مجموعة توفيق كنعان

الموارد / مجلة JOPS

The Journal of the Palestine Oriental, Vol.

XIV, 1934. 312 pages.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XIV
1934

4

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ZU TEXT UND AUSLEGUNG DES BUCHES HOSEA.

3. Kap. 5[1]—6[6] Falscher und rechter Jahwedienst.

KARL BUDDE

MARBURG.

Meiner Abhandlung „*Der Abschnitt Hosea 1—3 und seine grundlegende religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung*", die ich 1895 in den „*Theologischen Studien und Kritiken*" (S. 1—89) hatte erscheinen lassen, ließ ich 1926 in dem amerikanischen "*Journal of Biblical Literature*" (vol. XLV, p. 280—297) unter dem obigen Titel als Beitrag 1. und 2. die Auslegung von Kap. 4[1-10] und V. [11-19] folgen. Meine Absicht, mit weiteren Abschnitten ebendort möglichst bald fortzufahren, wurde vor allem durch andre dringende Arbeiten bis heute vereitelt. Aber leugnen kann ich nicht, daß daneben auch die Scheu vor aller Arbeit an dem Buche dieses Propheten, der ich damals zu Eingang (p. 280) Ausdruck gab, einen Teil der Schuld an der langen Verzögerung trägt. Gerade Kap. 5 gegenüber empfand ich sie immer von neuem. Erst jetzt habe ich sie überwunden und kann ich mich für Kap. 5 derselben Hoffnung hingeben, die ich damals für das vierte zu äußern wagte: daß es mir gelingen werde, zu besserem Wortlaut und Verständnis vorzudringen. Das danke ich vor allem dem vorzüglichen Beitrag von A. ALT, der, obgleich schon 1919 erschienen,[1] erst vor kurzem zu meiner Kenntnis gelangt ist. Durch seine eigene Schärfe und Klarheit hat er mir zu größerer Klarheit verholfen, und zwar ebensosehr in Widerspruch wie in Zustimmung. Soll ich neben ALT einen zweiten nennen, so ist es mein alter Gastfreund und Freund W. R. HARPER, dessen mustergültiger Kommentar,[2] bei uns wenigstens, viel zu wenig zur Geltung kommt. So meldete ich denn diesen meinen Beitrag 3 bei dem *Journal of Biblical Literature,* das schon so viele meiner Arbeiten gebracht hat, vertrauensvoll an. Aber leider konnte mir diesmal die Aufnahme für absehbare Zeit nicht zugesagt werden, weil die Zeit-

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[1] „Hosea 5[8]—6[6]. Ein Krieg und seine Folgen in prophetischer Beleuchtung", *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* XXX, 1919, S. 537—568.

[2] „Amos and Hosea", *The International Critical Commentary,* 1905.

schrift ihren Umfang für einige Zeit wesentlich beschränken muß. So schulde ich der Leitung des *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* den wärmsten Dank, daß sie mir den Raum für diesen meinen neuen Beitrag zu Hosea so freundlich zur Verfüguug stellt. Es ist mir eine große Freude, auch einmal in Jerusalem Gastrecht genießen zu dürfen.

Wenn ich diesmal einen so viel größeren Umfang unter einer einzigen Nummer zusammenfasse, so soll das der Beantwortung der zweiten der drei Vorfragen, die ich 1926 für eine fruchtbare Auslegung solcher Prophetentexte aufstellte, der n a c h U m f a n g u n d A b s c h l u ß des einzelnen Abschnitts, durchaus nicht vorgreifen. Deren Beantwortung ist nur hier weit schwieriger und viel umstrittener als bei Kapitel 4, und erst Kap. 6[6] scheint mir die endgültige Lösung für die inhaltliche Hauptfrage dieses großen Abschnitts, geradezu in der Gestalt eines Mottos, darzubieten. Das schließt aber nicht aus, daß tiefere Einschnitte sich auch vorher schon möchten nachweisen lassen, ja, daß der Zusammenhang sich auch einmal als brüchig und nicht ursprünglich erweisen könnte. Darüber kann nur die Einzeluntersuchung entscheiden.

a) 5[1-7]. Die dritte meiner Vorfragen von damals, n a c h d e r P e r s o n d e s R e d e n d e n, beantwortet sich zunächst durch das 'Ich' in V. 2b und 3: es ist Jahwe. Eine Einführung seiner Person fehlt hier wie überall bei Hosea, bis auf die wenigen נאם יהוה (2[15·18·23]; 11[11]), von denen mindestens 2[18] nicht auf ihn zurückgeht. Wo der Prophet selber das Wort nimmt, wird zu untersuchen sein. Als G e g e n s t a n d d e s A b s c h n i t t s endlich ergibt sich, was oben für den ganzen Umfang vorausgeschickt ist, der falsche und der rechte Jahwedienst, nur daß es hier bei Anklage und Strafandrohung sein Bewenden hat, während der rechte Jahwedienst nur als ausbleibend angedeutet wird (V 4. 6). Daß die Anklage bei den Priestern einsetzt, gibt dem Stück seine Stelle neben 4[1-10]; aber sofort greift sie weiter um sich und führt neue Gegenstände ein.

V. 1. 2. 1. Höret dies, ihr Priester, und merket auf (–),
Und ihr vom Königshofe, horchet:
Denn euch gilt das Gericht.

Denn zu einer Falle wurdet ihr ‹zu› Mișpa
Und zu einem ausgespannten Netz auf dem Tabor‹
2. Und ‹zu der tiefen Grube von Šițțim›;
Ich aber bin abgetan für ‹euch› alle.

Der Anruf wie bei Amos in 3^1, 4^1, 5^1; nur mit bloßem neutrischen זאת statt des הדבר הזה. Er ergeht an drei Stellen: Priester, Haus Israel und Königshof. Aber sicher ist בית ישראל mit Oettli und Meinhold (*Der heilige Rest*, S. 74) als späterer Zusatz zu streichen.[1] Die Israeliten, die Masse des Volkes, können nicht angerufen sein nur „um zu hören, wie Jahwe mit ihren Autoritäten ins Gericht geht" (Marti); sind doch eben sie die Opfer des verurteilten Treibens, während nun das Gericht auch ihnen angesagt wäre. Und anderseits ist es nicht möglich, mit Sellin (im Anschluß an Menes) בית ישראל auch als eine der angeklagten Autoritäten zu fassen, als die Volksversammlung, der die Legislative zustehe. Denn zunächst handelt es sich bei Falle, Netz und Grube nicht um Institutionen, bei denen die Legislative eingriffe, sondern um Schliche und Ränke, durch die Arglose betrogen werden. Sodann aber ist בית ישראל $1^{4.6}$; 12^1 ebensowenig wie Am. 7^{10} und an allen Amosstellen die Volksversammlung, sondern das Volk als solches, die Bürgerschaft des Reiches, wie denn dasselbe von בית יהודה in V. 12. 14 — vgl. dazu unten — gilt. Die Stelle vollends, die das בית ישראל einnimmt, die Schuldigen, Priester und Hof, aus einander reißend, bestätigt den Einschub. Auch ist er nicht schwer zu erklären. Sind die beiden Worte gestrichen, so ergibt sich bis והקשיבו ein Versglied von richtiger Länge. Aber nur an dieser einzigen Stelle findet sich הקשיב in derselben Zeile mit שמע als dessen Steigerung und Zuspitzung, während es überall sonst als dessen Synonym im parallelen Versglied verwendet wird. So unbedingt zulässig und gut nun unser Ausnahmsgebrauch ist, so leicht begreift es sich doch, daß man später einmal nach der sonstigen allgemeinen Regel hier eine Lücke fand und auch dem הקשיבו noch seinen besonderen Vokativ gab. Ernstlich habe ich in Erwägung gezogen, ob der Interpolator das בית ישראל in nächster Nähe könnte gefunden haben und nur durch eine leichte Verschiebung an seine jetzige Stelle gebracht hätte, indem der Schluß des Halbverses gelautet hätte משפט בית ישראל oder besser המשפט לב' י': „denn ihr habt die Entscheidung für, über das Haus Israel." So faßt Sellin unter Hinweis auf Mi. 3^1 das המשפט allein: „Denn euch obliegt das Recht." Aber mit richtigem Empfinden, wenn auch ohne ausdrückliche Streichung noch Rechtfertigung, läßt er dann dahinter

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1 Peiser streicht es ebenfalls, aber daneben auch noch ובית המלך, sodaß האזינו den zweiten Stichos beginnt. Das geht durchaus nicht an.

in der Übersetzung das begründende כי aus. Es führt eben die
Anklage ein, und die kann nur die Gerichtsansage begründen, nicht
die Autoritätsstellung der Angerufenen. — Jetzt fragt PROCKSCH[1] in
den textkritischen Fußnoten, ob für בית zu lesen sein möchte נְבִיאֵי,
also נְבִיאֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. Sicher stützt sich diese Vermutung auf 4⁵, wo der
נָבִיא im Texte nachträglich neben dem Priester eingedrungen ist.
Aber vollends hier als K l a s s e , „d i e Propheten Israels", welches
Determinativ bei den Priestern fehlt? Das ist doch ganz unmöglich,
auch nicht wohl abzusehen, wie die Propheten bei diesem Geschäft
die Dritten im Bunde hätten sein können. Sehr ungeschickt ist
die Versabteilung: der erste Vers müßte mit המשפט schließen, der
zweite bis לכלם durchlaufen; selbst die Raumverteilung wäre dann
besser. Die starke Verderbnis des Wortlauts, die in dem jetzigen
2a den Ortsnamen ganz verschwinden ließ, wird den Anlaß zu der
falschen Abteilung gegeben haben. — Schwer begreiflich ist, wie
GUTHE 1a (bis המשפט) für den Zusatz eines Redaktors halten kann,
aus 6⁹ (Priester), 5¹⁰ (Obrigkeit), 5¹bff. (Israeliten) herausgeklaubt.
Der ganze Wortlaut fügt sich sowohl dem Satzgefüge wie dem Ge-
dankengang unlöslich ein.

Es folgen in 1b und 2a die Anklagen, drei an der Zahl, was
das verwerfliche Handeln angeht; als sträfliches Unterlassen zusammen-
gefaßt am Schluß (2b) in einem einzigen Satz. Für die richtige
Erklärung wird am besten dabei einzusetzen sein. Falsch überliefert
ist sicher das לָכֶם, da nach 1a und הייתם in 1b nur die zweite
Person, als Anrede, nicht die dritte, am Platze ist. Leicht ist nach
dem ὑμῶν der LXX לָכֶם; aber das Nebeneinander der beiden Les-
arten erklärt sich noch besser aus ursprünglichem לְכָלְכֶם „für euch
alle", was zugleich eine erwünschte Steigerung der Aussage ergibt.
So MARTI, EHRLICH. — מוּסָר ist weder das landläufige Abstractum
„Züchtigung", noch מֹסֵר zu sprechen (UMBREIT, SELLIN[1]), noch
mit LXX usw. מְיַסֵּר „Zuchtmeister" dafür zu lesen, und gar daneben
noch וְאֵין für ואני „und es gibt [oder „gab"] keinen Zuchtmeister"
(CHEYNE, SELLIN[2]), was doch wahrlich Jahwe nicht aussagen kann, in
schönem Einverständnis mit dem Toren von Ps. 14¹. Auf dem
richtigen Wege dem Sinne nach war HALÉVY mit מוּזָר „entfremdet"

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[1] PROCKSCH's Textausgabe der XII bei KITTEL³ erreichte mich, als meine
Bearbeitung von V. 1—7 bereits abgeschlossen vorlag. Ich habe seine Entscheidungen
und Vorschläge nachgetragen, zu Änderungen keinen Anlaß gefunden.

(Ps. 69⁹); aber dafür bedarf es keiner Änderung. Man mag sich
wundern, daß erst EHRLICH die so einfache Erklärung ·les מוּסָר als
partic. Hophal (Jes. 17¹) gefunden hat, „und ich bin für sie alle
abgesetzt, abgetan, erledigt". Sie bedarf gar nicht erst der Begrün-
dung (EHRLICH) durch Richt. 9²⁹; I. Kön. 15¹³, vor allem durch das
הֵסִיר der Götzen, Gen. 35²; Jos. 24¹⁴; I. Sam. 7⁴ usw., sondern
versteht sich von selbst, gibt allein den rechten Sinn und wirft Licht
auf den ganzen Zusammenhang. Der stärkste Ausdruck ist hier, in
der Sprache des Unmuts, der beste, selbstverständlich Übertreibung,
sodaß mit V. 6 dagegen nicht aufzukommen ist. Vollkommen sicher
wird durch diesen Abschluß, daß die Anklage auf Götzendienst unter
Abfall von Jahwe geht, ausgesprochenermaßen n u r darauf. Das
braucht ja bei Hosea kaum erst gesagt zu werden, es entspricht Kap.
1, 2, 3 (V. 1); 4¹¹ ff. Mit den drei Ortsnamen — daß im Anfang von
V. 2 nur UMBREIT's וְשַׁחַת הַשִּׁטִּים gelesen werden darf, sollte heute
nicht mehr bezweifelt werden¹ — sind zweifellos aus der Masse
herausgehobene Stätten notorischen, besonders zugkräftigen Götzen-
dienstes aufgeführt. Diese Erkenntnis nötigt zunächst בְּמִצְפָּה „zu
Mispa" zu lesen; das falsche, schon von LXX vorausgesetzte לְ ver-
steht Mispa als Opfer der Falle, während es selbst vielmehr als
Falle die Opfer anlockt und verschlingt. An dem עַל vor תבור da-
gegen war nicht wohl zu rütteln, und es bürgt für ursprüngliches
במצפה. — Falsch ist auch das העמיקו an der dritten Stelle, schon als
3. Person innerhalb der Anrede. Aber auch MARTI's תַּעֲמִיקוּ ist nicht
richtig, weil kein neues Verbum, geschweige im Imperfektum, son-
dern ein drittes nominales Prädikat zu הייתם gefordert werden muß.
Das meinte WELLHAUSEN mit עֲמָקָה zu gewinnen; aber das ergibt
nicht „eine tiefe Fallgrube zu Šittim" — so seine Übersetzung —
sondern „und die Fallgrube von Šittim ist tief." Aber leicht ist das
einzig richtige הָעֲמָקָה „und d i e tiefe Grube von Šittim", womit auf
ihre Tiefe als eine bekannte Tatsache hingewiesen wird. Von selbst
erklärt sich damit auch der überlieferte Text als Korrektur der
falschen Aussprache הֶעֱמִקָה. — Und nun die drei Stätten des Götzen-
dienstes. Unter Mispa versteht man richtig ziemlich allgemein das
gileaditische² von Richt. 10 f. (11¹⁰ מִצְפֵּה גִלְעָד). Ein Heiligtum wird
dort durch Richt. 11¹¹ bezeugt. Nur bei HARPER finde ich den Hin-

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¹ Andere Versuche immer noch bei OETTLI, PEISER, PRÄTORIUS, SELLIN².
² SELLIN das benjaminitische.

weis auf und die Gleichsetzung mit dem Miṣpa von Gen. 31⁴⁵⁻⁵⁴,
wo in V. 49 הַמִּצְפָּה (mit Artikel auch Richt. 10¹⁷; 11¹¹·³⁴)[1] zweifel-
los als der eigentliche Ortsname eingeführt wird, leider in stark
überarbeitetem Text. Vor allem aber gehört der Inhalt jener Erzäh-
lung durchaus hierher. Denn sie berichtet von einem Überein-
kommen zwischen Laban und Jakob, d. i. zwischen Aram und Israel,
das in einer Kultstätte — vgl. das Opfer V. 54 — auf der Grenz-
mark seine Bekräftigung und sein Wahrzeichen erhält. Natürlich
wird die religiöse Seite dieses Übereinkommens von den pentateu-
chischen Erzählern beschönigt, indem auch Laban zum Jahwediener
gemacht wird (V. 49); in Wirklichkeit handelt es sich hier zweifellos
um einen internationalen Dienst, der an dem nationalen Gott Israels
vorbeiging. Aber ob man die Gleichsetzung unseres Miṣpa mit der
Kultstätte von Gen. 31⁴⁵ ff. billigt oder nicht, darauf kommt für die
Sache wenig an. Lehnt man sie ab, so gewinnen wir nur zu den
drei Kultstätten, gegen die Hosea angeht, in Gen. 31 noch eine
vierte, von der dasselbe gilt. Daß der Prophet nur eine Auswahl
trifft, versteht sich ja von selbst.

Fest steht ein internationaler Dienst für den zweiten Ort, den
Tabor, die wundervolle Bergpyramide im Nordostwinkel der Ebene
Jizreʿel. Nirgends sonst scheint zwar im A. T. ein Heiligtum auf
ihr bezeugt zu sein, obgleich dort mit Sicherheit eines gefordert
werden muß. Aber daß Deut. 33¹⁹ הַר zu הַר תָּבוֹר ergänzt oder תָּבוֹר
dafür gelesen werden muß, habe ich längst vermutet („*Der Segen
Mose's*", 1922, S. 39. 49). Dort teilen sich zwei Stämme, Sebulon
und Isaschar, in den Berg, und עַמִּים strömen auf ihm zu üppigen
Opferfesten zusammen. Daß der Tabor der Sitz einer weithin ver-
ehrten, als Ζεὺς Ἰταβύριος (oder Ἀταβύριος) nach Rhodos und Sizilien
verpflanzten internationalen Gottheit, eines kanaanäischen Baʿal,
war, dessen Dienst in vorisraelitische Zeit zurückreichen muß, hat
uns O. EISSFELDT in seinem Leidener Vortrag von 1931[2] unwider-
leglich bewiesen; auch daß dieser Dienst noch lange nach Hosea's
Zeit im Schwange ging, geht aus den Zeugnissen klar hervor.

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[1] Danach ist auch hier notwendig der Artikel zu sprechen, also מִצְפָּה֙, ver-
bessert בְּמִצְפָּה.

[2] Eingehender Auszug in „*Theologische Blätter*", Okt. 1931, Sp. 280 f.; das
Manuskript der noch nicht gedruckten, dem Vortrag gegenüber vermehrten Arbeit,
habe ich durch die Güte des Verfassers einsehen dürfen.

Sicher führt eben darüber Hosea hier bittere Klage. Daß der Name Tabor jetzt in Deut. 33[19] fehlt, kann recht wohl auf absichtlicher Tilgung aus bösem Gewissen beruhen.

Ähnliche Bedenken mögen selbst noch bei den Punktatoren zu der Vertuschung des dritten Ortes, des bösen Haššiṭṭim, mitgewirkt haben. Die schwere Versündigung durch den Dienst des Baʿal Peʿôr an diesem Orte ist von der Überlieferung in Num. 25[1-5] festgehalten; ohne den Ort erinnern auch Deut. 4[3] und Jos. 22[17] daran, ebenso aber auch Hosea selbst (9[10]).[1] Schon daraus geht hervor, daß dieser Dienst nicht bloß der mosaischen Vorzeit angehörte, sondern dauernd eine Gefahr blieb, und eine besonders große wegen der üppigen Sinnlichkeit, die sich hier nach Num. 25[1ff.] besonders breit machte. Darum tut sich hier in Šiṭṭim vollends die Fallgrube auf, und die notorisch tiefe. Die Steigerung ist durchaus beabsichtigt.

Dieses dreifache Handwerkszeug des Jägers aber — daß der Bogen fehlt, der Jäger also gar nicht selbst Hand anzulegen braucht, hat seinen guten Sinn — sind g e w o r d e n, d. h. dazu haben sich hergegeben und s i n d es nun recht eigentlich, die An- geredeten und Angeklagten, die Priester und die vom Königshofe. Wir würden sagen: sie sind die Seele jener Kulte. Diese Anklage ist durchaus ernst zu nehmen: Priesterschaft und Hof bilden dafür eine Interessengemeinschaft, sie betreiben ein Kompagniegeschäft. Sicher vollzog sich an diesen Kultstätten ein großer Umsatz, „es kam viel Geld ins Land" würden wir sagen. Der Gewinn fiel vor allem den Priestern zu; schon 4[8] lasen wir, daß die Priester sich von des Volkes Sünde mästen. Aber daß der Hof sich einen erheblichen Anteil an dem Gewinne sicherte, auf allerlei Weise hohe Abgaben erhob, daß er daher den Besuch jener Kultstätten gern sah und darin mit gutem Beispiel voranging, versteht sich von selbst, doppelt leicht angesichts des schnellen Wechsels der Dynastien gegen das Ende des Nordreichs, weil er die Finanznot zu einem chronischen, fressenden Schaden machen mußte. So entfaltet sich uns in diesen beiden Versen ein höchst anschauliches Bild aus den religiösen und kulturellen Verhältnissen Nordisraels zu dieser Zeit, eine in hohem Grade willkommene Bereicherung unserer Einsicht. Vieles Ähnliche

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[1] . Ob hier nicht die Nennung des Ortes hinter וב ausgefallen ist, darf man fragen.

wird uns spurlos verloren gegangen sein. Zugleich fallen damit will-
kommene Streiflichter auf den internationalen Verkehr in Friedens-
zeiten.

    V. 3 und 4.   3.   Ich kenne Ephraim,
                     Und Israel ist nicht verborgen vor mir:
                     Denn nun treibst du, Ephraim, Hurerei,
                     Verunreinigt sich Israel.
          4.   Ihr Tun läßt ‹ihnen› nicht zu,
                     Zu ihrem Gott zurückzukehren;
                     Denn der Geist der Hurerei erfüllt sie,
                     Und ‹mich› kennen sie nicht.

    V. 3. אַתָּה statt עתה zu lesen (WELLHAUSEN usw., auch OETTLI,
HARPER und jetzt PROCKSCH), ist gar kein Anlaß. עתה führt häufig
den Tatbestand ein: „wie die Dinge liegen, da es nun so ist, unter
diesen Umständen" (GES.-BUHL. „c"), hier unter Beziehung auf V. 1, 2.
Auch das כי dient dieser Bezugnahme, ob man es nun adversativ
gegenüber dem negativen Satz oder rein begründend faßt. — הזנית
kausativ zu verstehn, ist ausgeschlossen; ob das Hiphil nur so ge-
braucht würde, wurde schon zu 4[10] bezweifelt. Hier ist זָנִיתָ unter
Annahme von Dittographie so leicht, daß man sich am besten mit
OETTLI und MARTI (PROCKSCH fragend) dazu entschließt. LXX, Syr.,
Vulg. lesen die 3. Pers. הִזְנָה oder זנה, und auch das ist mehrfach
gebilligt worden, weil sie vorher und nachher bei ישראל steht. In-
dessen ist solch lebhafter Wechsel durchaus nicht verdächtig, er-
leichtert vielmehr den sonst reichlich synonymen Parallelismus. Des-
halb ist eher zu fragen, ob nicht in a das ך eines יְדַמְתִּיךָ verloren
gegangen, oder die Form absichtlich der folgenden 3. Pers. ange-
glichen ist, wie bei den Verss. auch in b.

    Zum ersten Mal begegnen uns hier, wichtig und in manchem
Sinne maßgebend für das Folgende, „Ephraim" und „Israel" als
völlig gleichwertige Synonyme; nur einen intimeren, persönlicheren
Zug mag man für „Ephraim" in Anspruch nehmen, der denn auch
in dem „Du" zu Tage tritt. Ohne Synonym ist uns Ephraim in
diesem Sinne schon 4[17] begegnet, während bis dahin „Israel" (4[15]),
oder „die Kinder Israel" (3[1. 4]; 4[1]) oder „das Haus Israel" (1[4. 6]),
ebenfalls allein, gebraucht war. Mit Entschiedenheit muß hier ALT'S
Anspruch zurückgewiesen werden, daß der Gebrauch von „Ephraim"
für das Nordreich als solches erst durch den Ausgang des syrisch-

ephraimtiischen Krieges, die Abtrennung weiter Gebiete vom Nord-
reiche durch Tiglat-Pileser IV., herbeigeführt sei, sodaß der Name
nur für den Rumpfstaat gelte, „darum von Hosea hier und später-
hin" verwendet werde, und dies „ein Hosea eigentümlicher Wort-
gebrauch" sei (S. 554). Er beruft sich dafür, ebenso wie vor ihm
schon Meinhold (*Heil. Rest,* S. 49), auf H. Winckler (*Keilinschr. u.
A. T.*[3] S. 264). Es ist zunächst gar nicht abzusehen, wie man damit
Jes. 7[2. 5. 9. 17]; 9[8]; 17[3]; 28[3] in Einklang bringen will, die alle vor dem
Austrag des syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieges anzusetzen sind. Sodann
ist es ganz unglaubhaft und widerspricht aller Erfahrung in ähn-
lichen Fällen, daß nach der gewaltsamen Verkleinerung eines Staates
dessen Bewohner sich s o f o r t demütig den neuen Verhältnissen mit
ihrer Selbstbezeichnung sollten angepaßt haben. Dem geraden Ge-
genteil begegnet man überall: daß nach Vergrößerungen beliebigen
Umfangs der Name des kleinen Kerngebietes dem Ganzen verbleibt,
man vergleiche „Bayern, Württemberg, Baden" usw. Viel wahr-
scheinlicher ist, daß diese Namengebung auf die Reichsspaltung zu-
rückgreift (vgl. Jes. 7[17]), weil von da an der Name Israel etwas
Doppeldeutiges erhielt. Gute Erklärung für die Wahl gerade Eph-
raims bietet Kautzsch bei Guthe „*Kurzes Bibel-Wörterbuch*" unter
„Ephraim". So ist jene Annahme zwar eine nützliche Hilfshypothese
für das, was Alt zu V. 8 ff. nachweisen will; aber zulässig ist sie
nicht.

„Der letzte Satz von V. 3 ist eine matte, abschwächende und
völlig überflüssige Explikation, vielleicht aus 6[10]": so leider Well-
hausen, und ihm folgen Nowack und Marti.[1] Man lasse doch je-
dem Redner seine eigene Sprache, und was wäre mehr und echter
hoseanisch als das זנה? Auch Wiederholung versteht sich dabei von
selbst, und ohne b fehlt ja die Anklage. Sie wird durch 4 b nicht
ersetzt, sondern gesteigert. Die Hauptsache, daß durch das Bild der
Hurerei die r e l i g i ö s e Natur der Versündigung ausdrücklich fest-
gelegt wird, geht bei der Streichung ganz verloren.

V. 4. Für יתנו hat Oettli die von Wellhausen vergeblich ge-
suchte Herstellung mit יִתְּנוּ mit Sicherheit gefunden, und ziemlich
allgemein hat man sich dem angeschlossen. In der Bedeutung „zu-

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[1] Es handelt sich überall um 3 b im ganzen Umfang, nicht nur, wie
Oettli meint, um b β = נטמא ישׂראל. Aber auch das ist echt und schon für den
Parallelismus nicht zu entbehren, wie Oettli richtig urteilt.

geben, zulassen, erlauben" findet sich נתן von Gen. 20⁶ an sehr
häufig. Wenig einleuchtend, obgleich gut hoseanisch (7²; 9¹⁵; 12³),
ist das מעלליהם, man müßte es denn auf die in V. 1 f. angeführten
Handlungen zurückbeziehen, was doch nicht leicht ist. Fast möchte
man es als Entstellung aus einem בַּעֲלֵיהֶם „ihre Baʿale, ihre Götzen"
(2¹⁵) ansehen; der Satz erhielte damit ein besonders schlagendes,
greifbares Gepräge in dem persönlichen Gegensatz gegen ihren
eigenen Gott (אלהיהם). Das שׁוב ist genau das der Ehebrecherin in
2⁹ und kehrt wieder in 6¹. — b sagt, daß ihnen der Götzendienst
zur anderen Natur geworden ist; das, was daraus folgt, daß sie
Jahwe nicht kennen, stellt sich neben 2¹⁵ b, daß die Ehebrecherin
Jahwe neben den Baʿalen vergessen hat. Aber das „Jahwe kennen"
ist überdies das eigentliche Merkmal hoseanischen Denkens: in 2²²,
4¹·⁶ bildet es das letzte Ziel der Arbeit Jahwes und seiner Beauf-
tragten an den Seelen, 6³ läßt vollends das sündige Israel sich selber
darauf besinnen, und in dem abschließenden Verse 6⁶ ist es wieder
die letzte Forderung Jahwes. Wie alle dem gegenüber MARTI und
NOWACK auch 4 b als überflüssige Explikation und Glosse aus 4¹²
streichen können,[1] ist schwer verständlich. Sehr empfiehlt es sich,
וְאִתִּי statt ואת־יהוה zu lesen — יהוה irrig ausgeschrieben für die ver-
meintliche Abkürzung י — da es schwer ist, Jahwes Rede schon mit
V. 3 abzuschließen. Die 3. Person אלהיהם ist daneben in Jahwes
Munde als qualifizierend durchaus möglich.

Die Verse 3 und 4 schließen sich vortrefflich als Fortsetzung
an die beiden ersten an; insbesondere bedarf die kurze Feststellung
in 2 b durchaus der Begründung und Verallgemeinerung durch das
„Du machst mir nichts weis" von 3 a und die Zurückführung auf
den Geist, der Volk und Land beherrscht, in 3 b und 4. Auch das
stark betonte אֲנִי zu Anfang verlangt den Anschluß nach rückwärts
und eignet sich schlecht zum Beginn eines neuen Stücks. Dies gegen
ALT's kurze Feststellung (a. a. O., S. 539, Fußn. 2), daß ihm 3 f. und
5—7 zwei neue Sprüche seien, zu deren Begründung ihm dort leider
der Raum fehlte.

V. 5—7. 5a. bα. Und aussagen wird Israels Übermut ihm ins Gesicht,
⟨—⟩ Und Ephraim wird straucheln durch ⟨seine⟩
Schuld ⟨—⟩;

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[1] GUTHE streicht vollends den ganzen Vers, zunächst m. c.

6. Mit ihren Schafen und Rindern werden sie
   hingehn, Jahwe zu suchen,
   Und ihn nicht finden — er hat ‹sich› vor
   ihnen gerettet.

7. ‹Denn› Jahwe brachen sie die Treue,
   ‹Seine Kinder› sind unechte Söhne:
   Nun wird er sie ‹vertilgen›, ‹die Pflüger›
   samt ihrem Acker.

Sehr mitgenommen ist der Wortlaut dieser Verse, und da ge-
ändert werden muß, bleibt die Entscheidung recht unsicher. Immer-
hin glaube ich, daß mit weniger auszukommen ist, als man gemein-
hin anzunehmen pflegt. Sachlich steht nicht viel auf dem Spiele,
weil es sich auf jeden Fall um die Gerichtsansage handelt. Ganz
unmerklich nimmt d e r P r o p h e t die Rede auf: in V. 6 und 7
kann Jahwe nicht mehr der Redende sein. V. 6, aber übernimmt
das Subjekt von V. 5 her. — Der Übermut Israels — „der Prunk"
(SELLIN) genügt doch nicht — tut sich gerade in dem wüsten
Treiben an jenen heidnischen Heiligtümern kund, durch das man
zeigt, wie man Jahwes nicht zu bedürfen glaubt. Aber וְעַנָּה zu
sprechen (MARTI) empfiehlt sich doch nicht, weil es sich nicht um
einen Zustand handelt, sondern um die für das göttliche Urteil ent-
scheidende Zeugenaussage, und das Gericht doch noch erst bevor-
steht. Dessen Einsetzen wird in dem Straucheln von 5 b verspürt,
und nun wird man versuchen, dem Richter gegenüber Versäumtes
nachzuholen, aber vergeblich. Deshalb trifft auch PROCKSCH's עָנָה,
also Streichung des ו und Beziehung auf die Vergangenheit, schwer-
lich das Richtige; dagegen spricht schon das Imperfektum in dem
parallelen Gliede. Aber vielleicht geht seine Änderung Hand in
Hand mit Zustimmung zu ALT's Meinung, der mit V. 5 wieder
einen neuen Spruch beginnen läßt. Das verträgt sich freilich nicht
mit dem *perf. cons.*, sondern verlangt יַעֲנֶה oder עָנָה. — Über die
Streichung von וישראל als irrige Wiederholung ist man seit OETTLI
ziemlich einverstanden; der synonyme Parallelismus von Ephraim
und Israel (V. 3) kehrt wieder, diesmal in umgekehrter Reihenfolge.[1]
Aber man muß dann auch יִכָּשֵׁל בַּעֲוֹנוֹ lesen; die Plurale sind erst

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[1] Daß WELLHAUSEN וישראל ואפרים streichen will, dürfte doch nur ein Schreib-
fehler sein, man möchte hinter „wahrscheinlich" ergänzen „ist וישראל". In der
Übersetzung ist „und Ephraim" beibehalten.

die Folge der falschen Wiederholung. So jetzt PROCKSCH mit „*l prob.*"

Für die Unechtheit des Satzes von Juda (so zuerst VALETON und OORT) führt MARTI einen einleuchtenden Kumulativbeweis, aus der „Verbindungslosigkeit", dem „nackten Perfektum" כָּשַׁל und dem stets verdächtigen נֵם. Das Pluralsuffix עִמָּם kommt noch dazu, da es die falsche Vermehrung וִישְׂרָאֵל schon voraussetzt. Der Satz hat handgreiflich die Gestalt einer Randglosse. Vor allem aber sind die judäischen Glossen durch 1^7; 2^{1-3}; 3^5. a β; 4^{15} a β so schlagend wie möglich nachgewiesen, und hier vollends beweisen allein die in V. 1, 2 aufgezählten drei Heiligtümer, daß es sich um eine Anklage bloß gegen Nordisrael handelt, der ein Gericht auch gegen Juda durchaus nicht so beiläufig angehängt werden kann. Daß WELL-HAUSEN sich Juda hier stillschweigend gefallen läßt, während er es an den soeben genannten Stellen richtig Hosea abspricht, mag man seiner Zeitlage zu gute halten; schwerer versteht sich die Billigung bei OORT und DUHM. SELLIN streicht den Satz als „nichtssagende judäische Glosse." Es ist von hoher Wichtigkeit, an unserem Kapitel hier bereits eine Hand festzustellen, die in dieser Richtung tätig ist.

V. 6. Der eifrige Jahwekult, der hier einsetzt, ist durchaus als Versuch der Begütigung Jahwes unter dem Eindruck, daß sein Gesicht nahe, zu verstehn; nach der Meinung seiner Spender verträgt er sich ganz wohl mit dem heidnischen, den sie nach V. 1 ff üben. Das Nichtfinden Jahwes vergleicht sich mit dem bei Amos (5^5). Nicht nur das *αὐτόν* der LXX ist richtige, aber ganz überflüssige Epexegese, sondern auch das begründende ὅτι: je kürzer der Ausdruck, desto kräftiger. Auch das Perfektum für das Ergebnis ihres Suchens ist besser als das Imperfektum.[1] Ob freilich das Pual חֻלַּץ, das OETTLI freigibt, zulässig ist, muß doch stark bezweifelt werden; aber נֶחֱלַץ ist ja eine leichte Änderung. חָלָק dafür einzusetzen (OORT, SELLIN) ist nur eine Abschwächung: nein, Jahwe hat sich vor ihnen gerettet, ist ihnen durchgegangen und lacht sie aus. Man lasse und gönne Hosea seine starken Gedankenwendungen und Ausdrücke, ebenso wie in 2^{16}, 3^1 und anderwärts. MARTI's Streichung der beiden letzten Worte bedeutet einen schweren und ganz unnötigen Verlust. — PROCKSCH will die beiden letzten Worte in jedem Falle

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[1] DUHM ימצאו אותו כִּי יַחֲלֵץ, wesentlich m. c.

mit V. 7 verbinden — „v 6b cjg c v7" [lies so!] — wahrscheinlich
vor allem m. c., fragt vorher aber, ob für sie zu lesen sein möchte
חֹלְמֵיהֶם „ihre Träumer", nach Dt. 13[2.4.6]: graphisch zweifellos recht
leicht. Freilich übersieht er, daß dort überall, ebenso Jo. 3[1], und
nach der richtigen Lesart der LXX auch Jer. 23[25], dem Tatwort חלם
noch das Objekt חֲלוֹם oder חֲלֹמוֹת folgt. Damit wären denn wieder,
wie in V. 1, die Propheten zur Stelle gebracht. Das ist auch hier
ganz unmöglich, weil die Aussagen vorher wie nachher dem ge-
samten Volke gelten.

V. 7 a. Wenn SELLIN umgekehrt die beiden ersten Worte von
V. 7 m. c. zu V. 6 zieht, so zeigt das nur, daß seine metrischen
Voraussetzungen und Forderungen irrig sind. Auch MARTI's כִּי הֵם
ist zwar graphisch leicht, aber überflüssig; mit כִּי statt ביהוה die
Eigenrede Jahwes fortzuführen, schwerlich richtig. Brauchbar und
leicht vor dem ביהוה ist nur das כִּי der LXX, wenn auch nicht nötig;
das כי vor בנים könnte dahin zu versetzen sein, jedenfalls fehlt
es besser. Möglich und leicht ist auch SELLIN's כִּי בוֹ statt ביהוה. In
dem so eröffneten Satze ist יָלָדוּ sicher falsch, weil ein folgendes Ge-
schlecht von Söhnen neben dem Volke, das die Geschlechter zu-
sammenschließt und die ganze Schuld in sich verkörpert, nicht
möglich ist. Statt aller mühseligen Versuche spreche ich einfach
יָלָדוּ. Damit ist mir jetzt PROCKSCH im Druck zuvorgekommen. —
Daß בָּנִים זָרִים „unechte Söhne" heißen kann, ja muß, hätte
MARTI nicht leugnen sollen: was können denn „Kinder, die Jahwe
fremd gegenüber stehen", anders sein? Wie selbstverständlich einem
Hosea das Kindschaftsverhältnis Israels ist, zeigt 11[1]; wie nahe ihm
der Gedanke seines Bastardtums liegt, 2[4] ff. und die Nebeneinander-
stellung mit Hosea's Ehe in Kap. 1 und 3. Genau diese Kenn-
zeichnung gehört hierher, weil sich die Israeliten durch ihren Ab-
fall zu den Götzen (V. 1 f., 3 f.) als deren Kinder bekannt haben.
Aber man soll das nicht abschwächen, wie das PROCKSCH tut durch
sein כְּבנים für כי בנים: nicht um einen Vergleich handelt es sich,
sondern um die nackte, krasse Tatsache.

V. 7 b. Das עתה führt den Schluß ein, ähnlich wie in V. 3. Sehr
schwierig und umstritten ist der damit eingeführte letzte Satz. Die
richtige Entscheidung hängt wesentlich an der Frage, ob von dem
Tatwort יאכלם Jahwe, das logische Subjekt von a, Subjekt bleibt,
oder ob hier für ihn, in seinem Dienste, irgend ein Etwas handelnd

eintritt. Das Erstere liegt an sich näher und ergäbe eine stärkere Aus-
sage. Aber יאכ, „fressen", wird von Jahwe nur unter dem Bilde der
אֵשׁ אֹכְלָה ausgesagt, das hier fehlt. Deshalb hat man weit überwiegend
seit den ältesten Zeiten für das zweifellos verlesene חרש ein anderes
Agens des Gerichtes gesucht; HARPER bietet dafür eine reiche ältere
Blumenlese. Sie hier einzeln zu verfolgen, hätte kaum einen Wert.
Da alles sehr unsicher und subjektiv bleiben muß, darf ich mich
darauf beschränken festzustellen, was ich für das Leichteste und
Wahrscheinlichste halte. Sachlich kommt wenig darauf an, wie man
sich entscheidet, da in jedem Falle hier die Gerichtsdrohung stehn
muß. Das Beste für die letzten Worte scheint mir DUHM geboten
zu haben mit חֹרֵשׁ אֶת־חֶלְקָתוֹ „den Pflüger mitsamt seinem Acker",
was als sprichwörtliche Redensart, wie unser „mit Mann und Maus",
„mit Kind und Kegel" zu verstehen wäre, natürlich als steigernde
Apposition zu dem „sie" des Suffixes. Ob man הֹרְשָׁם lesen sollte,
in Wiederholung des מ von יאכלם, mag man fragen, weil man dann
את־חלקיהם beibehalten könnte. Es bleibt die Schwierigkeit des
„Fressens" mit dem Subjekt Jahwe. Dafür schlage ich die leichte
Änderung יְכַלֵּם „er wird vertilgen" vor, was leicht als יֹכְלֵם ge-
sprochen und dann in יאכלם „verbessert" werden konnte; vgl. für
den Ausfall des א eine große Beispielsammlung bei Ges.-K. § 68 h.

Bis hierher fanden wir ein einziges, in sich geschlossenes Stück,
von vortrefflichem Zusammenhang, Fortschritt und Steigerung.[1] Ob
die in einen einzigen Satz gefaßte Gerichtsansage weiterhin noch
ins Einzelne verfolgt werden soll und wird, mag dahingestellt
bleiben. Von wesentlicher Bedeutung aber ist die Frage, welcher
Zeit man diese Rede möchte zuzuweisen haben, und, wie sich die
Dinge für unser Kapitel zuspitzen, wird des Näheren zu fragen
sein: v o r oder n a ch dem syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg? Nur v o r
dem Kriege ist diese Anklage verständlich. Internationale Kulte
gehn im Schwange, die nur in friedlichen und wohlhabenden Zeiten
blühen können; die Anklage auf Übermut (V. 5) ist nach dem Zu-
sammenbruch gegen Assyrien sicher nicht mehr möglich; die Strafe
wird erst angedroht, während die *capitis deminutio* durch Tiglat-
Pileser IV. doch ein furchtbares Gericht darstellt. Augenscheinlich

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[1] Dem widerspricht ALT (a. a. O. S. 539, Fußn. 2): er hält 5¹⁻⁷ für keine
Einheit, sondern sieht darin drei Sprüche: 5¹⁻², ⁸⁻⁴, ⁶⁻⁷. Da er keine Gründe an-
·ührt; muß ich es wesentlich bei der obigen Darlegung bewenden lassen.

ist Nordisrael noch bei guten Kräften und leidlichem Wohlstand: das verweist mit Sicherheit in die Zeit vor 735. Der *terminus ad quem* für unser Stück ist der Abschluß des Bündnisses mit Reṣôn von Damaskus, mag dies nun nur gegen Juda oder, wie man so gern annimmt, gegen die assyrische Weltmacht gerichtet gewesen sein. Leicht aber mag es noch einige Zeit früher fallen. Damit ist ein neuer, abtuender Beweis beigebracht gegen die oben (S. 8 f.) bestrittene Annahme Alt's, daß der Name Ephraim für Nordisrael erst nach der starken Beschneidung des Landes durch jenen Krieg in Gebrauch gekommen wäre; denn hier (V. 3 ff.) wird er vor dessen Ausbruch ganz unbefangen verwendet.

b.   5 8 - 10.

8. Stoßt ins Horn zu Gibʿa,
   In die Trompete zu Rama,
   Schlagt Lärm in Bet-‹el›,
   ‹Setzt› Benjamin ‹in Schrecken›!

9. Ephraim wird zur Öde werden am Tage der Entscheidung:
   Über Israels Stämme tu' ich Zuverlässiges kund.

10. Die Großen Juda's treiben's wie Grenzverrücker:
   Über sie werd' ich ausgießen wie Wasser meinen Grimm.

Hier hat Alt reine Bahn gemacht. Die Reihenfolge der Orte, Gibʿa, Rama, Bet-el, das Fortschreiten von Benjamin zu Ephraim: das alles beweist mit Sicherheit, daß von dem Abschluß eines assyrischen Vorstoßes von Norden her, wie Wellhausen ihn anheim gab, nicht die Rede sein kann. Und da ein ägyptischer Vorstoß, wie Procksch daran denkt, in dieser Zeit nicht in Betracht kommt, auch in keinem Falle den schwierigen Weg über die Wasserscheide gewählt hätte, so kann nur Juda diesen Stoß führen, und Juda wird ja auch in V. 10 ausdrücklich genannt und angeklagt. Damit ist das alte Axiom, daß sich die Ereignisse bei Hosea nur bis zu dem assyrischen Tribut Menaḥēm's im Jahre 738 (5¹³) sollten verfolgen lassen, der syrisch-ephraimitische Krieg von 735/734 von ihm nicht erwähnt werde, also wohl jenseits seiner Wirksamkeit liege, endgültig erledigt. Hier nachzugeben fällt nicht schwer, handelt es sich doch nur um wenige Jahre. Aber scharf wird aufzumerken sein, wie tief sich Hosea auf diesen Hergang eingelassen, bzw., wieviel

darauf Bezügliches sich in dem Buche erhalten hat: die Gefahr zu
weit gehender Postulate wird wohl zu beachten sein.

Für die Abtrennung des Verses 10 von 8 f. — er macht aus
ihm allein einen vollen, selbständigen Spruch — beruft sich Alt
auf Wellhausen, Nowack[1] und Marti. Aber bei ihnen liegen die
Dinge ganz anders, da sie in 8 f. nicht Juda handeln lassen; auch
stellen sie V. 10 nicht ganz auf eigene Füße. Was Alt dazu ver-
anlaßt, trotzdem der Vers mit jenen beiden das — von Alt stets
stark betonte — Metrum gemein hat (das ganz eigentümliche 3 + 2,
2 + 2), ist nur die verschiedene Auslegung, die er jenen und diesem
einen gibt, und nach deren Berechtigung wird zu fragen sein.
Die Frage, wer rede, der Prophet oder Jahwe, entscheidet sich zu-
gleich mit der nach dem Zusammenschluß. Trennt man V. 10 ab,
so mag man in V. 8 f. den Propheten reden lassen; läßt man ihn
bei V. 8 f., so beweist das אֶשְׁפּוֹך für Jahwe; daneben für הוֹדַעְתִּי in
V. 9 anders zu entscheiden liegt kein Grund vor.

