *CAD*, K, 599 for the citation). This suggestion is advanced with hesitation, since few verbs are as highly generalized as Akk. *damāqu*, which might be reduced to so broad a sense as, 'to be of good [hence, pleasing] quality' (see the meanings listed in *CAD*, D, 61 and compare the derivative formations given there). One would have to be willing, therefore, to assume a comparably wide range for Ug. *kṭr*, contrary to one's expectation.

Less sweeping is the range of Akk. *ešēru*, which would, nevertheless, encompass the meanings 'success, profit' (Akk. *kušīru*) and 'normalcy, good condition' (= 'health', Ugar. *kṭr*). See *CAD*, E, 352ff., meaning (2) "to thrive, to prosper, to be or become all right." Note especially the equation of SILIM.MA [= *šalmiš*] 'in well-being, good condition' [= *išir*] cited in the lexical section s.v. *ešēru*. This equation is particularly significant in light of the use of *šalāmu* to be discussed below. So, too, see the use of *ešēru* as a prognosis in medical texts, *išširma iballuṭ* 'he will get well and live' (Labat, *TDP*, 152:53' cited in *CAD*, E, 355). It may be observed that the latter expression is to be directly contrasted with *imarrašma imāt* 'he will become ill and die' (ibid., 154:10, 11). Compare also the adj. *išaru* (*CAD*, I/J, 224ff., meaning [2]) "in good condition, prosperous, favorable." Note especially the citation of Thompson, *Rep.*, 257 r. 6 in *CAD*, I/J, 225, where *ešēru* appears in antithetical parallelism with *marāṣu*.

From the standpoint of form, both Ugar. *ktr-m* and BHeb. *ba-kôšārôt* may be construed as adverbial phrases describing the state of the individuals in question, at the time of the action indicated by the verb. In the context of Ps. 68:7b, the phrase would refer to the state of the prisoners freed by the divine liberator, namely, alive and well.<sup>72</sup> This understanding of the Hebrew term prompts several comparisons to both Akkadian and Hebrew usage.

The most common Akkadian equivalents of the proposed *ktr* 'health, well-being' would be *balātu* and *šulmu*. Formally, the adverbial phrase *ba-kôšārôt* may be viewed alongside the adverbial use of *balṭussun* 'alive, safe and sound',<sup>73</sup> often used to describe, for example, the state of captives as opposed to the enemy dead. The actual context of divine beneficence toward prisoners in our psalm, however, is more closely paralleled by the hymnic claim [*ana*] *ḥissat Marduk ibluṭū kamûte/ul iškunū napištu* "At the very mention of Marduk, the fettered ones remain alive./they do not expire."<sup>74</sup> So, too, the notion of divine protection for the imprisoned is expressed in the Samaš hymn *abka ša ina bū [šibitti nadū (?) t]ušallam* "You sustain in well-being the captive who is imprisoned."<sup>75</sup> Further, language quite similar to that of Ps. 68:7 is to be found in an Akkadian fable<sup>76</sup> where a lion boasts *ārid qīštiya ul utāra ana arkišu/u šalmiṣ ul uššima ul immar šamšu* "He who ventures into my forest will never return back./Neither will he escape safe and sound, nor will he be free [lit. see the sun]." Here the use of the verb (*w*)*ašū* with adverbial *šalmiṣ* may be directly compared to *môšî ba-kôšārôt*.<sup>77</sup> So, too, the employment of the idiom 'to see the sun' = 'to be free'<sup>78</sup> further connects this passage to our verse, since the idiom appeals to the imagery of a victim imprisoned, as it were, by the lion.

The usage of Akk. *šalāmu*, *šalmiṣ*, and so forth, to describe the well-being of a prisoner at his being rescued, is, not surprisingly, paralleled by a similar use of Heb. *šālôm*. Thus in Jer. 43:12 the Lord is to send Nebuchadrezzar to ravage Egypt, and after his mission is accomplished *w<sup>e</sup>yāsā' mi-šām b'ešālôm* 'he will emerge from there unscathed'. The same usage in the context of rescuing the afflicted may be present in the disturbed text of Ps. 55:19, where the idiom *pādāh nepēš min* 'to rescue' (cf. Ps. 49:16) would seem to be qualified by *b'ešālôm* 'unscathed'. The difficulties of the verse notwithstanding, the possible analogy between *pādāh min* and our *hōšî' (min)*,<sup>79</sup> as well as between the phrases *b'ešālôm* and *ba-kôšārôt* in such a context is certainly suggestive.