V. 8. Wenige Ortsnamen lassen sich so sicher festlegen wie
die hier gebotenen drei: Gibʿa = *tell el-fūl*, Rama = *er-rām*, Bethel =
bētīn, 5,8 und 18 Kilometer nördlich von Jerusalem (vgl. Alt), alle
am Kamm des Berglandes gelegen, und alle gehören nach Jos. 18[21] ff.
zu Benjamin, das am Schluß des Verses den Bereich der ersten
Gefahr zusammenfaßt. Das חַצֹּצְרָה des Textes, wie שׁוֹפַר abhängig
von תִּקְעוּ, ist dem denominierten Impt. הַצֹּצְרוּ nach ἠχήσατε vorzu-
ziehen. — Sicher bedeutet בֵּית אָוֶן hier wie überall Bethel; die Frage
ist nur, ob bereits Hosea selbst diesen Ekelnamen geschrieben, oder
ob erst eine spätere Hand ihn für den richtigen eingesetzt hat. Da
er in 4[15] einem Glossator gehört, ist auch hier für die spätere Hand
zu entscheiden und בֵּית־אֵל herzustellen. Sicher ist ferner „zu Bethel"
gemeint; das kann aber auch durch den *acc. loci* ausgedrückt sein,
der gerade von בית sehr häufig ist (G K § 118 g), auch für בית־אל,
vgl. Am. 7[13], Jos. 8[17]. Die Ergänzung eines durch Haplographie
ausgefallenen ב ist also nicht nötig.

Das אחריך des Textes verteidigen noch Oettli und Ehrlich in
demselben Sinne wie Hitzig: „[man ist] hinter dir her, Benjamin!"
= „nimm dich in Acht, B.!" Aber dazu fehlt doch das Subjekt,
Wer oder Was des Verfolgenden. Sehr nahe liegt Verschreibung

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1 Nowack[3] läßt den Vers bei 8 f. und beginnt erst mit V. 11 einen neuen
Spruch.

durch Reminiscenz an Richt. 5¹⁴, und das ἐξέστη der LXX spricht
für eine Verbalform des Stammes חרד. Bei einfacher Rückübersetzung
ergäbe sich חָרַד oder הֶחֱרַד (Vollers) oder יֶחֱרַד (zuerst Simson); aber
Wellhausen's הַחֲרִידוּ dürfte doch angesichts der vorausgegangenen
Imperative vorzuziehen sein. Das gilt auch gegenüber dem graphisch
besonders leichten אַחֲרִיד, das Procksch jetzt liest, da das 'Ich' Jahwes
erst in 9 b. 10 eintritt und hier neben den vorausgehenden Anrufen
nicht zu erwarten ist.

V. 9. Für שַׁמָּה ist hier die sachlichere und häufigere Bedeutung
„Einöde" (so Wellhausen) wahrscheinlicher als die neuerlich beliebtere
„Entsetzen", d. h. Gegenstand des Entsetzens. Hinter Benjamin kommt
im Fortschreiten nach Norden Ephraim an die Reihe, hier der Stamm,
und beide werden dann in שבטי ישראל zusammengeschlossen. —
תוכחה ist sicherlich hier nicht „Strafe, Bestrafung" (Guthe, Alt,
Sellin usw.); denn die hätte ja in der Gegenwart schon eingesetzt,
stände nicht erst bevor. Die „Entscheidung" aber steht noch bevor:
„am Tage, wo es zur Entscheidung kommt", besser noch als „Ab-
rechnung" (Wellhausen). — Das בְּ vor שבטי bedeutet schwerlich "in"
(Alt), und ist für „wider" (Sellin) nicht deutlich genug; am wahr-
scheinlichsten bleibt Wellhausen's „über", den Gegenstand be-
zeichnend. Redet Jahwe (s. oben), so bedeutet הודעתי seine Offen-
barung durch den Propheten, also sachlich dasselbe, als wenn der
Prophet spräche. Ob es mit dem Perfektum oder dem Praesens
(nach G K § 106 i) zu übersetzen ist, kann man streiten; im ersten
Falle wiese Jahwe „auf frühere Kundgebungen, doch wohl zu der-
selben Sache", zurück (so Alt, S. 545 f.), nach denen dann Umschau
zu halten wäre. Aber viel näher liegt es doch, mit Wellhausen
usw. hier nur eine Bekräftigung der jetzt gebotenen Verkündigung
zu sehen, insbesondere der deutlich erst auf die Zukunft gehenden
über Ephraim, samt der Ausdehnung über ganz Benjamin in 8 b β.

V. 10. Die Einsetzung von יִשְׂרָאֵל für יהודה, in der einem Marti
und Nowack eine ganze Anzahl von Auslegern gefolgt sind (vgl.
die Namen bei Alt), kommt nach der richtigen Bestimmung der
Zeitlage gar nicht mehr in Frage, und ebensowenig die Erklärung
der Grenzverrückung (Dt. 19¹⁴; 27¹⁷) durch die Jes. 5⁸, Mi. 2² ge-
rügte Latifundienwirtschaft, wie schon Wellhausen sie unter Bei-
behaltung von Juda vertrat. Dagegen entscheidet bereits das שׂרי,
das hier nur von den politischen Führern verstanden werden kann;

auch das פ des Vergleiches verlangt einen weiteren begrifflichen
Abstand. Die politischen Führer Juda's — so richtig ALT — sind
zu Grenzverrückern im Großen geworden, nicht von Acker-, sondern
von Landgrenzen, indem sie Gebiete, die Nordisrael gehören, an
Juda reißen wollen.

Und nun der politische Tatbestand und die Einstellung des
Propheten dazu. Richtig betont ALT unter Rückweis auf G. RICHTER,
daß die beiden in 8a genannten Orte, Gibʿa und Rama, nach
I. Kön. 15$^{16-22}$ seit Asa und Baʿša nicht zu Israel, sondern zu Juda
gehörten. Das gibt uns freilich keine Sicherheit, daß es dabei bis
zu Aḥaz und Peḳaḥ's Zeiten werde geblieben sein. Die furchtbare
Niederlage Amaṣja's von Juda durch Jehoʾaš von Israel (II. Kön.
14^{12} ff.) dürfte Rama samt Miṣpa wieder an Nordisrael gebracht
haben; nur Gibʿa muß wohl nach wie vor bei Juda verblieben
sein. Hier aber wird augenscheinlich ausgesagt, daß der erste An-
sturm des judäischen Heeres sich schon gegen Gibʿa richtete, daß
also zu der hier vorausgesetzten Zeit selbst Gibʿa, dicht vor den
Toren Jerusalems, sich im Besitze Israels befand und von Juda erst
zurückgewonnen werden mußte. Mit Recht schließt ALT daraus, daß
der syrisch-ephraimitische Angriff, der, wie es scheint, sogar zu einer
Belagerung Jerusalems führte (II. Kön. 16^5 mit der Entlehnung in
Jes. 7^1), das nördliche Grenzgebiet Juda's, Gibʿa eingeschlossen, in
den Händen Nordisraels ließ.[1] Und weiter, daß erst das Eingreifen
Assyriens eine ausreichende Schwächung Nordisraels und insbeson-
dere seiner Streitkräfte an der Südgrenze herbeiführte, um Aḥaz
den hier bezeugten Gegenstoß zu ermöglichen. Daß der erfolgte,
ist eine sehr wertvolle Bereicherung unserer geschichtlichen Einsicht,
auch was die üblen Folgen der Gegnerschaft Jesaja's gegen das as-
syrische Bündnis für des Propheten persönliche Geltung angeht.
Und mit Recht sieht ALT darin auch eine mächtige Stütze für
II. Kön. 23^{15}, wonach selbst Bethel noch bis zu Josia's Zeiten in judä-
ischem Besitz geblieben, die „Grenzverrückung" der Großen Juda's
also eine recht erhebliche und erfolgreiche gewesen wäre.

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1 Daß das syrisch-ephraimitische Bündnis geschlossen wurde, um „Juda zum
Anschluß an ein antiassyrisches Bündnis der südsyrischen Staaten zu zwingen",
setzt ALT, S. 544, 553 f., als sichere Tatsache voraus. Für meine Gegengründe
gegen diese Annahme darf ich hier einfach auf meinen Aufsatz „*Jesaja und
Ahaz*", ZDMG 1930, S. 125 ff., verweisen.

Aber weiter: Hosea's Stellungnahme zu diesen Hergängen. ALT
(S. 545 f.) will aus V. 8 f. entnehmen, es sei Hosea „auf jeden Fall
klar gewesen, daß der von Israel im Bunde mit dem Fremdvolk
der Aramäer unternommene Vergewaltigungsversuch am jüdischen
Bruderreich nicht im Sinne Jahwes sei"; aus 9 b insbesondere, „daß
Hosea von Anfang an gegen die ganze Bündnispolitik und ihre
kriegerischen Folgen aufgetreten war"; aus dem Ganzen wiederum,
daß „Juda das Recht, daß es Jahwe auf seiner Seite haben wird,
wenn es das okkupierte Grenzgebiet zurücknimmt und darüber
hinaus an israelitischem Lande die Unbill rächt, die ihm geschehen
ist", „daß es damit die Strafe vollzieht, die Jahwe über das unge-
horsame Israel hat verhängen müssen". Es muß doch festgestellt
werden, daß dies alles — daß nach Hosea's Einsicht d e r K r i e g
gegen das Brudervolk n i c h t n a c h J a h w e s S i n n e g e w e s e n,
daß e r v o n A n f a n g an d a g e g e n a u f g e t r e t e n s e i, daß J u d a
bei seinem Gegenstoß bis in das Herz des Nordreichs d a s R e c h t
u n d J a h w e a u f s e i n e r S e i t e h a b e, daß es damit nur J a h w e s
S t r a f e a n d e m u n g e h o r s a m e n I s r a e l v o l l z i e h e — daß
das alles dem Wortlaut gegenüber nur fromme Wünsche sind.
Nichts als der Schrecken über Juda's Kriegserfolge gibt sich in V.
8 f. als die Empfindung Israels gegenüber den angekündigten Tat-
sachen kund, und 9 b versichert nichts als die Zuverlässigkeit der
Ansage. So enthalten die Verse nur Klage, aber keine Anklage und
keine Strafandrohung. Das ergibt sich am deutlichsten aus dem
Vergleich mit V. 10; ob man ihn mit 8 f. zusammenschließt oder
auf eigene Füße stellt, darauf kommt gar nichts an. Da haben wir
in a die scharfe Anklage — wie gemeine Verbrecher so handeln
die Großen Juda's — in b die Strafansage Jahwes, in möglichst
gesteigerte Wendungen gekleidet. Daß Juda weit enfernt ist, Jahwe
und das Recht auf seiner Seite zu haben, wird damit sonnenklar,
und daß auch das mildeste Seitenstück dazu gegen Israel, das doch
zu allem den Anlaß gegeben hat, sich vermissen läßt, weist,
wenigstens *ex silentio*, Hosea als auf Seiten s e i n e s Staates stehend,
als treuen Nordisraeliten aus. Daß er einsichtig genug möchte ge-
wesen sein, die Gefahr vorauszusehen und daher — in etwaigen
anderen Reden — vor Bündnis und Krieg zu warnen, mag sich allen-
falls damit vertragen; aber ein ausdrücklicher Hinweis auf dergleichen
müßte viel klarer und bestimmter lauten als der Wortlaut von 9 b.

Nach alledem begreift sich sehr wohl, daß ALT V. 10 von V. 8 f.
als damit unverträglich loslöst: er sieht darin (S. 551) geradezu eine
Wandlung im prophetischen Urteil und sucht die durch ein Seiten-
stück bei Jesaja — zwischen K. 7 f. und 10 — zu rechtfertigen.
Den Anlaß dazu findet er eben in einem zeitlichen Abstand und
dem, was die Zwischenzeit gebracht hat. Aber diese Zwischenzeit
zu beweisen genügt das Perfektum היו nicht: „sie sind Grenzver-
rückern gleich geworden" durch das, was ihnen in V. 8 f. nachgesagt
ist; ob das schon bis zum letzten Ende gediehen ist oder nicht, macht
dabei keinen Unterschied. Und daß „Juda das Strafmaß überschritten
und sich an Israels ererbtem Boden vergriffen hat", sah ALT doch
S. 546 — vgl. die Anführung oben (S. 19) — als zu der berech-
tigten Rache für die erlittene Unbill gehörig und von Jahwe selber
Juda zugebilligt an. Gerade daraus, daß in V. 8 f. jegliches „pro-
phetische Urteil" sich vermissen läßt, ist die Unvollständigkeit dieses
Verspaars und die Notwendigkeit seiner Ergänzung durch V. 10
mit Sicherheit zu erschließen. Dasselbe ergibt sich auch umgekehrt
von V. 10 aus. Es ist im höchsten Grade unwahrscheinlich, daß
die Anklage in 10 a einen neuen Spruch beginnen, daß der Tat-
bestand, der dazu den Anlaß gab, nicht im unmittelbaren Zusammen-
hang damit sollte angegeben sein. So muß es aus allen Gründen
dabei bleiben, daß V. 8 f. und V. 10 als ein einziger Spruch zu-
sammengehören, der aus dem Ausgang des syrisch-ephraimitischen
Krieges stammt, Nordisrael die Rache Juda's ansagt, aber Juda's
Vorgehn dabei schwer verurteilt.

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c. V. 11–15.

11. Vergewaltigt ist Ephraim, geknickt am Recht,
    Weil es ihm gefiel, ‹den Götzen› nachzulaufen.
12. ‹Drum ward› ich zur Motte für Ephraim
    Und zum Wurmfraß für das Haus ‹Israel›.
13. Als aber Ephraim seine Krankheit sah,
    Und ‹Israel› sein Geschwür,
    Da ging Ephraim hin zu Assur
    Und ‹Israel› zum Großen König;
    Aber der vermag nicht ‹sie› zu heilen,
    Noch von ‹ihnen› weichen zu machen das Geschwür.

14. Denn ich bin gleich dem Löwen für Ephraim,
    Und gleich dem Jungleu für das Haus ‹Israel›:
    Ich, ich zerreiße und geh' davon,
    Schleppe fort, und niemand entreißt's.

15. Geh' davon, ‹will mich lagern› an meiner Stätte,
    Bis daß sie ‹stutzen› und mein Angesicht suchen;
    Sind sie in Not, so verlangen sie nach mir:

Hier meint ALT mit seiner Erklärung aus dem syrisch-ephraimi-
tischen Kriege ganze Arbeit getan, den Parallelismus von Ephraim
und Juda im überlieferten Text gerechtfertigt zu haben, und SELLIN
stimmt ihm darin zu. Wer würde sich nicht freuen, sich ihnen an-
schließen zu können; denn sicher ist es ein ungewöhnlich gewalt-
sames Verfahren, drei- und viermal (6⁴) auf kleinem Raume den
einen Namen durch den andern zu ersetzen. Meine Wiedergabe
schon zeigt, daß ich doch dabei bleiben muß, und das wird nun zu
begründen sein. ALT sieht sich wieder genötigt, V. 11 als Spruch
ganz für sich allein zu nehmen, weil er eben nur von Ephraim
redet, V. 12 ff. von beiden Reichen. Um dann V. 12 ff. als neuen
Spruch auf eigene Füße zu stellen, muß er das ו vor dem אני zu
Anfang streichen und löst damit gewalttätig und füglich gegen seine
eigene Überzeugung (S. 561 f.) den inneren ursächlichen Zusammen-
hang zwischen Jahwe's Handeln und dem Ergehn seines Volkes. In
der Vergewaltigung und Rechtsberaubung Ephraims sieht er bereits
den letzten Ausgang des syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieges, die schwere
Beraubung durch Assyrien, die „nur einen Rest des alten Israel als
einen Rumpfstaat weiter bestehen ließ" (S. 554); auch Juda's Über-
griffe (V. 10) schließt er ein. Und verschuldet hat Israel das da-
durch, daß es „seinem Feinde" (צָרוֹ statt צו mit DUHM) nachlief,
seinem Erbfeinde Aram, von dem es sich zu dem antiassyrischen
Bündnis hat verleiten lassen. Also ein rein politischer Fehler, mit
dem alles abgemacht ist! Schlecht stimmt das zu dem Entweder —
Oder auf S. 561 f.: „Politik und Religion". Und aller organische
Zusammenhang mit dem Folgenden ist damit aufgegeben. Mit
Recht tritt SELLIN alledem entgegen. Wie viele andere Ausleger
folgt er der LXX, indem er die Participia von V. 11 aktivisch faßt,
und indem er hinter עֹשֵׂק nach LXX τὸν ἀντίδικον αὐτοῦ ein וְרִיבוֹ

Die Gründe gegen diese Entscheidung folgen unten bei der Einzelauslegung.

(Procksch מְרִיבוֹ) ergänzt. Der Gegner ist ihm natürlich Juda, und
so gewinnt er hier schon ohne den Namen das Nebeneinander der
beiden, das die folgenden Verse in der Überlieferung beherrscht;
daß es sich sofort als Gegnerschaft einführt, paßt vortrefflich zu
Alt's Deutung. Mit צָרוֹ schließt er sich ihm an, versteht darunter
auch Syrien, aber als Juda's, nicht Ephraims eigenen Feind; das ist
keine Verbesserung, da es als Entschuldigung für Ephraim wirkt:
Ephraim wäre nicht selbst Juda's Feind, sondern hätte sich nur von
dessen Feind mitnehmen lassen. Und nun beginnen die synonymen
parallelen Aussagen über Israel und Juda: in V. 12 die gleiche
Züchtigung durch Jahwe, in 13a die gleiche Empfindung für deren
Wirkung; in 13b, dem Anrufen Assyriens, mußte „Juda" erst
durch Textänderung hergestellt oder eingefügt werden, und dafür
mag man geltend machen, daß V. 14 mit dem Nebeneinanderstellen
beider wieder auf V. 12, 13a zurückgreift. Aber schwere Bedenken
weckt schon V. 12. V. 11 bringt zweifellos eine Anklage gegen
Ephraim, mag man ihn fassen, wie man will. Aber n u r gegen
Ephraim, nicht auch gegen Juda: wie ist es dann möglich, daß
Jahwe beide in gleicher Weise züchtigt, Juda also ganz ohne An-
gabe eines Grundes? Denn V. 10 darf man dafür nicht heranziehen,
da er mit V. 8f. ganz auf eigenen Füßen steht, auch Jahwes Strafe
erst für die Zukunft angekündigt wird, während sie hier schon er-
folgt ist, gefühlt wird und Entschlüsse nach sich gezogen hat. So
begreift man, daß Alt lieber die Verbindung zwischen V. 11 und
12 löst; aber die Folge ist nur, daß dann die Strafe f ü r b e i d e
ohne Angabe eines Grundes eingeführt wird. Und nun die durch
Textänderung zur Stelle gebrachte Gesandtschaft b e i d e r nach Assur
— Sayce, Wellhausen, Oettli, Halévy ergänzen יְהוּדָה hinter
וישלח, Alt und Sellin setzen וּבֵית יְהוּדָה für וישלח ein, was sachlich
auf das Gleiche herauskommt.[1] Die Schwierigkeiten des so ge-
schaffenen Tatbestandes sind unabsehbar. Denkbar wäre ja diese
Einführung Schulter an Schulter, wenn Israel und Juda Assur im
Wettbewerb zum Bundesgenossen begehrten: darum aber kann es
sich niemals gehandelt haben, am wenigsten beim syrisch-ephraimi-
tischen Krieg. Daß diese Einführung an „einen Kollektivschritt der

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[1] Daß sie alle damit unter die gleiche Verdammnis fallen, wie die, die
Juda durch Israel zu ersetzen wagen, darf am Rande vermerkt werden. Einige-
mal mehr oder weniger macht doch keinen Unterschied.

Nachbarreiche" könnte denken lassen, gibt Alt S. 558 zu, lehnt
aber Procksch's Annahme, daß Juda sich an Menachem's Tribut
738 möchte beteiligt haben, entschieden ab (S. 559, Fußn. 4), weil
weder urkundlich begründet noch sachlich einleuchtend, was sicher
richtig ist.[1] Freilich fiele auch Alt's Deutung des ganzen Abschnitts
aus dem syrisch-ephraimitischen Kriege damit einfach dahin. Das-
selbe gilt aber, wenn man sich mit Sellin an die urkundliche Be-
zeugung hält, Israels Vorgehn auf den Tribut Menachems von 738
(II. Kön. 15[19]f.), das Judas auf den des Ahaz von 735 (II. Kön.
16[7-9]) bezieht. Denn dann haben die beiden Vorgänge gar nichts
mit einander zu tun; vielmehr ginge dann die Anklage nur auf
das Bündnissuchen als solches, ohne Rücksicht auf Zeit und Anlaß.
Was aber Juda insbesondere betrifft, so war es nicht ein chronisches
Leiden durch von Jahwe verhängte Plagen (V. 12, 13 a, 14), was
Ahaz zu diesem Schritte trieb, sondern augenblickliche schwere Be-
drohung durch auswärtige Feinde, und das verträgt sich sehr schlecht
mit der hier vorliegenden Fassung.

Alt endlich besteht auf der Bindung beider Gesandtschaften an
den syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg, aber in sehr gewagter, ja ganz
unmöglicher Weise. Für Juda bleibt es natürlich bei II. Kön. 16[7-9];
dem gegenüber bleibt das geäußerte Bedenken in Kraft. Aber auch
Ephraim meint Alt mit seinem Anrufen Assurs auf diesen Krieg
festlegen zu können: „i n ihm hatte sich Juda zu dem Gang nach
Assur entschlossen . . .; n a ch ihm mußte das unterlegene Israel
den gleichen Weg einschlagen, um aus den Händen des assyrischen
Siegers wenigstens einen Teil des alten Besitzstandes zurückzuer-
langen und nicht wie der aramäische Bundesgenosse ganz vernichtet zu
werden" (S. 559 f.). „Da ging Ephraim zu Assur", sagt der Text,
und meint damit ohne jeden Zweifel die weite Reise der Gesandt-
schaft vom Jordan bis zum Tigris — nach der Niederwerfung Israels
durch Tiglat-Pileser bedurfte es deren nicht, da man Assur zur

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[1] In seiner Schrift „*Der Staatsgedanke in der Prophetie*", Gütersloh, 1933,
S. 20, Fußnote, erwägt Procksch die Möglichkeit, „daß in Hos. 5[8]ff. nicht der
Gegensatz des syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieges vorliegt, sondern eine ältere
Episode." Da er ebenda im Text (Z. 6 f.) 5[13] mit Entschiedenheit von „Menachems
Tributzahlung an Tiklat Pilesar III. (738)" versteht, so muß er wohl die An-
nahme von Juda's Beteiligung daran trotz Alt's Widerlegung hier erneuern,
sollte dann aber doch deutlicher sprechen. Eine „ältere Episode", die hier ge-
meint sein könnte, ist ja vollends gar nicht auszudenken.

Hand hatte, 'im eigenen Lande. Und Verhandlungen, Bündnis-
anträge? Macht die der restlos Unterlegene dem Sieger? Sicher hat
Assur Israel die Bedingungen nach seinem souveränen Willen auf-
erlegt, ohne es zu fragen; ALT selbst nimmt (S. 553 f. Fußn. 5) an,
daß die milderen Bedingungen für Israel — „Aram wurde ver-
nichtet, Israel nur geknechtet" — sich dadurch erklären, daß Aram
die führende Rolle spielte. Vergeblich sucht er (S. 560) aus der
Ermordung Pekachs und der Anerkennung seines Mörders Hosea
durch Assyrien für diesen eine erfolgreiche assurfreundliche Aktion
zu erschließen. Dafür fehlt nicht nur das Zeugnis, sondern auch
der Raum. Und vollends: eine solche, lediglich postulierte, völlig
bedeutungslose Geste an e r s t e r Stelle, v o r der mindestens um
Jahresfrist und bei umgekehrter Sachlage vorausgegangenen Aktion
Judas, die den Assyrer schon zur Stelle gebracht hat, der Fassung
nach also, als wäre es der erste Schritt, der von Palästina her gen
Assur gerichtet wurde: das alles ist ganz unmöglich, und SELLIN
erhebt mit Recht dagegen Einspruch, freilich ohne selbst eine be-
friedigende Lösung bieten zu können.

Zu dem allen aber kommt noch ein Letztes. Zwei Gegner, die,
wie Israel und Juda im syrisch-ephraimitischen Kriege, auf Tod und
Leben gerüstet (vgl. Jes. 7⁶) einander gegenüberstehn, können nicht
in so harmloser synonymer Parallele mit einander gekoppelt werden,
wie die beiden uns hier in V. 12, 13 a, 14, der Annahme nach
auch in 13 b, begegnen. Das ästhetische Bedenken ALT's (S. 557 f.),
daß das „immer noch leichter zu ertragen sei, wenn die parallelen
Glieder wenigstens zwei verschiedene Größen gleicher Art nennen,
als wenn sie nur verschiedene Bezeichnungen der nämlichen Größe
seien", kann gegenüber dieser Unmöglichkeit gar nicht in Anschlag
gebracht werden, wird aber mit anderen Formfragen gebührend zu
prüfen sein. Die sachliche Ablehnung eines Doppelgegenstandes für
diese Anklage und Strafansage darf ich mit dem Rückweis auf die
schon berührte Tatsache schließen, daß sie in V. 11 mit dem Vor-
gehn gegen Ephraim allein einsetzt.

Die Formfragen mag das letzterwähnte Bedenken eröffnen: ist
auch Hosea der Meinung, daß sich verschiedene Bezeichnungen der
nämlichen Größe im Parallelismus schlecht mit einander vertragen,
insbesondere Ephraim und Israel, wie Viele seit MARTI in V. 12—14
meinen lesen zu müssen? Das Gegenteil beweist er uns in V. 1—7,

wo in 3 a, 3'b und 5, also ebenfalls dreimal dicht hinter einander,
derselbe Parallelismus sich findet. Da über V. 8—10 hinweg
V. 1—7 und V. 11 ff. inhaltlich eng mit einander zusammengehören,
ist das auch sachlich eine starke Stütze für die vorgeschlagene Än-
derung, bzw. für die Annahme, daß יהודה und בית יהודה erst nach-
träglich für יִשְׂרָאֵל und בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל eingesetzt sind. Ist diese Annahme
als solche unzulässig, der angenommene Eingriff ohne Beispiel?
Durchaus nicht; vielmehr haben wir an 5 b β die Erfahrung ge-
macht, daß eine spätere Hand bestrebt war, Juda mit in den Bereich
der Predigt Hosea's zu ziehen, und konnten dort bereits auf Stellen
in allen vorhergehenden Kapiteln (1⁷; 2¹⁻³; 3⁵ a β; 4¹⁵ a β) zurück-
verweisen, von denen dasselbe gilt. Handelt es sich dort überall um
Einschübe, hier um Änderung, so erklärt sich das leicht daraus, daß
der weitmaschige Parallelismus hier dies leichtere und bequemere
Verfahren an die Hand gab. Fast möchte man die Möglichkeit an-
heimgeben, daß der Urheber der Änderung in seiner Vorlage für
יִשְׂרָאֵל die Abkürzung 'י vorfand und guten Glaubens in יהודה aus-
schrieb. Gerade bei der häufigen Paarung der beiden gleichbedeutenden
Namen Ephraim und Israel würde sich solche Bequemlichkeit eines.
Schreibers in der Fortsetzung von V. 3—5 recht wohl begreifen
lassen.[1] Daß man aber in V. 12 ff. die beiden Größen Ephraim und
Juda neben einander zu finden erwartete und zur Stelle brachte,
ist wiederum leicht zu verstehen, da V. 10 und 11 sie dicht hinter
einander eingeführt hatten, und man den tiefen Einschnitt hinter
V. 10 nicht erkannte oder beachtete. Und noch eine letzte Frage:
wem sagt Hosea sonst Paktieren mit dem Ausland tadelnd nach,
beiden Reichen oder dem Nordreich allein? N u r E p h r a i m : mit
Assyrien 8⁹, mit Assyrien und Ägypten 7¹¹ und 12² (vgl. auch 9⁸;
10⁶). Hier, in Nordisrael, war dies dauernde Politik, zur Gewohn-
heit gewordenes Verfahren, wie das vollends von „Ephraim" in
7⁸ ff. grundsätzlich festgestellt und gegeißelt wird; in dem kleinen,
fast immer nur auf sich allein angewiesenen Juda dagegen handelte
es sich 735 (II. Kön. 16⁶ ff. Jes. 7) nur um einen einzelnen ver-
zweifelten Griff in höchster Not. Auch deshalb gehört Juda nicht
in diesen Zusammenhang; denn der schildert chronische Gebrechen.
So wird man MARTI, NOWACK, CHEYNE, HARPER folgen und für

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[1] Ich will darauf nicht als auf meine Meinung festgelegt werden; ich kann
sehr wohl ohne das auskommen.

יהודה hier dreimal und 6⁴ ebenfalls יִשְׂרָאֵל herstellen müssen. Gar
zu leicht macht sich PROCKSCH den Einspruch dagegen in der schon
angeführten Schrift „*Der Staatsgedanke in der Prophetie*“ (S. 20
Fußn.) mit dem Satze, „die früher weit verbreitete Meinung, יְהוּדָה
bei Hosea sei überall spätere Korrektur, sei schwerlich richtig", wo-
raufhin er S. 19 f. im Texte 4¹⁵; 5¹⁰ ¹². ¹⁴; 6⁴ als Beweise für die
(reichlich knappe) Feststellung verwendet, daß sich „aus Hosea's Ur-
teil über Judäa für den Südstaat kein anderer Schluß ergebe." Daß
er S. 19 weiter oben sogar 2¹ f. als echt hoseanisch verwertet, ohne
irgend von Bedenken dagegen zu reden, scheint mir ganz unzu-
lässig. Aber wertvoll ist das Zugeständnis (S. 19 Fußn.), daß 3⁵ b β
[lies α β] ein Zusatz sei, und noch deutlichere Sprache redet, daß er
von 1⁷ und 5⁵ b β schweigt, hier also offenbar die spätere Eintragung
von Juda anerkennt. Damit is auch den übrigen Stellen das Urteil
gesprochen.

V. 11. Die Frage, ob עָשׁוּק oder עֹשֶׁק (bzw. עָשׁוֹק) und רְצוּץ oder
רֹצֵץ — LXX gibt vielmehr עָשַׁק und רָצַץ wieder, und so liest
VOLLERS — wurde schon berührt. Ihre Entscheidung hängt wesent-
lich von der über das letzte Wort des Verses, das unmögliche צַו,
ab, und so mag davon zuerst gehandelt werden. Von den vielen
Vorschlägen dafür, die HARPER anführt, kommen die meisten nicht
ernstlich in Betracht. Wie schwer es ist, dem צָרוֹ DUHM's, dem
GUTHE, ALT, SELLIN folgen, einen befriedigenden Sinn abzugewinnen,
ist oben schon dargelegt; auch die Verbindung mit הלך אחרי ist
dafür kaum zu belegen. Alles aber spricht für die durch τὰ μάταια
der LXX, durch Syr. und Targ. belegte Lesart שָׁו = שָׁוְא (vgl. Hi.
15³¹), das Jer. 18¹⁵ (vgl. auch Ps. 31⁷; Jon. 2²) ganz klar für „Götzen"
gebraucht wird, ebenso wie הַבָּלִים häufig und כְּזָבִים Am. 2⁴. Auch
für das הלך אחרי ist damit der fast ausschließlich verbundene Gegen-
stand, göttliche Wesen, gewonnen. Mit Recht stellt OETTLI gegen
WELLHAUSEN fest, daß das keineswegs „eine gar zu nichtssagende
Phrase" sei: gegen was sonst geht denn Hosea an als gegen Götzen-
dienst, unter allen Gestalten und allen Namen? Vortrefflich paßt
dazu auch das הוֹאִיל, die Eigenwilligkeit geißelnd: es hat es nicht
besser gewollt. Man darf geradezu übersetzen: „es hat vorgezogen,
den Götzen nachzulaufen", natürlich, statt Jahwe zu folgen. Das
Perfektum הָלַךְ wird durch Dt. 1⁵ gestützt (vgl. weitere Beispiele
G K § 120 g) und ist wohl als das Härtere vorzuziehen; ebenso

leicht ist die Aussprache הֲלֹךְ graphisch kaum schwerer הָהֲלֹךְ.
Wie aber nun die Entscheidung für Götzendienst Israel zum Gewalt-
tätigen und Rechtsverletzer hätte. machen sollen, was ja durch das
begründende כי ausgesagt wäre, ist doch in keiner Weise abzusehen;
darum die von LXX vertretene und von so vielen der Besten über-
nommene aktive Aussprache der Konsonantgruppen עשׁק und רצץ
schwerlich am Platze. Auch das τὸν ἀντίδικον αὐτοῦ der LXX, von
SELLIN hinter אפרים als יְרִיבוֹ aufgenommen, bürgt nicht dafür. Es
ist nur Epexegese, ergänzt das fehlende Objekt in Parallele zu dem
משׁפט hinter רצץ und überlastet unnötig die ebenso wie b vier-
hebige Zeile. Aber „Ephraim wird nicht beklagt, sondern ge-
scholten", sagt WELLHAUSEN. Nicht gescholten, sondern als bestraft
eingeführt; und als Grund für die Bestrafung, um den es natürlich
auch gescholten werden könnte, bringt b den Götzendienst. Auch
das Gefühl der Krankheit und das Herbeirufen des Arztes Assur
in V. 13 f. spricht durchaus für das überlieferte passive Verständnis;
mit Recht entscheidet sich neuerdings ALT wieder dafür. Schwer ist
es freilich, genauer zu bestimmen, worin die von Ephraim empfun-
dene Vergewaltigung und Rechtsverletzung bestehen mag. Weit
überwiegend werden beide Verben, gern auch gekoppelt (Am. 4[1];
I. Sam. 12[3]f.), für Mißhandlung der machtlosen Volksgenossen
durch die Vornehmen und Regierenden gebraucht (Mi. 2[2]; Jer. 7[6];
21[12]; Sach. 7[10]; Jes. 58[6]; Hi. 20[19]; Spr. 14[31]; 22[16]; 28[3]). Die wenigen
Stellen, wo es sich um Unterdrückung eines ganzen Volkes handelt,
haben es alle mit Israels schwerem Geschick zu tun, dem geschicht-
lich eingetretenen (Jes. 52[4]; Jer. 50[33]; Ps. 105[14]) oder dem — nach-
träglich — angedrohten (Dt. 28[29. 33]). In diesem Sinne treffen sie
hier, auf das noch bestehende Israel, in keinem Falle zu. Aber
auch der erstere Gebrauch kann kaum im eigentlichen Sinne in
Betracht kommen, da „Ephraim" hier nicht den von den mächtigen
Volksgenossen bedrückten Bruchteil des Volkes bedeuten kann. Die
Schwierigkeit läßt sich wohl nur so heben, daß Ephraim völlig per-
sonifiziert eingeführt wird, wie das ja die Krankheit und das Ge-
schwür in V. 13 f. ohne weiteres an die Hand geben. Seine Nöte
werden daher in dem עָשׁוּק und רְצוּץ מ' genau so gekennzeichnet,
als wenn es sich um den Fremdling, die Waise, die Witwe, die
Geringen und Armen der oben aufgeführten großen Reihe von
Stellen handelte. In Wirklichkeit sind alle die politischen Schwierig-

keiten und Verfallserscheinungen gemeint, die König Menachem
738 veranlaßten, die Hilfe Assyriens durch schweren Tribut zu er-
kaufen, und die werden aufgefaßt als Folge des in Israel getriebenen
Götzendienstes. Da der aber Abfall von Jahwe bedeutet, wird natür-
lich in aller dieser Not Jahwes Eingreifen, seine Strafe dafür er-
kannt, und das bezeugt nun V. 12.

V. 12. Motte und Wurmfraß sind beliebte Bilder für Verfall,
erstere als Bild für Jahwes Züchtigung auch Ps. 39¹². Das knüpft
durch ואני (so auch LXX) an 11a steigernd an. Für wahrscheinlicher
aber halte ich, daß ואני aus וְאֱהִי (vgl. 13⁷) verdorben ist, und dafür
dann erst in V. 14 mit כי אנכי der Nominalsatz eintritt. Das וְאֱהִי
aber würde nicht an 11a anzuknüpfen sein, sondern an 11b:
„Drum — wegen des Götzendienstes — ward ich für Ephraim zur
Motte"; es geht also dem Verfall bis zu seinem Anfang und Anlaß
nach. Sachlich bedeutet das natürlich keinen Unterschied. Für יהודה
ist zum erstenmal יִשְׂרָאֵל einzusetzen.

V. 13aα. Ganz ungezwungen schlägt das Bild für den Schaden
um, geht dem Betroffenen näher zu Leibe in Krankheit und Ge-
schwür, und gibt dem Schädigenden in V. 14 als Löwe und Jung-
leu weit größere Gewalt. מָזוֹר möchte man nach der einzigen an-
deren Stelle Jer. 30¹³ (vgl. dazu das זרו Jes. 1⁶) fast lieber als
„Wunde" fassen; aber hier ist doch wohl nicht an äußere Gewalt
gedacht, sondern wie bei חֳלִי an krankhafte Erscheinungen. Zum
zweiten Mal ist יִשְׂרָאֵל für יהודה einzusetzen. ALT und SELLIN er-
gänzen m. c. vorher בֵּית, was für beide Lesungen dieselben Dienste
tut, aber nicht nötig ist. Die beiden את streicht ALT; es gilt davon
das Gleiche.

V. 13aβ. Für מלך ירב bietet HARPER ein volles Dutzend Er-
klärungen und Vorschläge der denkbar verschiedensten Art. Daß es
aber in der Parallele zu אשור, ebenso wie 10⁶, nur den Assyrer-
könig meinen kann, stellt schon WELLHAUSEN unter Verzicht auf
Lesung und Erklärung fest. Seit W. MAX MÜLLER (ZAW 1897, S.
334 f.) wissen wir, daß es einfach dessen heimischen Titel, šarru
rabû, „Großkönig", wiedergibt; ob man nun מַלְכִּי רָב lesen oder
mit LXX (überwiegend) 'Ιαρείμ, מָלְכִּי רָם, oder mit SELLIN, der sich
scheut für das î der Endung G K § 90 l–n anzurufen, מֶלֶךְ כַּבִּיר her-
stellen will, darauf kommt wenig an. Ich halte das erste, ohne
Änderung eines Konsonanten, bloß mit anderer Trennung, für das

Wahrscheinlichste. — Zu dem Verbum וישלח ergänzt LXX das Objekt πρέσβεις: ganz unnötige Epexegese, obgleich neckischerweise der Ausfall von מלאכים vor אלמלכי sich graphisch ganz leicht erklären würde. Wichtiger ist, daß וישלח, die Parallele zu וילך, kein Subjekt mit sich führt, sodaß Ephraim Subjekt bleibt, was weder logisch noch rhythmisch Anstoß bietet. Aber graphisch ganz leicht ist es auch, für וישלח zu lesen וְיִשְׂרָאֵל (EHRLICH), sodaß das Prädikat וילך weiter wirkt und nur das gewohnte neue Subjekt erhält, logisch und rhythmisch ohne Änderung. Und ebenso leicht ist es, יִשְׂרָאֵל hinter וישלח zu ergänzen oder וְיִשְׂרָאֵל שָׁלַח zu lesen, sodaß Prädikat und Subjekt sich erneuern, die Zeile freilich reichlich lang wird. Schwer ist nur ein Viertes: statt dessen יהודה hinter וישראל einzufügen (SAYCE, WELLHAUSEN, OETTLI, HALÉVY, ALT, SELLIN),[1] um dadurch auch hier die beiden sachlich verschiedenen Subjekte von V. 12, 13 a α, 14 zu gewinnen. Wie dieses יהודה, in seinem Bestand an Zeichen von den vorausgehenden und nachfolgenden grundverschieden, sollte verloren gegangen sein, läßt sich auf keine Weise erklären, und ebensowenig seine bewußte Entfernung inmitten so starker Bezeugung vorher und nachher. Dagegen tritt seinem Fehlen hier die gleiche Erscheinung in der Grundlage des ganzen Abschnitts, V. 11, mit großem Gewicht zur Seite, sodaß Ephraim = Israel allein als Gegenstand des ganzen Spruches übrig bleibt und, wo der Parallelismus ein Synonym zur Stelle bringt, durchaus יִשְׂרָאֵל für יהודה hergestellt werden muß. Wir haben es hier mit demselben Mangel an Folgerichtigkeit zu tun, der sich bei solchen redaktionellen Eingriffen fast regelmäßig immer irgendwo einstellt — ich erinnere nur an die Elohim-Sammlung des Psalmbuchs. Wo ישראל als synonymes Subjekt sich im Texte vorfand, wurde es durch יהודה ersetzt; wo es fehlte (V. 11, 13 a β), nahm man sich nicht die Mühe oder wagte nicht, es einzufügen — und verrät damit die an den anderen Stellen geübte Willkür. N u r m i t s e i n e r e i g e n e n H e i m a t N o r d i s r a e l h a t H o s e a e s h i e r z u t u n.

V. 13 b. Die Anrede in לכם und מכם paßt nicht in den Zusammenhang. GUTHE liest dafür לֹ und מִמֶּנּוּ, recht unglücklich, da auch er zwei Subjekte, Ephraim und Haus Juda, herstellt; ALT

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[1] GUTHE liest וּבֵית יְהוּדָה statt וישלח, wovon dasselbe gilt.

streicht die beiden Worte m. c., worüber sich sehr streiten ließe;
ich habe längst לָהֶם und מֵהֶם hergestellt, und so liest jetzt EHRLICH.
Den Beweis für die Richtigkeit erbringt V. 15. Über יִגְהֶה statt
יגהה ist man sich seit WELLHAUSEN ziemlich einig.

V. 14. Vgl. das Seitenstück 13⁷ff. — Lies יִשְׂרָאֵל statt יהודה.
Natürlich ist das doppelte אני den Versionen gegenüber zu schützen. —
אטרף ist nicht „ich entreiße, reiße fort, raube" (GUTHE, ALT, SELLIN),
sondern „ich zerreiße", das selbstverständliche Handeln des Raub-
tiers. Es bedeutet nicht notwendig den Tod des Opfers; vielmehr
ist seine Parallele in 6¹ הִכָּה „Wunden schlagen, verwunden". Als
Fortsetzung tritt mit אֶשָּׂא das Davontragen, Fortschleppen ein, was
aber auch mit dem zerfleischten Opfer geschehen kann. Das Bild
des Raubtiers wird in V. 14f., etwas anders auch in 13⁷ff., so all-
seitig und lebendig wie möglich durchgeführt. וְאֵלֵךְ für וְאֶלְכֹּד
(PROCKSCH) ist kein glücklicher Vorschlag; es macht den Parallelis-
mus lahmer und nähert den Wortlaut der Prosa.

V. 15. אָשׁוּבָה „ich kehre zurück" — das καί der LXX, von
DUHM mit אלכה ואשובה aufgenommen (auch ALT וְאָשׁוּבָה), ist wohl
reine Epexegese, MT kräftiger — gibt Sinn, sagt aber wenig; ich
halte (mit GIESEBRECHT) den Vokalbuchstaben für falsche Ergänzung
und lese אֵשְׁבָה; für das אל bei ישב vgl. I. Sam. 28²³, für ישב vom
Raubtier Ps. 17¹²; Hi. 38⁴⁰. Es wird dadurch das Lauern und Zu-
warten ausgedrückt, wie wir das vor dem עַד brauchen, und ein
genaues Seitenstück geschaffen zu Jes. 18⁴f. Die Ausschreibung als
אשובה mag durch 6¹ beeinflußt sein. — Auch יאשמו ist falsch ausge-
schriebenes ישמו (am besten wohl יֵשַׁמּוּ zu sprechen), wie das schon
LXX mit ἀφανισθῶσιν voraussetzt und seit WELLHAUSEN fast alle
Ausleger entscheiden. Die falsche Ausschreibung findet sich öfter,
vgl. Hes. 6⁶; Jo. 1¹⁸; Sach. 11⁵. H. SCHMIDT (*Sellin-Festschrift* S. 112)
will wieder bei עד יאשמו bleiben. Aber nicht „bis sie Buße tun"
würde das heißen, sondern „bis sie schuldig werden"; wäre aber
SCHMIDT's Übersetzung richtig, so griffe das dem Folgenden un-
richtig vor. — ישחרנני: die starke Form, Suffix an der alten Endung
ןִ, betont den tiefen Einschnitt, ebenso der Dreizeiler, der unbe-
dingt anzuerkennen und nicht durch Paarung der letzten Zeile mit
der ersten von 6¹ (ALT, SELLIN) zu verwischen ist, zumal gerade
die beiden letzten Zeilen mit einander in genauem Parallelismus
stehn. — PROCKSCH versetzt ובקשו פני an das Ende des Verses und

will damit augenscheinlich 4 Zeilen erzielen, zwei Kinaverse, 3 + 2,
3 + 2. Aber einerseits gehören ·die nicht hierher, und anderseits er-
gänzt sich „bis daß sie stutzen" mit „und mein Angesicht suchen"
notwendig zu einem einzigen Gedanken und Versgliede. Diese
beiden letzten Zeilen fallen völlig aus dem Bilde heraus: das fort-
geschleppte Opfer soll den Löwen auf seinem Auslug aufsuchen!
Ähnliches kann man bei Homer oft genug finden.

d. 6¹⁻⁸.

1. „Auf, laßt uns heimkehren zu Jahwe, ‹unsrem Gotte›;
    „Denn er zerriß und wird uns heilen, ‹und› schlug und
      wird uns verbinden,
2. „Läßt uns ‹wieder› genesen nach zweien Tagen,
    „Läßt am dritten Tage uns aufstehn,
    „Daß wir leben vor seinem Angesicht 3. und ‹ihn› erkennen.
    „Laßt uns streben, Jahwe zu erkennen:
    „‹Wie wir [nach ihm] verlangen, so werden wir ihn finden›,
    „Und wie der Regen wird er uns kommen,
    „Wie der Spätregen, der den Acker ‹tränkt›".

Wie man jemals daran hat denken können, dieses herrliche
Stück Hosea abzusprechen, während es in jedem Worte so hosea-
nisch ist wie irgend möglich, läßt sich kaum begreifen. Und doch
treten dafür neben Marti auch Cheyne, Volz und Grimm (*Euphem.
Liturg. append.* 1901) ein. Die feine Begründung Marti's — vgl.
zur Vervollständigung noch Harper p. 281 — zeigt, daß die ein-
seitige, durchaus irrige Meinung, Hosea sei ein reiner, unbedingter
„Unheilsprophet", dabei den Ausschlag gibt. Unser Stück muß des-
halb bei Marti denselben Weg gehn wie, ebenso irrig, 2⁹b, V. 15 b ff.
und Kap. 3. In der Tat ist es das eigentliche Seitenstück zu 2⁹ b. Wie
d o r t das ehebrecherische Weib, so führt Jahwe selbst h i e r das
abtrünnige Volk redend ein, mit dem erhofften und verheißenen
Entschluß der Besserung und Bekehrung — vgl. dazu, bloß mit
der Tatsache, ohne Rede, auch 2¹⁷ b. Nur ergießt sich dieser
Entschluß hier in voller Zuversicht zu Jahwes heilender Gnade.
Aber auch das ist nicht richtig, wenn Ausleger, die die Echtheit
der Verse anerkennen, meinen, der Prophet lasse das bußfertige
Volk mit gutem Bedacht einem unzulänglichen Vorsatz Ausdruck

geben. So HARPER: „mit einer so falschen Auffassung von Jahwe
und einer so unzulänglichen Vorstellung von Buße, daß das ganze
Vorgehn zu einer Farce wird." Oder ALT: „Die Worte klingen
fromm und schön; aber sie sind sichtlich so gewählt, daß man
ihnen anmerkt, wie unvollkommen die innere Wandlungsfähigkeit
der Menschen eigentlich ist", usw. Oder SELLIN: „ein Ansatz zur
Besserung verrät sich daher in dem Bußgebet 6$^{1-3}$, aber die rechte
Bekehrung ist es noch nicht gewesen, sie gleicht der der Hure in
2$^{8. 9}$, keine Erkenntnis der bisherigen Sünde", usw. (vgl. auch noch
S. 70 f.). Nein, Jahwe läßt hier das Volk, nachdem es zur Besin-
nung gekommen sein wird (5^{15} a β. b), alles sich vornehmen, was
er begehrt, und was, falls es zur Ausführung kommt, ausreicht,
ihm seine Gnade wiederzugewinnen. Er begehrt eben nichts
(vgl. 14^2), als daß sein Volk „zu ihm zurückkehre" (שׁוּב); dazu war
es bisher nicht im Stande (5^4), aber zur rechten Zeit (5^{15}) wird es
sich dazu entschließen (6^1). Jahweerkenntnis vollends ist das Ent-
scheidende, woran es Israel fehlt (4$^{1. 6}$, 5^4); sie ist die letzte und
höchste der Gnadengaben, die Jahwe der wiedergewonnenen Gattin
schenken wird, um auf deren Grund den neuen Ehebund mit ihr
zu schließen (2^{22}). Auch hier, in 6^6, bildet דַּעַת אֱלֹהִים den Abschluß
dessen, worauf es Jahwe ankommt. Ihr eifrig nachzujagen, ist aber
hier Israels Vorsatz (6^3, wohl auch schon V. 2). Das schließt Er-
kenntnis und Meiden der Sünde ein; einer Ausführung ins Ein-
zelne bedarf es zwischen dem שׁוּב אֶל־יהוה und dem יָדַע אֶת־יהוה die
Anfang und Ende des Bußweges bezeichnen, durchaus nicht. Hätte
Hosea dem Volke unzureichende Erkenntnis oder unzureichenden
Willen in den Mund legen wollen, so hätte er diese beiden Wen-
dungen vermeiden und viel deutlicher nach der anderen Seite hin
reden müssen. Unzulängliche Bemühungen des leidenden Volkes
werden in 5^6 ganz klar geschildert; hier dagegen findet sich alles,
was Jahwe begehrt. Nicht, daß Inhalt und Umfang der Vorsätze,
die er das Volk äußern läßt, ausreiche, bezweifelt Jahwe in V. 4,
sondern nur, daß sie Stand halten und zu stetiger Ausführung ge-
langen, statt daß es bloß bei guten Vorsätzen bleibt, mit denen be-
kanntlich der Weg zur Hölle gepflastert ist. Aber selbst die ge-
hören ja noch nicht der Gegenwart an, sondern werden erst von
der Zukunft erwartet, die durch furchtbare Heimsuchungen (5$^{12-15}$)
erzwungen werden muß und soll. Unser ganzes Stück, Kap. 5 der

Hauptsache nach eingeschlossen, stellt sich Kap. 2 zur Seite; aber
während dort von V. 16 an in kühnerem Glauben das endliche
dauernde Heil erschaut und ergriffen wird, bleibt es hier bei einer
Station auf dem weiten Wege.

Gegen H. SCHMIDT (*Sellin-Festschrift*, 1927, S. 41 ff.), der 6^{1-6}
völlig loslöst und für ein selbständiges Gedicht, von der Wallfahrt
zu einem Bußgottesdienst stammend, erklärt, darf ich der Hauptsache
nach auf SELLIN's Widerlegung verweisen. Die großen Gebete sol-
cher Bußgottesdienste und -Wallfahrten, meint SCHMIDT, seien aufge-
schrieben und so zu liturgischen Texten geworden, die von dem
Priester immer wieder angeeignet wurden. Natürlich läßt er das
Gebet in unserem Falle nur die drei ersten Verse ausfüllen. Darauf
aber, meint er, sei es bei solchen Gemeindebußtagen üblich gewesen,
daß noch während des Gottesdienstes eine Antwort an die betende
Gemeinde erging. „Ein Prophet trat auf" — der Eindruck wird in
höchster Steigerung ergreifend geschildert — und diesen Auftritt
soll nun V. 4–6 darstellen. Als schlagender Beweis dafür wird
(S. 116 f.) Ps. 85 angeführt. Aber das einzige „Ich" in V. 9 tritt
doch dort nur aus der Mitte der „Wir" hervor und fällt in V. 10 ff.
wieder in das „Wir" zurück; es vertritt auch nur das gleiche Heil
wie der ganze übrige Psalm, nicht schwere Bedenken, wie hier
V. 4–6. Und hier redet kein plötzlich sich erhebender Prophet,
sondern Jahwe selbst, uneingeführt, weil er ja, schon seit 5^{12}, allein
das Wort führt, was auch ohne das רֹאמֵל der LXX vor 6^1 zweifel-
los feststeht. Ohne diese Einsicht wäre 6^4 in einer Weise vom
Zaun gebrochen, wie sie durch keins der von SCHMIDT beigebrachten
Beispiele gerechtfertigt wird. Wie vollends Hosea, der subjektivste
aller Propheten, dazu sollte gekommen sein, ein solches Formular
— er selbst in jedem Worte! — irgendwo aufzulesen und ohne
jede Andeutung hier einzuschalten, dafür bietet SCHMIDT kein Wort
der Erklärung. Alttestamentliche liturgische Postulate und Ver-
mutungen, ob noch so fein durchdacht, sollten doch die Exegese
nicht so tief beeinflussen.

V. 1. Das λέγοντες der LXX usw. ist zweifellos richtige Epexe-
gese. V. 1–3 bringen die Rede, in der das יְשַׁחֲרֻנְנִי von 5^{15} seinen
Ausdruck finden wird. Sicher haben die Übersetzer in ihrer Vorlage
das רֹאמֵל gefunden; es aber danach in den ältesten Text aufzu-
nehmen, ist durchaus überflüssig und unrichtig. Die LXX übersetzt

hinter יהוה noch ein אֱלֹהֵינוּ. Das könnte frei hinzugefügt sein, ergänzt aber doch dem Sinne nach das Heimkehren in erwünschter Weise, zu größerer Innigkeit. Ich neige deshalb, mit DUHM allein, zur Aufnahme. Wie DUHM damit in V. 1 einen d r e i h e b i g e n Vierzeiler gewinnen will, ist sein Geheimnis, wie so oft bei seinen metrischen Entscheidungen; ich gewinne damit — ohne Hebung für היא — einen vierhebigen Zweizeiler oder zweihebigen Vierzeiler, und es erklärt sich mir damit die Kürze der letzten Zeile. Natürlich kommt auf die Entscheidung darüber gar nichts an. — Daß טרף nicht Tötung aussagen will, wurde zu 5[14] hervorgehoben. — וַיָּךְ (durch Wiederholung des ו, mit Syr.) ist seit WELLHAUSEN Gemeingut geworden; aber dann יְרָפָא statt ירפאנו zu lesen (DUHM), ist schon neben ויחבשנו falsch.

V. 2. Da zweifellos dreihebige Zeilen folgen, drei in V. 2, vier in V. 3, so vermute ich zu Anfang, vor יחינו מימים, den Ausfall eines Wortes, und aus ויחבשנו meine ich dafür ein יָשׁוּב im Sinne von „wieder" (G K § 120 g) gewinnen zu dürfen (vgl. Ps. 71[20]). Auch darauf kommt gar nichts an. — חיה ist hier nicht vom Tode erwecken — nur von Verwundung, vom Verbinden und Heilen redet V. 1 — sondern einfach herstellen, Genesung schenken, vgl. etwa Ps. 71[20]; 85[7]; sachlich bietet Ex. 21[18]f. ein schönes Seitenstück aus dem Leben. „Zwei und drei Tage" natürlich kurze Zeit und ganz kleiner Abstand. Damit wird die Güte des Gottes, der sie hat strafen müssen, hoffnungsfreudig gekennzeichnet, und das genügt vollkommen zur Erklärung. Weder darf man mit BAUDISSIN und SELLIN annehmen, daß damit an das Wiederaufleben des Adonis oder Osiris sollte erinnert werden,[1] noch bedarf es mit HANS

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[1] Von der Richtigkeit dieser Erklärung hat mich auch BAUMGARTNER'S schöne Arbeit „Der Auferstehungsglaube im Alten Orient" (Zeitschr. für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft, 48, 1933, S. 193—214, vgl. dort S. 212 f.), die mich erst nach Abschluß des Mscr. erreichte, nicht überzeugen können. Es handelt sich nicht um ein „Erwecken", weil kein Töten vorausging, wie denn auch die Toten nicht reden würden. Und daß der zweite und der dritte Tag unterschieden werden als zwei Stufen des Hergangs, der Tag der Genesung und der des Sicherhebens vom Bette, paßt zwar vortrefflich zu dem Bilde eines menschlichen Krankenlagers, hat aber an dem, was wir über die Mythen von Osiris, Attis und Tammuz wissen, kein Seitenstück. Sollte darauf hier angespielt werden, so hätte das viel unmißverständlicher gefaßt werden müssen. Daß freilich der Glaube an Sterben und Wiederauferstehn dieser Götter nirgends weniger am

SCHMIDT der Heranziehung eines Volksglaubens, nach dem die drei
Tage schon einen Aufschub bedeuten würden. ונחיה לפניו redet nicht
nur vom Amlebenbleiben, sondern von einem neuen Leben nach
Jahwes Wohlgefallen. Das verträgt besonders gut die Ergänzung
und Steigerung durch das וְנֵדְעָהּ „und ihn erkennen (zu erkennen
lernen)", das EHRLICH richtig aus dem im Anfang von V. 3 un-
brauchbaren ונדעה gewinnt. Das ist viel besser als die einfache
Streichung dieses Wortes (GRAETZ, SELLIN) oder seine Streichung
samt dem ונחיה לפניו (ALT), oder die Gewinnung eines ונדעה צִדְקָתוֹ durch
Hinzuziehung von לדעת in V. 3, um damit die vierte Dreierzeile (?)
für V. 2 zu gewinnen (DUHM), oder was man sonst vorschlagen mag.

V. 3. Um das ונדעה erleichtert, gibt a α bis יהוה anstoßfrei einen
vortrefflichen Sinn: dem, was ihres Gottes Güte für sie im Sinne
hat (2 b), sollen und wollen sie selber vorarbeiten und den Weg
bahnen. Die Aufforderung zu eigenem Handeln, das allem voraufgehn
muß, wird damit im Anschluß an 1 a α wieder aufgenommen.
Für das Streben nach idealen Gütern wird דרש häufig genug gebraucht,
mit מִשְׁפָּט Jes. 1[17]; טוֹב Am. 5[14]; פִּקְרֵי יהוה Ps. 119[45]; שָׁלוֹם Dt. 23[7].
Alle Änderungsvorschläge können daher außer Betracht bleiben.

Für die Herstellung von a β bietet LXX mit εὑρήσομεν αὐτόν
= נִמְצָאֵהוּ oder נִמְצָאֶנּוּ (allenfalls auch נִמְצָאוּ, wenn man 8[3];
Jes. 23[6] folgen darf) statt מצאו den besten Anhalt; das fehlende ו
zu Anfang wird durch Wiederholung leicht gewonnen. Daß es sich
um das Finden Jahwes handeln muß, beweist das יבוא von b, vor
allem aber 5[6]. Dadurch war der Weg gewiesen zu GIESEBRECHT's
vortrefflicher Verbesserung, dem Finden entsprechend ein Suchen
vorauszusetzen und deshalb in dem כשחר die Aufnahme des ישחרנני
von 5[15] zu sehen, zugleich die Fortsetzung des נדרשה. So ergab
sich aus כשחרנכון bloß mit Umstellung eines Buchstaben GIESEBRECHT's
schönes כִּשַׁחֲרֵנוּ כֵּן; daß כֵּן für den Nachsatz auch auf temporales כְּ
folgen kann, zeigt I. Sam. 9[13]. Das ist seitdem fast allgemein ange-
nommen. Nur OETTLI, EHRLICH und HANS SCHMIDT bleiben bei
der Morgenröte: „wie die Morgenröte so sicher werden wir ihn

Platze wäre als in diesem reuigen Bekenntnis zu Jahwe allein, liegt auf der
Hand. Hätte Hosea eben damit die Unzulänglichkeit der Umkehr kennzeichnen
wollen — ich verweise dagegen auf die letztvorhergehenden Seiten (S. 31—33)
— so hätte er dem umso deutlicheren, ja krasseren Ausdruck geben müssen,
zumal Jahwe dem zukünftigen Bußbekenntnis seine Fassung gibt.

finden" oder „ist sein Finden" (מְצָאוֹ EHRLICH, weniger gut).[1] Dafür kann man sich ja auf den Regen für Jahwes Kommen in der folgenden Zeile berufen. Aber die Morgenröte findet man doch nicht, sondern sie stellt sich ein, und נָכוֹן als „sicher" für ein zukünftiges Geschehen ist auch recht unwahrscheinlich. Man wird deshalb durchaus GIESEBRECHT's Herstellung festhalten müssen. — Wunderschön hebt der zweite Halbvers hervor, wie wohltätig der Zusammen-schluß mit Jahwe wirken muß; denn etwas Wohltätigeres als den Regen gibt es in der Natur nicht. Statt יורה lesen alle Neueren seit SEBÖK und PERLES nach dem Syr. יַרְוֶה oder יִרְוֶה, und das leitet einen Ralativsatz ein, ist nicht als selbständige Aussage zu fassen, deren Subjekt Jahwe wäre. Sehr wohl kann der Spätregen auf die späte Entscheidung und Wendung zum Guten anspielen sollen.

e. V. 4—6.

    4. Was mach' ich mit dir, Ephraim,
       Was mach' ich mit dir, ‹ Israel ›?
       Gleicht doch eure Hingabe einem Morgenwölkchen
       Und dem Tau, der früh verfliegt.

    5. Darum ‹ zerschmetterte › ich ‹ sie › durch die Propheten,
       Erschlug sie durch die Worte meines Mundes,
       Und ‹ mein › Recht ‹ wie › die Sonne ‹ ging › es auf:

    6. Daß Hingabe mir gefällt, und nicht Schlachtung,
       Und Gotteserkenntnis über Brandopfer geht.

Selbst wenn Israel sich zu solchem Bußwillen wird aufgeschwungen haben, bleibt Jahwe unschlüssig, ob er ihm seine Gnade wieder wird zuwenden können, weil er seinen Wankelmut aus Erfahrung kennt. Früher schon hat er deshalb schweres Gericht verhängen müssen, das mit dem Wirken seiner Propheten und der Herausstellung seines Wesens und seiner Forderungen Hand in Hand ging. Sicher ist dabei zunächst an Elia und Elisa gedacht, was WELLHAUSEN richtig hervorhebt; aber durchaus möglich bleibt es nach 12[14], daß Hosea an mehr als eine Zeit denkt und vor allem Mose unter die hier aufgerufenen Propheten mit einschließt. Die Propheten durch Textkritik auszuschalten (DUHM, ALT), ist hier sicher ebenso verfehlt, wie ihre Beibehaltung in 4[5]. Den Zusammenhang zwischen V. 4 und V. 5 f. zu verneinen und vor V. 5 einen

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[1] H. SCHMIDT gibt für מצאו „ist sein Aufgang", ohne zu sagen, wie er liest. Vermuten darf man wohl צֵאתוֹ.

Ausfall anzunehmen (Wellhausen), ist ein Fehlgriff, der nur bei
Nowack Nachfolge gefunden hat. Mit V. 5 wird das Stück zum
Vorläufer der religionsgeschichtlichen Rückblicke, die bei Hosea
von 9[10] an fast ununterbrochen auf einander folgen und dem Buche
sein besonderes Gepräge geben.

V. 4. Das לֹ עָשׂה hat sein genaues Seitenstück an Jes. 5[5]. Es ist
nicht sowohl „jemand etwas antun" — am wenigsten „*sensu malo*"
(Nowack) als Strafvollzug — als „sich zu jemandem verhalten, ein
Verhalten zu ihm einschlagen", ganz allgemein; die Wendung
ordnet sich bei Gesenius-Buhl der Gruppe 3 a ein. — Natürlich muß
für יהודה wieder יִשְׂרָאֵל eintreten, wie in 5[12-14]; aber das zwingt nicht,
mit Ehrlich חסרך statt חסרכם zu lesen, weil „Israel und Ephraim
begrifflich identisch sind". Die Verdoppelung durch den Parallelis-
mus kann formell beibehalten werden, umso leichter, da es sich um
ein Kollektivum handelt. V. 5 fährt vollends mit dem Plural fort,
und in 5[13] gibt sich auch Ehrlich damit zufrieden. — חֶסֶד hier
und V. 6 natürlich nicht „Gnade, Gunst". Man pflegt es mit
„Liebe" wiederzugeben, Ehrlich und Sellin treten für „Frömmig-
keit" ein, was ja an חָסִיד eine Stütze hat. Aber beide Begriffe
lassen den Ausdruck für Entschluß und Handeln vermissen, der
doch hier durchaus erwartet werden muß, da חסד in V. 4 zweifellos
die Summe von allem darstellt, was Israel in dem Bußbekenntnis
V. 1–3, das Jahwe in einer besseren Zukunft erwartet, sich vor-
nimmt. Ich ziehe deshalb „Hingabe" vor, im Sinne des arabischen
Islām. Jedenfalls handelt es sich um das Verhalten zu Gott, nicht um
„Liebe zum Nächsten", wie Nowack nach Preisgabe von V. 1–3
und dem Zusammenhang damit erklärt. Aber auch im Zusammen-
hang tritt H. Schmidt dafür ein und erhebt (S. 123 f.) Einspruch
dagegen, daß חֶסֶד jemals „Liebe zu Gott" bedeute. Daß das doch
der Fall ist, beweist unsre Stelle am sichersten, da in V. 1–3 von
dem Verhalten gegen den Nächsten in keiner Weise die Rede ist
und V. 6 vollends nur von dem Verhalten zu Gott handelt. —
Die Bilder des zweiten Halbverses werden von Chaplin in *ZDPV*
XIV, 1891, S. 110–112 wunderschön beleuchtet.

V. 5. Gegen die Streichung der ersten Zeile a α, von den Pro-
pheten, wie Duhm und Alt sie vertreten,[1] wurde schon oben Ein-

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1. Nicht Prätorius, den Alt ebenfalls als Vorläufer anführt; er hat diese
Streichung in „*Die Gedichte des Hosea*" 1926 zurückgezogen.

spruch erhoben; ungenannt hat beiden ohne Zweifel das metrische
Vorurteil, das den Dreizeiler nicht duldete, hier wieder übel mitge-
spielt. Mit gewohnter klassischer Kürze WELLHAUSEN: "הרגתי = חצבתי;
"באמרי פי = בנביאים", die unausweichliche Parallele der beiden
Glieder von a. „Also", fährt WELLHAUSEN fort, „gelten die Pro-
pheten, welche die Katastrophe verkünden, als ihre Bewirker, das
Wort beschwört die Sache herauf." Das ist unbedingt richtig; un-
möglich ist die schon von LXX, allen Griechen, Syr., Vulg. ver-
tretene, von SELLIN wieder aufgenommene Deutung, die die Pro-
pheten zum leidenden Objekt der beiden Verba macht. SELLIN
verrät uns nicht, wie er sein „hab sie getötet mit den Worten
meines Mundes" von den Propheten vertreten will. Es kann doch
nicht heißen sollen, daß Jahwe die Propheten der Wut des Volkes
über die von ihnen verkündeten Gottesworte haben erliegen lassen.
Und sein „Darum habe ich dreingehauen unter die Propheten"
wäre doch auch durch den Wankelmut Israels in V. 4 nur auf
den denkbar weitesten logischen Umwegen zu begründen. Natür-
lich sucht SELLIN in dieser Aussage vor allem den von ihm in un-
bewußter Nachfolge Goethe's behaupteten gewaltsamen Tod Mose's,
des Propheten von 12¹⁴. Wenig spricht dafür die unbestimmte
Mehrzahl „die Propheten"; handelte es sich um d e n Propheten vor
allen anderen, so würde er scharf herausgehoben sein. Woran die
Mehrzahl „die Propheten" nicht erlaubt vorbeizusehen, hebt WELL-
HAUSEN mit durchschlagender Sicherheit hervor: „Hosea denkt
an die Propheten der Vergangenheit, wie Elias und Elisa, deren
Auftreten alle großen Krisen der Geschichte des Reiches Israel
einleitete." Sie sind eben nicht selbst als Opfer gefallen, wohl aber
haben sie nach der Überlieferung durch ihr Wort Ströme von
Blut fließen machen, durch die Salbung Hazael's zum König von
Syrien (I. Kön. 19¹⁵. ¹⁷; II, 8⁷ ff.) und Jehu's zum König über Israel
(II. Kön. 9). Das stimmt buchstäblich zu 5 a β und zu der richtigen
Auslegung von a α, die in den Propheten nicht die Objekte, son-
dern die Subjekte gewalttätigen Handelns sieht. Und wiederum
entspricht es vortrefflich der hohen Schätzung des Prophetentums
bei Hosea und dem unbedingten Bestehen darauf, daß Jahwe selbst
stets unmittelbar in das Geschick seines Volkes eingreift. — Schlecht
paßt in jedem Falle das überlieferte חָצַבְתִּי. Dies Tatwort bedeutet
überall nur die Arbeit des Steinmetzen — auch Jes. 10¹⁵ dürfte

גָּרְזֶן wohl ein Steinwerkzeug, nicht die Axt des Zimmermanns be-
deuten, obgleich auch das nichts ändern würde — auch „drein-
hauen" unter Menschen (so SELLIN) kann es doch nicht heißen.
HARPER meint, Israel sei hier mit Holz oder Stein verglichen und
erhalte durch das Behauen die ihm zugedachte Gestalt; aber das
könnte doch nicht, wie er meint, schwere Strafe bedeuten, in
Parallele zu הרג in a β, sondern müßte auf ein gutes Ende hinaus-
laufen. An der einzigen anderen Stelle, wo חצב „niederhauen"
eines Lebewesens zu bedeuten scheint, des Ungeheuers *Rahab*, liest
man ziemlich allgemein für הַמַּחְצֶבֶת ein הַמַּחְצֶת, und das schlägt
OETTLI sehr einleuchtend auch für unsre Stelle vor, als מחצתי, und
mit dem nötigen Suffix מְחַצְתִּים. Sehr wohl kann der Verlust des
Suffixes schon auf die von den Vss. vertretene falsche Auffassung
zurückgehn.[1] — In a β ist nur gegen das lahme הֹרַגְתִּי Einspruch
zu erheben, das DUHM und SELLIN — PRAETORIUS seit 1926 nicht
mehr — für הרגתים einsetzen, nachdem sie a α gestrichen haben.
Ohne so starke Streichung tritt H. SCHMIDT ihnen im wesentlichen
zur Seite, zugleich als der Einzige, der mit dem חצבתי vollen Ernst
macht. Er streicht nur עַל־כֵּן zu Anfang und damit die logische
Verknüpfung mit V. 4, liest dann חצבתי בַּנְּבִיא „Ich habe es in Stein
gehauen durch den Propheten", verbindet das ersparte ם mit הר
von הרגתים zu מֵהַר, und gewinnt aus נתים ein הִגַּדְתִּי: „Vom Berge
aus habe ich es kund getan / Mit Worten meines Mundes." Ob
das als hoseanisches Hebräisch anzuerkennen ist, darf man freilich
bezweifeln, nicht minder, ob es deutlich genug die mosaische Ge-
setzgebung ins Gedächtnis ruft, und ob V. 6 als deren Quintessenz
gelten darf. Es wird doch bei dem „Darum" zu Anfang bleiben
müssen und eine sehr starke Folgerung aus 4 b damit eingeführt
sein. Absichtlich sind die stärksten Wendungen gewählt, um zu
zeigen, welch furchtbare Waffe Jahwes Wort aus dem Munde der
Propheten ist. — Zu Änderung des Suffixes in die Anrede חֲרַגְתִּיךָ
(MARTI) besteht kein Anlaß; schon der Rückblick auf vergangene
Geschlechter rechtfertigt den Umschlag in die dritte Person.

    b. Ein besonders schlagendes Beispiel, wie bloß durch irrige,
recht gedankenlose Abteilung der Buchstabenreihe der Sinn ver-
wirrt worden ist. Das Richtige bietet LXX (auch Syr. und Lat.)

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[1] PRAETORIUS liest רָצַחְתִּי נְבִיאֶיכֶ; für unsere Auffassung wäre רְחַצְתִּים auch
allenfalls zulässig, aber graphisch weniger leicht.

mit καὶ τὸ κρίμα μου εἰς φῶς ἐξελεύσεται, was denn seit 1 ¹/₂ Jahr-
hunderten so gut wie allgemein angenommen ist, natürlich mit dem
Perfektum statt des Imperfektum: וּמִשְׁפָּטִי כָאוֹר יֵצֵא . Aber משפט ist
hier nicht „Gericht", auch nicht „Gebot" (H. SCHMIDT), sondern
·„Recht": „was bei mir Recht ist, bei mir gilt." Worin das besteht,
sagt in jedem Falle V. 6, auch wenn man ihn als selbständigen
neuen Satz, mit „denn" angeschlossen, versteht. Richtiger aber
scheint mir EHRLICH's Auffassung als Objektsatz, wie gewöhnlich
mit כִּי „daß" eingeführt (G K § 157). Auch ALT, SELLIN, SCHMIDT
bieten vor V. 6 einen Doppelpunkt und lassen כי unübersetzt.
Sachlich bleibt beides sich gleich. — אור ist hier geradezu die Sonne,
ein schönes Seitenstück zu dem „wie der Regen" in V. 3. — Hier
rächt sich das metrische Bedürfnis an MARTI und PRAETORIUS: sie
holen an b nach, was sie DUHM und ALT gegenüber an a α ver-
säumt haben, die Beseitigung des Tristichon. Indem sie die Zeile —
MARTI mit מִשְׁפָּטֵנוּ, PRAETORIUS mit מִשְׁפָטוֹ — an 3 b anschließen,
vervollständigt MARTI damit seine 5 Tristichen seit 5¹⁵, PRAETORIUS
seine 5 Siebener. Aber die Zeile hat sicherlich hinter V. 3 nichts
zu suchen, sondern würde dort nur den wundervollen Abschluß
aufheben, während sie hier zur Kennzeichnung des Sieges Jahwes
und zur Einführung von V. 6 durchaus am Platze ist.

V. 6. Es ist nicht einzusehen, warum die beiden verschiedenen
Wendungen וְלֹא in a, מִן in b, genau dieselbe Bedeutung haben
sollten, sei es, daß man dem ersteren komparativischen Sinn auf-
zwingt, oder dem zweiten negativen, „mit Absehen von" (so G K
§ 119 w, richtig 133 b). Man lasse dem Propheten das Recht des Va-
riierens. Den zweiten Halbvers kann man noch von חפצתי abhängen
lassen; dichterisch kräftiger ist der selbständige Nominalsatz „Und
Gotteserkenntnis geht über Brandopfer". Das Brandopfer, das feier-
lichste und wertvollste unter allen Opfern, und sogar in der Mehr-
zahl, enthält eine gewollte Steigerung. Auch hier steht unter allen
Forderungen Jahwes und unter allen religiösen Gütern für den
Menschen „Gotteserkenntnis" wieder obenan, eines der bezeichnend-
sten Merkmale der hoseanischen Predigt; vgl. oben zu 6¹⁻³ (S. 32).
Man darf darin geradezu einen mystischen Zug sehen, ein Sicein-
fühlen in Gott, fast ein Inihmaufgehn. Der rechte Jahwedienst
wird zum Abschluß scharf und knapp festgelegt: er ist geistiger
Art, und kein äußerer, ob noch so beflissener Kult kann dafür ein-

treten. Hier steht Hosea Schulter an Schulter mit Amos (Kap. 5)
und Jesaja (Kap. 1).

Wenig bleibt hinzuzufügen. Daß $5^{11}-6^6$ einen einzigen, ge-
schlossenen Gedankengang darstellen, hat sich mit Sicherheit er-
geben. Seine Zeitlage kann nicht zweifelhaft sein. Für das Bündnis
mit Assyrien (5^{13}) steht uns nur das Jahr 738 zu Gebote, und die
Feindschaft Assyriens vom Jahre 735 bildet den noch nicht er-
reichten *terminus ad quem*: zwischen 738 und 735 also ist das
Prophetenwort gesprochen, und wohl näher bei 738 als bei 735.
Ebenso sicher hat sich uns ergeben, daß die Verse 5^{8-10} ganz
auf eigenen Füßen stehn, und daß sie den syrisch-ephraimitischen
Krieg wiederspiegeln, in seinem letzten Abschnitt, wo Juda, von
Assyrien entsetzt, zum Angriff übergegangen ist. Dies Wort fällt
also in das Jahr 734. Es ist an seine jetzige Stelle verschlagen, der
Zeit nach zu früh eingerückt, zwischen zwei frühere Stücke. Denn
auch 5^{1-7} zeigt uns Nordisrael in seinen Grundfesten noch uner-
schüttert, ob auch ungünstige Zeichen der Zeit zu unzulänglicher
Einkehr den Anlaß geben (V. 6), und der Prophet bösen Ausgang
ansagt (V. 5, 7). Die Zeit für dieses Wort ist also wesentlich die-
selbe wie die von $5^{11}-6^6$, und auch des Propheten Anklage ist die
gleiche: falscher Jahwedienst neben offenbarer Untreue. Dennoch
ist es nicht ratsam, die beiden Stücke zu einer einzigen langen Rede
zusammenzuschließen; vielmehr wird V. 11 der Anfang einer neuen
sein. Die eigentliche Heimsuchung wird doch in V. 7 erst angesagt;
in V. 11 f. aber steht Israel schon mitten darin, und das Bündnis
mit Assyrien (V. 13) ist schon ein Versuch, ihrer Herr zu werden.
So fällt 5^{1-7} zwar auch vor 735, aber früher als $5^{11}-6^6$, man darf
wohl annehmen, früher als das assyrische Bündnis von 738, weil
dieser wichtige Schritt nicht erwähnt wird. Leichter erklärt sich
durch die Trennung der beiden Abschnitte die Einschiebung des
späteren Worts V. 8—10. Soll man annehmen, daß eine Lücke den
Raum und den Anlaß für die Einschiebung bot? Nicht undenkbar
wäre es, daß vor V. 11, der sofort *in medias res* einbricht, einige
Verse ausgefallen wären, die den in V. 11 a kurz gekennzeichneten
Zustand anschaulich schilderten. Aber für notwendig kann ich diese
Annahme nicht halten.

FROM PILLAR TO POST[1]

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Reports of Palestinian excavations tell of many "sacred pillars" or *maṣṣēbōt*. Doubts as to their significance, however, have been aroused by the discovery that some of them were simply columns to support the roofs of houses or other buildings. Dussaud in 1905 and Vincent in 1907 had already protested against "la consécration religieuse de toutes ces colonettes;"[2] nothing, however, has done more to bring about a general degradation from pillar to post than the famous stables of Megiddo.[3] Here the stone columns standing in long rows were evidently both supports for roofs and hitching posts for horses, but they are exactly like those which earlier excavators took for *maṣṣēbōt*. Similar rows of posts or columns, roughly hewn in quadrangular form, have been found in abundance at other places. Albright suggests that they mark a mode of construction borrowed possibly from the Phoenicians.[4]

Have we then no authentic *maṣṣēbōt*? There are several other kinds of standing stones to be considered. In fact the most striking thing about the stones called *maṣṣēbōt* in the reports is their extraordinary diversity of form. Let me select a few examples. At Balāṭah, the ancient Shechem, Sellin found three large blocks having rectangular holes cut in them, and lying on two of the blocks were slabs, the ends of which were found to fit into these holes. Two of the blocks stood on either side of the temple doorway; the other was near the altar in the temple court. The slabs had rounded edges, and their tops, which were broken off, may have been rounded also. Set up in their sockets, they seemed to

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[1] This paper was read at the 1933 meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York.

[2] Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 67n.

[3] Guy, *New Light from Armageddon*, pp. 37ff.

[4] Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, p. 115.

indicate that there had been three *maṣṣēbōt* at this temple, one by the altar and one on each side of the door. The last two recalled the pillars before Solomon's temple, (which, however, are not called מצבות but עמודים); the other, SELLIN thought, might have been the *maṣṣēbāh* by which Abimelech was made king of Shechem (Judges 9[6]), possibly even the stone called *El Elohe Yisrael* in Gen. 33[20] and the one said to have been set up by Joshua as witness of the convenant (Josh. 24[26]).[1]

Of very different form is a stone found in the Mekal temple at Beisān. ROWE calls it a *maṣṣēbāh* and describes it as "a cone-shaped piece of basalt 50 centimetres high resting upon a base of unhewn stones[2]." Near the great stepped altar in the same temple was another stone which ROWE calls "a baetyl or small portable conical stone of basalt, 26 centimetres high."[3] For this smaller 'baetyl' the term conical is approximately correct,[4] but to call the *maṣṣēbāh* cone-shaped is unfortunate. It is almost cylindrical, at best a very much truncated cone, the diameter at the top being about two thirds of the height and the diameter at the bottom not much more than that.[5]

A third type of stone is represented at ʿAin Shems (Beth-Shemesh) and Tell en-Naṣbeh. It is variously described. FISHER called the Beth-Shemesh stone a "phallic-shaped object."[6] GRANT himself says that it is "shaped somewhat like a cigar;"[7] elsewhere he calls it simply "a stone, a meter and a half in length and circumference, carefully chip-hewn."[8] Near it, built into a wall, was a socket into which it fitted.[9] BADÈ speaks of the stone found near his eastern temple at Tell en-Naṣbeh as "a conical baetyl, or *mazzebah*."[10] It has essentially the same form, however, as the Beth-Shemesh stone and does not differ notably from it in size, except that it seems to

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[1] SELLIN, *ZDPV*. xl, 312; li, 119—122; Plates 8—10.
[2] *QSPEF*, 1928, p. 78; ROWE, *Beth-Shan, Topography and History*, p. 11.
[3] ROWE, *op. cit.*, p. 13. In *QSPEF*, 1929, p. 84, the height is given as 10 inches.
[4] Cf. photograph, *QSPEF*, 1929, Plate XII, 1 (after p. 94).
[5] Cf. photograph, ROWE, *op, cit.*, Plate 22, 1.
[6] GRANT, *ʿAin Shems Excavations I*, p. 15.
[7] *QSPEF*, 1929, p, 206.
[8] GRANT, *Beth Shemesh*, p. 51; cf. photograph at p. 45.
[9] *Ib., loc. cit.*
[10] *QSPEF*, 1930, p. 13.

be broken or cut off at one end.[1] Here again the word 'conical' is
unfortunate.

Two of the Gezer pillars resemble these two stones to some ex-
tent but are less regular in form. MACALISTER felt sure that both
these pillars (Nos. IV and VIII) were intentionally phallic in form.
He described them as "rounded," but like the others in the align-
ment they were flattened on the western side, in which were cup-
hollows, those of VIII being connected by a channel. In MACALISTER'S
drawing No. VIII appears to be considerably smaller near the base
than toward the top, though the photographs do not exhibit this
peculiarity. Like the one at Beth-Shemesh, this stone had a pedestal
with a socket; indeed in this case the pillar was actually standing
in its socket when found. Both of these stones at Gezer were
larger than the ones at Tell en-Naṣbeh and Beth-Shemesh.

The other stones at Gezer varied greatly in form and size.
No. 1, the largest, had a peculiar cleft in the top which has
occasioned much conjecture. It was roughly squared, and No. III
was like it though less regular. Nos. II and III, like IV and VIII,
had cup-hollows in their flattened western faces. No. VII had a
curved groove cut in its western surface but no cup-hollows. It
had evidently been brought from a distance, being of a kind of
stone not found locally. Nos. II and V were much smaller than
the rest. No. II was evidently older than the others. Polished spots
on its surface recalled objects kissed by thousands of pilgrims.
MACALISTER, following a suggestion made by PETERS, regarded this
stone as the baetyl of the high place and the others as commem-
orative stelae erected at various times beside it.[2]

Most of the pillars we have noted are in groups, but there is
no uniformity in their arrangement. At Gezer there were eight
stones standing in the alignment as found; flanking the eighth
were the broken stumps of two others, showing that there had
once been at least ten, extending in a rather wavy line from north
to south. Under the base of No. I was still another resembling II,

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[1] Prof. BADÈ has not yet, so far as I know, published a photograph of this
stone. My statement is based upon memory, aided by a lantern slide made
from a photograph which Prof. BADÈ kindly provided for the use of the
American Schools of Oriental Research.

[2] QSPEF, 1903, pp. 27ff; Gezer II, pp. 381–406 (plan, fig. 486).

which, as we have noted, was older than the others, but it is im-
probable that this buried stone, though it may once have stood
with No. II, was ever a part of the larger alignment. Counting a
stone found previously on the surface and belonging possibly with
a large socket beside the alignment,[1] we have a total of twelve
pillars, but how many were ever standing at one time is problem-
atic. At Shechem there were three stones, similar in size and form
but not grouped together. Near the Beth-Shemesh stone were five
others which GRANT does not describe but designates as baetyls.
Near the Beisan *maṣṣēbāh* was the famous Mekal stele, and in the
same building was the smaller "baetyl." Only at Tell en-Naṣbeh
was the stone entirely alone.

Now are these stones – all or any of them – really *maṣṣēbōt*? The
question is not whether they had some connection with a cult,
but whether this Old Testament word may rightly be applied to
them. To answer that we must review the biblical usage of the
term and see what it implies as to the size, shape, number and
arrangement, and the function of the Canaanite or Hebrew *maṣṣēbōt*
in Palestine.

As to their size, one or two passages would suggest at first sight
that the *maṣṣēbāh* was small enough to be lifted by one man. Jacob
set up as a *maṣṣēbāh* a stone which he had just been using as a
pillow.[2] Jacob, however, was no ordinary man. When he rolled
the stone from the well's mouth for Rachel,[3] it is clearly implied
that he was performing a feat which ordinarily required the strength
of several men.[4] Heroes of the past are easily credited in popular
tradition with extraordinary size and strength; therefore we cannot
exclude the possibility that the Bethel *maṣṣēbāh* may have been a
stone too large to be erected by one man except in legend. The
same may be said of the stone which Jacob "took and set up" for
a *maṣṣēbāh* when he made his covenant with Laban.[5] The twelve
stones which at Joshua's command were carried by twelve men
and set up at Gilgal (or in the Jordan)[6] may have been consider-
ably larger than the men who told the story could have lifted.
When Rachel died, Jacob set up a *maṣṣēbāh* beside (or possibly on)

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[1] Cf. COOK, *Rel. Anc. Pal.*, p. 81.   [2] Gen. 28[18].
[3] Gen. 29[10].   [4] Cf. vv. [2,8].   [5] Gen. 31[45].   [6] Josh. 4[1-9, 20].

her grave, and the narrator adds, "It is the *maṣṣēbāh* of Rachel's
Tomb to the present day[1]." Here it is not necessarily implied
that Jacob erected the stone with his own hands or without assistance,
any more than the statement that Absalom "took and set up" a
maṣṣebet implies that he performed the labor himself. In the latter
case we read again, "and it is called Absalom's Monument to this
day[2]." In all these instances well-known standing stones, possibly
prehistoric menhirs or even peculiar natural formations, may have
been connected by popular legend with the names of national heroes,
like the pillar of salt at Jebel Usdum. In that case they would
either be of sufficient magnitude to attract attention or of a striking
shape. Such mighty menhirs as those of Bāb ed-Drāʿ and Sarbūṭ
Ader,[3] which were doubtless called *maṣṣēbōt,* might well give rise
to legends of this sort. It is commonly believed that Gilgal was a
pre-Israelite cromlech. In short the Biblical material affords us no
sure criterion of size.

As regards the shape of the *maṣṣēbāh* also we are left very
much in the dark. We have just observed that prehistoric megaliths
or natural rock formations may have been referred to in the passages
cited. The *maṣṣēbōt* actually used by the Canaanites and Hebrews
in historic times, however, would hardly be of such a character.
In the stories of the Bethel *maṣṣēbāh* and the one erected in
connection with Jacob's covenant with Laban the text implies that
a natural stone which happened to lie at hand was used. The
monument to Rachel and the one set up by Absalom may have
been artificially fashioned, but there is nothing in the context to
suggest this. Neither do the verbs used in connection with the
maṣṣēbōt imply any kind of artificial shaping. Verbs indicating
cutting, hewing, carving, or engraving are never applied to them.
Hosea 10[1] says that the Israelites "made beautiful" (היטיבו) their
maṣṣēbōt, and NOWACK[4] sees in this an indication that in later
times the *maṣṣēbōt* were fashioned artificially, but it is more natural
to take the verb as referring to some kind of decoration, as with
flowers or garments. Nowhere are the *maṣṣēbōt* said to have been
made (עשה). Twice the verb בנה is used, but in both cases another
object intervenes between the verb and the word *maṣṣēbāh*: Moses

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[1] Gen. 35[20].   [2] 2 Sam. 18[18].   [3] *BASOR* No. 14, p. 10.
[4] *Hebräische Archäologie,* p. 19.

built an altar and twelve *maṣṣēbōt*,[1] and in Rehoboam's reign the
people of Judah built high places and *maṣṣēbōt* and *asherim*.[2]   In
the latter instance, whether we regard the *asherah* as a tree or a
pole, the word 'build' is not literally applicable to it; therefore it
need not be regarded as applying in a strict sense to the *maṣṣēbōt*.
Everywhere else the *maṣṣēbōt* are simply said to be placed, erected,
or set up.[3] The verbs used to indicate their destruction signify
removing, throwing or pulling down, or breaking,[4] and in one
case burning.[5] Except for this last instance, obviously a special
case, the evidence distinctly favors the assumption that the *maṣṣēbāh*
was normally a natural stone in the form of a rough column or
slab, so that it needed only to be "set up" in order to serve its
special purpose. The use of hewn stones, especially in later times,
is nowhere definitely excluded; in one case it is apparently implied,
for Jer. 43[13] seems to mean by "the *maṣṣēbōt* of Beth-Shemesh that
is in the land of Egypt" the famous obelisks of Heliopolis. Nowhere
else, however, does the context even suggest that the stone was
cut or fashioned. It is rather remarkable, therefore, that the excavated
maṣṣēbōt, so called, have all, so far as I can determine, been
artificially shaped to some degree.

Admitting that hewn stones may have been used, there is cer-
tainly no indication in the Old Testament that any particular shape
was necessary or even usual. There is nothing whatever to suggest,
for example, that the *maṣṣēbāh* was ordinarily or ever conical in
shape.[6] So far as the biblical data afford us any basis for judgment,

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[1] Ex. 24[4].   [2] 1 Kings 14[23].

[3] הציב Gen. 35[20]; 2 Sam. 18[18]; 2 Kings 10[27]; הקים Lev. 26[1]; Deut. 16[22].
שים הרים Gen. 31[45]. שים Gnn. 28[18].

[4] הסיר 2 Kings 10[27], (cp. לארץ תרד Ezek. 23[11]). שבר Ex. 23[24], 34[13]; 2 Kings
18[4], 23[14]; 2 Chron. 14[2], 31[1]; Jer. 43[13].