<sup>72</sup>A phrase depicting the sound state of those shown divine mercy (in this case, the prisoners) would serve as an appropriate contrast to the phrase in the third stich of our verse *šaknū šeḥīḥāh* 'inhabit the "wilderness" [?]' (= "underworld", so Dahood, *Psalms II*, 138). That is, the qualification 'in well-being, unscathed' would balance the phrase in the third stich, which indicates the discomfort experienced by the *sōr'erim* 'treacherous'. While semantically *asirim* and *sōr'erim* are not an antithetical pair, the use of the two terms may well be an intended paranomasia. This stylistic device, and certainly the conjunction 'ak, would indicate the antithesis between the second and third cola of the verse.

<sup>73</sup>See *CAD*, B, 69-70 (cf. 66-69). Note the gloss *ḥayāma* on *balṭānu* 'alive' in EA 245:6, and compare the usage of Heb. *ḥayyim* in, e.g., 1 Kgs. 20:18.

<sup>74</sup>*A/O*, 19 (1959), 66:9.

<sup>75</sup>W.G. Lambert, *BWL*, 130:74, restored in *CAD*, A<sup>1</sup>, 53.

<sup>76</sup>Lambert, *BWL*, 200, Rev. iv: 1-2.

<sup>77</sup>Compare also *ina šalmāti bēlīni atā tušāsi'anni'āti* "You, our lord, have helped us come out unharmed" cited in *CAD*, A<sup>3</sup>, 378. Note, however, that the context of the letter from which this quotation was taken does not involve imprisonment.

<sup>78</sup>See n. 20 above.

<sup>79</sup>See, e.g., Deut. 13:6 where *hōšî' min//pādāh min*, and compare Job 33:28 alongside 33:30 where *hēšib min* interchanges with *pādāh min*.

Obviously, these comparisons to Akkadian and Hebrew usage are only as valid as the definition 'health, well-being' currently assigned to *ktr(m)* in I Keret. Both will have to stand the test of time.<sup>80</sup>

(2) Ugaritic *ktr* 'to be skilled, expert'; Biblical Hebrew *ba-kōšārôt* 'deftly, with prowess'.

A second interpretation construes *kōšārôt* as an abstract noun, and the usage with the preposition *b* as adverbial.<sup>81</sup> This meaning of the root in Ugaritic is most clearly seen in the divine names *ktr w ḥss* and *ktrt*.<sup>82</sup> In the case of the former, the name of the divine craftsman is a hendiadys the meaning of which is conventionally demonstrated on the basis of Akk. *ḥāsīsu* 'understanding'.<sup>83</sup> So, too, his epithet *hyn dhrš ydm*<sup>84</sup> is easily understood in terms of Aram. *hauna* 'cleverness',<sup>85</sup> as well as Akk. *er-šu* 'wise'.<sup>86</sup> This well-known understanding of the divine name would suggest that our *ba-kōšārôt* is little different in either form or meaning from BHeb. *bēḥokmāh* or *bi-<sup>t</sup>ebūnāh*, which, like the terms cited above, denote intellectual or technical skill, as well as other nuances.<sup>87</sup>

The same association is evident from the name of the *ktrt* 'skilled women', which may be properly viewed alongside, for example, Akk. *sinništi tēmi* and BHeb. *'iššāh ḥakāmāh*, each denoting 'skilled woman'. In the case of the former, the *sinništi tēmi* is depicted in the activity of spinning (Akk. *tew/mû*) at the spindle (Akk. *pilakku*).<sup>88</sup> So, too, in Exod. 35:25 it is the *'iššāh ḥakmat lēb* who spins (BHeb. *tāwāh*) the various materials, and does so *bēḥokmāh* (v. 26) 'skillfully'. In light of this connection, one is tempted to construe (*ba*-)*kīšōr* in Prov. 31:19 not as an instrument of spinning,<sup>89</sup> but

<sup>80</sup>More recent suggestions for *ktrm* may be found in F.C. Fensham, "Remarks on Certain Difficult Passages in Keret," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*, 1 (1971), 19-20. There two interpretations are mentioned: (1) *k-trm* 'while they dine'; (2) *ktr-m* 'as craftsman [?]'. These would hardly suffice to replace 'in health', despite its uncertainty.

<sup>81</sup>It will be noted that Ps. 68 is particularly rich in archaic abstract nouns ending in *-ot*. Cf., e.g., *nēdābōt* (v. 10), *mōšā'ōt*, *iōšā'ōt* (v. 21), *ḥalīkōt* (v. 25; cf. Akk. *alkakātu*), etc. The MT vocalization *ba* (for *bē*) is accounted for in Dahood's commentary (*Psalms II*, 137), but in light of the rendering here proposed, one might also compare *ba-ḥokmāh* in Eccl. 1:13, 2:3, 7:23; 1 Chr. 28:21.

<sup>82</sup>More problematic is the substantive *mktr* in IIAB(=CTA 4), 2:30 which, if related to the usage here discussed, would indicate one skilled in fashioning a net or fishing. See Ginsberg's translation "Deft One" in *ANET*, 132b and cf. Driver in *CML*, 93 "cunning workers." Contrast J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern*, 143, where he translates "Place of Abundance," on the basis of Arabic usage.

<sup>83</sup>See *CAD*, *H*, 126 ff. and cf. *ḥāsīsu* (p. 127) and *ḥassu* (pp. 127f.)

<sup>84</sup>See, e.g., *VAB*(=CTA 3), *F*, 22-23 (//*ktr w ḥss*).

<sup>85</sup>So T.H. Gaster, *Thespis*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1961), 163, who notes the use of this word in the Targum to Prov. 28:16 (= *tēbūnōt*). See also S. Spiegel, "Noah," 313, n. 5.

<sup>86</sup>See *CAD*, *E*, 313-14. Cf. Heb. *ḥārāš* 'craftsman', and note the Ugaritic and Hebrew usage denoting 'sorcery', for which see n. 99 below.

<sup>87</sup>For the form *kōšārōt*, cf. *ḥokmōt* in, e.g., Prov. 1:20, 9:1 and *tēbūnōt* in, e.g., Ps. 78:72; Prov. 28:16.

<sup>88</sup>*Surpu* V-VI: 146/147ff. (E. Reiner, *Surpu*, 34).

<sup>89</sup>Albright suggested the translation 'skill' for *kīšōr* in *Yahwah and the Gods of Canaan* (New York, 1968), 136 with n. 67 and 187, without reference, however, to the associative link provided by the context of spinning. Note that no convincing Semitic etymology is available for *kīšōr* with the meaning 'whorl, distaff'. See, however, the Sumerian etymology proposed in L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon* (Leiden, 1958), 434. There seems to be no independent substantiation for Driver's *kšr* 'distaff' in Ugaritic (*CML*, 145).

It will be noted that our *kīšōr* was connected to the root 'to be successful' and given the nuance 'skill' as early as the medieval Jewish lexicographer Menahem (see *sefer mahberet me'נהמ* [1854; reprint:

as an adverbial phrase, 'skillfully', semantically identical to *b<sup>e</sup>hokmāh*<sup>90</sup> and etymologically identical to *ba-kôšārôt*. In the Proverbs passage the phrase would describe the talents of the 'ēšet hayil<sup>91</sup> in manufacturing (BHeb. *šillah yād*),<sup>92</sup> specifically with respect to her use of the spindle (BHeb. *pelek*).<sup>93</sup>

The 'iššāh ḥakāmāh, like the *ktrt*, is depicted in various functions, her name referring only to the skill with which she executes a given function. Thus, alongside the technical skill in spinning seen in the 'iššāh ḥakmat lēb, in 2 Samuel 14 she appears as part professional mourner,<sup>94</sup> part actress, and part spokesman. In 2 Samuel 20 the role of spokesman is also evident, and the phrase *b<sup>e</sup>hokmāh* in verse 22 refers, presumably, to her persuasive abilities in swaying the people to the side of one of the conflicting political figures.