[5] 2 Kings 10[26]. Cp. Is. 6[18], where מצבת apparently means the stump or
trunk of a tree.

[6] The idea that a *maṣṣēbāh* ought to be conical may be responsible for the
application of this and similar adjectives to such dissimilar objects as the stones
at Tell en-Naṣbeh and Beisan. Apparently the idea is derived from representa-
tions of conical cult-objects on coins of Syria and Cyprus (for conveniently
accessible reproductions cf. COOK, *Rel. Anc. Pal.*, Pl. xxxiii). That these objects
were called either baetyls or *maṣṣēbōt* is not . certain, and RONZEVALLE has
recently argued that on the coin of Byblus which is most frequently cited in
this connection the so-called cone is in reality a pyramid of late Egyptian form
and probably represents the tomb of Adonis (*Mél. Univ. St. Joseph, Beyrouth*, XV,
139ff; I have seen only the review by THIERSCH in OLZ, 1933, cols. 9—12).

the variety in size and shape of our supposed *maṣṣēbōt* constitutes no objection to their being regarded as such. This only means, however, that no definite indication is given in the Bible as to the form of the *maṣṣēbāh*. Even with all due allowance for local peculiarities and for changes in different periods, it is hard to believe that objects so dissimilar as those I have described could have had the same name and function.[1]

The number of *maṣṣēbōt* to be found at any one place is not defined by our literary material. Passages forbidding the erection of *maṣṣēbōt* by the Israelites or commanding the destruction of those belonging to the Canaanite shrines naturally use the word in the plural, but without implying that there was more than one *maṣṣēbāh* at each shrine, since the accompanying nouns (high places, altars, *asherim*, etc.) are also in the plural. When the erection of particular *maṣṣēbōt* is recounted there are never more than one, except in Ex. 24[4] where Moses builds an altar and twelve *maṣṣēbōt* according to the twelve tribes of Israel.[2] The prophecy of Is. 19[19] that Yahweh will be worshipped in Egypt uses both 'altar' and '*maṣṣēbāh*' in the singular. In general it seems that only one *maṣṣēbāh* was ordinarily set up at any one place, or at least at one time. The one clear instance to the contrary, however, whatever our opinion as to the historicity of Moses' *maṣṣēbōt*, shows at least that the ancient Hebrew mind saw nothing incongruous in the idea of setting up several stones at once. As for the idea that several *maṣṣēbōt* might be erected at different times at the same shrine, there is nothing in the Bible to invalidate that supposition, but no instances are recorded. How such a group of stones would be arranged, or what would be the relative position of the *maṣṣēbōt* and the other accessories of a sacred place, our sources do not indicate at all.

Since size, shape, number, and arrangement afford us no reliable criteria of identification our decision must be based upon the use and function of the *maṣṣēbāh*. Where the purpose is definitely

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[1] Of course the word may have had a more general application than our sources suggest, but it is with its use in the Old Testament that we are here concerned.

[2] This recalls not only the twelve stones set up by Joshua after crossing the Jordan, but also the "twelve stones according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob" with which Elijah built his altar on Mt. Carmel (1 Kings 18[31f]). In neither of these instances, however, does the word *maṣṣēbāh* occur.

indicated in the Old Testament, it is usually if not always, in part
at least, to commemorate a person or an event. The *maṣṣēbāh* set
up at Rachel's tomb by Jacob[1] and a *maṣṣebet* erected by Absalom
to perpetuate his own memory[2] illustrate the commemoration of
an individual. In Gen. 31[45, 51] the stone is not only a memorial
but a witness of the covenant between Jacob and Laban; like the
great stone set up by Joshua at Shechem as a witness to Israel's cov-
enant with Yahweh.[3] In Ex. 24[4] the twelve *maṣṣēbōt* are apparently
intended as memorials and witnesses of the covenant, though they
may have some other function in connection with the rites at the
altar. Jacob's *maṣṣēbāh* at Bethel is something more than a memorial
of his experience, for he anoints the stone and names it *Beth-elohim*.[4]
Elsewhere the *maṣṣēbōt* are simply mentioned along with altars,
asherim, *ephod* and *teraphim,* and images, generally as accessories
of Canaanite religion and incompatible with the service of Yahweh.[5]
In short the *maṣṣēbōt* of the Old Testament were either memorials
or cult-objects, if not both, though their function and significance
in the cult are not clearly defined.[6]

To determine whether the stones we are discussing served such
purposes we may consider evidence of three kinds: indications
furnished by the stones themselves, by their archaeological context,
and by comparison with similar objects of known function in
neighbouring lands. Not much is indicated by the stones themselves:
Our task would be much easier if any of them bore such clear
labels as the later Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions which name

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[1] Gen. 35[20].   [2] 2 Sam. 18[18].   [3] Josh. 24[26].   [4] Gen. 28[22].

[5] *Maṣṣēbōt* are mentioned in connection with altars in Ex. 24[4], 34[13]; Deut.
7[5], 12[3]; with *asherim* in Ex. 34[13]; Deut. 7[5], 12[3], 16[22]; Mi. 5[12]; with *ephod* and
teraphim in Hos. 3[4]; with *pesilim* in Deut. 7[5], 12[3]; Mi, 5[12].

[6] This statement of the case, of course, ignores the question of an evolution
in the Hebrew practice and belief regarding *maṣṣēbōt*. If the Canaanites or the
ancestors of the Hebrews used standing stones as objects of worship, the Old
Testament interpretation of them as having a purely memorial significance may
well indicate a transition, or at least an effort to bring about a transition, from
this usage to one more in accord with orthodox Yahwism. In later times,
apparently, pillars were set up by Jews as altars and images were by pagans,
simply as a meritorious work which would secure divine favour; cf. the pillar
and inscription of Alphaeus found by ORFALI at Capernaum (SUKENIK, ZDPV.
1932, pp. 75 ff).

maṣṣēbōt as such and tell why they were erected. Instead of that we have only such obscure and ambiguous testimony as is afforded by the cup-marks on the Gezer stones and the polished spots on one of them.

The archaeological context is more helpful. Every one of the examples which have been presented here was found in what was taken to be a sanctuary, and in every case there was more or less evidence for this interpretation independent of the *maṣṣēbōt* themselves. It is strongest for Beisan and Gezer, fairly strong for Shechem and Tell en-Naṣbeh, but inadequate (or inadequately published) for Beth-Shemesh. At Shechem, while WELTER seems inclined to think that SELLIN's temple had originally a military purpose, he admits that it may later have been used as a temple and that a later temple was built over its ruins.[1] THIERSCH finds its plan essentially the same as that of the Tell en-Naṣbeh temples, which he regards as representing an established type of Palestinian temple.[2] If he is right, they too may be accepted as places of worship, though the evidence of the small finds is not conclusive. The character of the temple at Beisan seems hardly open to question, and near the *maṣṣēbāh* was found a hollowed stone which ROWE interpreted as a basin to receive libations poured on or at the foot of the *maṣṣēbāh*.[3] The latter may, however, have been a pedestal for an image or other cult-object. The sanctuary at Beth-Shemesh is not so well authenticated. Beside the 'baetyls' was found what GRANT calls "a circular slab grooved and pitted for the sacrifice of animal offerings," and just north of it were the remains of two buildings thought to be temples, one of a later period than the other.[4] The character of these remains, however, is not fully established in the publications. For Gezer the evidence is varied and convincing, and no authority seems to question it.

As for comparison with similar objects found in neighboring lands, there is material in abundance,[5] but the investigation of that aspect of the matter cannot be undertaken here, and I am not prepared to make a dogmatic generalization upon it.

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[1] *Archäol. Anz.* 1932, cols. 307, 310f.   [2] *ZAW*, 1932, pp. 73ff.

[3] Rowe, *op. cit.*, p. 11.   [4] *QSPEF*, 1929, p. 206.

[5] It includes Egyptian, Phoenician, Greek, Babylonian, and Arab funerary and memorial stelae and sacred stones of many types, the literature on which is extensive.

So far as the evidence before us goes, I should say that among the examples here considered the term *maṣṣēbāh* in its biblical sense applies quite certainly to the pillars of Gezer, probably to the Shechem stelae, perhaps to the rounded stones of Tell en-Naṣbeh and Beth-Shemesh, and possibly but more doubtfully to one if not both of the Beisan stones. More definite conclusions would be premature, because the study is incomplete. What has been said, however, is sufficient for the purpose of this paper. It shows at least that current accounts of Canaanite and Israelite religion assume too lightly the correctness of what excavators say about their finds. Archaeologists, like the rest of us, are human, and their enthusiasm sometimes carries them beyond their evidence. Interpretations which do not prove well founded are in time abandoned or revised; in the meantime, however, they are often taken up and used as though they were established facts. Biblical scholars in particular need just now to recognize this danger. Having gone to such extremes in our literary criticism as to bring suspicion not only on our results but even on our principles and methods, we must not repeat the error by an undiscriminating use of archaeology.

NOUVELLES ADDITIONS A LA LISTE DES STATIONS PRÉHISTORIQUES DE PALESTINE ET TRANSJORDANIE

Abbé J. Naṣrallah
Jérusalem.

Dans son article "*Additions à la liste des stations préhistoriques de Palestine et Transjordanie*", paru en 1929, dans le "Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society",[1] M. R. Neuville signalait que "la préhistoire palestinienne est passée du domaine de la simple collection à celui de la science". Depuis cette date l'archéologie préhistorique a fait de rapides progrès. Les recherches, soit en profondeur, soit en surface, se sont développées et notablement accrues. Si les fouilles des grottes et des tells ne sont pas arrivées à nous donner une classification complète des industries lithiques du pays de Canaan, elles nous ont fourni pour les diverses phases de l'Age de la Pierre "quelques jalons . . . assez fermes, semble-t-il, pour signaler la voie et guider les chercheurs".[2] Quant aux recherches en surface, elles ont augmenté la liste déjà longue des gisements préhistoriques palestiniens et ont montré le bien fondé de cette phrase du R. P. Buzy: "au fur et à mesure de nos investigations, le vieux pays de Canaan nous apparaît comme un vaste échiquier où les stations se croisent et pullulent."[3]

Dans nos diverses courses aux alentours de Jérusalem, nous avons pu reconnaître plusieurs nouveaux gisements. Tous cependant n'ont pas été méthodiquement explorés, "nous n'avons recueilli dans quelques uns, que des pierres d'attente."

Ce sont ces nouvelles stations, inconnues des spécialistes, ou du moins non mentionnées dans les listes des gisements préhistoriques

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[1] *JPOS*: 1929, p 114. Nous remercions M. Neuville de nous avoir aidé de ses conseils dans la rédaction de ces lignes.

[2] Al. Mallon: "*Les dernières phases de l'âge de la pierre et les premiers temps historiques en Palestine*" Biblica, vol. XIV (1933), p. 199.

[3] "*Une industrie mésolithique en Palestine (Ouadi Tahouneh)*", Revue Biblique, 1928, p. 560.

que nous avons eues entre les mains,[1] que nous voudrions signaler. Nous nous contenterons aujord'hui d'une simple mention.

Les fruits de nos recherches, sont réunis dans la collection du Séminaire de Sainte-Anne à Jérusalem.

Al-Manāthī. — Est d'er-Rām. *Tahounien*: hachettes, pics, retouchoirs, poinçons, couteaux, grattoirs de formes diverses, grands croissants.

ʿAquabet-eṣ-Ṣouwān.[2] — Versant est de Ouādī ej-Jōz, à l'est de Jérusalem. Gisement où se mêlent plusieurs industries.

 1 — *Acheuléen*: coups de poing, grands racloirs, lames, poinçons.

 2 — *Moustérien*: quelques coups de poing éclats genre Levallois typiques, lames et pointes à plan de frappe à facettes, nucléi correspondants.

 3 — *Enéolithique*: hachettes, pics, pièces en dos d'âne, poinçons.

Beit Thouma. — Champs au sud et colline contre laquelle est adossé le village, *mésolithique?*

Bīr Ayoūb.- Sur la colline à l'ouest, *ghassoulien*: hachettes, couteaux à dos rabattu, pointes, fragments de vases en basalte, tessons de poterie.

Cheʿêb Aboū Farkha.-A droite de chemin de Abou Dīs, à une centaine de mètres de la route de Jéricho:

 1 — *Ghassoulien* à faciès particulier: herminettes non polies; quelques "racloirs en éventail"; lames pour la plupart bifides et gardant leur épine dorsale, quelques unes ont le dos rabattu; rares éléments de faucille; grattoirs de formes diverses; percuteurs en forme de boule.

 2 — A l'est de la section précédente, en mélange avec les éléments du BR. 1 initial des éléments *moustériens*, comprenant des nucléi typiques, des lames et des pointes à base unie ou retouchée.

Khallet el-Ghezlān. — Vallée au nord de la propriété des Pères Blancs, près de Chaʿfāṭ. *Tahounien*: hachettes, pics et retouchoirs;

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[1] Al. Mallon: *"Quelques stations préhistoriques de Palestine"*. Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, 1925, t. X, fasc. 6, p. 184—214. R. Neuville: *"Additions à la liste des stations préhistoriques de Palestine et Transjordanie"*, JPOS, 1929, t. X, p. 114—121. M. Stekelis: *"Prehistory in Palestine—A bibliography"* (extrait du *Kirjat Sépher*, vol. VIII—IX). Liste dans le *"Geographical Index"* p. 35—39 de l'extrait.

[2] Nous devons la connaissance de cette station, comme de la suivante, au R. P. Muller, des Pères Blancs.

pointes, couteaux bifides gardant l'arête centrale ou l'ayant suppri-
mée, scies à dos rabattu, grattoirs de formes diverses, grands croissants.

Quelques grattoirs *paléolithiques*.

Khān el-Aḥmar.—Sur le versant nord d'une colline à 3 kilo-
mètres au sud-ouest des ruines du couvent, *Paléolithique supérieur*.

Qoubāb. — Champs au sud du village, en bordure de la route de
Gézer. *Acheuléo-moustérien*: coups de poing, racloirs, pointes et lames.

Lailet ech-Cheikh.—Versant sud-est du Mont du Scandale, et
vallée correspondante :

1—*Paléolithique* : l'outillage comprend surtout des lames et des
pointes à base unie ; quelques grattoirs ; un coup de poing,
une pointe moustérienne et un nucléus correspondant.

2—*Eléménts énéolithiques*: gros pics, grattoirs.

Ouadi Beit-Ḥanīna.— En face de Mugharet Oumm ed-Daḥra et
à une centaine de mètres en amont sur les deux rives du Ouadi,
Paléolithique supérieur très roulé: racloirs, grattoirs sur bout de
lames, pièces à encoches, poinçons, lames et lamelles.

Ouadi-'l-Qāq.—A l'est de l'Université Hébraique :

1—*Tahounien* fruste, sur le versant sud-ouest de la vallée : pics
et hachettes, racloirs, grattoirs.

2—*Acheuléo-moustérien*, au fond de la vallée : racloirs de formes
diverses dont un bon nombre possèdent le plan de frappe
retouché, lames généralement à base unie, pointes à plan
de frappe muni de facettes ou uni, nuclei correspondants,
poinçons, grattoirs ;

Quelques éléments *énéolithiques*.

3—Sur le versant septentrional de la vallée dans laquelle se
jette Ouādī-'l-Qāq: *mésolithique* du genre de Rehoboth[1]: re-
touchoirs, grattoirs, poinçons, lames grossières, petits nucléi,
percuteurs.

Ouādī eṣ-Ṣarār. — Rive droite du torrent à une trentaine de
mètres à gauche de la route qui monte vers Qasṭal ; *Paléolithique
supérieur* roulé : racloirs, grattoirs sur bout de lames et nucléiformes,
pièces à encoches, lames et lamelles, poinçons, pointes moustériennes.

Ouādī Yaçoul.[2]—A l'est du couvent des Soeurs Clarisses. *Ta-
hounien* fruste : pics, lames, pointes, grattoirs, racloirs.

[1] Sur ce gisement cf. *JPOS*, 1930, p. 216—221.
[2] Station découverte par le R. P. MULLER, en 1928.

Eléments paléolithiques.

Rās Abou-Ḥalāwe–(Propriété des Pères Blancs, près de Chaʿfāṭ)
Dans une vallée au sud-est, *acheuléo-moustérien*: coups de poing,
disques, éclats genre Levallois dont un certain nombre portent le
plan de frappe à facettes, lames, pointes à base retouchée ou unie,
nucléi correspondants.

Tell eṣ-Ṣōmaʿ.—

1–Depuis que M. R. NEUVILLE a mentionné cette station,[1] des
    recherches postérieures nous ont livré de nouveaux éléments
    archéologiques: Hachettes et herminettes assez nombreuses,
    en proportion égale; la plupart sont polies au taillant;
    gouges, ciseaux, pics; "éléments de faucille, perçoirs ex-
    trêment abondants"; très nombreux couteaux et scies à
    dos rabattu; "grands racloirs ronds"; grattoirs de formes
    diverses: ronds sur bout de lame etc.; quelques flèches et
    quelques "racloirs en éventail"; très nombreuses lamelles;
    moulins, broyeurs, pilons, polissoirs, grand nombre de
    percuteurs ronds; fragments de vases en basalte; tessons de
    poterie en abondance.

A l'état de mélange en dehors "des grattoirs ronds qui pour-
raient appartenir au Paléolithique supérieur", trois coups de poing,
deux pointes à base retouchée et quelques éléments *tahouniens*.

Au centre de la limite nord du champ supérieur, monument
mégalithique. — A une vingtaine de mètres au nord du monument,
sur un rocher, cupule (25 cm de diamètre et 8 cm de profondeur
au centre) où se déversent trois petites rigoles venant de l'ouest
et unies à leur point de départ. Le point de jonction est à 19 cm
de la cupule.

2–Sur les pentes nord-est du tell: belle station *mésolithique*:
    retouchoirs; lames dont quelques unes sont à dos rabattu;
    pointes; perçoirs; grattoirs de formes diverses: nucléiformes,
    circulaires, rectangulaires sur bout de lames; petits nucléi;
    percuteurs; enclumes.

Deir Dōsi (couvent de Saint Théodose). Versant gauche de la
vallée qui passe au nord du monastère, un peu avant qu'elle se
jette dans le Ouādī en-Nār, *moustérien*: coups de poing, lames et
pointes.

[1] *JPOS*, 1929, p. 120.

TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES IN NORTH-WESTERN GALILEE.

M. Avi-Yonah

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The north-western boundary of Galilee has been always some-what puzzling to geographers of Palestine. Thus in Smith's *Atlas*[1] it is made to vary in each period from the Maccabean to the Byzantine, without much indication from the learned author of the reason for such variations. On the other hand, in Guthe's *Bibel-atlas*[2] the line once laid down is — equally without any explana-tion — never varied for the same periods. Oehler, whose careful study of the boundaries of Galilee[3] has contributed most to our knowledge of the subject, leaves the north-western boundary blank, although he seems to incline to a line following the Jabal Jermak. The recent studies of A. Saarisalo[4] are not concerned with this question. It is rather to be regretted that the Mishnaic and Tal-mudic sources, made accessible by Prof. Klein,[5] should be neglected by the cartographers.

The present writer has had recently the opportunity of study-ing some new material on the southern boundary of Tyre in that region. It is well known that Galilee bordered on the west with Acre and on the north-west and north with Tyre. The territory of Tyre stretched as far as Qadas[6] and possibly bordered with the territories of Damascus.[7] The statement of Josephus which is generally taken to indicate the boundaries of Acre fixes its northern limit, and consequently the southern boundary of Tyre, at the Ladder of Tyre (Rās en-Nāqūra).[8] It is our present purpose to show that this state-

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[1] Pls. 38–46, 54.   [2] Maps 9–12, 14–18.
[3] *ZDPV*, 1905, pp. 1 ff., 49 ff.   [4] *JPOS*, 1929, pp. 27–40; 193⌐ ⌐. 5–10.
[5] *Pal. Studien* II, 1, pp. 197–254 and *ib.*, IV, pp. 51 ff.
[6] *Ant.* XIII, 5, 6 and *BJ* IV, 2, 3.
[7] *Ant.* XVIII, 6, 3. O⌐   ⌐ p. 69.   [8] *BJ* II, 1ɔ,

.nent can no longer be regarded as correct for the Byzantine period.
It is indeed true that the evidence referred to below is mostly con-
cerned with ecclesiastical boundaries. Nevertheless, we seem to be
entitled by Canon 12 of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) to
regard diocesan boundaries as corresponding to political boundaries,
unless the contrary is proved.

The facts referring to the various boundary points are as follows:

(1) A "*Notitia episcopatum*" published by Vailhé[1] states that the
"great source of Zip" (i. e. the Wādi el-Qarn) formed the boundary
between the archdiocese of Tyre and the diocese of Acre. This
notitia is actually of the 10th century, but is based upon material
of the sixth. The fact that ez-Zīb is the frontier of Palestine and
that the frontier ran along the Wādi el-Qarn is confirmed by Talmudic
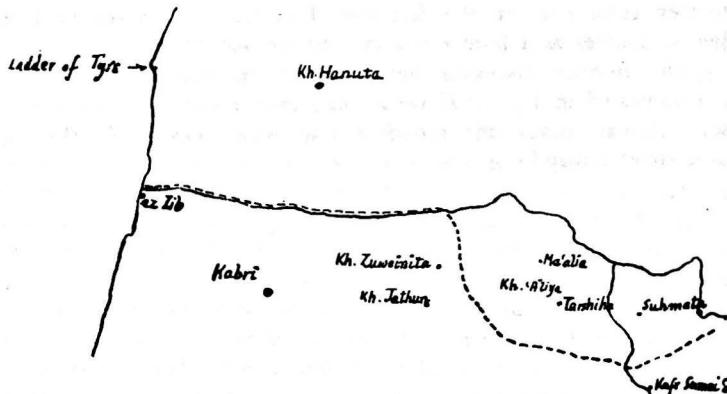
Fig. 1.

sources of the Roman and Byzantine period. Thus Ḥānūtā (now
Kh. Ḥānūtā), north of the wādi, is regarded as outside Palestine,[2]
while Beth Zanuta (Kh. Zuweinīta)[3] and Gathun (Kh. Jātūn),[4] both
south of the wādi, are in Palestine.

(2) An inscription dated A.D. 539 was found some time ago at
Kh. ʿĀliya and was transferred to Maʿaliā. It has a dating (determined
by the year of the indiction) which can be only fitted in with the

[1] *Échos d'Orient*, 1907, p. 140.
[2] *Tosefta Shebiit* III, Yerush. Damai II, 1.
[3] *Tosefta Shebiit* III, Yerush. Shebiit VI, 1.   [4] *ib.*

second era of Tyre. This shows the territory of Tyre advancing south of the wādi.[1]

(3) A mosaic inscription found in a Byzantine church at Suḥmāta[2] has its indiction date destroyed and its dating cannot therefore be established with mathematical precision (it is in all probability 555 A.D.). This inscription contains, however, another valuable indication. In a list of church dignitaries in whose time the pavement was laid, mention is made of the archbishop and a country-bishop (chorepiscopus) without speaking of the bishop. This shows that the ancient village now occupied by Suḥmāta must have belonged to the archdiocese of Tyre, otherwise it cannot be explained why the bishop (of Acre) is not mentioned.

This curve in the border which passes south of the wādi is further confirmed by the fact that Kafr Sumeiʿa is regarded in Jewish sources as a border town of Palestine.[3]

The frontier discussed therefore took in Byzantine times the line indicated in Fig. 1. If we assume that it remained unchanged since Roman times, the proposed line would exactly fill the gap in Oehler's map.[4]

[1] See my article in QDAP, III, p. 105, Pl. XXXI, 1.

[2] ib., pp. 96—105, Pls. XXX, 3 and XXXI, 1.

[3] Gittin I, 3.   [4] ZDPV, 1905, Pl. 1 (facing p. 49).

MODERN PALESTINIAN BELIEFS AND PRACTICES
RELATING TO GOD

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It is a difficult task to investigate the religious beliefs of any simple people and to give a correct picture of the true condition. The difficulty lies in the fact that most religious beliefs and practices are matters of internal conviction and are exercised in private. The external and apparent religious practices of the present inhabitants of Palestine are mostly based on one of the three monotheistic religions. Those practices which have nothing in common with these religions are practiced mostly in private and are therefore more difficult to study. Although a *fellāḥ* woman may talk to her neighbour about things which have affected her mental life or about her acts she will hesitate to say a single word to a strange person. One has therefore to gather all idioms, greetings, curses, oaths, songs, stories, and practices which are in any way connected with a religious idea or act, and try, after sifting, to form them into a correct picture. Even this is not alone sufficient. A thorough study of every phase in the life of a Palestinian, not yet influenced by Western spiritual and religious ideas, is required. Disease and death bring the members of every simple folk back to their religious beliefs and make them unintentionally say things and perform acts which disclose something more of their fundamental beliefs. A person who has the opportunity to study such acts and sayings will understand a little more of the underlying religious ideas.

It is true that the three monotheistic religions – Christianity, Mohammedanism and Judaism – have left deep imprints in the life of the Palestinian. Mohammedan teachings have penetrated more deeply into the consciousness of the people than the two others, for most of the inhabitants of the Holy Land are Moslems. Yet there are many beliefs which are older than Islam, though they

may at intervals be harmonized with its teachings and there are practices which, though contrary to the tenets of any of three religions, are still widely practiced. In the following pages we simply try to give an analysis of the material which we have been able to gather, leaving the more important and more difficult task of explanation and derivation to students of comparative religions.

The Palestinians believe in o n e God. *Allâh wāḥid māluh tānī*, "God is one; there is no second (God) beside him!" are the words used instead of the numbers "one", and "two"[1] when counting measures of grain.[2] It is widely believed that even nature proclaims the unity of God: *eṭ-ṭiūr bitwaḥḥid rabbhā*, "The birds proclaim the unity of their god", through their morning song. A species of doves is said to repeat continually in its warbling *waḥḥdū rabbkum*, "Proclaim the unity of your Lord!"[3] This belief in the unity of God is based on fundamental Mohammedan teachings.

Sometimes the Almighty is disregarded completely and the different members of the "Mohammedan Holy Family"[4] are asked for help. When one loses something he climbs on the roof of his house late in the afternoon when all the inhabitants of the village have returned from their work[5] and calls:[6]"

O, you who hear this call,
Pray in the name of the Prophet.
Your first is Mohammed,
Your second is ʿAlî,
The third is Fāṭmeh, the daughter of the prophet!
O you who may have seen . . . (the name of the lost object)
O you who may know anything about . . .
O you who may know anything about . . . "[7]

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[1] CANAAN, *Plant-lore in Palestinian Superstition*, JPOS, VIII, 155, n. 6. This *sāʿ* is dedicated by many to Abraham; see DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte*, 1, 2, 583.

[2] Peasants usually begin their morning work with the exclamation *yā wāḥid yā *aḥad*.

[3] Even the camel is believed to utter the name "*)allāh*".

[4] This expression was coined by the author, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 66.   [5] Heard in Dēr Ghassāneh.

[6] *Yā ·sāmʿīn eṣ-ṣōt ṣallū ʿan-nabi auwalkum Muḥammad tānīkum ʿAli eṭ-ṭālteh Fāṭmeh bint en-nabi yā mīn šāf yā mīn yiʿlam yā mīn yidri*.

[7] In the Arabic text the wording of the last line differs from that of the line preceding, but the meaning is the same.

It is a fact that, despite their monotheistic belief, the Palestinians, like many other simple peoples, honour many saints besides God. This practice is contrary to the orders of all the holy books. According to the teachings of Islam every Mohammedan should be a fatalist, whose life cannot be prolonged, nor any difficulty removed by prayers, tears, vows, sacrifices or even by the help of any *welí*.[1] The following sayings which correspond to canonic teachings show this clearly: "With predestination all dispositions (cares) are worthless (lit. lost)"[2]; "Fate makes (mankind) blind"[3]; "There is no escape from the fate that is written"[4]; "The person whose fate has not yet come will not be killed by difficulty"[5]; "Give me life and throw me into the sea (I shall not die)"[6]; "Death will only attack one whose life has come to an end"[7]; "A spear destined to hit you, will not fail even if you hide yourself."[8]

Saints, who are more easily reached when wanted than God, who usually leave men pretty much to themselves, and who at the same time respond when called upon, have always been more acceptable to Palestinians than One whose ever watchful eyes can neither be avoided nor deceived.[9] It will take us too far to give detailed reasons for the belief in these *awliā* and for the honour paid to them; the reader is referred to the author's *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*. It may be said that the present inhabitants of the Holy Land make more vows in the name of the saints and bring more offerings to them than to God, and more help is asked from them than from the Almighty. This is also true of the Bedouin. I do not know any Bedouin tribe which does not possess several *awliā*[10] of its own.[11]

A thorough study of Palestinian demonology shows how the

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[1] L. BAUER, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel*, p. 15; CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 279.   [2] *'Ynd et-taqādīr rāḥat et-tadābīr.*
[3] *El-qadar bi'mi̯l-baṣar.*   [4] *El-maktūb mā minnuh mahrūb.*
[5] *Illi iluh 'umr mā btuqtluh šiddeh.*   [6] *'Umr 'a'ṭīnī ubil-baḥr irmīni.*
[7] *Má bidjī̯l-fand illā lallī. 'umruh danā.*
[8] *Rumḥ ṣāybak in (i)tvārēt mā 'aḥṭāk.*
[9] See also W. R. SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, p. 64.
[10] This is true of the districts of Beer-Sheba, Gaza, Ramleh, Bīsān, Wādī Mūsá, Kerak and 'Ammān.
[11] Contrast CURTISS, *Ursemitische Religion*, p. 65; JAUSSEN, *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 292.

present inhabitants of this country still adhere to some practices which clearly show belief in the supernatural powers of the *djinn*. Some of these, one would think, should be connected only with a good-natured power, a deity.[1] Thus offerings are brought to the demons, as is the case with the saints and God. A comparison between sacrifices offered to saints and God and those brought to the *djinn* exhibits the same idea in different stages of developement.[2] Doubtless this is a remnant of the old Semitic identification of demons with gods.[3] Such identifications are met with in the Old[4] as well as in the New Testament.[5]

The Palestinian believes that God sees what we do,[6] hears what we say, understands our thoughts even before we utter them, feels with the suffering believer and punishes the wicked. Hence such terms as; "The lord of the blue tent (the sky) sees you"[7]; "God hears"[8]; "O God, look upon me with your eye that never sleeps"[9]; "You are present and you see"[10]. A line of a favorite song runs: "In honour of the One who does not slumber nor sleep"[11].

A stanza heard from a Christian in Jerusalem is:

námat ʿiūn lakum   uʿēn el-ḥaqq mā námāt
uléš hal-qlūb il-qāsieh   illi mā lānat

  Your eyes have gone asleep
  But the eye of the True One has not slept.
  Why are these (your) hearts so pitiless?
  and why have they not become tender?

Many oaths speak of the "life" of God[12]. *Wiḥyāt ʾallâh*, "By the life of God!" *wiḥyāt rabbná*, "By the life of our Lord!" One of the

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[1] CANAAN, *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*, p. 2.

[2] In *Mohammedan Saints*, p. 186, this subject is dealt with.

[3] P. FAIRBRAIN, *The Imperial Bible Dictionary*, 11, 143.

[4] Deut. 32[17]; I Chr. 10[20]; Ps. 106[87]; Jes. 65[3, 11].   [5] Ephes. 2[2].

[6] Prov. 15[8]; Hab. 1[18].   [7] *Bišūfak ʾabú_l-ḥēmeh ez-zarqd*.

[8] *ʾAllâh sāmiʿ*.   [9] *ʾAllāhumma ʾunẓur li biʿēnak ʾilli mā bitnām*.

[10] *ʾInti ḥāzer unāzer*.   [11] The whole song is:

  subḥān man qāl lā tikšif_ilnd ḥāl
  bidjāh illi mā bighfal walā bināl
  el-ʿafú wil-ʿāfieh usitr ed-dunyā wisitr el-ʾāḥreh
  satart ʿald mā maḍd tistir ʿalli baqd

[12] In condoling we often hear the expression *hua_l-ḥaiy*, "He is the (only) living One"; *hua_l-bāqi*, "He is the (only) everlasting One".

oath formulas of the Bedouin of Beer-Sheba speaks of God's spirit
(breath) producing the wind, *wallâh wiḥyāt har-rīḥ ʾilli min rūḥ ʾallâh,*
"By God and the life of this wind which is (produced) by the
spirit of God!" [1].

The same attributes are even more characteristic of saints.
This is well illustrated in the following song in praise of *el-quṭb*
er-Rifāʿī:

yā ʿalīm bikuli_l-ʿulūm	yā sāmiʿ duʿâ_l-maẓlūm
lā tidjʿal fi ḥaḍratnâ	šaqiyan walā maḥrūm.

O, thou who knowest everything (every science)!
O, thou who hearest the invocation of the oppressed!
Do not allow any wretched (sinner) to be in our company,
Nor any one who is excommunicated!

Every time the sailors pass the shrine of *eš-šēḥ* Ḥamīd, which
lies on the eastern shore of the Red Sea, south of ʿAqabah, they
boil a pot *(bakradj)* of coffee and pour it into the sea with the
words "This is your coffee, O *šēḥ* Ḥamīd" [2].

As in ancient times God still appears to some people, to guide
and help them. But the saints appear more frequently to reproach,
protect and to assist them. Even the demons possess this quality, as
is shown by many stories. Places where a good or bad supernatural
power appears are known to the people of Palestine, and are
honoured in one case and avoided in the other.

The above expressions indicate that in the mind of the
Palestinian the Almighty has a real personality and is a living
being who thinks, feels, and wills. This idea of God possessing all
the characteristics of human personality is also a distinctive feature
of the Old Testament.

But in addition this Being was and is still believed to be
spiritual in the sense of being invisible to mortal eyes and above and
beyond all apprehension by the senses.[3] This idea is well expressed
in the saying "O, Thou who seest me and whom I do not see"
(yā man tarāni wana lā ʾarāk). He is superhuman and unique not
only in power, but also in wisdom, goodness, truth [4] and holiness, as

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[1] ʿĀRIF EL-ʿĀRIF, *al-qaḍāʾu bain_al-badū,* p. 73.
[2] ʿĀRIF EL-ʿĀRIF, l. c., p. 262. The Bedouin of the Negeb honour this *weli.*
[3] HASTING's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* vol. VI, pp. 254 ff.
[4] Ex. 34⁶; Ps. 3¹⁷; 78⁵²; 80¹; 103¹⁸; Jes. 40¹¹; Jer. 31¹⁰; Ez. 34¹¹⁻¹⁹.

also in wrath[1] and vengeance[2]. According to the Palestinian He is "the giver of all good things" as well as the great punisher[3]. These two antagonistic characteristics and conceptions of the Almighty naturally result in their regarding ꞌAllâh as a compassionate God, and at the same time as an awful avenger and strict judge.[4] There are numerous sayings, proverbs, songs, and stories portraying these two antagonistic characteristics. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose with Curtiss[5] that the Palestinians think of God only with fear and trembling and that they do not regard him also as good and gracious.[6] The expressions "Be with God and do not mind (anything which may happen)"[7]; "God is with the weak to make the rich think and consider"[8] and "Be born: I shall be the supporter of your father"[9], are typical of their attitude. The last is believed to be said by the Almighty at the birth of a girl, who, knowing the pitiful prospect awaiting her, tries not to be born. It is just here that the great difference lies between the attributes of God and those of the other minor supernatural powers. Demons are dreaded because they only injure the human race. The spirits of the saints occupy an intermediate place between God and the demons. They are feared but they are also honoured. They are not so compassionate as the Creator, but neither are they so malevolent as the *djinn*. Saints themselves are divided into *aḥmadîyeh* (forebearing) and *ꞌaꞌdjâm* (irritable). The former are nearer to God. The latter share characteristics with the demons. There is a proverb which teaches, *eš-šakwâ laghēr ꞌallâh maḏalleh*, "Complaint to any one but God is weakness". Some nomads such as the Bdūl of

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[1] Gen. 28[10] ff; Ex. 19[1b-16]; 1 Sam. 21[5]; Qorān 11[188].

[2] Contrast CURTISS (German edition): „*Der heutige Semit hat keine sittliche Anschauung von Gott als den Heiligen, den Gerechten*". ·

[3] Ex. 4[21]; 9[12]; 10[20,27]; 1 Sam. 16[14-16]; 18[10]; 2 Sam. 24[1]; Jes. 6[9] ff; Amos 3[6].

[4] Fear of God is witnessed in Gen. 28[16]ff., Ex. 19[16]; 1 Sam. 21[5];. God as a compassionate father and a good shepherd is portrayed in Ps. 23; 78[52]; 80[1]; Jes. 40[1]; Jer. 31[10]; Ez. 34[11-19]; etc.   [5] l. c. pp. 63 ff.

[6] See also DALMAN, *Der palästinische Islam*, PJ, XIII, 15 ff.

[7] *Kūn maꜥ ꞌalldh walā thāli.* Another proverb is *kūn maꜥ ꞌalldh tard ꞌalldh maꜥdk*, "Be with God and you will see that God is with you."

[8] *ꞌAlldh maꜥ el-faqīr tayiꜥtbir el-ghani.*

[9] *ꞌInzali ꞌand muꜥin abūki.* At the birth of a boy God is supposed to say *inzal int muꜥin ꞌabūk*, "Descend: you must be your father's helper"; CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition*, JPOS, vol. VII, 163.

Petra[1], who know very little of religion fear Him much more than they love Him.[2] This is also more or less true of all Bedouin. Thus, for example, the Bedouin of the Beer-Sheba district, who are Moslems, do not even know the first *sūreh* of the Qorān. ʿĀRIF EL-ʿĀRIF[3] has mentioned the following formulae which the Bedouin believe to be *sūret el-fātiḥah: fātiḥah tiḥlik fātiḥah tiblik ufātiḥah tzīh ʿannak djannāt en-naʿīm*, "There is a *fātiḥah* which condemns, a *fātiḥah* which ruins and a *fātiḥah* which takes away from you the gardens of happiness (the paradise)"; *el-fātiḥah laz-zād washābuh ulan-nabî waḥbābuh*, "the *fātiḥah* is for food and its owners and for the prophet and his friends."

It is important to call attention to the fact that Moslem peasants do not address God as "father".[4] This is a distinct characteristic of the Christian conception. But God is greater and higher than father, ruler, or king. A saint, on the other hand, is regarded and treated as father, leader, neighbour, ruler, or king. I have found one proverb, well-known to city dwellers and villagers, in which God is called "shepherd". Althrough there may be others which remain unknown to me, it is characteristic how seldom God is given this appellation. The proverb runs, *awlādak warāk urabbak yrʿāk*, "your children are (walking) behind you; may your Lord lead you (as a shepherd)".

Although most Christian and Mohammedan peasants may cite verses of the Bible or the Qorʾān, which describe the Almighty as king, there are only a few characteristic present-day folk sayings which make this comparison. The most important are the proper names ʿAbd el-mālek (the slave of the ruler) and ʿAbd el-malek (the servant of the king), where God is called directly "king." But there are several customs and Arabic terms which point indirectly to this old idea. As we shall see later the Palestinians still use, as the ancient Semitic nations used to do,[5] many theophorous proper names, compounds with ʿabd. Such theophorous names, in which the word ʿabd precedes some name of God, are in themselves sufficient proof that the old idea of "God=King" is still known.

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[1] CANAAN, *Studies in the Topographie and Folklore of Petra*, pp. 71ff.|
[2] NIELSEN, JPOS, XIII, 207.   [3] ʾAl-qaḍāʾu bain al-ʿarab, p. 252.
[4] DALMAN, *Der palästinische Islam*, PJ, XIII, 32, comes to the same conclusion.
[5] W. R. SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 1927, p. 68.

This is especially clear in the proper names *'Abdallâh*[1] (the slave of God) and, *'Abdrabbuh* (the servant of his Lord). In many folksongs the Palestinians call themselves "God's servants." The following is one example:

yā rabbî lēš hal-ghēbeh	*ʾakalnâ 'rūq el-ḥullēbeh*
yā rabbî bill eš-šammūṭ	*iḥnâ 'abīdak bidnâ nmūt*[2]

O Lord, why this Thy absence? we have eaten the roots of the spurge!
O Lord wet the spadix (of the plants); we thy servants are on the
     verge of dying!

The Palestinian still speaks of God as *rabb*, "Lord", a use which points also to the conception of God as king.[3] His worshippers are spoken of as his slaves, servants, *'abīd* (pl. of *'abd*) and *'ibād*. But God is not only the Lord of men; He is the Lord of the whole universe. Oaths and wide-spread sayings make trees, animals and stones speak of God as their *rabb*.

A beautiful song[4] in which the use of *rabb* plays an important rôle is:

nimt 'a-djanbi̯ l-yamīn	*twakkalt 'a-rabbi̯ r-raḥīm*
nimt 'a-djanbī̯ š-šamāl	*twakkalt 'a-rabbi̯ r-raḥmān*
nimt 'al-farš	*twakkalt 'a-rabb̯ el-'arš*
nimt 'a-ẓahrî	*twakkalt 'alēk yā rabbî.*

I slept on my right side   and trusted in my compassionate Lord!
I slept on my left side   and trusted in my merciful Lord!
I slept on the bedding   and trusted on the Lord of the throne!
I slept on my back   and trusted in Thee, O my Lord!

Another custom pointing to the idea of God as king is the offering of the first-fruits of the fields and vineyards[5] to God.[6] It is the same custom as the paying of royal tithes,[7] which were always regarded in the East as the sovereign's dues.

The Palestinians regard themselves also as the servants (*'abīd, ḥadam, maḥāsīb*) of their saints. The clearest example is the proper

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[1] Many Christians use the name *'Abd el-Masīḥ*, the servant of Christ. In Abyssinia we meet with the name *'Abd Maryam*.

[2] The complete song is given in *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 221.

[3] W.R. SMITH, l. c. p. 68. *'Ibād* comes from the same root as *'abd*.

[4] Heard in Jerusalem.

[5] CANAAN, *Plant-lore in Palestinian Superstition*, JPOS, VIII, 138. Cf. Ex. 23[16,19]; Lev. 2[14]; 23[20]; Numb. 13[20]; 18[13]; Deut. 26[2].

[6] W. R. SMITH, l. c., p. 67.   [7] I Sam. 8[15,17].

name *'Abd en-Nabî* and *'Abd er-rasūl*, "The slave of the Prophet".
But many hold that it is unwise to call any one by these names,
for we are the servants of God alone. The saints are never spoken
of as *rabb*, but as *saiyd* and *mawlâ*. The last expression is also
used of God. The *'aqṭāb* speak even of the *awliâ* as their servants,
ḥadam, as may be seen from the following praise of Aḥmad er-Rifāʿî:[1]

> *waṣaṭwatî zaharat fil-ḥāfiqaini waqad*
>
> *taḥaqqaqa_l-'amru anna_l-awliâ ḥadamî*

"My power has appeared in east and west and
The fact that the *awliâ* are my servants has become established"

> *and_r-Rifāʿî ṭbūlî fis-samâ ḍarabat*
>
> *wal-arḍu fî qabḍatî wil-'awliâ ḥadamî*[1]

"I am the *Rifāʿî*. My drums have beaten in heaven,
Earth is in my grasp and the *awliâ* are my servants."

The song used by Christian children in their rain-processions
shows clearly how people call themselves servants of the saints
(Bēt Djālā):[2]

mār Inqūlâ djinâ lēk	*šuḥb el-maṭar dāḥil lēk*
wiḥna_l-yōm ʿabîdak	*muftāḥ es-ssamâ fîdak*
haiy imbū	*haiy imbū*[3]

We have come to you, St. Nicholas,

O stream of rain, I implore you!

We are today your servants,   Heaven's key is in your hand!

Bring water, O bring water!

ya 'ahl Badr innî maḥsūbkum[4]   *ʿabdun lakum fî aiye waqtin kān*
ardjūkum titiḥdūnî sādatî   *innî ḍaʿîfun artadji_l-iḥsān*

O people of Badr![5] I am your subordinate!

A slave to you at every time

J implore you take me under your protection, O my lords!

I am weak and (therefore) I beseech (nothing but your) alms.

Rarely some may call themselves the servant of an important
and holy day, as is seen in the Christian name, *'Abd el-Ḥad,* "The
slave of Sunday".

According to an old Mohammedan tradition,[6] God has one

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1 Heard in Nāblus.   2 CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 230.
3 This exclamation "*imbū*" is baby-talk all over Palestine for "water".
4 See JPOS XII, 270.   5 *Moh. Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 305 ff.
6 Qor'ān, VII, 179; XX, 8; LIX, 24.

hundred beautiful names, *asmā> >allâh el-ḥusnâ*[1] of which however only 99 are known by men. The hundredth name is known only to God himself.[2] First and foremost the present inhabitants of Palestine address the Almighty as *>Allâh*.[3] The early perambulating vendors of cakes, for instance, preface the praise of their goods by reciting some of the names of God. They are heard saying: "O Opener (giver of sustenance), O Omniscient, O Sustainer, O Merciful! Warm cakes with sesame seeds".[4]

The majority of the names of God constitute an important part of the compound names of persons and are used in connexion with the term *ʿabd*. Such names were used by Arabs of old. I will refer only to such appellations as are still in vogue. From the 39 proper names of this category 22 connect the word *ʿabd* with names of God which indicate attributes of help, love and mercy. Twelve describe divine attributes and only 5 point to power and revenge. This shows clearly the attitude of the Oriental towards his Creator. He is to the modern Oriental a compassionate and loving rather than an awful and revengeful god.