In Rabbinic literature *ḥakāmôt*, like the *ktrt*, are involved in the birth process, serving as midwives.<sup>95</sup> It will be recalled that the Akkadian mother goddess *par excellence* is Mami,<sup>96</sup> who is quite often referred to as *erīštu* 'wise',<sup>97</sup> while those who "heal the fetus" are said to perform this activity *ina nēmeqi* 'skillfully'.<sup>98</sup> Both of these Akkadian terms are semantically identical to BHeb. *ḥokmāh*,<sup>99</sup> which, in turn, highlights the association of *ktrt* and *ḥokmāh*.

A specific connection between Ugar. *ktrt* and BHeb. *ḥokmāh* and related terms, is also suggested by other instances of Biblical usage. Thus in Eccl. 2:21 there is attested the sequence *b<sup>e</sup>ḥokmāh ub<sup>e</sup>da'at ub<sup>e</sup>kīšrôn*<sup>100</sup> 'with wisdom, knowledge, and skill', which is little different from the sequence in 1 Kgs. 7:14 *ḥokmāh - t<sup>e</sup>būnāh - da'at*.<sup>101</sup> Further, just as the activities of the *ktrt* and the 'iššāh ḥakāmāh show correspon-

Jerusalem, no date], 110). So, too, Saadiah translating Prov. 31:19 treats the form adverbially and renders *bi-najāhim* "successfully" (I owe this helpful observation to my friend Dr. Leon Kassir).

<sup>90</sup>Note the use of adverbial *b<sup>e</sup>ḥokmāh* in v. 26 of the same chapter.

<sup>91</sup>An 'ēšet hayil in the sense of a capable and efficient woman is not unrelated to the term 'iššāh ḥakāmāh.

<sup>92</sup>Given the idiom *šillah yād b<sup>e</sup>*, one might expect *kīšrôn* to be an indirect object, but cf. Prov. 13:16 *kol 'ārūm ya'āseh b<sup>e</sup>da'at* 'every clever man acts wisely'. The latter provides both a syntactical and a semantic parallel to the proposed usage in 31:19. For the relationship of *da'at* to the proposed noun *kīšrôn* 'skill' see, e.g., Eccl. 2:21 as discussed below. For the verb *āšāh* and the idiom *šillah yād* cf., *ma'āseh* 'endeavor, activity' = *mīšlah yād* (=Akk. *šipir qāti*; cf. BHeb. *me'ā kāh* as an ellipsis).

<sup>93</sup>For BHeb. *tāmāk pelek* cf. Ugar. *aḥd plk* IIAB (=CTA 4) II: 3-4.

<sup>94</sup>The relationship between 'wailers' and the *ktrt* was observed by Ginsberg, see n. 2 above. Note the parallelism in Jer. 9:16 *m<sup>e</sup>qōn<sup>e</sup>nōt//ḥakāmôt*, which further serves to link *ktrt* and *ḥokmāh*.

<sup>95</sup>S. Spiegel, "Noah," 313, n. 5.

<sup>96</sup>See, e.g., Atrahasis I: 189ff. (W.G. Lambert, *Atrahasis*, 56-63) where the mother goddess is referred to by several birth-related terms, e.g., *Yassuru* 'birth-goddess' (ll. 189, 190), *tabšūt ilī* 'midwife of the gods' (l. 193).

<sup>97</sup>Atrahasis I: 193, 250. See especially the f. pl. forms *eršēte* and *mūdēte* 'wise' and 'learned' modifying the very birth-goddesses equated at Ugarit with the *ktrt* (see, e.g., Margulis, *JANES*, 4 [1972], 54).

<sup>98</sup>See the discussion as well as the literature cited in Y. Elman, "Babylonian Echoes in a Late Rabbinic Legend," *JANES*, 4 (1972), 18 with n. 23.

<sup>99</sup>Note the semantic link, for example, between *eršu* and *nēmequ* with respect to sorcery. Thus Marduk is referred to as *bēl nēmeqi* in respect to being the master of incantation lore, and in Ugaritic *hrš* (cognate to Akk. *eršu*) is the verb denoting 'to perform sorcery' (e.g., IIK [=CTA 17] 5:25-26). So, too, see Isa. 3:3 for the use of *hrš* (/laḥāš) as 'sorcerer'. The connection with *ḥakmāh* is provided by *ḥakām* 'one versed in magical lore', as in Gen. 41:8 and Exod. 7:11.

<sup>100</sup>In Eccl. 2:26 the sequence *ḥokmāh w<sup>e</sup>da'at w<sup>e</sup>šimḥāh* is incongruent, or at least atypical. See Ginsberg's comments on this verse in *Koheleth* (Jerusalem, 1961), 72. His translation has been incorporated in the new Jewish Publication Society translation "the wisdom and shrewdness to enjoy himself" (*The Five Megilloth and Jonah* [Philadelphia, 1969], 61).

<sup>101</sup>Cf., also, Exod. 31:3, 35:31.

dence, so, too, one might view the hypostasis *ḥokmāh*<sup>102</sup> in the Book of Proverbs alongside the Ugaritic divine craftsman *kṭr wh̄ss*. Both figures are depicted in the role of master builder, with *kṭr* building a palace for Baal, and Wisdom her house of seven pillars.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, *ḥokmāh* actually labels herself 'amōn (=Akk. *ummānu*) 'craftsman' in Prov. 8:30.<sup>104</sup>

In the context of Ps. 68:7b, the adverbial phrase *ba-kōšārōt* describes, perhaps, the deft manner in which the divine liberator accomplishes his task. Obviously a rendering such as 'intelligently' or 'artistically' is out of place. The precise sense of the term *kosarot* in our verse would seem, rather, to lie midway between intellectual or technical skill and physical ability or power. Semantically, the term would be comparable to the usage of Akk. *le'ū*,<sup>105</sup> which embraces these various nuances.<sup>106</sup> Thus in Enuma eliš (I: 59) Ea (in many respects the Akkadian counterpart of *Kṭr wh̄ss*) is described by the sequence *šūtur uzna, itpēšu, tel'ū* 'exceeding in intelligence, expert, all able',<sup>107</sup> followed by *ḥasīs mimmama* 'omniscient'. Context indicates an intellectual type of prowess here,<sup>108</sup> while the use of *le'ū* to describe skilled craftsmen is seen, for example, in the designation *mārē ummāni le'ūti mūdē pirišti* 'skilled craftsmen, versed in the "secrets [of the trade]"'.<sup>109</sup> The notion of a more physical kind of prowess is suggested by the adverbial phrase *ina le'ūtim*, appearing, for example, in the epilogue to the Code of Hammurabi (xxiv, 22ff.). There, a series of primarily physical achievements<sup>110</sup> in behalf of the people is said to have been performed.

*ina kakkim dannim ša DN u DN ušatlimūnim*  
*ina igigallim ša DN išimam*  
*ina le'ūtim ša DN iddinam*

with the powerful weapon which DN<sub>1</sub> and DN<sub>2</sub> bestowed upon me,  
 with the wisdom [=expertise] which DN<sub>3</sub> allotted to me,  
 with the prowess which DN<sub>4</sub> gave me.

As indicated by the use of *igagallu*, a term most often denoting intellectual ability,<sup>111</sup> the contextual association of intellectual or technical ability and physical

<sup>102</sup>Cf. the Akkadian hypostasis *ḥasīsu*, for which see *CAD. H.* 127.

<sup>103</sup>See Prov. 9:1 (cf., 14:1). Note that following the completion of their respective tasks, comes, in each case, the celebration of a banquet. For the affinities between the two accounts see M. Lichtenstein, "The Banquet Motifs in Keret and in Proverbs 9," *JANES*, 1 (1968), 21-22 with n. 10a.