Like all his Semitic ancestors the Palestinian believes in the o m n i p o t e n c e of God. Everything comes from God, *kull ši min >Allâh*. Hardships like disease, lack of rain, death of a beloved person, and loss of riches are the chastisements of God. This idea is well expressed in the proverb *>Allâh ḫalaq el-balâ*, "God created disease";[5] *iftiqād >Allâh raḥmeh*,[6] "God's chastisements are a mercy"; *>Allâh byuḍrub bi>îd u-bitlaqqâ bi>îd*, "God beats with one hand but

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[1] In *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 107, the number 19 is wrongly given instead of 99.

[2] In *>Arṭās* it is said that the camel knows the hundredth name, but. he will not say it.

[3] The two names *ar-raḥīm* and *ar-raḥmān* are never used in slaughtering, as supposed by DALMAN (PJ XIII, 20), for the adjective "most merciful" is contradictory to the act of killing.

[4] *yā fattāḥ yā karīm yā razzāq yā raḥīm*. Those selling cactus figs shout *ʿalaل-ldh edj-djabr yā ṣabr*, "Restoration (of our daily income depends upon) God, O cactus figs." (D. DUHM, *Der Gemüsemarkt von Jerusalem*, PJ, XVII, 63 ff.).

[5] The whole of the proverb is *>Allâh ḫalaq el-bald wil-ṭibb wid-dawâ*, "God created disease but also medicine and drugs". Cf. John 5[14]; 9[2,34].

[6] The literal translation is, "The visitation of God is a mercy". An oath runs "By the truth of the One who has allowed (lit. .put) this difficulty and is able to remove it", *uḥaqq man waḍaʿ haš-šiddeh uqādir yrfaʿhd*, (Bēt Djālā).

helps with the other"; *Allâh mâ biyblî ḥattâ *ićîn,* "God will not inflict (on any person) any difficulty without also helping (him)".[1] Therefore the Palestinian adds to any promises he makes, *in šâ* *Allâh,* "If God permits"; and to his expectations *miṭl mâ birîd* *Allâh,* "as God wishes". Some even believe that a person is not to be blamed for his immoral character, for this also was decreed by God and nobody can change God's decisions. A proverb teaches, *Allâh ḥalaq eš-šarr umâ riḍiššeh,*[2] "God created the evil, but he does not like it". The decisions of God have been decreed from the beginning of the world and no person can escape his fate. Even the earth is said to declare in years of dearth, "God has not given me (any crops)".[3]

The whole life of a person, his success, his failure, his work, his joys, his worries and his misfortunes have been written by the finger of God on the skull of that person before his birth. This writing is represented by the zigzag sutures. An expression pointing to this idea is *maktûb bēn ćēnēh,* "It is written between his eyes". This idea is also expressed in the words of a peasant who has suffered a heavy blow, *hâḍi ktâbtî,* "this is my fate (lit. this is what my writing predicts)". In speaking of any impending danger the Palestinian prays *Allâh lâ ysmaḥ,* "My God not allow it!" *Allâh lâ yqadder,* "May God not decree it". The idea of God writing something with his own finger is an old Semitic one.[4]

God's radical decrees are unchangeable by any human being, but the Almighty may in His kindness and mercy efface the fate of a person, *Allâh yimḥi_l-qadr bil-luṭf,*[5] "May God in His kindness efface the decreed fate!" The following proverbs express God's power to do what He wishes, as He wishes, and at any time He

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[1] Other sayings are: *illi bitkil ćalâ maulâh mâ ḥâb radjâh,* "The person who depends on his Master will not be disappointed"; *illi *Allâh maćuh lâ ṭḥâf ćalēh,* "Do not be concerned about the person who is cared for by God."

[2] Heard in Dēr Ghassâneh.

[3] The whole proverb is *el-arḍ in aṭćamat bitqûl *and djibt win amḥalat bitqûl *Allâh mâ *aćṭânîš,* "The earth says when it yields a good harvest, 'I produced (all) these fruits', but if it is smitten with dearth it says, 'God has not given!'" JPOS, VIII, 137, 138. This saying characterizes people who boast of the few good deeds they pretend to have done.

[4] In Deut. 9[10]; Ex. 31[18]; 32[16].

[5] This short prayer is ejaculated at time of difficulty.

chooses: *>Allâh mahūl byāḥud ʿaṭūl,* "God is awful; He punishes all
the way through"; *in aʿṭâ mā biminn win >aḥad mā biḥinn,* "If He
gives He does not reproach (for the gifts given) and if He takes
he does not have mercy"; *in aʿṭâ bidhiš win aḥad bifattiš,* "If He
gives He bewilders (i. e. His gifts are overwhelming) but if He
takes He searches (one for the last thing he has)".[1]

God's decrees can often not be understood. Thus He may
give many gifts to the wicked or to those who do not need any
help, while He withholds everything from the good who deserve
more. Or in punishing the wicked God may afflict at the same
time the pious and innoemt. This idea is well expressed in the
proverb, *in saḥaṭ*[2] *(ghiḍib) >Allâh ʿalâ qōm djaʿal waliyhum qird,* "If
God gets angry with a nation He changes even their saint into
a devil"[3] (Jerusalem); *>Allâh be-yaʿṭi l-qarʿah wimm kabbāš ubiḥallî
banāt en-nās balāš,* "God gives the bald-headed woman and that
with a bush of dishevelled hair, but leaves the daughters of better
classes without any gift (hair)". Bald-headed women and those
with dishevelled hair are despised by the Palestinian. *>Allâh bi-yaʿṭi
dj-djōz lallî malōš snān,*[4] "God gives the nuts to those who have
no teeth"; *>Allâh bi-yaʿṭi l-ḥalāweh lallî malōš snān yākulhâ,* "God
gives sweet(s) to those who have no teeth to eat it". *>Allâh
byōḥiḍ eṭ-ṭāyʿ fî ḍanb el-ʿāṣi,*[5] God takes (punishes) the obedient
servant for the transgression of the rebel"[6].

Despite this fatalistic belief in one's own future and destiny,
the Palestinian – Mohammedan and Christian – tries to overcome
these difficulties. As no one knows "his hour" of death *(sāʿtuh)* duty
obliges him to do all he can to escape his decreed fate. He asks
the saints to help him escape a difficulty, cure a sick member of

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[1] Another expression is *in aṭʿam biṭʿam min baqarah win aḥram biḥrim
min ʿašarah,* "If He feeds He feeds from one cow (i. e. He makes the milk of
one cow to suffice for all needs) but if He withholds ten cows will not suffice".

[2] *Saḥaṭ* (to curse) is used often in the sense of changing a person or an
animal to an inferior object.

[3] For the explanation of *qird,* "devil" see CANAAN, *Dämonenglaube im
Lande der Bibel,* p. 15.

[4] BAUMANN, *Volksweisheit aus Palästina,* ZDPV, XXXIX, No. 125.

[5] A variation is *idjir eṭ-ṭāyʿ maʿ idjir el-ʿāṣi.* Another proverb with the same
meaning is *>alldh biyaʿṭi rizquh laʾandjas ḥalquh,* "God gives His goods to the
worst of His creation", ZDPV, XXXIX, No. 126.   [6] Dēr Ghassāneh.

the family, bring an absent son back well, cause an undertaking to prosper, etc. He vows to the holy man one or several offerings. The Palestinian is sure that the *awliā* will intercede for him.[1]

The omnipresence of the Almighty is another fundamental belief of every Palestinian. Therefore His name is called in every place and at every time. God is always ready to answer. His name drives away evil spirits,[2] helps in time of difficulty and strengthens when worries oppress one.[3]

The Palestinian will begin no work, however unimportant it may be, without stating first that it is in the name of God, *bisammi*.[4] In the name of God the peasant begins the ploughing of his fields, the sowing of the seed, the putting of the sickle to the ripe harvest, the loading of the animals with sheaves, the disposal of the latter on the threshing floor and the threshing and winnowing. And in the name of God his wife grinds grain, measures flour, kneads dough, divides it into loaves, bakes bread, plants vegetables, washes her children, cooks food and serves it to her family.[5] Christians use, besides *bism illāh*, the following invocations:

bism el-ʿadrâ,	"In the name of the Virgin!"
bism sittnâ Mariam,	"In the name of our lady Mary!"
bism eṣ-ṣalīb el-ḥaiy,	"In the name of the living crross!"
yā ʿadrâ	"O Virgin!"
yāmm̲en-nūr,	"O Mother of Light!"

The Mohammedans inscribe the name of God, *ʾAllâh*, that of the prophet or a verse of the Qorʾān over the door-lintel.[6] Christians make use of the sign of the cross. The sign of the cross is made every evening on the top of the heap of threshed and winnowed

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[1] CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints*, p. 279.

[2] *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 8, 47, 50.

[3] Gen. 4²⁶; ʾ28; Ps. 105¹; Jes. 12⁴; Acts 4¹²; Rev. 3¹²; Job 14¹⁵; Ps. 4¹; 50¹⁸; Jes. 58⁹; Joel 2³².

[4] CANAAN, *Plant-lore in Palestinian Superstition*, JPOS, VIII, 155; L. EINSLER, *Mosaik*, p. 1. According to ʿABD EL-MEDJĪD ʿALĪ, *at-tuḥfah āl-marḍīyah fīl-aḫbār al-qudsīyah wal-ʾaḥādīt an-nabawīyah wal-ʿaqāid at-tawḥīdīyah wal-ḥikāyāt as-sāmiyah wal-ʾasʿār el-marḍīyah*, p. 6, the prophet Mohammed opened the closed doors of paradise with the words "*bism allāh er-raḥmān er-raḥīm*. This sentence is said to be inscribed on the source of each of the four rivers of paradise.

[5] A. M. RIHBANY, *The Syrian Christ*, pp. 197—198.

[6] CANAAN, *The Palestinian Arab House*, p. 87.

corn as long as it remains on the threshing floor. Such a heap is
called *salîbî*. The sign of the cross is also made over the flour and
the dough. It is painted or engraved over the door-lintel. SONNEN
describes the custom of making on a heap of corn the impression
of a seal bearing the words *barket ʾallâh*, "The blessing of God."[1]

Thus we see that the blessing of God, of His name, or that
of a holy symbol, assures success and the absence of all the powers
of the inferior world. But the holy name should never be uttered
in unclean places (like privies)[2] or during the performance of
unclean actions (urination or defecation).[3] The Tarābîn Bedouin of
the Sinai peninsula tell the following story to prove the blessing
following the invocation of the name of God. Two Bedouin who
sowed a large piece of land in company came at the end of the
work to divide the grain which was heaped on the threshing floor
into two equal parts. While the first heap was divided into two
equal parts without invoking first the name of God, the second
was divided in the same way after this important precaution was
taken. Behold, the part of each one of them in the second heap
was decidedly greater than the respective part of the first heap,
although both heaps were equally large and each one of them was
harvested from a piece of land as large as that of the other.[4]

The many exclamations connected with the name of God and used
in so many phases of the daily life of the Palestinian were originally
in no way intended to be a misuse of the name of the Almighty,
but a continuous invocation for help, protection, and support.[5] In
all his difficulties the Oriental always calls upon his heavenly
Father and generally also upon his earthly father and mother.[6] It
is true that with time this beautiful custom has lost much of its

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[1] *Biblica*, 1927, p. 201.

[2] SNOUCK HURGRONJE, *Mekka* II, p. 40 (after J. PEDERSON, 72).

[3] Conjugal life is regarded as a holy performance, and the name of God
should therefore be uttered before it is done. Some even believe that a bride-
groom should say a prayer before he approaches his bride (ʿĒn Kārim). Should
a person neglect this precaution a male *djinn* may precede him, and the born
child becomes a *šaqi* (rogue).   [4] Heard in Beer-Sheba.

[5] CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints*, p. 279; *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 8,
106.; DALMAN, *Der palästinische Islam*, PJ, XIII, 21 ff.

[6] Under such conditions the Palestinian — even the aged one — is heard
calling *yā baiyi, ydmmd!* See also Math. 26[87-88]; Luk. 22[44].

lofty meaning and the name of the Almighty is often used very carelessly.

Let us now examine the different exclamations connected with the name of God for their real and original intentions. While the European expresses his good wishes with the words "I hope you will succeed, recover, have a good time"[1] and the like, the Palestinian knows that his hopes and wishes can attain nothing. He therefore implores the Almighty to grant prosperity, recovery or a good time. The first emphasizes "I hope", the second on the other hand "May God grant". On enquiring about the health of a person one receives the answer *Allâh ysallmak ʾaḥsan*, "May God keep you healthy he is better"; *el-ḥamdu lil-lâh inšallâh ʾaḥsan*, "Thanks be to God, if God wills, he is better".

The same is true of greetings. The Oriental asks the Almighty to grant the greeted person peace, health, a prosperous day (morning, evening, night), etc. Often the name of the Almighty is omitted in the formula, but it is always understood.[2]

The most important and most beautiful greeting is that already used by all Semitic nations and which is often mentioned in the Bible, namely, *es-salâm ʿalēkum*, "Peace be with you!" The answer is *waʿalēkum es-salâm waraḥmat ʾAllâh wabarakâtuh*, "And peace be with you, as well as God's blessings and His mercy!"[3] After enjoying the hospitality of the host the guest says *ʾAllâh yḫlif ʿalēk*, "May God repay it to you (i.e., increase your riches and thus your hospitality)"! The host answers *ṣaḥḥtēn wʿâfyeh*, "(May it be to you) twice health and wellbeing"! After drinking coffee the guest says, *dâymeh*, "May it (your coffee, i.e. your hospitality) continue!"[4] Those who go to their work before sunrise[5] are heard singing:[6]

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[1] RIHBANY, l.c. Ex. 20[7]; Math. 7[21]; Luk. 6[46].

[2] Some greetings are: *ʾAllâh ysabbiḥkum bil-ḫēr*, "May God give you a prosperous morning". The answer is *yâ ṣabâḥ el-ḫēr*, "O prosperous morning that has come!" *ʾAllâh ysʿid ṣabâḥkum*, "May God render your morning to be prosperous"! *ʾAllâh yaʿṭīhum e-ʿâfiyeh*, "May God give you health (and strength)!" This is said in greeting workers. The answer is *wil-qâyl*, "And to the greeter (lit. sayer)!"   [3] 1 Sam. 25[6]; Jes. 57[19]; Luk. 2[14]; 10[5]; 24[36].

[4] *Dâimeh* should not be said in visits of condolence.

[5] This song is not only used when the peasants go to the harvest (DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte*, 1, 2, p. 572) but also in the case of any work which is begun before sunrise.   [6] ʿEn Kârim.

yā ṣabāḥ el-ḫēr dāym   ṣabbiḥ lī mīn kān nāym
ṣabbiḥ lī ʿĪsâ u Mūsâ   fī ẓalāl el-Qudsi nāym[1]

O morning of blessing! May you always remain!
Give my morning greetings to 'those who are yet sleeping;
Give my morning greetings to Jesus and Moses,
Who are[2] sleeping in the shadow of Jerusalem!

All Oriental salutations are in fact short prayers.[3] A person thanking another for any service received says ʾAllâh ikattir ḫērak![4] If a person has nothing to give a beggar he sends him away with the words ʿala ʾAllâh, "(May your sustenance be) on God"; ʾAllâh yaʿṭīk, "May God give you".[5]

In time of need the Palestinian begs the Almighty in the most persuasive ways to grant his requests.[6] Thus a mother asking God to cure her sick child implores, šaḥḥidnī yāh, "I beseech Thee to grant me my son as alms!" A barren woman whose prayers have been answered and is blessed with a son calls him "The begged one" (šḥādeh, šiḥdeh),[7] "The restored one" (djāber, djabr, djubrān),[8] "Bounty (= bestowed by God, djūdeh). When a person is maltreated by a tyrant or robber,[9] and he can neither protect nor defend himself, he implores them with the words daḫīl ʾAllâh, daḫīl rabbak or daḫīl dīnak, "I take refuge in God", "I take refuge in your Lord", or "I take refuge in your religion". God and their religion being perhaps the only things which those people still respect. The following morning prayer is a beautiful example of submission to the Almighty:

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[1] DALMAN, l.c., gives a variation.   [2] Singular in Arabic.

[3] Whenever one passes the house of his godfather he greets it with the words, "Peace be upon you, O house of my godfather!" (as-salām ʿalēk yā bēt šbīni). Some Mohammedans formerly refused to greet a Christian with as-sālām ʿalēkum, thinking that peace should be wished only to believers.

[4] The new expression of thanking, ʾaškurak, is a literal translation of the European expression "I thank you".

[5] It is said that this consoling phrase should only then be used when one has really nothing to give (Qalōniâ).   [6] Luke 18.

[7] CANAAN, Die Neugebornen in der palästinischen Volkssitte, Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande, vol. 71, pp. 151 ff.   [8] Djibrīn comes from جبرائيل.

[9] The proverb says about such people: mā barḥamak wald baḥalli ḥad yirḥamak walā baḥalli raḥmet ʾAllâh tinzal ʿalēk, "I shall not pity you nor shall I allow anybody to have pity with you, nor shall I allow God's pity to descend upon you".

aṣbaḥ es-ṣabāḥ aṣbaḥ nūr saiydnâ Mohammed ulāḥ
yā rabbî tidjʿal lal-qalb el-ḥazīn muftāḥ

The morning has begun

The light of our lord Mohammed has appeared and shone!

O my Lord (I beseech thee), give to the broken heart a key
(of comfort and help)!

Swearing by the name of God has always been considered as
the most sacred and solemn affirmation of a statement. While using
such language the peasant never intends to misuse the name of
the Almighty. He simply calls God to witness that what has been
said is the whole truth.[1] The use of such a solemn affirmation is
a very old custom.[2] Swearing, however, has now lost a great deal
of its sacred character, so much so, that a proverb says *ḥudlak
hal-yamīn miṭl waraq et-fīn iši mšarram wiši balâ tašrīm*, "Take this
oath, which is like the leaves of a fig tree, some are torn (in pieces)
and others are without tears".[3]

The formulae used belong to one of the following categories:[4]

1. The name or an appellation of God, that of a *weli* or of a
   sanctuary are connected with the oath.
2. The *yamīn* or *qasam* (oath) mentions some natural phenomenon
   or a part of the human body.

As the second category does not concern us at present we
shall only examine those of the first kind. Some formulae with
the name of God are *wallâh*, "By God"; *wiḥyāt ʾAllâh*, "By the
life of God"; *wallâh el-ʿazīm*, "By God the Great"; *wallâh umā
aʿazz min ʾAllâh*, "By God and there is no one more powerful
then He"; *urabb el-ʿizz*, "By the Lord of power"; *urabb ʿĪsâ u
Mûsâ*, "By the Lord of Jesus and Moses"; *urabb el-kaʿbeh*, "By the
Lord of the Kaʿbeh"; *urabb el-ins widj-djinn*, "By the Lord of men
and demons"; *urabb es-samâ wil-arḍ*, "By the Lord of heaven and

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[1] RIHBANY, l.c., 167.   [2] Gen. 21²³; 22¹⁶; Rom. 9¹; 12¹.

[3] These conditions prevailed in Biblical times and led to the injunction
of Jesus: " I say unto you swear not at all, neither by heaven, for it is God's
throne, nor by the earth, for it is His footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is
the city of the great King. Neither shall thou swear by thy head, because thou
canst not make one hair white or black". Math. 5,³⁴⁻³⁶, Jam. 5¹², Ex. 20⁷;
Lev. 19¹².

[4] *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 126,

earth"; *wiḥyāt hal-ʿūd wir-rabb el-maʿbūd*,[1] "By the life of this stick and the adored God"; *wallâh wiḥyāt hal-ghēt̲ ed-dāridj min es-samâ*, "By God and the life of this rain which pours from heaven";[2] *udīni wimānî*, "By my religion and belief"; *udīni umaʿbūdî*, "By my religion and my adored One (God)".

The saints play an important rôle in oaths. In some districts, especially among the Bedouin, *awliâ* are even more often mentioned than God. Only a few characteristic oaths of this category will be mentioned:[3] *uḥaqq el-Ḥaḍr el-aḥḍar*, "By the truth of St. George"; *wallâh wiḥyāt ibn Saʿīd*, "By God and the life of *Ibn Saʿīd*";[4] *udjāh en-nabi Mūsâ*, "By the honour of the prophet Moses"; *uḥyāt Ḥmēd fakkāk el-ʿabīd*[5] *min el-ḥadīd*,[6] "By the life of Ḥmēd, the releaser of slaves from iron (fetter)".[7] When a Bedouin brings his case to a Bedouin judge, he addresses him with the words *weš ʿindak yā qāḍi̲ l̲-ʿarab yā fakkāk en-našab*[8] *djītak ṣaddi*[9] *baḥkî djaddî ḥazzî uḥazzak yudḫul ʿa⁾arbaʿh warbʿīn nabi in kāmēt*[10] *(i)tḍurrak win ḥakēt (i)tsirrak....*,[11] "What do you have (to say), O judge of the Arabs, O you who (judge and) reveal (the truth) in a case of money. I have come to you, speaking very earnestly. My luck and your luck

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[1] Many add, *wis-saiyd Dāḥūd*, "And the lord David". When a Bedouin gives a witness before a Bedouin judge he adresses him, *wiḥyāt hal-ʿūd wir-rabb el-maʿbūd will-kādib mâluh malūd (= maulūd) lā ṭamaʿ r̲ādjīh walâ ghēz šāfîh illa ḥaqq ⁾Allâh min raqbati maddîh (= muʾaddîh) in hâḍâ r-rādjil...*, "By the life of this stick and the adored God—and the liar shall have no children—(I give this witness) not driven by any ambition, nor to satisfy any grudge, but I give only the truth (which I owe to God), this man..." See also BŪLUS SAIYŪR EL-BŪLUSÎ, *ʿawā⁾idu̲ l̲-ʿarab*, p. 143; JAUSSEN, *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 191.

[2] The last three oaths combine the name of the Almighty with some natural phenomena.

[3] For further description of oaths see CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 125 ff.

[4] Ibn Saʿīd is Msallam ibn Saʿīd of the ʿAzāzmeh Bedouin.

[5] Ḥmēd has his sanctuary to the south of ʿAqabah, on the seashore. He is said to have once released the prisoners of ʿAqabah. Ḥmēd is honoured by most Bedouin of the Negeb.

[6] Another oath describes this saint as the protector of raids *(ghazú): wiḥyāt Ḥmēd ʿāḍid el-mohramāt*, "By the life of Ḥmēd, protector in raids".

[7] Some of these oaths are taken from ʿĀRIF EL-ʿĀRIF, l.c., p. 72.

[8] See *Muḥīṭ*, p. 2073. It is explained as العتاد او المال الأصيل من الناطق والصامت

[9] *Muḥīṭ*, p. 1173.　　[10] *Muḥīṭ*, p. 1844.

[11] The rest of the text is of no importance for our subject.

lie under the protection of forty-four prophets. If you hide (the truth) they (the 44 prophets) will injure you and if you speak the truth they will repay you with joy....," [1] No mention of God whatever is made in this speech.

Among vows connected with a holy object or a sanctuary we may mention: *wil-mashaf*, "By the Qorʾān"; *wil-indjīl eṭ-ṭāher*, "By the pure New Testament"; *wil-kaʿbeh*, "By the Kaʿbeh"; *uqabr el-ḥalāṣ*, "By the tomb of Salvation"; *wiṣ-ṣaḥrah eš-šarīfeh*, "By the holy rock (of the Mosque of Omar)"; *wiḥyāt has-sēf wil-mashaf* (Bedouin), "By the life of this sword and the Qorʾān".

The same considerations are true of curses:[2] Every Oriental likes to avenge himself for every injustice he receives. But if he is too weak to take his own *ṭār*, he turns to his almighty Creator, who is the greatest avenger.[3] He implores him to punish his enemies, whom he regards at the same time as God's enemies. The formulae used are nearly the same as those once used by his forefathers, the ancient Semites.[4]

All these usages illustrate the fact that the manner of speech of the Oriental is that of a simple person who has not yet been spoiled by so-called civilization. Life with all its activities, its joys, and its cares revolves around one center and one only, namely God, who has always been and still is regarded as the all in all, *min ʾAllāh, ʿalā ʾAllāh, la ʾAllāh*, "from God, to God, for God !".

Thus the name of God, *ʾAllāh*, is invoked in every place and on every occasion. Therefore, the Mohammedans recite their prayers not only in a mosque or sanctuary, but wherever they happen to be. Nevertheless there are certain places and days or parts of days which are considered more acceptable to God when prayers are made. Prayer in the sanctuary of an important *welī* is thought to be more quickly answered. A request made in *lēlatu-l-qadr*[5] is better heard, since the doors of heaven are believed to be open on that night.[6]

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[1] BŪLUS SAIYŪR EL-BŪLUSĪ, l.c., p. 140. See also JAUSSEN, *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 190.

[2] The present writer expects to write a special paper on this subject.

[3] Deut. 32^{89}; 1 Sam. 2^6; Job 5^{18}; Rom. 12^{19}.   [4] Ps. 59^{15}; 69$^{22-25,28}$.

[5] *Lēlatu-l-qadr* is supposed to be the 27th of Ramaḍān.

[6] Whenever a person dies the doors of heaven are also supposed to open, while the angels descend and ascend.

Other favourable days for prayer are,[1] the month of Ramaḍān,[2] the day of ʿArāfāt, the fourteenth of Šaʿbān, and the eve of Friday, i.e. the night between Thursday and Friday. Favourable hours of the day are midnight, the time for calling the morning[3] and noon prayers, especially the Friday midday prayer.[4] A mother whose child is dangerously ill will go up at midnight to the roof of her house and implore the Almighty for the recovery of her son. Then her prayer will be carried quickly by the angels, who fill the air at this hour.[5]

This characteristic—o m n i p r e s e n c e—is also an attribute of the important awliâ, the anbiâ and the ʾaqṭāb. Thus it is believed that whenever and wherever thy are invoked they answer the call. A person in Jerusalem may call upon Abraham, who is buried in Hebron. En-nabî Dāhûd, whose tomb is in Jerusalem, helps a person calling upon him from Nāblus and en-nabî Mūsâ, whose shrine lies southwest of Jericho, responds to prayers of the ʿIdwān Bedouin of Transjordan. Nevertheless, experience has shown that these awliâ will answer more promptly if the person calling upon one of them goes to their sanctuary or calls upon them during the mōsam. An exception to this rule is made by el-Ḥaḍr, the prophet Mohammed, sittnâ Mariam. mār Miḫāyîl[6] and, to a certain extent, the four ʾaqṭāb,

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[1] See MOHAMMED ES-SAFĀRĪNĪ, kitāb ghiḏāʾuِ_l-ʾalbāb lišarḥ manẓūmatiِ_l-ʾādāb, vol. II. p. 424.

[2] There is, according to es-SAMARQANDĪ, around the throne of the Almighty a plain, mardj, called ḥaḍīratuِ_l-quds, which is full of angels who are continually praying. On the first day of Ramaḍān they ask God to descend to earth to pray the taḥāwîṭ with the multitude of believers. Every one who happens to touch or who is touched by any one of them becomes lucky and prosperous all his life.

[3] Mohammedans of Syria believe that God sends his angels every morning to distribute human necessities and to bless what they have. Such a blessing is granted only to those who rise early to work (ZDPV, VII, 100). For a similar belief connected with the time of sunset see below.

[4] Such a time is specially favourable for making amulets (Aberglaube und Volksmedizin, p. 51), performing magic acts (l.c., p. 67) and for children receiving the blessing of the angels which fill the air at such an hour. Syrian mothers will at such an hour not carry their children but place them on the ground in order to assure the blessing (ZDPV, VII, 89).

[5] CANAAN, Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries, pp. 138, 139.

[6] This belief in mār Miḫāyîl is not wide spread.

who are omnipresent. A saying compares a person seen within a short time at different places with el-Ḥaḍr and mār Miḫāyīl: intī mitl el-Ḥaḍr fī kull maṭraḥ ḥāḍir, "You are like St. George, who is present in every place"[1]; intī mitl mār Miḫāyīl ḥāḍer nāẓer, "You are like St. Michael, who is (always) present and sees everything". The minor awliā are believed, on the other hand, to have and practice their authority, and influence at their residence, where their followers live.

In this connexion we often meet with a practice which is surely a vestige of the primitive religion of the Semites.[2] A peasant on a journey or living in a strange country will in time of need invoke one of the different awliā of his own village or of his own district, for such a saint is his own saint, his protector, who is responsible for his own welfare. The saints of the foreign country do not know him and will not recognize him as one of their clients. The writer knows of several cases where Palestinians, living in America, when severely sick invoked a welī of their own village, vowing at the same time a sum of money for the repair of the shrine or for distribution in his name to the poor.

This deeply rooted belief in the saints is carried to extremes in certain cases. When heaven withholds its blessing (raḥmeh) the peasants arrange for rain processions in which God and the saints are asked to help. Some processions are composed only of children. A bird is released in order to carry the prayers of the multitude to heaven.[3] The saints are also called upon to bless, protect, and help. Thus brush-wood, lime, grain, straw, etc. may be safely deposited in or around their shrines. Nobody dares to steal anything, for the saints protect the object entrusted to their care. Children are often circumcised in a sanctuary. A part of the bridegroom's festival procession must visit a shrine in many villages.[4] The dbīhet el-ʿaqd, in some places also dbīhet el-ʾasās,[5] as well as the animal killed on finishing the harvest, are killed in the name of Abraham. The protector of the threshing floor is throught in some villages to be

[1] See also HANAUER, Tales told in Palestine, pp. 82 ff.
[2] W. R. SMITH, Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, pp. 28 ft.
[3] DALMAN, PJ, XIII, 17.   [4] Seen in ʿAnātā.
[5] ʿEn Kārim, Qalōniā, and Šarāfāt. In most places it is for the djinn inhabiting the place, see CANAAN, The Palestinian Arab House, p. 86.

Abû Hureirah.[1] A man who has a large flock of sheep or goats cuts the ear of the first-born lamb in the name of Abraham, hoping that this man of God will protect the whole flock. If he is very rich he may also dedicate the last-born lamb of that year to this saint. In measuring grain, the eleventh $ṣā^c$ [2] is dedicated to the prophet Mohammed, *el-ḥādi lan-nabî*, and the last measure belongs to Abraham. This is also distributed among the poor. More vows are made to the saints than to God.[3]

Another fundamental religious belief of the Oriental is the boundless mercy of God. *Aiy inti aḥann ʿalēh min illi ḫalaquh,* "Are you more compassionate with him (i.e., your son) than God, who created him?" is a widely known saying. When a mother nurses her sick child day and night her neighbours reproach her for not trusting sufficiently in God and say: "I came (i.e. God) to pity him, but found his parents embracing him (continually)"[4]. A beautiful saying teaches that *illi ḥaṭṭ bišîl willi balâ biʿîn,*[5] "The one who has imposed (these difficulties) will remove (them); and the one who has afflicted will help!" In years of lack of rain people comfort themselves with the words, "God is more kind to his people (than they are to themselves)".[6]

A man who tries to bear not only his own burdens but also those of others is reproached with the words, "Leave something for God (to care for)",[7] and "God is with his broken-hearted worshippers.[8] A proverb teaches, "I propose (lit. think) and God disposes (arranges), for God is able to do everything."[9] Another saying is "Purify your intentions and (have no fear to) sleep in

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[1] DALMAN, PJ, XIII, p. 18. A peasant of ʿĒn Kārim assured me that the workers will call upon Abû Hureirah if there is no wind during the winnowing.

[2] Not *sāʿ*, as wrongly printed in JPOS, VIII, 155, N. 6.

[3] Most of these items were fully described in *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine.*

[4] *Djît la-ʾasfaq ʿalēh laqētuh fî ḥuzn wāldēh.*

[5] A variation of this proverb was mentioned above.

[6] *ʾAllāh alṭaf fî ʿibāduh.*

[7] The complete proverb is *lēš ḥāmil es-sullam bil-ʿarḍ ḫalli la-ʿAllāh šî,* "Why are you carrying the ladder transversely (i.e. carrying all the difficulties in the wrong way), leave something to God (to care for)!"

[8] *ʾAllāh maʿ ʿibāduh el-munkisrīn.*

[9] *And bit-tafkīr wallāh bit-tadbīr inn ʾAllāh ʿalā kull šaiyʾin qadīr.*

the wilderness, for God's resolution is stronger than any other one".[1]

Several proper names which are much used refer directly to the mercy, the goodness, and the love of God.[2] The names of God inscribed on the talisman, known as the *mâskeh*,[3] ascribe the same attributes to the heavenly Father. These are *yā ḥāfiẓ*, O Protector; *yā šāfī*, O Healer; *yā kāfī*, O Sufficient One; *yā ʾamīn*, O Faithful. The mother does not know a better way of protecting her child when it falls, is frightened, or has any ailment, than by asking the Almighty to "surround" it with his mercy. "I encircle you with God ('s name and mercy)."[4] Many Palestinians will not fail to put themselves under the protection of the Almighty every evening before going to bed, with the words[5] "We have closed (the doors of) our house and God is our (protecting) talisman. May God have mercy on our mother and father."[6] A few lines of an evening prayer run:[7]

> *yā rabbī thannan ʿalaiy widjʿal bēni waʿdāi ḥdjāb*
> *ubaḥr nadjdjāb*[8] *wisyūf tilmaʿ wiḥdjār tišqaʿ*[9]

"O my Lord have mercy upon me and place between me and my enemies a talisman and a large sea and glittering swords and violently thrown stones." A proverb describing the charms of a short wife is *ḥawaṭṭik birabb el-ʿarš yā lūlū malān el-farš*, "I encircle you with the Lord of the Throne, O qearls filling my bed." The following prayer repeated by Mohamedans before retiring at night conveys the same idea:

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[1] *Ṣaffi‿n-niyeh unām fil-barrīyeh uniyet ʾAllāh blighlib kull niyeh.*

[2] Such are *Raḥmetallāh*, The mercy of God; *Djādallāh*, God's generosity; *Ḥērallāh*, God's goodness; *Ḥabīballāh*, The one beloved by God; *ʿAṭā-ʾallāh*, The gift of God; *ʿŌnallāh*, The help of God; *Niʿmetallāh*, The grace of God; *Saʿdallāh*, Fortune given by God; *Rizqallāh*, Sustenance given by God; *Luṭfallāh*, Kindness of God; *Nūrallāh*, Light of God; *Djārallāh*, The neighbour of God; *ʿŌdetallāh*, (contracted by the Bedouin into *ʿŌṭallāh*), The gift (lit. the returned child) of God; *Ḥamdallāh*, The praise of God; *Faradjallāh*, The comfort (relief) of God; *ʿAwaḍallāh*, The compensation of God.

[8] *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 52, 91.   [4] *Ḥauwaṭṭak bal-llah.*

[5] CANAAN, *The Palestinian Arab House*, p. 96.

[6] *Sakkarnā dārnā wallāh ḥdjābnā uraḥmet ʾAllāh ʿalli djābatnā udjābnā.*

[7] Said generally in the eve of Friday. Heard in Jerusalem.

[8] *Muḥīṭ*, (p. 2040) does not know this word, but *mandjūb* means الاٰتَ الواسِع

.شقع الرجل لفلان اي سبه وتشاقغ الرجلان تشاتما   [9] *Muḥīṭ*, p. 1106, says الجوف.

In Lebanon it is used of throwing stones. In Palestine it means "to chatter".

I have encircled our house and family
with the tablet[1] and the pen,[2]
with the throne and what it bore,
with the seven words said on the mountain by our master
    Mohammed.
(I beg Thee), do not allow any creeping animal to fall
    upon us,
nor a strange foot (= stranger),
nor a drinker of ʿaraq,
nor a drinker of wine,
until the sun arises[3]
and sings to the One, the Victorious, the Beloved.[4]

Besides God saints are also asked to "surround" children
Thus a verse of a Christian cradle song runs:

> yā djīret ʾAllâh yā mēmtî
> witdjîrî ʾasāmîhum
> umiyeh warbaʿtaʿšer qaddîs
> yitfattalû ḥawalēhum.

"O neighbourhood of God – O my mother,

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[1] Qorʾān, LXXXV, 12: "the original whereof is written on a tablet kept in heaven". This tablet—called the preserved table—has been kept since the beginning of the world near the throne of God. In it are also recorded the divine decrees past and future; G. SALE, *The Qoran*, p. 50.

[2] The 68th Sūreh is called "The Pen". Many think that the pen with which God's decrees were written is to be understood.

[3] As soon as the sun rises it drives away the spirits of the lower world; CANAAN, *Light and Darkness*, JPOS, XI, p. 34.

[4] The Arabic text is:

> ḥauwaṭṭ bētnd udārnd
> bil-lōḥ wil-qalam
> ubil-ʿarš umd ḥamal
> ubis-sabiʿ kalīmāt illi qālhd saiydnd Muḥammad ʿadj-djabal
> lā tnazzil dabībeh
> walā šarrāb ʿaraq
> walā šarrāb nabīdi
> illd mā ṭilʿat eš-šams
> undght el-wāḥid el-qahhār el-ḥabībi.

Another version says "ten words" instead of "seven" and makes the last line "and salutes the beloved prophet." The first version was heard in Jerusalem, the second in Haifa.

mayest thou surround (lit. be the neighbour of) their
names,

and may one hundred and fourteen saints
be (continually) turning around them.[1]

God's mercy extends so far that He cares for all He has created.
This idea is beautifully expressed in the words of the sower,
yā ṭāᶜim ed-dūd fil-ḥadjar edj-djalmūd. "He leadeth the birds in the
darkness of the night," *yā msaiyer eṭ-ṭēr fī ẓalām el-lēl.* His mercy
goes still further. He allows animals, trees and stones to witness
on the day of judgement in favour of human souls, in order that
they may be saved.[2] Thus stones piled up by the pilgrim on his
way to a sanctuary will remind the holy man in whose honour
the *zyârah* (visit) was made to help and to intercede for the pilgrim.[3]
The idea of stones bearing witness was known in the ancient
Orient.[4] On the 10th of Muḥarram many peasants offer a hen or
a cock as a ransom for their soul. Nobody should eat of this
offering, which is called *ᶜueṣīreh,* except the person on whose
behalf it was offered. On the day of judgement this bird will flutter
above his head, thus helping to protect his soul.[5]

God has created the whole universe and knows everything
about the mountains, the sea, all plants, and all animals. This idea
has suggested many Arabic idioms and proverbs. Thus the moon
is called "God's moon"; *hall hlālak,* "Your new moon has appeared".
Another expression has it, "The new moon of God has appeared
and His majesty has appeared."[6] The same is true of standing corn.
A song begins *yā zrēᶜ ʾAllâh,* "O standing corn of God!"[7] Proverbial
expressions make plants praise God: *mā ṣā ʾAllâh ez-zarᶜ bisabbiḥ
rabbuh,* "O how beautiful! the standing corn praises its lord";[8]
subḥān ḫāliqhâ, "May its Creator be praised". A tree is supposed
to say "I drink through my trunk and praise my lord" (*baṣrab min*

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[1] Heard in Jerusalem.

[2] The Tarābīn Bedouin of the Negeb believe that even animals and vegetables
must appear on the day of judgement before the throne of the Almighty. One
plant may then accuse another, saying "it bent me so severely that I was hurt."

[3] For the description of such stone-heaps see CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints
and Sanctuaries,* pp. 74 ff.   [4] Cf. Luke 19⁴⁰, Gen. 31⁴⁵ ff; Heb. 3¹¹.

[5] Heard in Sarrīs. In other parts of Palestine all the members of the family
may eat of the offering.   [6] *Hall hlāl ʾAllâh uhall djalāluh.*

[7] DALMAN, *Haupt-Festschrift,* p. 387.   [8] JPOS, VIII, 164.

ʿirqî ubasabbiḥ rabbî). On another occasion it proclaims "I am sustained by the grace of my lord!" — *anâ min niʿmet rabbî ʿâyš.* An oath runs *uḥaqq man yaʿlam kam waraqah ʿahaš-šadjarah ukam šaʿrah fî hal-ḥaiwān*, "By the truth of the One who knows how many leaves are on this tree and how many hairs on this animal." The person uttering this oath points to a tree and to an animal.[1] Another oath says, *uḥaqq ʿuwēnet eš-šams el-mgharrbeh laṭâʿet rabbhâ*, "By the truth of the disk[2] of the sun which is setting[3] in obedience to (the rules of) its Lord!"[4]

Only proud and foolish people forget this holy duty. They are compared to the stiff handles of a clay brazier, *kull šî larabbuh byusdjud illa qrūn el-mōqadeh*, "Everything bows down to its lord except the handles of the clay brazier." *Ed-djādjeh btišrab ubtuškur rabbhâ*, "The hen drinks and (in lifting up her head to heaven) thanks her lord;" *eṭ-ṭyūr bitsabbiḥ rabbhâ bil-lghāhin*, "The birds praise their lord by their chirping." The warbling of some birds is believed to be a continuous repetition of one of God's names. Thus some doves coo continually, *yā raʾūf yā raʾūf*, "O Merciful, O Merciful!", others *yā karîm yā karîm*, "O Gracious, O Gracious!" The cock is said to perform his devotions in the early morning while people are still asleep.

The deep-rooted belief in the relation between the Creator and His creation goes so far as to make the peasants think that the name of God, *ʾAllâh* or rather the first letter of the same, the ١, is inscribed on some fruits. Thus the longitudinal grooves on all

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[1] *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 126.

[2] Lit. "small eye".

[3] *El-mgharrbeh* may also be translated "going to the west". The last two oaths are used by Mohammedans and Christians.

[4] Other oaths describing the Almighty's care for his creation as well as some of his activities are: *uḥaqq illi rafaʿ es-samd ubasaṭ el-arḍ*, "By the truth of the One who elevated heaven, and stretched the earth"; *uḥaqq man katab ʿalēh (ʿalal-haṭab) bil-ḥarîq*, "By the truth of the One who decreed that this wood is for burning"; *uḥaqq man dâr el-ḥalāweh fî haš-šadjarah*, "By the truth of the One who put sweetness into (the fruits of) this tree"; *uḥaqq man djamaʿnâ min ghēr mîʿâd*, "By the truth of the One who decreed that we should come together without any previous agreement (on our part)"; *wiḥyât man qasam lak naṣîb fî haz-zâd*, "By the life of the One who alotted you a share in this food"; *wiḥyât illi ṣabagh el-ʿabd ulaiyan el-ḥadîd*, "By the life of the One who coloured the negro and made iron malleable".

grains of wheat[1] are said to be the | of *Allâh*. Due to the holy name of God corn and bread enjoy a mystic sacred significance in Palestinian superstition. *Bēnnâ ʿēš umilḥ*, "there is bread and salt between us"[2] means "there is a solemn covenant between us".[3] It is further believed that wheat was the tree chosen by God to be the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Therefore corn and bread are highly respected by the peasants, being the greatest gift of God to mankind. One may even take an oath by bread, *wihyāt hal-ʿēš*, "By the life of this bread!"[4]

Even this does not represent the climax of the peasants' piety. Not only do the plants praise God, they even bow down in veneration before the throne of the Creator. On the night of *lēlatu_l-qadr* the trees kneel in reverence because they may not look on the face of the Almighty. The Mohammedans believe that the gates of heaven open on this night, and the waters of the sea become sweet.[5] Christians hold the same belief in regard to the olive tree on the feast of the Holy Cross (September 13th) and on Epiphany (January 6th). They also believe that unleavened dough will ferment without aid in this night.[6] This is why some Christians believe that some mulberry wood must be burnt in the night of Epiphany, for this tree was the only plant which, owing to its pride, did not kneel down in veneration of the day.[7] It is difficult to imagine a more poetic and pious conception.

The veneration of the Palestinian peasant and his gratitude to his Creator is beautifully expressed in the saying *mā binṭūl samāh binḥibb waṭāh*,[8] "We cannot reach His heaven (to thank Him) there-

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[1] I heard the following story about corn in ʿEn Kārim. It seems to be known in the whole district of Jerusalem. As long as Adam was in paradise he was as pure as the angels and he did not need to defecate. Satan tempted him and gave him corn to eat. Through committing this sin he became in every way human. With this new unclean state he could not remain in paradise.   [2] Rihbany, l. c., p. 191.

[3] A proverb says *mā fī taʿām illa baʿd el-kalām*, "No food can be taken, except after finishing our conversation", i. e. we can not partake of your food (of your bread and salt) and thus become bound in a covenant before settling our affairs (Gen. 24^{33}).

[4] For further material on this subject see JPOS, VIII, 155 ff.

[5] ZDPV, VII, 86.   [6] Heard in Bēt Djālā, Bethlehem, ʿEn Kārim.

[7] In Northern Palestine and Syria. JPOS, XIII, 177.

[8] Heard in Transjordan, known also in Palestine.

fore we kiss the earth (which is His footstool)."[1] Complete resignation to God could not be better expressed than in the words of a sick person, "They asked me: Shall we bring you a physician? I said it would not do. My God has wounded me and He will cure me. This is better and more profitable".[2] Another proverb describing God as physician is, "God touches the pulse (lit. the joint) and gives the proper medicine".[8]

Saints are also regarded as healing physicians. Thus the following stanza of a hymn of praise sung to the prophet calls Mohammed "physician":[4]

>Allâh >Allâh >Allâh >Allâh
yā Muḥammad yā ḥabībī
kun ṭabībī
wa>adjirnî min laḥībī
inna >awzārî ṭiqāl.[5]

"God, God, God, God, O Mohammed! O my beloved! Be my physician and save me from the fire. My sins are very heavy."