<sup>104</sup>For a reflection of the noun *ḥokmāh* as '[architectural] skill' see, e.g., Prov. 24:3.

<sup>105</sup>Cf. Ugar. *l'y* 'to prevail' (e.g., IIK [= *CTA* 16], 6:1-2), and the epithet of Baal *aliyn* 'puissant' (Ginsberg's translation).

<sup>106</sup>While it is here maintained that the various nuances are often interchangeable, it is not denied that three terms such as *gašrūtu* 'power', *ḥasīsu* 'understanding', *le'ūtu* 'ability', do maintain separate identities as well. See, e.g., the demarcation of these aspects in terms of Adad, Ea and Nabū respectively in KAR 25 ii 5 cited in *CAD. E.* 314.

<sup>107</sup>For *tel'ū* see the listing with *palkū* 'broad [of intellect]' in a Neo-Babylonian synonym list cited in *AHW.*, 547b. For *le'ū* and *itpēšu* together see Borger, *Esarh.*, 45:18.

<sup>108</sup>See further Ebeling, *AGH*, 16:6; 76:20.

<sup>109</sup>Borger, *Esarh.*, 83:29 cf. 21:36 and especially 94:40. Compare the use of *emqu* in the phrase *mārē ummāni enqūti* Borger, *Esarh.*, 82:18. For ones versed in the lore of craftsmanship cf. *mūdūte ini. CAD. I/J*, 152, s.v. *inu*, and note the sequence *pūt hasīsi le'i ini kalāma* "intelligent (and) a master of technical knowledge in all fields" cited and translated there.

<sup>110</sup>E.g., obliteration of enemies, establishment of peacetime conditions, resettlement, and enforcement of security.

<sup>111</sup>For the associated sense of technical expertise, especially with regard to craftsmanship, see Borger, *Esarh.*, 82:12.

proWess is not restricted to a general term like *le'ūtim*. Thus, *igigallu* is again coupled with military terminology in the description of a hero *ša igigallašu kakkašu šāba šuātu ikmū ikšudu ināru* 'whose wisdom [and] weapons paralyzed, caught and annihilated that army'.<sup>112</sup>

So, too, the usage of *igigallu* may be viewed alongside that of *ina nēmeqil(m)* 'with wisdom' with, for example, the verb *pazāru* 'to protect',<sup>113</sup> or of the adverbial phrase *ina pīt ḥasīsi* 'with intellectual ability' modifying *ana sapān māt ayyābi* 'for the purpose of devastating the enemy country'.<sup>114</sup>

Biblical Hebrew also employs terms usually denoting intellectual or technical skill in contexts involving a show of might. In Isa. 10:13 there is attested a parody of the braggadocio of Mesopotamia royal inscriptions and annals, which, in effect, translates the same Akkadian terms discussed above: *bēkōāḥ yādī 'āsūtī/ubēḥokmātī kī nēbūnōtī* 'with my own power have I acted, and in my prowess, being so expert'. It will be noted that these phrases introduce depiction of military strength and show of force which includes territorial conquest, as well as subjugation of local leaders.

Physical prowess is again indicated by Job 26:12 *bēkōḥō rāga' hayām/ūbitēbunātō māḥaṣ Rāhab*<sup>115</sup> 'with his power he riled Yam, and with his prowess smote Rahab'. Divine ability in guiding His people is expressed in Ps. 78:72: *ūbitēbūnōt kappāw yanḥēm* 'and through His own proficiency leads them'.<sup>116</sup>

In connection with these last two examples, it is interesting to note that the very same motif of the Lord's victory over the sea in Ps. 74:13 is expressed by *attāḥ pōrartā bē'ozzekā yām* 'With your power you have shattered Yam'. Here the interchange of semantically distinct terms like *kōāḥ*, *tēbūnāḥ*, and *'ōz* seems to make little difference in context. So, too, with reference to divine leadership, in Exod. 15:13 the text has *nēhaltā bē'ozzekā 'el nēwēḥ qodšekā* 'with your power you led [the people] to your holy dwelling place', which again demonstrates the ease of a substitution of *'ōz* for *tēbūnāḥ*.