Although the present inhabitants of Palestine do not worship the heavenly bodies there are few practices and sayings which may point to this ancient custom.[6] A song said at sunrise by the inhabitants of the villages south of Bethlehem is:

subḥān man saiyarek
   „   „   daiyarek (or dauwarak)
   „   „   ṣauwarek
   „   „   rafaʿek ʿan el-ʿibād u>anwarek

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[1] 1 Chr. 28[2]; Ps. 99[5]; 132[7]; Math. 5[85].

[2] Qālú indjiblak imdāwi qult mā (i)yṣlaḥ rabbi djaraḥni urabbi >idāwīni >aḥyar waṣiaḥ. Other proverbs of the same sublime type are: lā tiḥkal hamm foq rāsak rabb, "Do not mind any anxiety for there is above your head a Lord"; >Alldh mā biḥalli ṭ-ṭarīḥ maṭrūḥ wala r-rāʿi bald ṣbūḥ, "God does not leave the sick forsaken, nor the shepherd without a breakfast".

[8] Rabbnd biḥiss el-mafṣal ubyaʿṭi ed-dawd.

[4] Heard in Nāblus.

[5] The continuation of this song is:
      kun ghadan yauma‿l-qaṣāṣi   yauma yu>aḥadu bin-nawāṣi
      sāʿian fi ḥalāṣi   min ḥisābin wasu>āl.

"Be tomorrow on the day of punishment, the day when (people) are taken by the hairs of the forelock, working for my salvation, from all my accounts and (the process of) enquiry"!

[6] II Kg. 11[12]; 21[8,5]; 23[5]; Jer. 14[18]; Zeph. 1[5].

May He be exalted who made you go!

  „   „   „   „   „   „   „ turn (from one direction to the

  „   „   „   „   „ shaped you!   [other)!

  „   „   „   „   „ lifted you above his servants and made you shine!

Another song runs:

eš-šams ummnâ	*wil-qamar abūnâ*
unidjmet Shēl	*itdillna ʿalâ drūbnâ,*

The sun is our mother, and the moon is our father·
And the star Canopus shows us our ways.

A prayer uttered by the inhabitants of ʾArṭās in the forenoon, when the sun is already high in the sky is:

ed-ḍuḥâ umīn ḍaḥāha	*wiš-šams umīn djalāha*
wil-qamar umīn ʿalāha[2]	*wil-maiy umīn djarrāha.*

The forenoon – who made it?   The sun (disk) – who polished it?
The moon – who lifted it?   The water – who made it run?[3]

A married woman who lives far from her parents welcomes the rising moon with the words: *ahlan usahlan bimwannis*[4] *el-gharibeh,*[5] "Welcome O you who keeps company with the stranger".[6]

Every child is advised by his friends to throw a fallen tooth from between his legs towards the sun-disk with the words "Take, O sun, this donkey's tooth and give me a tooth of a gazelle".[7]

In welcoming the new moon Palestinians say *ihill ihlālak widjil-djalālak widjʿalak ʿalēnâ šahr imbārak,* "May your New Moon appear (like a crescent) and your might be high and may you be made a blessed month for us".[8]

Flowers and trees should be planted only while the moon is growing, else they will not prosper. It is widely believed that the sun drives away with its heavenly power all the powers of the lower world. This is why demons perform most of their actions

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[1] "Sun" الشمس is feminine and "moon" القمر is masculine, in the Arabic language.

[2] As *el-qamar* is masc. the line should really be *wil-qamar umīn djalāh.*

[3] The conjunction *wa* "and" has been left in the translation.

[4] *Wannasa* is unknown to *Muḥīṭ.*   [5] Heard in ʾArṭās.

[6] A proverb says *inti miṭl el-qamar bitwannes mā btinfaʿ,* "You are like the moon, you keep company but you are of no other help."

[7] CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition,* JPOS, VII, 175.

[8] CANAAN, *Light and Darkness in Palestine Folklore,* JPOS, XI, p. 26.

in the darkness of the night. During daytime they can unfold their action only in places where the rays of the sun do not penetrate.[1]

Several sayings known widely over the country illustrate how the Palestinians regard the heavenly bodies as living beings of supernatural powers. An oath runs *wiḥyāt ʿuwēnit eš-šams*, "By the life of the sun-disk." The Bedouin of Bīsān hold that the hour when Conopus (*suhēl*) appears is the most acceptable time for grayers (blessings, curses and oaths). Such an hour is called *sāʿit suhēl*. An oath heard from a Ṣaqr Bedouin runs "By the life of the arising *suhēl*".

By no means do these examples point to a direct worship of the heavenly bodies. But they contain several points which may have had their origin in the ancient custom of solar worship.

Every human being is given at birth a protecting angel, *malāk*[2] *ḥāris*,[3] who continually accompanies and rotects him.[4] When enquiry after the well-being of the children of a friend is made the following formula is used: "How are the protected ones?"[5] i.e., those protected by their angels. Even every organ of the human body has its protecting angel.[6] If we did not have those heavenly spirits the human race would have perished long ago. The angel accompanying man not only protects his body, but also his soul. Every human being has, according to Mohammedan belief, in addition to this guardian angel two spirits who continually accompany him. One sits on his right shoulder and the other on his left. One records his good deeds, the other his evil ones.[7] Whenever a person commits an evil action the spirit recording his good acts requests the other to postpone the recording of the evil deed until the day is over, for thus argues the heavenly spirit: "This person may still ask God for forgiveness before the close of the day". This idea is

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[1] See *Aberglaube, Dämonenglaube* and *Light and Darkness*.

[2] The description of the anɡᵉ's is given here only to show the relation of the different supernatural powers to each other.

[3] CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition*, JPOS, VII, 166 ff.

[4] CANAAN, *Palestinian Demonology, The Parents Review*, vol. XXXVII, p. 718. Math. 18[10]; Heb. 1[14]; Ps. 34[8]; 91[11].

[5] *Kīf el-maḥrūsīn*. This expression resembles that used in Ps. 127[8]. Other expressions with the same idea are, *ʾAllāh iḥallīlak el-maḥrūsīn; kull maḥrūs maqrūṣ*.   [6] CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Folklore*, JPOS, VII, 166.

[7] The angel who records the good deeds sits on the right shoulder, the other on the left one.

poetically exgressed in the beautiful evening prayer: "Sunset has taken place. Death draws nearer and the earth is closed over what it contains (the dead). O thou who writest down my misdeeds! O God, O my Lord, (I beseech thee), to efface them!"[1]

The following invocation has the same idea. It shows at the same time that the saints are asked to intercede by the Almighty for us sinners:

My sins have increased, and I am confused by them!

By the life of our lady *Fāṭmeh*, her mother, and her father,

(I beseech Thee, O my God), to efface all my sins!

(As well as) every time the pencil records (one of) them![2]

These two angels are believed to say for every action the person commits, "for ever" (*dāiman*), i.e., "May it (your action) continue to be done in this way for ever." Therefore old women advise young girls and especially brides to be always cheerful and kind and to utter nothing but good words.[3]

It is a well known fact that Mohammedans believe that angels do not enter a house where dogs, pigs, bells, human pictures, or statues are found.[4] No angel will enter a privy. Even the two angels[5] accompanying continually a person will await him outside the door whenever he enters such a place. Should he speak while he is in this unclean place, the angels have to enter to keep record of all that he has said. They will curse him for having forced them to enter the unholy place.

As soon as a person dies angels descend from heaven to see what sins he has performed. They examine every organ separately to find out what misdeeds each organ has committed. This is plainly expressed in the prayer:[6]

Yā sūrati̱ l-anʿām[7]   *iḥdarī lēlat wiḥdatī*

wil-malāʾikah ṭālʿah unāzleh   *titqallab fī djiṯṯatī*

ušiffatī wil-lsāni   *hum asāsu lbalā.*

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[1] *El-ghrūb gharrabat wil-mōt qarrabat wil-arḍ qaffalat ʿala ma fīhā yā kātib ʾisāʾāti ʾilāhi yā rabbi timḥīhā.*   [2] *kitҏrat ḏnūbi wiḥtart ana fīhā biḥyāt sittnā Fāṭmeh wimmhā wabūhā timḥa ḏnūbi kullhā kullma ḥaṭṭ el-qalam fīhā.*

[3] See also ZDPV, VII, 101.   [4] This belief is dying out.

[5] During the conjugal act the "angel of mercy", *malāk er-raḥmeh*, who is probably the recorder of the good deeds, leaves the room and reenters only after the person has washed himself ritually (ʿĒn Kārim, Qalōniā).

[6] Heard in Jerusalem.

[7] "The Cattle". See for explanation Sale, *The Qorʾān*, p. 89.

"O sixth sūreh, be present at the night of my solitude (death)!
While the angels are ascending and descending
and are entering into my body, my lips and my tongue,
Which are the source of (my) destruction."

At sunset the angels are supposed to go around distributing to
every person his supplies for the next day. Every person has there-
fore to stop working[1] for a short time in order not to be neglected
by the angels.[2]

The demons are the cause of all the woes and diseases of the
human race, "which are more numerous than the plants of the
earth".[3]

The persistent ignorance of the Palestinian on the subject of
medicine, its causes and symptoms accounts for their deeply rooted
belief that sickness is attributable to the action of evil spirits. The
only cure consists in their expulsion.[4] As in olden times it is "not
the most educated man who is competent for this work, but the
most religious",[5] or the one who is apparently most religious:
priests,[6] šēḫs, and darāwīš.[7]

The devil and his host are never divided against themselves.[8]
This is well expressed in the saying "The devil never ruins his
own house".[9] The demons use many persons for their habitation
or as instruments of their activity. Hence such expressions as

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[1] Heard in Jerusalem. This custom is now nearly extinguished.

[2] Another belief is that in the night of the 10th of Moḥarram (ʿAšūrah) a
horse (or a mare) loaded with a saddle-bag (ḫurdj), filled with gold and carry-
ing on its saddle (or on its neck) a bloody human head goes through the
streets of every city and village. Most of the people who happen to see it are
frightened and run away. A brave man will however take the horse by its
bridle, lead it to his house and empty the contents of the saddle-bag. He has
to fill the same with whatever he happens to have at home, preferably with
cereals (lentils, peas, beans, corn, barley, etc). If he fails to do so the whole
gold disappears (ḏahab ed-ḏahab). Some believe that the horse (it may also be
a mule) comes to every house and knocks on the door. Such a horse is called
faras ʿašūrah.   [3] Maṣāʾib ed-dahr akṯar min nabāt el-ʾarḍ.

[4] Matth. 9[82, 83]; 12[22]; Luk. 13[11, 16].

[5] L. STAPFER, Palestine in the Time of Christ, p. 252.

[6] Adjazmāṭārī, pp. 209, 217.

[7] In the time of Christ and in the Talmudic era rabbis, scribes and doctors
of the law undertook the casting out of demons.   [8] Math. 12[26].

[9] Iblīs mā biḫrib bētuh.

"Idleness is the workshop of Satan";[1] "The sleep of the unjust is devotion";[2] "The lazy hand is unholy (lit. filthy, impure)".[3]

An important feature in the religious beliefs of the Palestinian is the dwelling-place of the good and evil superhuman powers. The first live with God in heaven and the latter in the lower world and on earth. A great number of the angels descend continually to the earth to execute the orders of the Almighty. A large number of the *djinn* spend the greater part of their life on earth. The souls of the *welis* are more bound[4] to the earth than the angels. This is especially true of saints who are ancestors of living families. The souls of the dead are still more restricted in their movements. They visit from time to time their tombs where their relatives may deposit offerings for them several times a year[5]. The nearness of heaven to hell has been described by the author in his article *Water and the Water of Life,* JPOS, IX, 64.[6]

The human race is the most perfect creation. An oath speaks directly of God who creates and shapes a person: *wiḥyāt illi ḫalaqak uṣauwarak,* "By the life of the One who created and shaped you!"[7] But man has to die. "Death is (at last) a blessing" *(el-mōt raḥmeh),* and "the only condition in which God made all men alike".[8] Death which "is nearer to man than his teeth to the tongue"[9] is only a transitory state, for it is followed by resurrection. The whole of the

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[1]   *El-baṭāleh karaḥānet eš-šīṭān.* A classical proverb runs راس الكسلان معمل الشيطان.

[2]   *Nōm eẓ-ẓālmīn ʿibādeh.*   [3]   *El-ʾīd el-baṭṭāleh nidjseh.*

[4]   Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries,* p. 248.

[5]   *Dämonenglaube,* p. 16. *Mohammedan Saints,* pp. 263 ff.

[6]   Some new material to illustrate this idea is: all the souls of the righteous dead meet twice a week in the pit below the holy cave of the Ṣaḫrah (*bīr el-ʾarwāḥ*) to adore ʾAllāh and to await the day of judgement. The explainers of the Qorʾān quote the 13th verse of the 37th sūreh in support of this theory. The verse runs "And a high wall shall be set betwixt them, wherein shall be a gate, within which shall be mercy, and without it over against the same the torment of Hell". They say the eastern wall of the Temple area is the wall referred to in this verse, as it separates the holy area from the valley of hell.

[7]   Therefore He will not neglect us, *illi ḫalaqak mā byutirkak.* An oath used by Mohammedans and Christians is *uḥaqq man ʾamāt uqdder ʾimītni,* "By the truth of the One who has ordered the death of many (before me) and who is able to kill me".   [8]   *Rabbnā ma sāwāna illa fil-mōt.*

[9]   *El-mōt aqrab lal-insān min es-snān lal-lsān.* Another poverb with the same meaning is *el-mōt aqrab min el-ḥādjib lal-ʿēn,* "Death is nearer (to man) than the eyebrow is to the eye".

human body changes into dust, and dust has not the power of resurrection. But in the lower part of the vertebral column there is a small round and hard piece of bone, which never changes into dust. From this *bizreh* or *'uqdeh* the whole body regenerates and rises up on the day of judgement. Every human person has therefore to think continually of death. The following saying beautifully expresses this idea; "O my God, give me the ability of being always content and let me think every hour of death".[1] The following invocation describes the feelings of a human being towards his Creator in respect of death and the day of judgement:

I beg the almighty God to forgive (me) the (great) number of gast sins!

I beg the almighty God to forgive (me) the (great) number of future sins (which I am afraid I shall commit)!

I beg the almighty God to forgive (me) when I die!

I beg the almighty God to forgive (me) on the day of meeting (him)![2]

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1   *yā rabbi̱ l-qanā'ah wiftikdr el-mōt kull sā'ah.*
2   *Astaghfir ʾAlldh el-'aẓīm min 'adad ma maḍū,*
      „   „   „   „   „   *baqd,*
      „   „   „   „   *'ind ṭlū' er-rūḥ*
      „   „   „   „   „ *el-multaqd.*

EIN UNBEKANNTES DENKMAL IN EDOM?

J. BRASLAVSKI

(TEL AVIV)

Als wir auf unserem Wege von *Tafīle* nach *Kerak* den nörd-
lichen Rand der Hochebene von *el-Djibāl* bei *Rudjm el-Kerak* (oder
el-Keraka) erreicht hatten, erwähnte unser Führer eine „*ḫirbeh mu-
himmeh*" (bedeutende Ruine), die tief im *wādī Laʿabānī*, abseits von
der Verkehrstraße liegen sollte. Trotz des schwierigen Weges, der
dahin führte, willigte ich in den Besuch dieses Ortes ein und trennte
mich von meinen Gefährten, um sie später im *wādī el-Ḥeṣa* wieder
einzuholen.

Es war 6.35 Uhr morgens, 20 Minuten nördlich von *Rudjm el-
Keraka*, als wir am Rande des **wādī eṣ-Ṣāf*,[1] ein Seitental des *wādī
Laʿabānī* zum letzteren herabstiegen. Dieser tiefe und wilde Ab-
grund, sowie seine terrassenartig gegliederten Abhänge gewährten
samt den von tiefen Schlitzen aufgerissenen Feuersteinergüssen, den
anmutig bebauten Flächen im Talgrunde und dem üppigen Gewächs
einen der fesselndsten Anblicke des Landes.

Um 7.45 Uhr gelangten wir an einem kleinen Bach, der in
Windungen von einer Quelle **ʿEin Sidr* herkommen soll. Zwischen
Sidr-, *Zaʿrūr-*, *Qatf-*, *Ḥalaʿ-* und *Ṭarafa*gebüsch war ein alter Aquä-
dukt, teils im Felsen gehauen, teils aus Quadersteinen gebaut,
sichtbar.

Um 7.50 Uhr überschritten wir einen zweiten, von einer *Šēzam*
benannten Quelle herkommenden Bach, der an dieser Stelle eine
Wassermühle, **Ṭaḥūnet el-Laʿabānī*, trieb. Gleich darüber erhob sich
eine kleine Terrasse, die die bezeichnete Ruine tragen sollte.

Ḫirbet ed-Derīḥ heißt die Ruine. Schon der erste Blick zeigte, daß
mein Führer weder gelogen noch übertrieben hatte. Vor uns lagen
die schönsten Trümmer auf der ganzen Strecke von *Petra* nach
Kerak. Aus ihnen war eine mit einem Hof versehene Basilika
deutlich erkennbar. Sie ist ungefähr[2] 27 m lang und 18,5 m breit
und von SSW nach NNO (190⁰—10⁰) gerichtet. Die O-W laufende

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[1] Die mit diesem Zeichen versehenen Namen kommen weder bei ALOIS MUSIL,
Arabia Petraea noch bei BRÜNNOW-DOMASZEWSKI, *Provincia Arabia* vor.

[2] Nach SCHRITTEN (45 × 31) gemessen.

Mauer des südlich der Basilika liegenden Hofes zeigte ein Tor, dessen Pforten, 2.70 m lang, im Inneren des Hofes, hart am Tore herabgestürzt lagen. Die eine Seitenwand der Basilika zählte noch fünf Steinschichten.

Die kurzen, hübschen Schäfte der Säulen und Halbsäulen des Tempels waren über die ganze Trümmerfläche zerstreut, darunter auch die uns besonders von den Synagogen Palästinas her bekannten typischen Ecksäulenpfeiler, deren horizontaler Querschnitt die Form eines Herzens hat.[1] Die korinthischen Kapitele und Eckkapitele zeigten feinstgearbeitete Akanthusblätter und die äußerst sauber ge- glätteten Quadersteine eine ziemlich reiche Ornamentik von Trauben, Reben, Weinblättern, Blumen und Eierstäben. Besonders auffallend waren die typischen von den Türsturzen der Synagogen Palästinas und den antiken Privathäusern Transjordaniens wohlbekannten Kränze.[2] Einer dieser Kränze zeigte auch den Herkulesknoten. Ein anderer Kranz schien Spuren eines Menschenkopfes zu tragen. Diese Skulptur muß einst mit Absicht zerstört worden sein, denn sie bildet zu der anderen guterhaltenen Ornamentik einen krassen Kontrast.

Diese Ruine scheint bis jetzt nicht besucht worden zu sein. Sie ist sowohl ALOIS MUSIL als auch BRÜNNOW-DOMASZEWSKI völlig ent- gangen. MUSIL erwähnt zwar, daß man ihm östlich vom *wādī La'a- bānī* mehrere Quellen mit einer Mühle und *Ḥirbet ed-Derīḥ* am rechten Ufer dieses *wādī* gezeigt hätte (*Edom* II, S. 243), weiß aber von der Ruine selbst nichts zu berichten.

Auch BRÜNNOW-DOMASZEWSKI streiften fast diesen Ort: In ihrer *Provincia Arabia*, Straßburg, 1904, B. I., S. 108, führen sie eine kurze Beschreibung *einer Ruine ohne Namen* von IRBY-MANGELS, aus den Jahren 1817–1818 an,[3] in der wir die Ruine von *Ḥirbet ed-Derīḥ*

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[1] KOHL-WATZINGER, *Antike Synagogen Galiläas*, Leipzig, 1916.

[2] Ibid, S. 188—191.

[3] "There are rich arabesque borders of vines and foliage, much in the taste of Diocletian's buildings at Palmyra, or the triumphal arch. The capitals are not of any regular order, but fanciful and loaded with ornaments. The execu- tion is sharp and neat. The temple appears to have fronted SSW, and there were apparently four semi-columns attached to the front wall, 3 feet 5 inches in diameter. Amongst the fragments are pieces of columns of a smaller size. Near this are other vestiges of buildings, but nothing that gives reason to suppose there ever was a town . . ."

erkennen, fügen aber ihrerseits die Bemerkung hinzu : „Dieses haben wir nicht gesehen".

Daß diese Ruine bis jetzt noch unbekannt geblieben ist, und daß sie also eine gründlichere Untersuchung erforderte, war mir an Ort und Stelle leider nicht bekannt, auch drang der Führer nach wenigen Minuten darauf, den Ort zu verlassen, denn der Weg durch *wādī Laʿabānī* und *wādī el-Ḥeṣa* soll unsicher sein.[1]

Schlußfolgerungen können hier nicht gezogen werden. Es soll mit dieser Notiz nur die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher Transjordaniens auf diese Ruine gelenkt werden.

Als allgemeine Bemerkung sei nur noch hinzugefügt, daß die Richtung des Tempels mit der Richtung nach Jerusalem sich zwar nicht völlig deckt die Ornamentik aber manches mit derjenigen antiker Synagogen Palästinas Gemeinsames hat. Eine gründlichere Untersuchung möge die Zweckbestimmung des Tempels näher bestimmen.

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[1] Um 8.05 verließen wir die Ruine, kreuzten die Quelle *ʿEin eḏ-Ḏarīḥ*, die schöne Gärten und Felder bewässert. 8.35 waren wir bei *Birket el-Laʿabānī*, einer großen Quelle, die ein teichartiges Becken ausfüllt und ebenfalls Felder bewässert. Den *wādī Laʿabānī* entlang ziehend gelangten wir an die Verkehrstraße, an die Stelle wo ein verlassenes Wachthaus einst diesen gefährlichen Durchzugsort bewacht hat.

DER DISTRIKT *Šrq* IN DEN SAMARISCHEN OSTRAKA.

B. Maisler

(Jerusalem)

Die Verwertung der Ostraka von Samaria zur Lösung topographischer Probleme stößt schon deshalb auf große Schwierigkeiten, weil das gleichzeitige biblische Material fast völlig versagt, während anderweitige Quellen nur in wenigen Fällen herangezogen werden können.

Dennoch gelang es Forschern wie ABEL, ALBRIGHT, ALT, KLEIN, NOTH u.a., die meisten in den Ostraka genannten Siedlungen mit modernen Ortschaften im Binnenlande Samariens zu identifizieren. Maßgebend ist für uns vor allem die Annahme von M. NOTH, daß es sich bei den in den Ostraka genannten Wein- und Öllieferungen an den Königshof um Abgaben der im Bereich der Hauptstadt Samaria zerstreuten Krongüter handelt.[1]

Zumeist handelt es sich um Krongüter im samarischen Gebirge. Nur in einigen Fällen werden außerhalb dieses engen Umkreises liegende Orte genannt, nämlich die in den Ostraka No. 42 und No. 48[2] genannten Güter von *Jšb* und *ʿšrt*, die dem Distrikt *Šrq* zugewiesen werden, sowie die Ortschaft *ʾ.t-prʾn* (No.48,14), die ALBRIGHT wohl richtig mit *Ferʿōn* bei Ṭūl Karm identifiziert hat.

Es wurde bereits öfters betont, daß über die Lage des Distrikts *Šrq* nur wenig Sicheres aus den Ostraka selbst zu gewinnen sei. Vielleicht läßt sich dennoch die Lage von *Šrq* durch Heranziehung anderweitiger Quellen feststellen. Versuchen wir zuerst die Ortslage von *Jšb* zu bestimmen und für diesen Ort eine moderne Entsprechung zu finden.

Bereits ALBRIGHT hat *Jšb* mit *Kufr Šib* am Binnenrand der Küstenebene, kaum 4 Km. nördlich von Ṭūl Karm, identifiziert.[3]

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[1] M. NOTH, ZDPV, 1927, S. 211; Pal.-Jahrb., 1932, S. 54 ff.

[2] REISNER-LYON-FISCHER, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, I (1924), p. 239 ff.

[3] W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, 1925, p. 39.

Diese Gleichsetzung wurde von ALT und NOTH in Erwägung gezogen.[1]

Kufr Sīb ist sicherlich eine alte Ortslage, was durch zahlreiche Reste aus verschiedenen Perioden bezeugt ist. Ich untersuchte die Ruinenstätte im Sommer 1932 und fand einige spätbronze- und früh-eisenzeitliche Scherben, sowie zahlreiche Stücke aus der römisch-byzantinischen Zeit.

Wichtig ist vor allem die Feststellung, daß eine Ortschaft *Jišūb* auch im Talmud und in den samaritanischen Chroniken erwähnt wird. Über diesen Ort erfahren wir Folgendes aus *Tosefta Demai* I, 11:

„Rabbi Jehuda sagt: Die Markthalle von ha-Jišūb (כיפת הישוב) und die von Antipatris und der Markt von Patros galten früher als zweifelhaft verzehnt, weil man sicher annehmen konnte, daß ihre Bodenprodukte von dem Königsberge (= Samaria) stammen; jetzt sagen unsere Lehrer: Alle Städte der Kutäer (= Samaritaner), die entlang der Straße sind, z. B. . . . , ihre Getreideprodukte sind zweifelhaft . . ."[2]

Der hier genannte Ort *ha-Jišūb* lag sicherlich am Rande des Gebirges nach der Küstenebene zu, wohl direkt an der Straße, die von Lydda über Antipatris und Ṭūl Karm nordwärts nach der Jezreel-ebene führte. Kein anderer Ort kommt dafür so sehr in Betracht wie Kufr Sīb.

Mit *ha-Jišūb* der talmudischen Quelle ist wahrscheinlich die in den samaritanischen Chroniken erwähnte Siedlung ישוב bzw. יסוף oder קרית סופה identisch. Dieser Ort lag in der Nähe der Stadt *Bīra* (בירה), die ausdrücklich an der Verkehrsstraße lokalisiert wird, welche die Juden benutzt haben, um nach Jerusalem zu reisen.[3]

Es handelt sich bestimmt um die aus der talmudischen Literatur nachgewiesene Straße Lydda-Antipatris-Narbatta (= *Ḥirbet Beidūs*?)-Jezreelebene-Galiläa.[4]

Da *Jšb* = Kufr Sīb ausdrücklich dem Distrikt *Šrq* zugewiesen wird, so läßt sich dieser Bezirk topographisch einordnen.

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[1] A. ALT, *Pal.-Jahrb.*, 1932, S 25; NOTH, *ZDPV*, 1927, S. 236; *Pal.-Jahrb.*, 1932, S. 65.

[2] S. KLEIN, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wissen. d. Judentums*, 1930, S. 374.

[3] ADLER, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, *XLV*, (1902), p. 80: קרית סופה. Dieselbe Ortschaft heißt in der *Chronik von Toledo*: ישוב und bei ABU-L-FATH: יסוף.

[4] Über diese Strecke s. DALMAN, *Orte und Wege Jesu* [3], S. 235f.; KLEIN, *ibid.*, S. 375 ff.

Nun möchte ich vor allem darauf aufmerksam machen, daß die
Lesung *śrq* die einzig richtige ist. Dies ergibt sich deutlich aus dem
Ostrakon No. 48, wo — nach dem Faksimile bei REISNER-LYON-FISCHER,
Harvard Excav. at Samaria, I, p. 241 — der dritte Konsonant als
q zu erkennen ist und aus dem Ostrakon No. 42, wo deutlich drei
Konsonanten sichtbar sind, sodaß die Korrektur ALBRIGHT's *śr'l* (=
Azriel, der Name einer manassäischen Sippe)[1] bzw. die Lesung ABEL's
śrr (= Dēr Serūr) nicht in Betracht kommen. Die Lesung ist dem-
nach *śrq* (שרק) wie bereits REISNER und ALBRIGHT[2] und neuerdings
ALT und NOTH[3] richtig erkannt haben. Der Name ist שֹׁרֵק zu
vokalisieren (vgl. שׂוֹרֵק, Ri. 16[4]) und von שרק „Trauben", bzw. von
שֹׂרֵקָה „Weinstock" abzuleiten.[4]

Nun läßt sich ein ähnlich lautender Ortsname aus der talmudischen
Literatur nachweisen. In einem in drei Versionen erhaltenen alten
Zeugnis werden drei samaritanische Orte genannt, deren Wein den
Juden verboten war wegen des Handelsverkehrs der in diesen Städten
wohnenden Samaritaner mit den benachbarten heidnischen Ort-
schaften. In dieser Quelle werden den samaritanischen Städten
אוגדור׳ בורגתה und כפר פגש׳ כפר סוריקה׳ בירת die Orte כפר שלם und טין כושי
gegenübergestellt (*Jerus. Talmud, ʿAboda zara* V, 4).

An Stelle dieser Ortsnamen bietet der babylonische Talmud
(*ʿAboda zara* 31a): זגדור (lies: אגדור)׳ ברקתא כפר פרשאי und סריקא׳
während im Traktat *Kuthim* c. II nur die zwei Orte גדור und פגשא
genannt werden.

Nun hat bereits KLEIN richtig hervorgehoben, daß — wie aus
dem Text zu ersehen ist — alle in dieser Quelle genannten Ortschaften
in „der an Samaria grenzenden Meeresküste von Caesarea bis Lydda"
bzw. „nicht weit von der Küste" lagen.[5] KLEIN hat demnach Agdōr
(bzw. Ōgdōr oder Gedōr) richtig mit „Gedera bei Caesarea" (*Tosefta
Šebiʿith* VIII, 1) zusammengestellt und es mit Ḥudeira identifiziert,
während er בורגתא dem Ort Βορχαῖος (JOSEPHUS, *Bell*. III, 3, 5) =
Ḥirbet Berqīt gleichgesetzt hat.

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[1] ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, XI, 1931, p. 249 f.
[2] *JPOS*, V, 1925, p. 39, n. 53.
[3] ALT, *Pal. Jahrb.*, 1932, S. 25[4]; NOTH, *Pal.-Jahrb.*, 1932, S. 62.
[4] Vom Stamme שרק = شرق „rot sein." Vgl. GESENIUS-BUHL, *Hebr. Hand-
wörterbuch*[17], S. 794 f.
[5] S. KLEIN, *Festschrift A. Schwarz*, (1917), S. 392 f.

בירת סוריקה hat KLEIN als „Burg der Sarazenen" erklären wollen; er fand allerdings dafür keine moderne Enstprechung.

Für (*A*)*gdōr* = *Gedera* kommt m.E. kein anderer Punkt so sehr in Betracht, als *Tell Aḫḍar* an der Meeresküste, kaum 7 km. südlich von Caesarea. *Tell Aḫḍar* ist eine ausgedehnte Ruinenstätte, die zahlreiche antike Säulen und sonstige Reste aus römischer Zeit aufweist.

Was nunmehr „Paršāj" (פרשאי bzw. פנש) anbetrifft, so bedeutet dieser Name wohl „Kreuzweg" und ist vielleicht an einem wichtigen Verkehrszentrum am Rande der Küstenebene (Bāqa?) zu suchen.

Burgātā bzw. *Burqātā* entspricht vielleicht *Ḫirbet Breiqtās*, westlich von *Tell Aḫḍar*.

Wenn demgemäß die Voraussetzung richtig ist, daß in dieser Quelle den an der Küste liegenden Ortschaften (*A*)*gdōr* und *Burgātā* Städte am Rand der saronebene gegenübergestellt werden, so scheint die Lokalisierung von *Bīrāth Sōrēqā* am Binnenrand der Küstenebene nahe der großen Verkehrsstraße geradezu notwendig zu sein.

Es steht demgemäß nichts im Wege, die Identifizierung von *Srq* (שרק) der Samaritanischen Ostraka mit *Bīrāth Sōrēqā* (בירת סוריקה bzw. סוריקא) der talmudischen Quelle vorzuschlagen. Sachlich ergänzen sich die Angaben der beiden Quellen untereinander überraschend gut, und sprachlich besteht sicherlich keine Schwierigkeit, die beiden Namen gleichzusetzen, denn der Wandel von שׁ in ס ist im späteren Hebräisch geradezu vorherrschend. Da *Jŝb-Jišūb* (Kufr Sīb) ausdrücklich dem Distrikt *Srq* zugewiesen wird und die talmudische Quelle auf das Binnenland der Küstenebene hinweist, so läßt sich dieser Bezirk topographisch wohl einordnen. Nach Norden erstreckte er sich wahrscheinlich bis an Kufr Sīb, im N.O. bis an das Territorium von Socho (I. Kön. 4¹⁰, dem heutigem *Šuwēkē*) und im Süden wohl bis Fer'ōn, das ALBRIGHT mit ʾ.ṭ-prʾn der samaritanischen Ostraka identifiziert hat. Nun erfahren wir, daß derselbe Beamte, dem die Abgaben von ʾ.ṭ-prʾn zugehen, auch die Lieferungen von der manassäischen Sippe Abi'ezer empfängt (No. 48¹⁸), sodaß wir wohl ALBRIGHT recht geben müssen, wenn er ʾ.ṭ-prʾn = Fer'ōn und 'Ophra = eṭ-Ṭaijibe als Bereich Abi'ezer's ansieht.[1] Dann würde sich der Bezirk *Srq* nach Süden bis an das Gebiet von Abi'ezer (die Grenze verlief wohl nördlich von Fer'ōn) und nach Norden und Nord-Osten bis an

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[1] ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, XI, 1931, p. 247 ff.

die Gebiete von Hepher[1] und Socho erstreckt haben. Er schloß demnach die Orte *Kufr Sīb*, *Ṭūl Karm* und *Irtāḥ* mit ein.

Fragen wir nun, wo der Mittelpunkt des Bezirkes *Srq* der samaritanischen Ostraka und die Ortschaft Bīrāth Sōrēqā der talmudischen Quellen gesucht werden kann, so kommt dafür wohl kaum ein anderer Ort so sehr in Betracht wie *Ṭūl Karm*. Eine Grundlage für diesen Vorschlag bietet außer den rein topographischen Überlegungen auch die Annahme, daß der hebräische Name שׂוֹרֵק(ה) „Weinstock", „Weinpflanzung" bzw. בירת סוריקא „Burg der Weinpflanzungen" durch den aramäischen Namen *Ṭūr Karmā* „Berg der Weinpflanzungen" (sc. „Weinberge") verdrängt worden ist.[2]

Nun wird eine Stadt Bīra bzw. Bīrāthā öfters in den samaritanischen Chroniken erwähnt, und zwar in engem Zusammenhang mit קרית סופה = ישׁוב[3] und mit קרית עפרתה = עפרה (Eṭ-Ṭaijibe).[4]

Dieser bisher nicht lokalisierte Ort *Bīra* kann demnach sehr wohl mit *Bīrāth Sōrēqā* = *Ṭul Karm* zusammenhängen. Dafür spricht auch die Tatsache, daß *Bīra* ausdrücklich an der großen Verkehrsstraße lokalisiert wird, welche die nach Jerusalem reisenden Juden Galiläas und der Saronebene zu benutzen pflegten.

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[1] Vgl. MAISLER, *Wochenbeilage Dabar*, No. 2297, S. 3. S. auch meinen demnächst im *JPOS* erscheinenden Artikel „Die westliche Linie des Meerweges".

[2] Über Ṭūl-Karm = aram. Ṭūr karmā s. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, VI, 1931, p. 244.

[3] ADLER, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XLV, 80.

[4] ADLER, *ibid.*, XLIV, 211.

THE NORTH-CANAANITE POEMS OF
AL'ÊYÂN BA'AL AND THE "GRACIOUS GODS"

W. F. ALBRIGHT

JERUSALEM

A year and a half ago the writer printed a paper in this *Journal,* entitled, "The North-Canaanite Epic of Al'êyân Ba'al and Môt."[1] In it he offered a translation of most of the first tablet of this epic, published two years ago by VIROLLEAUD. Since then the latter has published two new texts from Ugarit,[2] both of which are discussed in the present paper. The first[3] of the new texts is an additional tablet belonging to the Al'êyân[4] epic — probably preceding the first published tablet, as we shall see. The second text[5] is an extremely enigmatic one, dealing mainly, if not entirely, with the birth of the "Gracious Gods." There are still a number of very important

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[1] See *JPOS*, 1932, 185—208. Here the previous literature is mentioned. The text edition of the first tablet of Al'êyân Ba'al and Môt by VIROLLEAUD will be cited hereafter as *A*. — Note the following abbreviations used in this paper: *AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures; AOF = Archiv für Orientforschung; Bulletin = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research; JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society; JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature; JPOS = Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society; JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; MVAG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen (Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen) Gesellschaft; OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung; RHR = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions; RŠ = Ras Shamra; ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie; ZAW = Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft; ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

[2] This identification, proposed first by the writer, is now generally accepted. DUSSAUD is also favourable to it now; see *RHR*, 108, 25, n. 5.

[3] *Syria*, XIII, 113—163, cited hereafter as *B*.

[4] For this form of the name and its origin see *JPOS*, 1932, 189. BAUER has adopted the writer's suggestion that the god *Eliovv* of Philo Byblius represents a fusion between Al'êyân and 'Elyôn (cf. *JPOS*, 1932, 190 and *ZAW*, 1933, 96 f.).

[5] *Syria*, XIV, 128—151, cited hereafter as *C*.

tablets to be published, belonging to at least two other cycles, as well as a number of fragments, some of which appear to be exceedingly useful, despite their brevity. When VIROLLEAUD has published all the available material it will be possible in many cases to substitute the lexicographic for the comparative method of ascertaining the meaning of words, and it ought not, therefore, to be long before the documents are all fairly well understood. Until then it is perhaps rather premature to essay any comparative mythological, or comparative geographical treatment. DUSSAUD's experiments along these lines have, it is true, met with some success,[6] but the proportion of success to failure is naturally small, owing to the obscurity of the texts, even after VIROLLEAUD's admirable pioneer interpretation.

According to VIROLLEAUD there are no duplicates among the poetic texts, a fact which suggests that there may have been only a single copy of each, deposited in the temple archives of Ugarit. Even if this should prove to be the case, there is no room for discouragement, since the tablets containing a record of ritual offerings and several letters and business documents, first published by VIROLLEAUD, show that the script was extensively used in Ugarit, and that it was employed for Horite as well as for North-Canaanite. Sooner or later more documents in this script will certainly be found in northern Syria.

Meanwhile there is every chance that additional tablets in the script of Ugarit will be found in Palestine, since the writer has identified this script on a cuneiform tablet discovered at Beth-shemesh by ELIHU GRANT, in the spring of 1933. With GRANT's generous permission, for which thanks is herewith expressed, the writer examined the tablet in question, and will publish it in the February *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (no. 53). The "tablet" is really a long piece of local clay, shaped very much like a plain copper axe-head, about 15 by 5 cm. The sides are flat; the obverse bears a stamped inscription running around three sides, while the reverse is blank. The stamped inscription is depressed and in mirror-writing, which shows that the original inscription

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[6] His three articles have appeared in *RHR*, 104, 353—408; 105, 245—302; 108, 5—49. They are particularly valuable for their insight into the nature of Phoenician religion and mythology.

was raised, and thus belonged to a mould made for the purpose of impressing the text on objects of clay. The analogy of the inscribed adzes and "hoes" from Ugarit suggests that our object is either a votive or an amuletic imitation of them, but the local clay shows that it cannot have been made outside southern Palestine. The date is fixed as LB II, probably the fourteenth century, by the ceramic found in the same room with it. Unhappily the text is so broken that a cogent interpretation is hardly possible.

A number of scholars are taking an active part in the interpretation and analysis of the epoch-making new material, and very important contributions have been made since the publication of the writer's first paper in this *Journal*. Aside from VIROLLEAUD himself and DUSSAUD, whose contributions have already been listed, the most important work is due to BAUER,[7] BANETH,[8] FRIEDRICH,[9] GINSBERG,[10] and MONTGOMERY.[11] In a very important brief paper FRIEDRICH has laid the foundation for further morphological study of the North-Canaanite tongue, while GINSBERG has made numerous contributions to our knowledge of the grammar and lexicography of the texts, and has solved a number of puzzling problems of interpretation. Studies of the texts have also been made by BARTON,[12] DHORME,[13] EISSFELDT[14], GASTER,[15] HROZNY,[16] and others, while CANTINEAU has contributed a suggestive discussion of the linguistic position of North Canaanite.[17] The writer has also offered a preliminary study of the second published tablet of Al'êyân Ba'al,[18] which is greatly expanded (with many modifications and corrections) in the second part of this paper.

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[7] *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra*, Halle, 1932 (September); *Die Gottheiten von Ras Schamra* (*ZAW*, 1933, 81—100).

[8] *OLZ*, 1932, 449—53 (which reached the writer while he was reading the proofs of his paper in the *Journal* cited above), 705—6.

[9] *ZA*, 7 (N.F.), 305—13 (see also his slightly earlier review of BAUER, *AOF*, 8, 239—42).

[10] His three papers have appeared in *Tarbiz*, 4, 106—19; 380—90; 5, 75—96. See also *OLZ*, 1933, 593—4.

[11] *JAOS*, 53, 97—123, 283—4.   [12] *JAOS*, 52, 221—31.

[13] *OLZ*, 1933, 8.   [14] *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios*, etc., Halle, 1932.

[15] *JRAS*, 857—96; *Archiv Orientalni*, 1933, 118—23; etc.

[16] *Archiv Orientalni*, 1932, 118—29, 169—78, etc.

[17] *Syria*, XIII, 164—9, 408 below.   [18] *Bulletin*, no. 50, 13—20.

NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT OF UGARIT

My transcription of the consonants is the same as that which was already employed in the former paper in the *Journal*,[19] except for letter no. 8, which we now write *x* (with BAUER), instead of *z̧*, and no. 9a, now proved to be *z* (formerly *f*, our provisional p_2). VIROLLEAUD, GINSBERG, and others consider character *x* as representing *ḡain*, a view which is undoubtedly the best *a priori*. Unfortunately, however, *a priori* views are often wrong in language, so that BAUER's attitude is preferable. Let us, accordingly, examine the evidence, briefly.

The problem of how *ḡain* appears in our dialect is very difficult. The repeated occurrence of *ʿrb*, "to enter," and *ʿrb*, "evening," where ACCADIAN offers *erēbu* and Arabic *ḡrb*, might seem decisive, but GINSBERG has weakened this argument by pointing out that South Arabian has *ʿrb*.[20] However, it must be said that a secondary dissimilation in South Arabic is more likely than a corresponding assimilation in Arabic, especially since the Arabic stem *ʿrb* (whence the name of the people) is extremely ancient (the name of the people first appears in Assyrian inscriptions of the ninth century B.C.), and is sharply distinguished throughout from *ḡrb*. The stem *ʿdn* (B, IV–V, 68–9) is Arab. *ḡdn*. Again, the stem *bʿr*, "to burn" (B, IV–V, 16, and C, p. 149, n. 1.) appears in Arabic as *bḡr*, as pointed out by BARTH.[21] The word *ʿlm* (C, lines 42, 46, 49) seems to be Heb. *ʿelem*, Arab. *ḡulām*; on the other hand VIROLLEAUD is perhaps correct in identifying *xlmt* in the passage *ʾatt tqh btk – xlmt tšʿrb ḥzrk* (C. p. 140, n. 1) with Heb. *ʿalmah*, (Arab. *ḡulāmah*), since it is parallel with *ʾatt* = Heb. *ʾiššah*, Accad. *aššatu*, etc. The cases added by VIROLLEAUD are not convincing. The noun *xnb*, read *ḡnb*, "vine," by VIROLLEAUD (C, line 26) cannot have this sense, since the corresponding Arabic word is *ʿinab*, South Arabian *aʿnāb*, "vines." The supposed *sḡd* (C, line 30) may be *ṣmd*, or something else; Heb. *ṣʿd* corresponds to Arabic *ṣʿd* (cf. also *dʿs*, and my note on B, IV–V, 82). The equation *txr* = *tḡr*, "gate" (Heb. *šaʿar*) is very plausible (see C, p. 143), but until the context is published must remain uncertain. BANETH's and GINSBERG's explanation of *xr*, which

occurs constantly in parallelism with $gbʿ$, "hill," as $ǧôr$, "valley" (Arab. $ǧaur$), is not convincing, since the parallel $kl\ xr\ lkbd\ ʾarṣ\ -\ -$ $kl\ gbʿ\ lkbd\ šdm$ ($šdm = ʾarṣ$, as pointed out by GINSBERG) is alone sufficient to prove the equation $xr = gbʿ$, so xr means "mountain." In B, VIII, 5, the sense "valley" is impossible, since even a god cannot well carry a valley on his hands. Moreover the parallel expression is "forest," just as in B, VII, 36: words for "mountain" and "forest" are practically interchangeable in the ancient Semitic tongues. On the other hand, the equation rxb and Arab. $rǧb$, "be hungry," independently pointed out by the writer and BAUER (ZAW, 1933, 82), is a clear case of $x = ǧ$, but is completely offset by the following $xmʾ =$ Arab. $ẓmʾ$, "be thirsty." [22]

If we turn then to the complementary problem of how $ẓa$ appears in the script of Ugarit, our difficulties become even greater, if possible. Our former view, that character x represents Arabic $ẓa$, is rendered extremely difficult by VIROLLEAUD's discovery of a character which undoubtedly corresponds to $ẓa$. It is true that he did not recognize the fact that the character only (except where combinatory laws have been at work) stands for $ẓa$ (cf. B, p. 115, n. 1), but the following brief list of equivalences will prove it beyond cavil: $hẓr =$ Arab. $hazîrah$[23]; $mẓll =$ Aram. $maṭlelâ$;[24] $ẓr$, "upon" = Accad. $ṣêr$, "upon, back," Arab. $ẓahr$[25]; $rẓ$, "run" = Aram. $rehêṭ$[26]; $hẓt =$ Arab. $hizah$, "good fortune"[27]; $ʿrẓ =$ Heb. $ʿârîṣ$, Arab. $ǧaliẓ$, "strong, violent."[28] The one exception, $ẓhq = ṣhq$, if correct,

[22]   Another parallel is perhaps $rxṭ =$ Arab. $raǧaṭa$; see VIROLLEAUD, B, p. 130.

[23]   This etymology is now generally accepted; cf. HEHN in the *Meißner Festschrift* (not accessible in Jerusalem) on *uṣurtu*; the writer has held it for many years.

[24]   Also Accad. *maṣallu*, S. Arab. *mẓll* (GINSBERG, *Tarbiz*, 5, 77, n.), all from the *piʿel* of the stem *ẓll*, meaning "to roof." See already *Bulletin*, No. 50, p. 14, n. 8.

[25]   This is also a universally accepted Accadian etymology; the Arabic-Aramaic-Hebrew h may be secondary, as often.

[26]   For a possible Arabic etymology, with a $ẓa$, see the writer's observations, *JAOS*, 47 (1927), 223, n. 26.

[27]   The Arabic stem is *hdziya*, for **haziwa*; the noun also *hizwah*, etc., as well as in the related form *hazz*. Cf. *Bulletin*, op. cit., n. 21.

[28]   The Arabic etymology is new, so far as we are aware, but since the meaning and vocalization of the two words are the same, it is much preferable to the derivation offered by *GB*. The interchange between l and r is quite common.

is on a par with Heb. *šḥq*, = *šḥq* both being combinatory phenomena

Turning now to the cases where character *x* seems to have a clear etymology in Arab. *ẓa*, we have a certain new one, *xmʾ* = Arab. *ẓámiʾa*, Heb. *ṣamē*, Accad. *ṣummû*. The word *xr* is clearly "mountain" (see above), and must, therefore, be identified with Aram. *ṭûrâ*, Heb. *ṣûr*, and the Arabic cognates (see *JPOS*, 1932, 187). The verb *mxy*, invariably parallel to *ʾatw*, "to come," can hardly be an otherwise unknown *mḡy*, but can very well correspond to Aram. *meṭâ*, "to come" (*JPOS*, 1932, 3 f.),[29] though the fact that the verb has final *ʾalef* in the other languages does offer an obstacle to this etymology. The word *xnb* in *C*, 26 (see above) may correspond to Arab. *ẓinb*, "root," in which case the phrase *prt dlṭḥm* [ ] *wxnbm* could mean "the fruit[30] of their vines[31] [ ] and their roots," but the context is unclear. The word *nxr* in *Nxr-mdrʿ* (*C*, 68 ff.) ought to mean "keeper, guardian, protector," i.e., "guardian of the plantations," and would thus correspond to Heb. *nṣr*, Aram. *nṭr*, Arab. *nẓr*, etc. — The best solution at present seems to be that we have here a new Semitic consonant, which would not be surprising, since our script carries us back much farther than any other intelligible Semitic script except Accadian and Egyptian. South Arabian, which preserves the greatest number of original consonants, only goes back to about the eighth century B.C. (the date of the oldest inscriptions, according to the view of most scholars today), at least 600 years after the date of our documents. This consonant would appear in the later languages, where words with it are preserved, as *ẓa* and *ḡain*. Since *ẓa* becomes *ṣ* in Hebrew and *ṭ* in Aramaic, while it falls together with *ḍâd* in colloquial Arabic, its original pronunciation may have been quite different, and may have resembled that of *ḡain* much more closely than in any of the later languages with which we are acquainted.[32]

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[29] In any case the verb *meṭâ* would have to be separated from Heb. *mâṣd*, N. Can. *mṣʾ*, since the latter, if cognate with it, would have to exhibit either our *x* or the new *ẓ*. Both verbs may have fallen together in Hebrew.

[30] If the word is to be read *myprt*, this explanation is impossible.

[31] *Dlṭ* may be Accad. *ʾillatu*, *dillatu*, "vine."

[32] On its possible phonetic evolution see VILENČIK, *OLZ*, 1930, 93 ff. It is, moreover, perfectly possible that the original values which he assigns to *ḍâd* and *ẓd* should be interchanged (assuming that they are roughly correct, which is not, of course, proved), so that the value of *ẓd* was more like that of *ḡain*.

Though we have not changed the transcription of the sibilants, a word must be said about the pronunciation of the two characters which correspond to Heb. *śin* and *šin*, Arab. *ṭa*, *sîn*, and *šîn*, and Accad. *š* (see *JPOS*, 1932, 188 for a preliminary discussion). The character which we transcribe *ṯ* (the *š* of Virolleaud, was pronounced *s* in North Canaanite at that time, as shown by the transcribed geographical and divine names in the Ugarit texts. Thus the name *'Alṯ* is Amarna *Alašiya* (*Alašiya* is due to the North-Mesopotamian orthography used in the Syrian letters), Eg. *'A-ra-sa*; the name *Ṯbr* is Sum. *Subir*, Accad. *Subartu* (see *Syria*, 1930, no. 2, line 12). The Hurrian deities whose names are written in the Assyrian or North-Mesopotamian orthography *Sauška* and *Šimike* (*Šimige*), pronounced *Sauska* and *Simike*, are written *Ṯwṯk* and *Ṯmg* (Bauer, *ZAW*, 1933, 100). Dussaud's identification of *Ṯkmn* with the Cossaean *Šuqamuna* is unlikely, both because of the sibilant (Babylonian orthography!), the *k* instead of *q*, and the remoteness of the Cossaeans from Ugarit. Nor is Bauer's further suggestion that *Šnm*, mentioned with *Ṯkmn*, may be Šumalia (Šimalia), consort of Šuqamuna, at all probable (contrast *ZAW*, 1933, 99). It is also significant that the name of the goddess Išḫara (Babylonian orthography) is written *'Ušḫr* ( ) in our texts. Whether any direct importance in this connection should be attached to the spelling *Ṯn* of the wife of the moon-god, evidently identical with Babylonian *Sin*, is not clear, since the problem of the correct sibilant in the Babylonian name is not yet settled,[33] and it is, moreover, probable that the form *Ṯn* is older than the Accadian form (see below). – A curious parallel has been pointed out by Virolleaud (*C*, p. 142, n. 1) between the *Kṯrm* and *Zblnm* in the unpublished *Krt* epic and the Syro-Palestinian princes *Kwšr* and *Ṯbʒnw* (=*Zblnu*) in the Ächtungstexte.[34] The first name, presumably pronounced *Kauṯar*, actually must reflect **Kauṭar*, the older form of *Kôṭar* (whence Gr. *Chūsōr*).

[33] The writer expects to discuss this question elsewhere. The Assyrian pronunciation was *Sin*, so the Babylonian was probably *Šin*, as indicated by several transcriptions. Other West-Semitic transcriptions of Babylonian names presuppose a Babylonian *Sin*, however. In the Ḥaḍramôt dialect of S. Arabian, the name is written *Syn* (*s* = Arab. *sin*). In Gen. 14:2, occurs the archaic name *Šin'ab*, "Šin is (my) father" (the change of sex in the divine name is no longer at all surprising), with the sibilant which corresponds to *ṯ* in North Canaanite.

[34] Cf. *JPOS*, 1928, 239.

In South Canaanite, which was on a different phonetic plane from North Canaanite, the sibilant shifted from *ṭ* through *s* to *š*[35] while it remained *s* in the north; on the other hand, the diphthong *au* remained uncontracted until after 2000.

A very interesting difference between South Canaanite and North Canaanite has been pointed out by BAUER, on the basis of the Egyptian transcriptions of the New Empire[36]: in the language underlying the Egyptian forms *ṭ* appears as *s* (as in the north), but shares this value with original *š* (Heb. *š*), while original *s* appears as *š*; in the north *s* and *š* have fallen together as *š*, while *ṭ* remains isolated, with the pronunciation *s* (cf. BAUER, *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra*, p. 25, n., where the meaning of the phenomena is missed). In Biblical Hebrew (dialect of Jerusalem) we have a third development, in which *ṭ* and *s* fall together as *š*, while *š* remains isolated, becoming *ś*. As the writer has shown elsewhere, East Canaanite (Amorite) preserved the Arabic values of the sibilants (aside from the *samek*). Aramaic, again, preserved all three sibilants, but inverted the original values of the *śin* and *šin*.

GINSBERG[37] has suggested that the Rås eš-Šamrah script originally distinguished between *śin* and *šin*, the former being written with two wedges, while the latter has three (i.e., the former is like the latter, but with one wedge omitted). A priori this view is undoubtedly possible, but an exact statistic shows that there is at present no solid basis for it, since nearly all cases of *śin* are written with three wedges, and in the majority of occurrences *bšr* and *šd*, on which he rests his theory, are actually written with three wedges.

The extensive material now published makes it quite certain that FRIEDRICH and GINSBERG[37a] are correct in reading the three

[35] Cf. WORRELL, *JPOS*, I, 19.

[36] BAUER, *Alphabet*, p. 25, n. The writer has in preparation a study of the sibilants in the Egyptian transcriptions of the New Empire, which are complicated by the influence of different dialects.

[37] See *Tarbiz*, 4, 380; *OLZ*, 1933, 593, n. 1.

[37a] GINSBERG introduces one modification into the three-vowel scheme by considering that the character *ʾi* also stands for silent *šewā* (see *Tarbiz*, 4, 381–3; in his first paper, *Tarbiz*, 4, 109, he followed the writer, but in his second paper he adopted the three-vowel system of FRIEDRICH, though without the logical consistency of the latter). The writer continues to hold that a vowelless *ʾalef* takes the colouring of the vowel that precedes; i. e., *ymṣʾi* may

ʾalefs as ʾa (V's a), ʾi (V's e), and ʾu (V's ê). The writer's former reading ʾa, ʾe, ʾi is thus wrong. The systems of distinction between the ʾalefs proposed by Bauer and Dhorme, while in themselves quite sound, are, therefore, unnecessary, as well as typographically difficult. However, North Canaanite unquestionably had a five-vowel system, like Phoenician and Hebrew, as is certain from the fact that the diphthong ay, ai was contracted to ê (ʾêb, "foe"; ʾêya, "where"; ʾêk, "how (?)"; ʾêl, "ram"; ʾên, "not"; also bêt, "house"; mêm, "water"; šamêm, "heaven"; yên, "wine"; 'êr, "ass"; etc.), while aw, au was contracted to ô (yôm, "day"; tôr, "bull"; tôk, "midst"; qôl, "voice, thunder"; etc.).[38] It follows that the vowel i also stands for e (certainly for ê), and that the vowel u presumably stands also for o.[38a] The adaptation of a three-vowel system to five vowels suggests that our alphabet arose in a dialect where there were only three vowels, possibly in South Canaanite, where, as we have noted above, diphthongs were not yet contracted about 2000 B.C. It would also be possible to suppose that the script was invented in North Canaanite before the contraction of the diphthongs. In our transcription we endeavor to distinguish between probable i and e, u and o, but it must be confessed that our reasons for making the distinction may not always be cogent. For example, it is by no means certain that the vowel preformative of the first person in originally stative verbs was not simply ʾi at that time, as maintained by Barth for proto-Hebrew,[39] and as apparently pronounced in the Canaanite of the Amarna Tablets.[40] It is also possible that ʾel, "god," was still pronounced ʾil; my preference for ʾel is due mainly to the fact that the Babylonians of about 2000 B.C. frequently wrote the element with an e-vowel in theophorous West-Semitic compounds.

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correspond to yamṣiʾ, rʾeš is to be pronounced reʾšu (singular), yqrʾa is yiqraʾ, yʾuḥdm is approximately yuʾḥadmi. The phonetic principle involved is identical with that underlying Hebrew compound šewd in such cases as גְּאָמַר. This is also the view of Friedrich (ZA, 7, N.F., 307).

[38] Cf. Bauer, Alphabet, p. 34 f.

[38a] Unfortunately, there is no means of distinguishing o from u in Accadian cuneiform, so we do not know whether the Accadians of the second millenium heard o in West-Semitic words and names or not.

[39] See Barth, ZDMG, 1894, 4 ff.; Bergsträsser, Gesenius' Hebräische Grammatik 29, II, § 14 f.   [40] Böhl, Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe, pp. 54—5.

Our knowledge of the nominal inflection is naturally limited by the relative absence of vowels. The mimation had been given up entirely, and survives at best in adverbial formations (none of which has yet been pointed out for our dialect), as well as in a few stereotyped divine names, such as *Mlkm* (*Malikum* or *Milkum*[41] – hardly *Malkum*, with BAUER, *ZAW*, 1933, 99), *Ktmsm* (if a divine name). Since *Milkum* appears as *Milkom*, among the Ammonites of the Iron Age, it follows that the North Canaanite of our texts is already on the same plane as Phoenician and Biblical Hebrew with respect to the mimation. Since the mimation was used by the West Semites down to between 1800 and 1500 B.C., as proved by the evidence of Egyptian and Babylonian transcriptions,[42] it follows that our text cannot go back before the eighteenth century, at the earliest.[43]

The case-endings were still used at that time, as was first pointed out by the writer, followed by FRIEDRICH and GINSBERG, who applied the principle more consistently than the writer had done. The nominative in *u*, genitive in *i*, and accusative in *a* were regular, though possibly not in all substantives. The invariable spelling of the word for "sheep" as *š* and of the word for "field" as *šd* (*šatĕ* in the Amarna transcription of South Canaanite), suggests that they were pronounced simply *šĕ* and *šadĕ* (for **šay* and **šaḏay*). The rules of North Canaanite phonology, where inter-vocalic *y*, as well as *ʾalef* in all positions, was preserved, do not favour a contraction of the end of the word such as we have in Accadian, where we have *šadû*, *šadî*, *šadâ*, "mountain," and *rabû*, *rabî*, *rabâ*, for **rabiyu*, etc. The end of the loan-word *ksʾ* (*kussaʾu*)[44] remains uncontracted, whereas in Accadian it became *kussû* (Sum. *guza*).

The age of the transition from case-endings to uninflected nouns in West Semitic can be fixed with fair accuracy, thanks to the

[41] *Malikum*, with two short vowels, was the pronunciation at the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon; cf. BAUER, *Die Ostkanaanäer*. In the time of the Amarna tablets epenthesis had already taken place, and the name becomes *Milku*; cf. the proper names *Ili-milku* and *Milkili* (*Milki-ili*).

[42] See *JPOS*, 1928, 233–5.

[43] Cf. *Bulletin*. no. 50 (April, 1933), p. 19.

[44] FRIEDRICH, *ZA*, 7 (N.F.), 309, offers the hypothetical original vocalization **kissiʾu*, but the Sumerian, Accadian, and Aramaic forms show that the Hebrew vocalization *kissĕ* is secondary.

evidence of the Amarna Tablets and of the Egyptian transcriptions in the New Empire. The Canaanite Amarna Tablets are fairly consistent in their case-endings,[45] especially in the Canaanite glosses, as was pointed out by DHORME;[46] the exceptions are relatively infrequent. In the place-names of the Egyptian lists we have a progressive tendency to disregard case-endings. In the time of Tuthmosis III (cir. 1480 B.C.) the feminine names of places are always in the nominative, whereas in later lists they are often in the accusative or genitive; the masculine names in this list are all either nominative or accusative (accusative if preceded by an *u-o*-vowel, a fact which suggests that there was a dissimilatory tendency in Canaanite of this time, which the Egyptians faithfully imitated). Since this question will be treated fully in a forthcoming monograph of the writer on the *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography,* we need not discuss it here further except to observe that the case-endings were in process of becoming confused and abandoned during the 15th–14th centuries B.C. This fact suggests strongly that our texts precede the fifteenth century B.C., and should be dated (with respect to time of composition, not of their present tablet form) between 1700 and 1500 B.C. Since one might reasonably object that the date at which mimation and case-endings disappeared varied materially in different parts of Syria and Palestine, it may be well to note that literary Accadian lost its mimation between 1800 and 1600, and its case-endings between about 1300 and 1000 B.C. (the spoken language lost them earlier). There was thus a parallel tendency throughout the settled Semitic communities of Western Asia.

The forms of the plural and dual, both feminine and masculine, correspond perfectly to older Canaanite and Biblical Hebrew. The masculine plural ending was *ûm(a)* in the nominative, but *îm(a)* in genitive and accusative, as pointed out by FRIEDRICH. The feminine plural ending was *ât(i)*, while the duals were respectively *êm* (for older *aim*) and *atêm* (= Heb. *ataim,* as pointed out by the writer, followed now by VIROLLEAUD[47] and others). The nominal forms are thus throughout analogous to the oldest otherwise known Canaanite, and were quite different from Aramaic, Accadian, and Arabic.

[45] Cf. BÖHL, *op. cit.,* p. 33.   [46] *Revue Biblique,* 1914, 347 f.
[47] *Syria,* XIV, 144, n. 1.

When we turn to the verbal system we are faced with a much more complex and elusive situation. In the first place, there is so much dialogue, and such sudden changes of person and perhaps of subject, that it is very difficult to define the exact temporal functions of imperfect and perfect. There can be no doubt whatever that VIROLLEAUD was essentially right from the first in adhering to the Hebrew tense system, as against the Accadian, and that BANETH, BAUER, FRIEDRICH were only partly right in treating the imperfect as an Accadian aorist, i.e., as a narrative tense. In the second published tablet of the Al'êyân myth (B) VIROLLEAUD has very greatly increased the available material, which now yields at least 30 occurrences of the true perfect, against two in the first tablet (A). In the writer's first article (*Bulletin*, no. 46) he independently explained the imperfect as a narrative tense, but in his second one (*JPOS*, 12), he returned to VIROLLEAUD's view. The following clear instances of perfects may be noted, after eliminating all imperatives, as well as doubtful cases; *šmḫ* (A, III–IV, 14), *thm* (ibid, 34), *ʿly* (B, I, 24), *ḫss* (ibid., 25), *yṣq* (ibid., 26 f.), *štt* (II, 8), *mxy, mxyt* (22 f.), *štt* (1st per., III, 14), *mxy, mxyt* (ibid., 23 f.), *mxyt* (2nd per., IV–V, 31), *ʾatwt* (2nd per., ibid., 32), *thm* (ibid., 41,3), *yblt* (1st per., ibid., 89), *šmḫ* (ibid., 97), *sh* (ibid., 98), *mxy* (ibid., 106), *št* (ibid., 107), *lḥm* (ibid., 110), *šmḫ* (VI, 35), *bnt* (1st per., ibid., 36), *ṭbḫ* (ibid., 40), *šql* (ibid., 41), *sh* (ibid., 44), *špq* (ibid., 47 ff.), *lḥm, šty* (ibid., 55), *ṣhq* (VII, 21), *rgmt* (1st per., ibid., 23), *ylt* (3rd fem. dual, C, 53, 60). In no case does the perfect occur with the conjunction *wa*, which apparently proves that the perfect with *waw* consecutive was not used as a narrative tense (though possibly as a future, according to the Hebrew usage). The tense employed after *wa* in incipient narration, and without *wa* in circumstantial narration is the imperfect, as in Hebrew, though there is a much more extended narrative use of the imperfect than in Biblical Hebrew.

One of the most interesting verb-formations in North Canaanite is the causative in *š*. Some scholars have gone so far as to deny that there is any other causative in this dialect, but the following list of causatives without *š* will be sufficient to disprove their position: *ʾamlk, nmlk* (= *ʾamlik*, etc., A, I, 18, 20, 26), *mbk* (= *mabbik*, I, 5), *tmṭrn* (= *tamṭir-*, III–IV, 6), *tlk* (= *tôlik*, III–IV, 7), *ymṣʾi* (= *yamṣiʾ*, V, 4,), *tbṭ* (= *tabbiṭ*. B, III, 21), *tsrk* (= *tôsir-*, IV–V, 66),

tblk, *yblk* (= *tôbíl-*, etc., IV–V, 77 ff.), *tr* (= *túrê* [?], IV–V, 83), *td* (= *tôdí* [?], VI, 32), *'umlk* (= *'umlak*, VII, 43), *'obl* (= *'ôbíl*, VII, 43), *ysb'* (= *yasbí'*, VII, 51 f.), *hmry* (?, VIII, 12). It is conceivable that this causative is an *'af'el*, but the analogy of Hebrew and older Aramaic, the occurrence of the form *hmry*, and the fact that our dialect agrees with Hebrew in using *h* as a deictic element (*hn* instead of Arab. *'in*, *'inna*, etc.), strongly favour the *hif'îl*. The causative in *s* only occurs in certain words, presumably all of them loan-words from another dialect, as is demonstrably the case with the *saf'el* in Aramaic.

A very important discovery of FRIEDRICH (accepted by GINSBERG) is that North Canaanite formed an indicative of the imperfect in *u*, just as in Arabic.[48] In Accadian this formation is only preserved in *sa*-clauses (*modus relativus*). His treatment is conclusive. He has observed that the indicative of the 2nd and 3rd per. mas. pl. ends regularly in *úna*, and that the 2nd per. fem. sing. ends in *ína*, while the corresponding jussive forms lack the *na* (*ZA* 41, 308, n. 1). Further, all the imperfects with final *'alef* which end in *u* are clearly indicatives; cf. the forms *tb'u* (*A*, I, 7; *B*, IV–V, 23), *ys'u* (*A*, III–IV, 17; V, 10; VI, 13; *B*, IV–V, 30; VII, 22; *C*, 49, 55), *ts'u* (*A*, I, 11; II, 11, *B*, II, 21; IV–V, 87). FRIEDRICH has correctly vocalized them *tabâ'u*, *yissa'u*, etc. His difficulty with the form *yqr'a* (i.e., *yiqra'*, *B*, VII, 47 f.) is easily eliminated, since the context requires a jussive, as we actually have. The similar form *yms'i* (i.e., *yamsi'*, *A*, V, 4) must also be a jussive. That the indicative ended in a vowel is also proved by forms like *tgly* (= *tagalliyu*, *A*, I, 6, etc.), *tsthwy* (*tistahawayu*, *A*, I, 10, etc.), *txzy* (*B*, II, 11), etc. Jussives and imperfects with *waw* consecutive of the type *tertiae infirmae* exhibit no *y*, as to be expected, since *wy'n* stands for *wa-ya'niy*, whence *wa-ya'nî* (Heb. *wa-ya'an*), *y'l*, (*A*, I, 29) stands for *ya'lay*, whence *ya'lê*. The subjunctive (which is shifted to *modus paratacticus* in Accadian) exhibits an *a*, also as in Arabic: *lys'a* (*liyasi'a*[48a] [or *liyisa'*, like Heb. *yimsâ*, in which case the verb

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[48]   Also in South Canaanite (Amarna); cf. BÖHL, *op. cit.*, § 34 q, but the explanation given is now shown to be wrong.

[48a]   It is impossible to reconstruct the vocalization from the Amarna Tablets, which offer *yussi*, *tusa*, *tisi*, etc. However, as GINSBERG has shown, *Tarbiz*, 4, 382, the vowel of the imperfect preformative is regularly *a* before ‥ and *i*, but

is a jussive], *Syria*, XII, 354), *ltkly* (*litakalliya*, *A*, II, 36, which is certainly not a jussive); *lymrʾu* (*liymiraʾû*, *B*, VII, 50), which exhibits the same loss of the ending *na* as is found in Arabic. That the forms in *l* are true subjunctives syntactically, in the Arabic sense, is proved by such a passage as the following, quoted by VIROLLEAUD (*Syria*, XII, 354), but misunderstood then by him: *rgm ltdʿ nšm wltbn hmlt ʾarṣ*, "in order that men might know the command, and that the population of the earth might understand."

With regard to the linguistic affiliations and position of the language of the Ugarit tablets, the writer maintains his original view,[49] that it is specifically Canaanite, but related more closely to Arabic (also to South Arabic), Amorite (East Canaanite), and Accadian than are the other known Canaanite dialects. Many of the apparent peculiarities are due to the fact that it comes to us in a much more archaic form than Biblical Hebrew, or even than the earliest Phoenician inscriptions, as well as than the Canaanite glosses in the Amarna Tablets. The inflections of nouns and pronouns are throughout, so far as we can tell, pure archaic Hebrew. The verbal forms are also pure Canaanite, except that the endings are new to students of Biblical Hebrew, though found to some

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i before *a* in North Canaanite, in accordance with the law set up by BARTH for proto-Hebrew. In this case the vocalization agrees with that of Arabic verbs *primae waw*, as we can see from the parallel *ʾaṯbn* (A, III—IV, 18), from *wṯb.

[49] *JPOS*, 1932, 207 f. This is also the view of VIROLLEAUD, DUSSAUD, and probably also of DHORME, though none of these scholars has yet discussed the subject from the comparative linguistic standpoint. CANTINEAU, on the other hand, writing solely from the phonetic point of view, maintained that the language was not properly Canaanite, but should be assigned a separate place, along with Canaanite and Aramaean (*Syria*, XIII, 164—9). BAUER, *Alphabet*, pp. 64—70, took a similar position, on the basis of morphological considerations, some of which are misleading, such as the argument from the lack of an article (which was certainly not employed in South Canaanite at so early a date), the *šafʿel* causative (which, as we have seen, is not as common as the *hifʿil*), the use of the imperfect as a narrative tense (see above and note that it is often so used in Hebrew poetry). BAUER's term *Ṣafonisch* for the language is too recherché to become very popular. FRIEDRICH (*ZA*, 7, N.F., 311) agrees with CANTINEAU and BAUER, preferring some such a name as Northwest Semitic. However, none of these scholars (except FRIEDRICH) could take the extensive material in text-publication *B* into account, and none of them fully considered the complex dialect division of Canaanite or its rapid evolution during the second millennium B.C.

extent in the Amarna Tablets. The *ifte'al* forms are paralleled in the oldest Phoenician inscriptions, the Mesha Stone, and in Palestinian place-names like *Elteqô, Eŝta'ôl,* and *Eŝtemô'.*[50] Even the one *iŝtaf'al* form, *yŝthwy,* appears in Biblical Hebrew though not previously recognized as a form of this type. Except for the archaic subjunctive in *li,* the style and syntax of our texts are surprisingly akin to Hebrew poetical usage. Many *hapax legomena* in Hebrew appear now in the tongue of Râs eš-Šamrah, while a great many words which are not found outside of Palestine in our other sources, now appear with the same form and meaning as in Hebrew. It is true that the phonological evolution of North Canaanite is slightly different from that of South Canaanite (Phoenician), or that of the dialect of Jerusalem (Biblical Hebrew), but the difference is no greater (allowing for the phonetic stage in which we find North Canaanite) than that existing between the latter two dialects themselves.

A NEW TABLET OF THE EPIC OF AL'ÊYÂN BA'AL AND MÔT

In the following pages the writer will offer a revised translation and interpretation of most of VIROLLEAUD's second publication of material from this epic. Since it is written eight months after the preparation of the preliminary translation offered by the writer in *Bulletin,* No. 50, it represents a considerable degree of progress beyond the point then reached, besides giving the linguistic commentary:

The new tablet of the epic of Al'êyân Ba'al and Môt seems to end with the intimation that Al'êyân is about to descend into the underworld, the realm of Môt. Since the first tablet published by VIROLLEAUD describes the efforts of 'Anat to free Al'êyân from his captor, Môt, it would seem that it must follow the new one. Col. I of the latter may, therefore, belong to the beginning of the preserved portion of the text. The new tablet is more difficult to interpret than the first one, and so our rendering is naturally subject to great caution. The writer has been able to make much progress

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[50] Cf. BAUER, *ZAW,* 1930, 77. The correct pronunciation *Elteqô* (Accad. *Altaqû*) is known to us from the LXX.

since his previous paper, thanks partly to the work of other scholars, whose contributions will be duly noted.

Col. I is particularly elusive, so we shall content ourselves with short extracts: (13) *mṯb ʾEl.mẓll* (14) *bnh.mṯb.Rbt* (15) *ʾAṯrt.ym. mṯb* (16) *Klt. knyt.* (17) *mṯb.pdry. b(t) ʾar* (18) *mẓll. ṭly. bt rb* (19) *mṯb. ʾarṣy.bt. yʿb dr* — The abode of El, the roofed building[51] of his son, the abode of the Lady, Aṯirat of the Sea, the abode of the Perfect[52] Bride, the abode of my city,[53] (which is) a house of light (?),[54] the roofed building of my district (?),[55] (which is) a great house,[56] the abode of my land, (which is) a spacious house.[57]

After an obscure passage we read: (24) *Hyn, ʿly. lmpḫm* (25) *bd. ḫss. mṣbṭm* (26) *yṣq. ksp. yšlḫ. ḫrṣ yṣq. ksp* (28) *lʾalpm. ḫrṣ. yṣqm. lrbbt.* (30) *yṣq. ḫym. wtbṯḫ* — *Hyn* went up to the bellows, in his hand[58]

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[51] See n. 24, above.

[52] Cf. Accad. *kunnû*, "make perfect," *taknîtu*, "perfection."

[53] The parallelism with *ʾarṣ* (line 19) suggests that *pdr* means either "land" or "town." The material by Virolleaud (*B*, p. 115—6 and n. 1, to which must be added *B*, VII, 7—8) makes it certain that the word was synonymous with *ʿr*, "town", especially in the phrase *wgrnn ʿrm šrn pdrm sʿt*, "and sojourn in the towns of — — —, the *pdrm* of — —." The phrase *pdr ʾaḥd* (*RŠ*, 1929, no. 29, 3) reminds one forcibly of ערי הממלכה את (Jos. 10:2). The writer suggested (*Bulletin*, no. 50, p. 14 f.) that the word *pdr* was a loan from an Anatolian language, since *patari* means "city" in Vannic (Urartian), which is generally believed to be an offshoot of a dialect closely related to Ḫurri (Horite), and the same word may perhaps, as has been suggested by others, appear in such Anatolian town-names as *Pteria* (Cappadocia), *Patara* (Lycia), and *Pitru* (Syria).

[54] Heb. *ʾôr*, "light," probably goes back to *ʾâru*, Accad. *âru*, "blossom, flower"; for semantic parallals see *AJSL*, 34, 234, no. 54.

[55] So, with regard to the parallelism. Possible etymological sources may be illustratad by various derivatives of the stem *ṭwl*, "extend," such as S. Arab. *miṭwdl*, "corridor," and Sab. *mṭwl*, "road." See Rhodokanakis, *Sachau Fest-schrift*, p. 294. In our texts the form *ṭṭl* also appears.

[56] So also Dussaud, Montgomery, Ginsberg.

[57] Lit., "spacious of circuit"; cf. Arab. *waṣib*, "spacious, of a house" and *ddr*, "house, court," *daur*, "circle," Accad. *dûru*, "encircling wall." So also already Dussaud, *RHR*, 105, 293, n. 4.

[58] So with all but Ginsberg, who prefers to regard *bd* as an otherwise unknown verb meaning "to grasp," while *ḫss* he considers as Ḫasis (parallel here to *Hyn*). Against Ginsberg's view is the frequent occurence of *bd*, where it can hardly have any other sense (e. g., C, line 8, which has *bdh*, "in his hand"), as well as the Amarna form *badiu* (i. e. *ʾbadêḫi*, *ʾbadêḫi*, Heb. בידיו, "in his hands")·

he grasped[59] the tongs; he melted silver, he hammered out[60] gold; he melted silver by the thousands (of pieces) and gold he melted by the myriads. – From this passage it would seem that *Hyn* was the divine goldsmith. – The rest of the column eludes interpretation, owing to the presence of several unknown words.

Col. II would be easier, in spite of the presence of several obscure words, if it were not so broken. We read: (3) *'aḥdt. plkh* [   ] (4) *plk. t'lt.*[61] *bym* [   ] (5) *npynh. mks. bšrh* (6) *tmt' . mdh. bym. ṯn* (7) *npynh, bnhrm* (8) *štt. ḥptr. l'ešt* (9) *ḥbrt̲. lẓr pḥmm* (10) *t'pp. Tr. 'El. Dp'ed* (11) *txẓy. Bny. bnwt* (12) *bnš'i. 'nh. wtphn* (13) *hlk. B'l. 'Aṯtrt – – – (21) tš'u . gh . wtṣḥ*[.]*'ek* (22) *mxy . 'Al'eyn* [*B*]*'l* (23) *'ek . mxyt . B*[*tl*]*t* (24) *'nt . mḥṣy 'em* [*t*] *ḥṣ* (25) *bny h* [– – ṣ] *brt* (26) *'aryy* – – – (28) *šmḥ Rbt . 'A*[*trt*] (29) *ym. gm. lxlmh* . – She took her spindle (?)[62] [   ] the exalted[63] spindle. On the [first] day she removed her clothing (?),[64] the covering[65] of her flesh, her garments[66] on the second day (she removed). On the morrow[66a] she placed a *ḥptr* on the fire, an incense bowl (?)[67]

[59] So already VIROLLEAUD and others. The semantic development is very simple. Our meaning "to grasp" is original, and Accad. *ḥasâsu*, "to comprehend, think of," is parallel to Accad. *aḥâzu*, "grasp, understand," Accad. *ekêmu*, "grasp" = Arab.-Heb. *ḥkm*, "to be wise," Heb. *leqaḥ*, "understanding," from *lqḥ*, "to grasp, take"; cf. also Eng. *grasp*, Lat. *comprehendo*, etc., etc.

[60] For *šlḥ*, "hammer out" (so GINSBERG, correctly) cf. Heb. *šlḥ*, "stretch," Accad. *šalû, šelû*, in various related senses; for Aramaic doublets see EPSTEIN, *Tarbiz*, 5, 96.

[61] If this reading is right, compare Accad. *têlitu*, "exaltation"; if *qlt* is correct render perhaps "spindle of humiliation," i. e., spindle that humiliates (?).

[62] The word *plk* is surely Accad. *pilakku*, "spindle," whence Aram. *pilkâ*, etc.

[63] But see n. 61, above.

[64] The rendering of *npyn* as "clothing" is conjectural; contrast GINSBERG's view. We translate *mt'* with the Arabic, following VIROLLEAUD.

[65] Heb. *miksê*. The passage is similarly interpreted by GINSBERG, except that he makes the goddess remove the clothing of a god, instead of her own.

[66] So VIROLLEAUD correctly, though he does not offer a translation of the passage. The Hebrew word should, however, be vocalized *midd-* or *madd-*.

[66a] This explanation is very doubtful. We take *nhrm* as *nuhrêm* (type like Heb. *ṣohorayim*, "noon," and *bên ha-'arbayim*, "at sunset"). In Syriac *kaukab nuhrd* is "morning star" (PAYNE-SMITH, col. 1694).

[67] For the latest discussion of the meaning of Hittite (originally Ḥurriar.) *ḥubrus(ḥis)* see SOMMER, *Die Aḥḥijavā-Texte* (precise reference in the index), which is not accessible to the writer at present. For the spelling with *t* (pronounced *s*) see the phonetic discussion above.

upon the coals; she besought (?)[68] the bull, El Dpʾed, she implored (?)[69] the Begetter of Creatures[70] (?). When she raised her eyes she saw[71] the caravan (journey)[72] of Baʿal (and) ʿAṭtart (?) — — — She raised (her) voice and spoke, "Behold, Alʾêyân Baʿal has come, behold, the virgin ʿAnat has come. Those who smite me I shall smite[73]; my sons [   ] the company of my retainers[74] [   ] Rejoice, O Lady, Aṭirat of the Sea!" Also to her — — — . — In lines 26–8 there are some references to silver and gold, and in lines 30 ff. there is· mention of several of the deities already introduced in the first part of the column, but no connected text can be made out.

Col. III is also difficult; our rendering diverges widely from that of the *editio princeps*, but is, of course, subject to caution. We shall, however, propose a translation of nearly the whole text preserved: (10) y[   ]. ʾAlʾeyn . Bʿl (11) y[   ]dd . Rkb . ʿrpt (12) [ ]. Ydd . wyqlṣn (13) yqm . wywptn . btk (14) p[ḫ]r . bn . ʾlm . štt (15) [ ] btlḥny . qlt (16) bks . ʾeštynh . (17) h(?)m . ṭn . dbḥm . šnʾa . Bʿl . ṭlṭ (18) Rkb . ʿrpt . dbḥ (19) bṭt . wdbḥ[74a] (20) dnt . wdbḥ .

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[68] Since the verb ʿpp is parallel to xẓy, which is itself parallel to mgn, a comparison of the context in each case suggests a relation· between mgn and Accad. *magáru*, "be gracious, favourable to," and between ʿpp and Arab. ʿafd, ʿafw, "pardon, be merciful to." The rendering "ask for mercy" seems to fit the context best.   [69] See the preceding note.

[70] Vocalize approximately *Bániyu binawdti* (pl. of *binôt = *binautu, Accad. *binútu*, "creature, creation"); BAUER, *ZAW*, 1933, 83, offers a similar explanation.

[71] For this meaning, which is apparently demanded by the context here and in IV–V, 27, cf. the writer's semantic treatment of the Semitic stems wpy and pʾy, properly "to split," hence "to distinguish," etc., *JAOS*, 47, 216, no. 35. Many stems meaning "to see" meant originally "to split"; cf. the semantic parallels given *AJSL*, 34, 229, no. 46, *JAOS*, 47, 214, no. 28. The stem of our verb is presumably *wph, from the same ultimate source as the stems just mentioned. The derived pht in A, V, 12 ff. probably means "fate," properly "sign, portent." Contrast the views of GINSBRG and MONTGOMERY.

[72] Hlk means probably both "journey" and "party making the journey," like Accad. *alaktu* and *halikah*.

[73] Mḫṣy may be vocalized *mâḫiṣéya*. The construction with a participial cognate accusative is identical with that in Ps. 35:1, לֹחֵם אֶת־לֹחֲמִי, "fight those who fight against me." Contrast the explanations of VIROLLEAUD, MONTGOMERY, and GINSBERG.

[74] For this meaning and the probable Egyptian etymology see *JPOS*, 1932, 197, n. 47.   [74a] The original has clear dittography.

tdmm (21) *>amht* . *w(>)bh* . *btt* . *ltbt* (22) *wbh* . *tdmm(!)* . *>amht*
(23) *>ahr* . *mxy* . *>Al>eyn* . *B‘l* (24) *mxyt* . *Btlt* . *‘nt* (25) *tmgnn* .
Rbt . *Atrt ym* (26) *txzyn* . *Qnyt >elm* (27) *wt‘n* . *Rbt* . *>Atrt ym*
(28) *>ek* . *tmgnn* . *Rbt* (29) *>Atrt* . *ym* . *txzyn* (30) *Qnyt* . *>elm* .
mgntm (31) *Tr*. *>El* . *Dd>ed* . *hm.xztm* (32) *Bny* . *bnwt wt‘n* (33)
Btlt . *‘nt* . *nmgn* (34) *g(?)m* . *Rbt* . *>Atrt* . *ym*. — [   ] Al>êyân
Ba‘al [   ] the Rider on the Clouds [   ] the Beloved, and he was
insulted (?)[75]; he arose and spat[76] into the midst of the assembly
of the sons[77] of the gods: "I have drunk [   ] from my table,
disgrace[78] in a cup I drank. Behold,[79] there are two sacrifices which
Ba‘al hates, three (which) the Rider on the Clouds (hates): the
sacrifice of shame,[80] and the sacrifice of baseness,[81] and the sacrifice
(where) the maid-servants whisper,[82] and in which thou mayest see
shame(?), and in which the maid-servants whisper." (23) After
Al>êyân Ba‘al arrived, after the virgin ‘Anat arrived, they besought
(?) the Lady, Atirat of the Sea, they implored (?) the Creatress of
the Gods. And the Lady, Atirat of the Sea, replied, "Behold, do
ye beseech (?) the Lady, Atirat of the Sea, do ye implore (?) the
Creatress of the Gods? Ye have besought (?) the Bull, El Dp‘ed,
behold ye have implored (?) the Begetter of Creatures." And the
Virgin ‘Anat replied, "We beseech (?) also (?) the Lady, Atirat of
the Sea . . . ."

[75] The verb *qls* is probably identical (partial assimilation of the *s* to the *q*)
with Heb. *qalles*, insult, and Arab. *qallasa*, "humiliate oneself before."

[76] The verb *wpt* (note that the original(?) *w* is preserved in this stem, in-
stead of being changed into *y*, as usual) seems to be identical with Arab.
nafata, "to spit." For the close relation (due to analogical formation) between
verbs *primae waw* and *primae nûn* see NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 179 ff. Our
dialect shares *ytn* (for *•wtn*), for *ntn*, "to give," with later Phoenician. Vocalize
as *pi‘el, yawappit*?

[77] Plural, not singular, as shown by the use of *phr*, "assembly." So also
MONTGOMERY.

[78] Like Accad. *qullultu*, "disgraceful act," Heb. *qelalah*, "insult, curse."

[79] Read probably *h* instead of *k*(?).

[80] The noun *btt* is evidently Heb. *bošet*, "shame"; for the sibilant cf. the
related Aram. *bht*, "be ashamed."

[81] With *dnt* cf. Arab. *ddniya*, "be base, vile," and *danna*, "be bent, of a
man's back."

[82] The stem *dmm* cannot be separated from Heb. *dmm*, "to mutter" (this
meaning was pointed out by HAUPT, and was fully discussed by SCHICK, *JBL*,
32, 219 ff.) and Accad. *damdmu*, "to moan."

Most of col. IV and V is preserved; since only the beginning of IV and the end of V is missing, and the columns are consecutive, we have here the longest unbroken context in the entire Ugarit library, amounting to over 120 lines, with very few lacunae. Beginning with line 8, we read: *yšm' . Qd(š) . w'Amr[r]* (9) *mdl . 'r . ṣmd . pḥl* (10) *št.gpnm . dt . ksp* (11) *dt . yrq . nqbnm* (12) *'db . gpn . 'atnth* (13) *yḥbq . Qdš . w'Amrr* (14) *yštn . 'Aṯrt . lbmt . 'r* (15) *lysmsmt . bmt . pḥl* (16) *Qdš . y'uḥdm . šb'r* (17) *'Amrr . kkbkb . lpnm* (18) *'aṯr . btlt . 'nt* (19) *wB'l . tb' . mrym . ṣpn* (20) *'edk . lttn . pnm* (21) *'m . 'El . mbk . nhrm* (22) *qrb . 'apq . thmtm* (23) *tgly . šd . 'El . wtb'u* (24) *qrš . mlk . 'ab . šnm* (25) *lp'n . 'El thbr . wtql* (26) *tšthwy . wtkbnh* (27) *hlm . 'El . kyphnh* (28) *yprq . lṣb . wyṣhq* (29) *p'nh . lhdm . yṭpd . w [y] krkr* (30) *'uṣb'th . yš'u . gh . wy[ṣh]* (31) *'ek . mxyt . Rbt . Aṯr[t . y] m* (32) *'ek . 'atwt . Qnyt . 'e[lm]* (33) *rxb . rxbt . wt(?)xt[ ]* (34) *hm.xm'u . xm'it . w'ṣ[ ]* (35) *lḥm . hm . štym . lḥ[m]* (36) *bṯlḥnt.lḥm . št[ ]* (37) *bkrpnm . yn. bk(s) . ḥrṣ(?)* (38) *dm 'ṣm . hm.yd . 'El mlk* (39) *yḥssk . 'aḥbt . Ṯr . t'rrk* — "Let Qadeš–and–*Amrr* hear; caparison(?)[83] an ass, harness a he-ass, put on the housings[84] of silver, of gold from the mines,[85] make ready the housings of her she-asses. (13) Qadeš – and – *Amrr* shall embrace, shall place Aṯirat on the back[86] of an ass, on the trappings(?)[87] of the back of a he-

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[88] This meaning is inferred from the parallelism with *ṣmd*; cf. VIROLLEAUD, *ad loc.*

[84] The meaning of *gpn* is also inferred from the context; for a possible cognate see GINSBERG, *Tarbiz*, 5, 83, ad loc.

[85] The word *nqbn* evidently means "mine-shaft"; cf. Arab. *naqb*, Accad. *naqbu*, "tunnel," Heb. *nqbh* (Siloam inscription). The mine-shafts of Sinai, dating in large part to the Middle Empire, and thus earlier than the time of our texts, illustrate it.

[86] Cf. Accad. *bantu*, pl. *bamdti*, "back, trunk (of animal or man)" (HOLMA, *Die Namen der Körperteile*, p. 55 ff.; WEIDNER, *OLZ*, 1914, 497). Synonyms are *ṣéru, kutallu*, "back." TORCZYNER's discussion of the word *bamah* and its Accadian cognates in the *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, no. 3, 12 ff., is stimulating, but hardly convincing in its main thesis, that the word meant originally "belly, centre."

[87] The word *ysmsmt* may properly mean "decorations," Arab. *wisdm*, Accad. *simtu*. The stem *ysm*, "be seemly, beautiful," appears in North Canaanite (*C*, line 2, etc.).

ass. Let Qadeš be lighted[88]; light[89] (the way), O *Amrr*, like a star before the path[90] of the virgin ʿAnat, and hasten,[91] O Baʿal, to the heights[92] of the north.   (20) Behold thou shalt direct (thy) course to El, who causes the rivers to flow[93] from the midst of the fountain of the two deeps.[94]   Thou shalt penetrate into the field of El and shalt enter the palace of the king, the father of years.   At the feet of El thou shalt fall down, and thou shalt hold thy peace; thou shalt bow down and shalt honour him.   (27) Then, when El sees[95] her, he will put away grief[96] and will smile, his feet he will place[97] on the footstool, he will entwine[98] his fingers, will raise (his) voice, and will speak, (31) 'Behold, O Lady Aṭirat of the Sea, thou hast

[88] The form *yʾuḥdm* is probably *hofʿal, yuʾḥad-mi*; for the meaning cf. Accad. *šuḥuzu, šutdḥuzu*, "to light a fire." The enclitic *mi* (or less probably, *ma*) seems to have the same emphatic quality as in the Amarna Tablets.