Conversely, a term usually denoting military or physical prowess may be substituted for one indicating technical skill. At the outset, one might note the designation *'ēšet ḥayil*, where the usually military or physical term *ḥayil* denotes excellence and proficiency in various capacities. Further, in the context of divine creation, Ps. 65:7 reads *mēkīn ḥārīm bēkōḥō [//bigēbūrāḥ]* 'he who establishes mountains with his power', while in Jer. 10:12 (= 51:15 cf. Prov. 3:19) the notion is expressed by

'ōšeh 'eres bēkōḥō  
mēkīn tēbel bēḥokmātō  
ūbitēbūnātō nātāḥ šāmāyīm

Maker of the earth with his power,  
he who establishes dry-land with his prowess,  
and in his skill laid out the heavens.

It is thus quite possible that the psalmist employed the term *kōšārōt*, which one would have associated with skill in craftsmanship, in this more dynamic sense of

<sup>112</sup>*AnSt.* 5, 98:28 cited in *CAD*, I/J, 40.

<sup>113</sup>*CH* Epil., xxiv: 57-58.

<sup>114</sup>*TCL* 3, 6:23.

<sup>115</sup>For the parallelism of *kōāḥ//tēbūnāḥ* cf., e.g., Ps. 147:5.

<sup>116</sup>Cf. the Akkadian expression *lū emqēt u damqiš u'era* 'be clever and lead [your soldiers] well' cited in *CAD*, E, 152.

prowess and power. Accordingly, the divine attribute *mōsî* 'asîrîm *ba-kôšārôt* would, from a contextual standpoint, be close to the more familiar depiction of the divine rescue (*hōšî* 'min) of Israelites described by the adverbial phrases *b<sup>e</sup>yād hazāqāh*, *b<sup>e</sup>hōzeq yād*, *biz<sup>e</sup>rō<sup>a</sup> n<sup>e</sup>tūyāh*, *b<sup>e</sup>kō<sup>a</sup>h gādōl*, and the like. It will be noted that such an interpretation of MT *ba-kôšārôt* conforms completely to the LXX rendering *en andreia*, which, while semantically analogous to BHeb. *big<sup>e</sup>bûrāh*,<sup>117</sup> could also have been used to render BHeb. *bit<sup>e</sup>bûnāh*.<sup>118</sup> This range of translation may be appreciated in light of the above discussion.<sup>119</sup>

The renderings of Ps. 68:7a, b prompted by the two usages of Ugar. *ktr* are thus:

- (a) He who ensconces the solitary ones in a household,  
He who restores [*mēšib*] the solitary ones to [their] homes,
- (b) Who sets free the imprisoned *safe and sound*,  
Who sets free the imprisoned *with prowess*.

While no single interpretation is being urged upon the reader, it is hoped that, at the very least, the air has been cleared with respect to applying Ugaritic material to this particular crux, and that limits have been placed on its usefulness. The problem, of course, need not find its resolution in the Ugaritic, or, more generally, the ancient Near Eastern material unearthed to date, and one should remain open to new possibilities.

<sup>117</sup>I.e., 'aner > 'andreia = geber > g<sup>e</sup>bûrāh (see LXX for, e.g., Prov. 28:3).

<sup>118</sup>Note that LXX renders t<sup>e</sup>bûnāh in Prov. 21:30 by 'andreia.

<sup>119</sup>While *hokmāh* and g<sup>e</sup>bûrāh are contrasted in Eccl. 9:16, see the association of terms in Job 12:13-14. Note the combination of 'ēšāh and g<sup>e</sup>bûrāh (e.g., 2 Kgs. 18:20; Isa. 11:2) alongside the parallelism of 'ēšāh//hokmāh in Jer. 49:7. See, also, the sequence *hokmāh t<sup>e</sup>bûnāh 'ēšāh* in Prov. 21:30.