[89] *Šbʿr* is a *safʿel* corresponding to Heb. *hibʿir*, "to light (a torch, etc.)." Note that the Hebrew *piʿel* also means "to light a lamp." Contrast GINSBERG's rendering.

[90] Cf. Arab. *ʾiṭr*, Heb. *ʾašúr*, "footsteps, tread, path." GINSBERG renders "afterwards," comparing Aram. *bdtár*, "after," literally, "in the track of."

[91] VIROLLEAUD explains the word correctly, as we think, in his notes, where he follows the Accad. *tebú*, whereas in his translation he follows the Arab. *tdbiʿa*, "to follow, pursue." MONTGOMERY prefers to render "shalt seek," from Heb. *baʿd*, Arab. *bǧd*, but the occurence of *ttbʿ* elsewhere is against this view.

[92] For the writer's explanation see *Bulletin*, no. 50, p. 15, n. 14. The same explanation has independently been given since by BAUER, *ZAW*, 1933, 87, n. 2. BAUER adds a reference to Eth. *ʾarydm*, "heaven," but does not draw what seems to us the correct deduction, that *mrym ṣpn* means properly "the northern heavens." MONTGOMERY compares Syr. *meraiyemd*, name of God as the Exalted One, but this hardly fits the context.

[93] So with GINSBERG against the writer's former view; the stem *nbk*, "to flow," is found in the expression *nibkê yam* (Job 38:16). The form *mabbik* is naturally *hifʿil* participle.

[94] Our explanation of *thmtm* as dual has been accepted since by VIROLLEAUD (C, p. 144, n.), as well as by GINSBERG and others. The expression *ʾapq thmtm*, "source of the two deeps," is identical with Accad. *naqab apsi*, "source of the deep." Cf. also the writer's remarks about Mesopotamian cosmological parallels *JPOS*, 1932, 196, n. 34–5.

[95] See above, n. 71.   [96] See *JPOS*, 1932, n. 85, comparing Arab. *lṣb*.

[97] See *JPOS*, 1932, n. 83.

[98] The verb *krkr* has the same meaning "to turn, twist" as Arab. *krkr* (*takarkara*, etc.), and the derived shorter stems *krr* and *krk* in Hebrew (*krr*, *kirker*), Aramaic (*krk*), and Accadian (*karáru, karáku*, to wind, twist, etc.).

arrived,[99] behold, O Creatress of the Gods thou hast come. Truly thou art hungry,[100] and [   ]; truly indeed thou art thirsty,[101] and [   ]; eat[102] indeed and drink—food on the tables, food is set [   ] (37) in jars wine, in golden cups (?) the blood of trees. Behold the love[103] of El the king holds (supports)[104] thee, the affection of the Bull helps[105] thee.' "

Line 40 continues: *wt⁽n . Rbt . ʾAṭrt ym* (41) *thmk . ʾEl ḥkm . ḥkmt* (42) *⁽m ⁽lm . ḥyt . ḥzt* (43) *thmk . mlkn . ʾAlʾey [n .] Bᶜl* (44) *ṭpṭn . wʾen . d⁽lnh* (45) *klnyn . q[šṭ]h nb[ln]* (46) *klnyn . nbl. ksh* (47) *[ʾan]y lyṣḥ . Ṭr ʾEl . ʾabh* (48) *ʾEl mlk . dyknnh . yṣḥ* (49) *[ʾA]ṭrt . wbnh . ʾElt . wṣbrt* (50) *[ʾa]ryh . wn . ʾen . bt . lBᶜl* (51) *km ʾelm.wḥzr . kbn . ʾAṭrt* (52) *mṭb ʾEl mzll.bnh* (53) *mṭb Rbt . ʾAṭrt . ym* (54) *mṭb . Klt . knyt* (55) *mṭb.pdry . bt ʾar* (56) *mẓ[l]l ṭly . bt rb* (57) *mṭb ʾarṣ bt yᶜb dr* — And the Lady, Aṭirat of the Sea, replied, "El, the wise one, has attributed to thee wisdom, together with eternal life and good fortune;[106] our king has attributed (them) to thee, O Alʾêyân Baᶜal; our judge, above whom there is no one,[107] (has attributed them to thee). — — — (47) Let the Bull, El, his father, speak; El, the king who created him,[108] shall speak, 'O Aṭirat and her sons, O Elat and

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[99] 2nd per. fem. instead of 3rd per., as previously rendered.

[100] See above for the relation between *rxb* and the stem *rg̱b*, "to be hungry."

[101] For the equation *xmʾ = ẓdmiʾa*, etc., see above.

[102] Or "food indeed and drink," etc.

[103] "Love" is better than "hand," as seen by GINSBERG and MONTGOMERY, since the noun is construed as masculine. Otherwise the meaning "hand" goes well with *ḥss.*   [104] For the meaning of *ḥss* see n. 59, above.

[105] The following remarks will make this rendering of *⁽rr* reasonable from an etymological point of view. In Arabic *iᶜtarra* means "come as a suppliant to, entreat someone for help." From the same stem *⁽rr* is also derived Heb. *⁽atar*, "pray (for help)," *neᶜtar*, "be entreated, have mercy on," just as *⁽ld* (Arab. *iᶜtadda*) is derived from *⁽dd* (Arab. *⁽adda*). To Heb. *neᶜtar* corresponds Accad. *naʾruru*, "go to someone's help" (Old Babyl. *aldk naʾrari aldku*, KRAUS, *MVAG* 36, 1, 178; Amarna *innirir*, "he went to [his] help" [for which see the writer's forthcoming monograph on the Amarna Tablets]; Assyr. *nardru, nirdru*, "help"). GINSBERG renders *⁽rr* as "arouse," and *ḥss* as "move." MONTGOMERY also adopts the Hebrew meaning of *⁽ôrer.*

[106] For this meaning see the discussion of the phonetic value of *ẓ* above.

[107] Lit. "and there does not exist (one) who is above him."

[108] *Pôᶜel* of *kún*, presumably equivalent, as in Hebrew, to the *hifᶜil.* which means "create" in Phoenician and Hebrew.

the band of her retainers, behold there is no house for Ba'al as (for) the (other) gods, or temenos[109] as (for) the sons of Aṭirat. (52) There is the abode of El, the roofed building of his son, the abode of the Lady, Aṭirat of the Sea, the abode of the Perfect Bride, the abode of my city, (which is) a house of light (?), the roofed building of my district (?), (which is) a great house, the abode of my land, (which is) a spacious house.'"

(58) wy'n Lṭpn 'El Dp'e[d] (59) h(?)'bd . 'an . 'nn . 'Aṭrt (60) h(?)'bd . 'ank . 'aḫd 'ulṭ (61) hm . 'amt . 'Aṭrt . tlbn (62) lbnt ybn . bt . lB'l (V, 63) km 'elm . wḫzr . kbn . 'Aṭrt — And Lṭpn, El Dp'ed, replied, "Am I a slave,[110] who groans (?),[111] O Aṭirat, am I a slave, who takes – – –? Behold the maid[112] Aṭirat shall mould bricks, in order that a house may be built for Ba'al as (for) the gods, a temenos as (for) the sons of Aṭirat."

(64) wt'n . Rbt . 'Aṭrt ym (65) Rbt . 'elm . lḫkmt (66) šbt . dqnk . ltsrk (67) rḫnt(?) . d[   ] . l'ertk (68) wn 'ap . 'dn . mṭrh (69) B'l . y'dn . 'dn . ṭk(?)t . bglṭ (70) w(y)tn . qlh . b'rpt (71) šrh . l'arṣ . brqm (72) bt . 'arzm . ykllnh (73) hm . bt . lbnt . y'msnh (74) lyrgm . l'Al'eyn B'l (75) ṣḥ . ḫrn . bbhtk (76) 'šbt . bqrb . hklk (77) tblk . xrm . m'ed . ksp (78) gb'm . mhmd . ḫrṣ (79) yblk . 'udr . 'elqṣm (80) wbn . bht . ksp . wḫrṣ (81) bht . ṭhrm . 'eqn'em — And the Lady, Aṭirat of the Sea, replied, "Let the Lady of the Gods (instruct thee) in wisdom, let thy hoary[113] beard instruct thee,[114] – – – to thy breast. Otherwise[115]

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[109]   Heb. ḥaṣer, "temple temenos, court," ḥaṣór, originally "enclosure"; Arab. ḥazirah, "sheepfold" (see above).

. [110]   The reading is conjectural, so the interpretation must remain doubtful. There does not seem to be any other clear occurrence of the interrogative h.

[111]   Very doubtful; cf. 'anna, "to groan" in Syrian Arabic.

[112]   The appellation 'amt belongs to Aṭirat herself, not to her maid.

[113]   The word šbt is Heb. śébaḥ, "gray hair, hoariness, old age," from a stem which appears also in Arabic, Aramaic, and Assyrian, as was pointed out in the Bulletin, and later independently by GINSBERG and MONTGOMERY. The ambiguity of the syntax makes our rendering of the passage uncertain.

[114]   The verb tsr is almost certainly hif'il, tósir, corresponding to the Hebrew pi'el of the same verb; cf. Isa. 28:26, ויסרו למשפט אלהיו יורנו, "And he shall instruct him in judgement (note the construction, identical with that of lḫmt in our passage), his God shall teach him."

[115]   This rendering of wn 'ap is uncertain; perhaps wn means "behold."

will Ba'al give the blessing[116] of his rain, the blessing of − − − ,
(70) and will he give (utter) his voice in the clouds, and his glance[117]
in the land of lightning?[118] A house of cedar, they shall complete
it, verily a house of brick, they shall raise it. And let it be announced
to Al'êyân Ba'al, (75) 'Call a caravan[119] into thy sanctuaries, a
trading company[120] into thy temples; the mountains shall yield thee
much silver,[121] the hills (shall yield thee) choice gold; they shall
bring thee splendid jewels(?).[122] And build sanctuaries of silver and
gold, sanctuaries of the (ritually) pure,[123] whom I jealously love(?).' "

(82) *šmḫ . Btlt . 'nt . td's* (83) *p'nm . wtr . 'arṣ* (84) *'edk
. lttn . pnm* (85) *'m . B'l . mrym . ṣpn* (86) *b'alp . šd . Rbt . kmn* (87)
ṣhq . Btlt . 'nt tš'u (88) *gh . wtṣh . tbšr B'l* (89) *bšrtk . yblt .
yin[t]* (90) *bt . lk . km . 'aḫk . wḥzr* (91) *km . 'aryk . ṣḥ . ḫrn*
(92) *bbḫtk (etc.)* − − − *šmḫ . 'Al'eyn* (98) *B'l . ṣḥ . ḫrn . bbhth*
(99) *'šbt . bqrb hklh* (100) *yblnn xrm . m'ed . ksp* (101) *gb'm .
m(!)ḥmd . ḥrṣ* (102) *yblnn . 'udr 'elqṣm* − "Rejoice, O virgin

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[116] The stem '*dn* means in Hebrew and Aramaic "to be well, joyful, in a
state of well-being," as illustrated by numerous derivatives. Arab. *ğadan, ğudnah*
mean "tenderness, delicacy." A more literal rendering of our word might be
"(the) state of well-being (caused by something)."

[117] The word *šr* is presumably derived from the stem which appears in
Hebrew as *šûr*, "to see" (perhaps originally "to pierce, penetrate," like Arab.
nsr, with which it may be etymologically connected).

[118] "The land of lightning" can hardly be anything but the Greek *aithēr*,
the region of the upper air which the Greeks, from Homer on, considered as
being the abode of fire, whence the name. For a divergent interpretation see
GINSBERG, *Tarbiz*, 4, 385.

[119] Accad. *ḫarrānu*, "road, caravan," whence the name of the city *Ḫarrān*
in north-western Mesopotamia.

[120] Our best suggestion for '*šbt* is that it is derived from a stem '*šb* =
Arab.-Aram. '*ṣb*, "to bind, unite." After '*ayin* there is much interchange of *s*
and *ṣ*, particularly in the Arabic dialects. Cf. Arab. '*uṣbah*, "band, company." −
MONTGOMERY's explanation of *ḫrn* is at variance with the laryngal, since Heb.
ḥor is identical etymologically with Arab. *ḥurr*. GINSBERG's interpretation is most
improbable, though phonetically satisfactory. The expression *ṣḥ ḫrn*, etc., is
closely parallel to *ṣḥ 'aḫh*, etc., in VI, 44.

[121] So, against our translation in *Bulletin*, no. 50, with GINSBERG.

[122] Lit. "the splendour of jewels(?)." The latter meaning is conjectural; the
word is perhaps foreign, like Heb.-Egypt. *elgabiš*, Accad. *algamēšu*, "rock-crystal(?)."

[123] The interpretation of this passage is difficult, though the words seem clear.

ʿAnat, (whose) feet tread,[124] and the earth is watered![125] Behold thou shalt direct (thy) course to the Lord of the heights of the north, with an ox of the field of the Lady of Cummin(?).[126] (87) Smile, O virgin ʿAnat, thou shalt raise (thy) voice, and shalt speak, bringing good tidings to Baʿal, 'I have brought thee good tidings; I have given thee a house as (for) thy brethren, and a temenos as (for) thy companions. Call a caravan into thy sanctuaries, (etc.) − −ʹ " (97) Alʾêyân Baʿal rejoiced; he called a caravan into his sanctuaries, a trading company (?) into his temples; the mountains yielded much silver, the hills (yielded) choice gold; they yielded splendid jewels(?).

Lines 103–5 are difficult. Since 104–5 is clearly, as we have pointed out before, a catch-line with instructions to the narrator,[127] while 103 evidently belongs with 106 and following, the most reasonable solution appears to be that 103 should follow 104–5, as follows:

(104) *wṯb lmspr* . . *kṯbakn* (105) *xlmm* (− − −) (103) *yʾakl* .(l) *Kṯr . wḤss* − And return to the narrative (which begins): When thou dost send messengers (?) (and ends): They shall give Kôṯar-and-Ḥasîs to eat.

This rearrangement restores a logical order, and shows that a long episode intervenes between lines 102 and 103, an episode beginning with the words, "When thou dost send messengers(?)," and ending with "They shall give Kôṯar-and-Ḥasîs to eat." The episode is unfortunately lost, but the next one begins with preparations to feed Kôṯar-and-Ḥasîs:

(106) *ʾaḥr . mxy . Kṯr . wḤss* (107) *št . ʾalp . qdmh . mrʾa* (108) *wtk . pnh . tʿdb . ksʾu* (109) *wyṯṯb . lymn . ʾAlʾeyn* (110) *Bʿl . ʿd . lḥm . š[ty . ʾelm]* − After Kôṯar-and-Ḥasîs had arrived,

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[124] The verb *dʿṣ* is evidently identical with Heb.-Arab. *ṣʿd*, "to tread, walk," as pointed out by A. Bergman, and is probably also the same as Arab. *dʿs*, with the same sense. Such transposed doublets are common in verbs containing both dentals and sibilants. For the interchange of *s* and *ṣ* with ʿayin cf. n. 120. The reading *pʿnm*, "feet," due partly to Baneth and partly to the writer, is now accepted by Virolleaud; see *Syria*, XIV, 147, n. 2.

[125] The verb is *hofʿal*, as pointed out above; cf. Heb. *hôrd*, "to water."

[126] The noun *kmn* may be Heb. *kammôn*, Accad. *kamûnu*; for the plant and its use see Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, II, 188, 290.

[127] See also, Bauer, *ZAW*, 1933, 101, and now Ginsberg, *ad loc.*; for *mispar*, "narrative," see Jud. 7:15.

they set an ox before[128] him, a fat one, and directly before[129] him a chair was prepared, and they made him sit at the right of Al'êyân Baʿal, until [the gods] had eaten and drunk.

(111) [w]yʿn . ʾA[l'eyn . Bʿl] – – – (114) ḥš . rmm . ḥk[lm] (115) ḥš . bhtm . tbn[n(?)] (116) ḥš . trmmn . ḥk[lm] (117) btk . ṣrrt . ṣpn (118) ʾalp . šd ʾaḫd bt (119) Rbt . kmn . ḥkl – And Al'êyân Baʿal replied," – – – Take note,[130] raise the temples; take note, the sanctuaries shalt thou build; take note, thou shalt raise the temples in the heart (?) of the north." – – –

(120) [w]yʿn . Kṭr . wḪss (121) šmʿ . l'Al'eyn Bʿl (122) bn . lRkb . ʿrpt (123) bl . ʾašt . ʾurbt . bbh[tm] (124) ḥln . bqrb hklm (125) wyʿn . ʾAl'eyn Bʿl (126) ʾal . tšt . ʾurbt . b[bhtm] (127) [ḥln] . bqrb . ḥk[lm] – And Kôṭar-and-Ḥasîs replied, "Hearken to me, O Al'êyân Baʿal, give heed[131] to me, O Rider on the Clouds, truly I will set a lattice[132] in the sanctuaries, a window in the temples." (125) And Al'êyân Baʿal replied, "Thou shalt not set a lattice in the sanctuaries, (nor) a window in the temples."

After a lacuna of two or three lines, col. VI begins with a continuation of the colloquy between Al'êyân and Kôṭar: (1) wʿyn . Kṭ[r . wḪs]s (2) ṭṭb . Bʿl . l[ḥwty] (3) ṭn . rgm . K[ṭr . w]Ḫss (4) šmʿ . mʿ . l'A[l'ey]n Bʿl (5) bl . ʾašt . ʾu[rbt] . bbhtm (6) ḥln . bqr[b . ḥk]lm – And Kôṭar-and-Ḥasîs replied, "Thou shalt respond, O Baʿal, to my word(s), repeat the utterance of Kôṭar-and-Ḥasîs.[132a] Hearken to me, O Al'êyân Baʿal, truly I will set a lattice in the sanctuaries, a window in the temples." In lines 7–17 the colloquy is repeated, with variations, but the text is badly damaged. In lines

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[128] Aram. *qoddm*, Arab. *qudddm*.

[129] Cf. Arab. *baina yadaihi*, "directly before him."

[130] VIROLLEAUD's rendering "hâte-toi" is hardly possible, since the laryngal in Heb. *ḥúš*, Accad. *ḫdšu* is *ḫ*. We have doubtfully connected the word with Arab. *ḥassa*, "to notice, feel, see" (and possibly Accad. *ḫidšu*, "see," if a West-Semitic loan-word, which may be the case, since the word occurs only in vocabularies).

[131] So, with DUSSAUD, *RHR* 105, 297, n. 4. So also now GINSBERG.

[132] The vocalization *ʾurbt* is very interesting, since it is probably secondary to Heb. *ʾarubbah*, originally **ʾarúbatu*; see the close parallel in Arabic and Accadian discussed by the writer in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 17 (1020), 174 f.

[132a] Contrast the writer's earlier interpretation in *Bulletin*, no. 50, with which BAUER's later, but independent rendering, *ZAW*, 1933, 100, ad 26, agrees. GINSBERG differs somewhat.

18–21 there is mention twice of "Lebanon and its trees (*Lbnn . w'ṣh*)" and of "its choice cedars (*mḥmd . ʾarzh*)."

Kôṭar-and-Ḥasîs goes on to give a rather surprising order for the destruction of the old temples by fire, a command which has been understood by the first commentators to refer to some obscure ritual:

(22) *tš[t .] ʾišt . bbhtm* (23) *nbl'at . bhklm* (24) *hn[.]ym . wṯn . ṯekl* (25) *ʾišt . bbhtm . nbl'at* (26) *bhklm . ṯlṯ . rb' ym* (27) *ṯekl'. ʾi]št . bbhtm* (28) *nbl'a[t .]bhklm* (29) *ḥmš . ṯ[d]ṯ . ym . ṯekl* [30) *ʾišt[. b]bhtm nbl'at* (31) *b[— — — . hk]lm . mk* (32) *bšb'[.]y[mm] . td . ʾišt* (33) *bbhtm . n[bl]'at . bhklm* (34) *sb . ksp . lrqm . ḥrṣ* (35) *nsb . llbnt . —* "Thou shalt set fire in the sanctuaries, flames[132b] in the temples. Behold, (one) day, a second (day), the fire shall devour the sanctuaries, the flames (shall devour) the temples; a third, a fourth day the fire shall devour the sanctuaries, the flames (shall devour) the temples; a fifth, a sixth day the fire shall devour the sanctuaries, the flames (shall devour) the — — — temples. Behold[132c] (32) for seven days thou shalt throw fire into the sanctuaries, flames into the temples. (34) Turn[133] the silver into ingots,[134] the gold we will turn into bricks."

šmḥ (36) *ʾAl'eyn . B'l . (b)hty bnt* (37) *dt . ksp . hkly . dtm* (38) *ḥrṣ . — — — ṯbḥ . ʾalpm [. 'ap]* (41) *ṣ'en . šql . ṯrm , wmrʾa(!)[135] . ʾel(m) . 'glm . d[ṯ]* (43) *šnt . ʾemr . qmṣ . ll'im* (44) *šḥ . 'aḥḥ . bbhth . ʾa[r]yh* (45) *bqrb hklh . ṣḥ* (46) *šb'm . bn . ʾAṯrt* (47) *špq . ʾelm . krm . y[m]* (48) *špq . ʾelht . ḥprt [. ym]* (49) *špq . ʾelm . ʾalpm . y[m]* (50) *špq . ʾelht . ʾarḥt[. ym]* (51) *špq . ʾelm . khṯm . y[m]* (52) *špq . ʾelht . ks'at[. ym]* (53) *špq . ʾelm . rḥbt . ym(!)* (54) *špq . ʾelht . dkr[ṯ . ym]* (55) *'d . lḥm . šty . ʾel[m]* (56) *wpq . mrxṯm . ṯd[?]* (57) *bḥrb . mlḥt . qṣ . — —]'i . ṯšty . krp]nm . y]n —*

[132b] *Nbl'at* is clearly cognate with Accad. *nablu*, "flame," Eth. *nabal (ʾanbal-bala*, "to flame"). The origin of the final ʾ is obscure.

[132c] Cf. Egypt. *mk*, "behold," originally "behold thou."

[133] For this use of the stem *sbb* see Zech. 14:10.

[134] VIROLLEAUD (*B*, p. 150) called attention to Accad. *ruqqu*, "metal object," but without utilizing the suggestion. *Ruqqu* is used of copper and silver, so clearly means "ingot" (then generally of "double-axe" form, for tying together), while *libittu*, "brick" is used of gold and silver bricks regularly in the Amarna Tablets and elsewhere.

[135] The reading of the text is [*m]r'i'a*, which can hardly be right.

Al>êyân Ba‘al rejoiced, "I have built my sanctuaries of silver, my temples of gold — — —."[136] He slaughtered oxen and also sheep; he spitted (?)[136a] bulls and fat rams, yearling calves; sheep he strangled (?)[187] (and) kids.[138] (44) He called his brethren into his sanctuaries, his companions into his temples; he called the seventy sons of Aṯirat. (47) He satisfied[188a] the ram-gods (with food) a day,[189] he satisfied the ewe-goddesses[140] a day; he satisfied the bull-gods a day, he satisfied the cow-goddesses[141] a day; he satisfied the enthroned gods a day, he satisfied the enthroned goddesses a day; he satisfied the gods of the market-places[142] a day, he satisfied the goddesses of the high places (?)[143] a day — (55) until the gods had eaten and drunk, and the sucklings (?) were satisfied with the breast (?). With a shining (?)[144] sword — — — drink jars of wine.

The first part of col. VII is poorly preserved. In lines 9–14 we read: (9) ṯṯ . lṯṯm . >aḫd . ‘r (10) šb‘m . šb‘ . pdr (11) ṯmnym . B‘l . m[ ] (12) tš‘m . B‘l . mr[ ] (13) b[ ]d(?) . B‘l bqr[b] (14) bt . — (Kôṯar-and-Ḥasîs seems to be speaking to Al>êyân Ba‘al.) "— — — (9) six and (?) sixty cities do thou take, seventy-seven towns, eighty, O Ba‘al, [ ]ninety, O Ba‘al, — — — Ba‘al in the sanctuary". (It would appear that Kôṯar-and-Ḥasîs is offering Baal towns for his

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[136]　Our translation follows that of GINSBERG.

[136a]　Our rendering follows Eth. *saqdla*, "to hang, impale, crucify" (for the relation of meanings cf. Assyr. *ina gašiši aldlu*, "to hang on a stake," i. e., to impale). Cognate is Accad. *šuqalulu*, "to hang." "To spit" is "to impale."

[187]　This rendering is based on Heb. *qmṣ*, "to take with the fingers"; cf. Arab. *qmṭ*, "to bind, garotte," which may be parallel in origin.

[138]　Correctly identified by EPSTEIN and FRIEDRICH with Accad. *lalii*.

[188a]　The verb *špq* is a causative of *pûq*, like Heb. *hefîq*, which is used in parallelism with *hišbi‘* in Isa. 58:10. So already in part VIROLLEAUD.

[189]　The restoration *ym*, "day," follows MONTGOMERY. The feast of the gods then lasted eight days; cf. MONTGOMERY's comparison with the duration of the Feast of Tabernacles.

[140]　Cf. Arab. (transposed) *ḫarûf*, "sheep," Accad. *ḫurâpu* "young sheep" (SPEISER, after MONTGOMERY, *JAOS* 53, 120).

[141]　Accad. *arḫu*, "wild-cow," with BANETH.

[142]　For another explanation see MONTGOMERY, ad loc.

[143]　The consonants of *dkrt* are etymologically the same as those in Accad. *zikkuratu*, "mountain-peak, temple-tower," which is derived from the stem *zkr-zqr* (partial assimilation to the *r*), "project," Arab. *dkr*, originally "be sharp." as illustrated by the meaning of several derivatives.

[144]　The stem *mlḫ* may be a transposed doublet of Arab. *lamaḫa*, "to shine."

cult, i.e., towns in which sanctuaries and temples will be built in
his honour.)

wyᶜn . ᵖAlᵖeyn (15) *Bᶜl[.]ᵖaštm . Ktr bn* (16) *ym . Ktr . bnm .*
ᶜdt (17) *yptḥ . ḥln . bbhtm* (18) *ᵖurbt . bqrb[.]hklm . w[ᵖep]th .*
bdqt . ᶜrpt (20) *ᶜl p[k(?)] Ktr . wḤss* — And Alᵖêyân Baᶜal replied,
"I shall set them (the windows), O Kôtar, son of the sea. O
Kôtar, the sons of the assembly[145] shall open a window in the
sanctuaries, a lattice in the temples, and I will open a rift in the
clouds according to thy(?) command, O Kôtar-and-Ḥasîs."

(21) *şḥq . Ktr . wḤss* (22) *yšᵖu[.]gh . wyşḥ* (23) *lrgmt . lk .*
ᵖAlᵖeyn . Bᶜl . t[t]bn . Bᶜl (25) *lhwty . yptḥ . ḥln . bbhtm[.] ᵖurbt*
(27) *bqrb . hk[lm . yp]tḥ* (28) *Bᶜl . bdqt [. ᶜrp]t* (29) *qlh . qdš .*
Bᶜ[l . y]tn (30) *ytny . Bᶜl -- -- -- * (32) [ ]*xrm . ᵖaḥšn* (33) *rtq[ ]*
(34) *qdm ym . bmt . [ ]* (35) *ttin . ᵖeb . Bᶜl . ᵖeḥd* (36) *yᶜrm .*
šnᵖu . Hd . gpt (37) *xr.* — Kôtar-and-Ḥasîs smiled, he raised his
voice and spoke, "Truly I declared to thee,[146] to Alᵖêyân Baᶜal,
'Thou shalt respond, O Baᶜal, to my word(s); he (Baᶜal) shall open
a window in the sanctuaries and a lattice in the temples; Baᶜal
shall open a rift in the clouds, Baᶜal shall give (utter) his holy
voice. (30) Baᶜal shall repeat -- -- -- ' -- -- -- mountains, I fear[146a]
the -- -- (34) before the day of -- -- -- the foes of Baᶜal will seize
(36) the forests, the enemies of Haddu[147] (will seize) the interior[148]
of the mountain(s)."

wyᶜn . ᵖAlᵖeyn (38) *Bᶜl . ᵖeb . Hd . lm . tḫš* (39) *lm . tḫš . ntq .*
dmrn (40) *ᶜn . Bᶜl . qdm . ydh* (41) *ktxš . ᵖarz . bymnh* (42) *bkm .*
ytb . Bᶜl . lbhth (43) *ᵖumlk . ᵖobl mlk* (44) *ᵖars . drkt yštkn* (45)
dll . ᵖal . ᵖelᵖak . lBn (46) *ᵖelm . Mt . ᶜdd lYdd* (47) *ᵖEl . Xzr .*
yqrᵖa . Mt (48) *bnpšh . ystrn Ydd* (49) *bgngnh . . ᵖaḥdy . dymlk .*

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[145] Cf. *Bulletin*, no. 50, p. 17, n. 45; the interpretation of the expression
is very obscure.

[146] This rendering follows GINSBERG's interpretation.

[146a] We follow GINSBERG (oral communication) in equating the verb with
Arab. *ḥdšiya, yaḥšâ,* "to fear." In his third paper he made a mistake in the
sibilant, which vitiated his interpretation.

[147] The identification of the group *hd* with the shortened form of the
name *Hadad* is due to GINSBERG. For the form cf. Accad. abbreviated *Addu*.
In Canaan we also find the contracted name *Zimrida* for *Dimri-Adda (Hadda)*,
so a form *Hadda* is also possible.

[148] For this rendering of *gpt* see below, n. 175.

ʿl . ʾelm . lymrʾu   (51) ʾelm . wnšm . dyšbʿ . hmlt . ʾarṣ . — And Alʾêyân Baʿal replied, "Why dost thou fear the foes of Haddu, why dost thou fear (their) piercing (?)[149] missiles? The eye of Baʿal is before his hand, when the cedar in his right hand[150] — — — (42) you. Shall Baʿal return to his house? I will be made king,[151] I will cause the kings of the earth to be brought,[152] that they may exercise dominion.[153] (45) I shall not send a guide (?)[154] to Môt, son of the gods, (nor) a herald[154a] to Xzr, beloved of El. Môt shall talk to himself, Yadûd shall hide (49) in his chamber; it is I alone[155] who shall reign over the gods, in order that gods and men may become fat, (it is I alone) who shall satisfy[156] the inhabitants of the earth."

After a break of some length, col. VIII resumes: (1) ʾidk . ʾal . ttn . pnm   (2) ʿm . xr . Trxzz   (3) ʿm . xr , Ṯrmg   (4) ʿm . tlm .

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[149] It is difficult to separate *dmrn* from the stem *dmr*, which appears in Eth. in the sense "insert, mix," in Arab. as *damara*, "be lost, ruined," also "penetrate," *dammara*, "ruin, destroy," in Syr. as *damirâ*, "marvelous," *tedmortâ*, "miracle," etc. The original sense is presumably "to pierce, penetrate," hence "marvel at" (for the semantic development and several close parallels see *JAOS*. 47, 214, no. 28). The age of the stem in Syria is shown by the name *Tadmor* (which the writer has hitherto considered erroneously as being non-Semitic), now found in a text of Tiglath-pileser I, about 1100 B.C., as *Tadmar*.

[150] GINSBERG has observed a parallel in a New Kingdom papyrus, quoted by GRESSMANN, "Baʿal smites thee with the cedar that is in his hand."

[151] The form is *hofʿal*; GINSBERG considers it passive *qal*, but the syntax is awkward. The rendering of this passage in *Bulletin*, no. 50, is quite erroneous.

[152] Lit., "I will cause (one) to bring the kings," etc.

[153] The word *drkt*, "dominion" (recognized by VIROLLEAUD and others) is clearly derived from the causative of *drk*; cf. Heb. *hidrîk*, Accad. *šudruku*, both meaning "to tread, force, bend." Accad. *darkatu*, "future," is probably quite different in origin. It is not impossible that the name *Derketô*, variant of *Atargatis*, is really an appellation of the latter, meaning primarily "dominion." *Yštkn* = Accad. *ištakanû*.

[154] Cf. Arab. *dalîl*, "guide."

[154a] Heb. ʿÔded, name of two prophets in II Chr., is supposed by some to be a common noun, meaning some kind of prophet.

[155] The word ʾaḥdy corresponds exactly to Accad. *ēdiššiya*, *ēdēnûʾa in meaning.

[156] The introductory *d* shows that the clause with *dymlk*, not with *lymrʾu*. For another explanation of the latter see MONTGOMERY, *ad loc.*, but the root-meaning is precisely "be big, strong, fat"; for the development of meaning and several parallels see *AJSL* 34, 235, no. 61.

xṣr . ʾarṣ (5) *ŝʾa . xr . ʿl . ydm* (6) *ḫlb . lẓr . rḥtm* (7) *wrd .*
bt ḫpṭ (8) *ʾarṣ . tspr . byrdm . ʾarṣ* (10) *ʾidk . ʾal . ttn* (11) *pnm .*
tk . qrth (12) *hmry . mk . ksʾu* (13) *ṯbth . ḫḫ . ʾarṣ* (14) *nḥlth .*
wnxr (15) *ʿt(?)n . ʾelm . ʾal* (16) *tqrb . lBn . ʾelm* (17) *Mt . ʾal .*
yʿdbkm (18) *kʾemr . bph* (19) *kllʾi . bṯbr nqnh . tḫtʾan* (21) *Nrt .*
ʾelm . Špš (22) *ṣhrrt . lʾa* (23) *šmm . byd . Mdd . ʾelm . Mt .*
bʾalp . šd . Rbt . kmn . lpʿn . Mt (27) *hbr . wql* (28) *tšthwy .*
wkbd hwt . wrgm (30) *lBn . ʾelm . Mt* (31) *ṯny . lYdd* (32) *ʾel*
Xzr ṯhm (33) *ʾAlʾeyn . Bʿl* (34) *[hw]t . ʾalʾey . q[rdm]* — — —
"Behold ye shall not direct your course to Mount *Trxzz*[157] nor to
Mount *Ṯrmg*,[158] nor to the mounds — — — the earth. (5) Raise a
mountain on your hands,[159] a forest[160] upon (your) palms,[161] and
descend to the house of — — —[162] of the earth (underworld),[163] that
ye may be counted among those who descend to the earth (under-

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[157]   Note the South-Anatolian (Luyyan) appearance of this proper name,
with inital *t(a)r* and final *(a)z*.

[158]   This name is also non-Semitic, perhaps representing a South-Anatolian
Srmg(k).

[159]   This episode reminds one of the late rabbinic *midraš* which describes
Og's effort to crush the Israelite camp by carrying a mountain. The purpose
of the exploit is unclear.

[160]   Accad. *ḫalbu*, synonym of *kištu*, "forest." Since the cuneiform lists of
synonyms contain many non-Accadian words, our term may well be West-
Semitic.

[161]   Arab. *ráḥah*, Eth. *ʾerdḥ* (pl. *ʾerdḥát*), "palm of the hand." This explana-
tion (first given in the *Bulletin*, no. 50) has been accepted by VIROLLEAD (C. p.
144, n. 1) and others.

[162]   The term *bt ḫpṭ* has been happily identified with Heb. *bêt (ha-) hofšît*
(vocalization uncertain) by VIROLLEAUD, but the meaning of the latter is un-
certain. That it does not mean "house of detention," as one might infer from
the fact that Uzziah is said to have stayed there after he became a leper, is
certain from the newly discovered original sibilant, since the word for "bind,
imprison" was *ḫbs* in Arab., *ḫbš* in Accad. (see the writer's discussion *JPOS*,
1926, 107). We would now suggest "subterranean house, basement," as the
real meaning, and connect the stem *ḫpṭ* with Arab. *ḫbṭ*, "be low, base, vile,"
since the stem *ḫbṭ* shares several meanings and derivatives with *ḫpṭ*, "to humble
oneself," and *ḫabṭ* means "tract of low ground." *Ḫpṭ* for *ḫbṭ* is a case of simple
assimilation, while *ḫbṭ* for *ḫbṭ* is an equally simple dissimilation. The meaning
suggested for our term fits both the biblical reference and our passage remark-
ably well.

[163]   For the interchange of the meanings "earth" and "underworld" cf. Accad.
erṣitu, which also shares the two senses.

world). (10) Behold ye shall not direct your course (to Môt, son of the gods);[164] spurn[165] the midst of his city. Behold the throne on which he sits, the filth of the earth is its portion (destiny).[166] – – – (16) Ye shall not approach Môt, son of the gods, lest he make you as a lamb in his mouth, as a kid[167] in the – – – of his – – –. *Špš*, the luminary of the gods, will be broken[168] (as) a – – –[169] in the hand of Môt, beloved of the gods. With an ox of the field of the Lady of Cummin (?), at the feet of Môt (27) fall down and attend (?),[170] ye shall bow down and honour him (!). And announce to Môt, son of the gods, repeat to *Xzr*, beloved of El, "Al'êyân Ba'al has decreed the word(s), 'I am mighty; the axe – – –.' "

[164] The words in parentheses stand for '*m bn 'elm Mt*, which has dropped out of the text, as pointed out by VIROLLEAUD (*B*, 161).

[165] *Hmry*, "spurn, avoid," like Heb. המרה.

[166] With *ḫḫ* compare Accad. *ḫaḫḫu*, "filth, slaver." *Nḫlt* does not have here the secondary Hebrew sense of "inheritance," but rather the primary meaning. MONTGOMERY offers a very interesting suggestion for *ḫḫ*, which he takes to be the land of Ḥaḫu, in *JAOS*, 53, 284, but the writer is not yet ready to accept it,

[167] See n. 138, above.

[168] The verb *ḫt'* is almost certainly to be identified either with Arab. *ḫt'* or with Accad. *ḫatû*, or with both. The basic meaning of Arab. *ḫt'*, which occurs in early Arabic poetry and in the lexicographers, is not clear, since it seems to depend on the preposition which follows. Accad. *ḫatû*, means "to break, smash," used of a wall, of a hostile army, etc.; synonyms are *ḫulluqu*, "destroy," *suppuḫu*, "break up," etc. The Arab. sense, "keep (someone) away (from something)," may perhaps be explained by the Eng. "break someone of a habit, etc.," i.e., keep him from doing something, especially since the Arab. stem *ṯbr* (Heb. *šbr*, "to break") has the same sense. The Arab. reflexive senses. "be overcome with embarrassment, fear," may also mean primarily "be broken," i.e., lose one's self-control. Our verb thus means probably "to break, crush," used of some small creature (see next note).

[169] Since VIROLLEAUD (*C*, p. 146) has shown that the word *šhrrt* means some kind of bird, and that *šhrrt 'a šmm* probably means "*šhrrt* not of heaven," we must perhaps look for some small terrestrial animal, easy to crush (see preceding note). Etymologically, there are two possibilities known to the writer: Arab. *su'rûrah* "pellet of dung rolled by the dung-beetle (*dju'al*)," and perhaps originally the latter itself (the partial assimilation of *ḫ* to the following *r* is simple); Accad. *ṣuraru*, *ṣurarītu* (possibly *ṣúrarû*, etc.), perhaps meaning "lizard" (LANDSBERGER suggests "salamander" *ZA* 6, N.F., 296), but cf. *ṣurar ẓt*, "dung-ṣurarû." Since *Špš* was the sun it is tempting to recall the Egyptian representations of the sun as a pellet of dung rolled by a celestial dung-beetle However, we lack any convincing evidence in favour of a definite meaning, so it is better to leave the word untranslated. [170] Cf. *JPOS*, 1932, 197, n. 40.

THE MYTH OF THE GRACIOUS GODS

The tablet recently published by VIROLLEAUD is not only elliptic and allusive in style; it is also preserved in a kind of abstract. The first 28 lines seem to represent extracts (probably from the beginning of episodes or cantos); there are nine quotations, each separated from the adjacent ones by horizontal lines. Lines 30—75 may possibly be continuous, since there is a certain connection of ideas between its parts, but it is hard to say, and the omission of horizontal lines in this section of the text may not signify anything except increasing carelessness on the part of the scribe. The text begins: (1) *'eqr'a .* *'Elm . n['mm]* (2) *wysmm . – – –* (7) *Šlm[ ] . Šlm . mlkt . 'rbm . wtnnm –* I invoke the Gracious and Beautiful Gods. *– – –* (7) "O Šalem, thou shalt exercise (?), O Šalem, the kingship over nomads[171] and settled folk." [172]

The next fragment is : (8) *Mt . wŠr . ytb . bdh . ḥt . tkl . bdh* (9) *ḥt . 'ulmn . yzbrnn . zbrm gpn* (10) *y[s]mdnn . smdm . gpn . yšql . šdmth* (11) *km gpn* – "Môt-and-Šar will sit down, in his hand the staff of childlessness, in his hand the staff of widowhood.[172a] Verily he shall prune the vine, verily he shall tie up[173] the vine;

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[171] For the basic meaning of the term *'Arab* see M. HARTMANN, *Die Arabische Frage*, pp. 113—5, where the meaning "nomad is convincingly established.

[172] This rendering is based on the usual combination of Heb. *ša'anan*, "settled, at rest," with Syr. *šaind*, (Canaanite loan-word?) which means both "peace" and "cultivated land." Cf. BROCKELMANN, *Lex. Syri.*[2], p. 773 b, and note that Avestan *šayana* and Armen. *šen* are possibly Aram. loan-words. The same contrast between nomads and settled folk appears, according to the generally accepted view, in the *b'rrm* and *mškbm* of the stela of Kilamuwa of Šam'al (second half of ninth century B.C.). Cf. also Arab. *'arab* and *fellâḥ.*

[172a] VIROLLEAUD has very happily combined *tkl* and *'ulmn* with Heb. *šekôl we-'almôn*, Isa. 47:9. For the relation between Heb. *'almôn*, and North Canaanite *'ulmân* cf. that existing between Heb. *šalmôn*, "gift," and Amarna *šulmân*, as well as the remarks of the writer, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 7, 168.

[173] If this rendering is correct, it follows that the North Canaanites were accustomed to tie up their vines in the fashion now known as European, contrary to the later practice in Palestine and Syria. For the symbolism of the vine in connection with the sphere of activity controlled by the god of death cf. also the biblical imagery attached to divine judgement (Isa. 63:1—6; Rev. 14:18 f.).

he shall hang up (?)[174] his earth like a vine." — The following fragments are much briefer and less instructive, and the lack of adequate context makes them all more or less unintelligible.

With line 30 we reach a long consecutive (?) text again : — — — *gp ym . wyṣ[m(?)]d . gp . thm* (31) [　] *mšt‘ltm . mšt‘ltm . lr᾽eš . ᾽agn* (32) *hlh* (?) *lšhl hlh . trm . hlh . tṣh . ᾽ad ᾽ad* (33) *whlh . tṣh . ᾽um.᾽um . ῾erkm . yd . ᾽El . kym* (34) *w . yd . ᾽El . kmdb . ᾽ark . yd . ᾽El . kym* (35) *w . yd . ᾽El . kmdb . yqḥ . ᾽El . mšt‘ltm* (36) *mšt‘ltm . lr᾽eš . ᾽agn . yqḥ . yš(t) . bbth* — " — — — the heart (midst)[175] of the sea, and he shall bind (?)[176] the heart of the deep (31) — — — Two handfuls,[177] two handfuls to the source[178] of the reservoir (32) — — — thou shalt raise; henceforth (?)[179] shalt thou cry, 'My father, my father',[180] (33) and henceforth (?) shalt thou cry, 'My mother, my mother'. The arms of El are as long as the sea, and the arms

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[174] See n. 136a for the etymological explanation, and n. 173 for the interpretation.

[175] The etymological explanation of the word *gp* is rather complex, as will be seen by looking up the relevant words in any standard Semitic lexicon. VIROLLEAUD compares it plausibly with *gpt* in *B*, VII, 36, and both with Jewish Aram. *géfá*, "bank, shore" (cf. נחל גפת על, Ben Sira, 40 : 16). There can, however, be no doubt that the latter is itself to be vocalized *geppá, gippá,* and is identical with Syr. *geppá,* "wing, arm" (the development of meaning from "wing" to "side, edge, bank" is also found in Heb. *kanaf,* Jewish Aram. *gadpá,* etc., etc.). The latter, however, is derived from Aram. *gappá,* "wing," itself a construction of *gadpá,* "wing." which occurs in several Aramaic dialects. The situation is further complicated by the fact that Heb. *kanaf,* "wing, side," appears in Accad. as *kappu,* and that there are two other Accad. words meaning "wing": *agappu* (Heb. *᾽agaf?*) and *gappu* (which may be divergent orthography of *kappu,* or possibly a blend of *kappu* and *agappu,* the etymology of which is obscure). If we knew what the expression על-גפי מרמי קרת in Prov. 9 : 3 means, we should be able to decide the meaning in our passage, but the passage is very obscure (incidentally it may be remarked that the curious paganizing allegory of Wisdom in Prov. 9 is almost certainly of Phoenician origin, since there are a number of words and phrases of pure North-Canaanite appearance, such as the expression just cited, the words *lhm,* "to eat," *hkmt,* "wisdom," *qrt,* "city." etc.). We are, therefore, strongly disposed to prefer an etymological connection with Arab. *djauf,* "interior, heart," from the proto-Hebrew equivalent of which is derived *gúf,* "person, body." For *gp ym* compare then Heb. *leb yam,* "heart, middle of the sea," which is frequent in the Bible.

[176] VIROLLEAUD's *ṣ[g]d* is much less probable; see above.

[177] Heb. *šo᾽al.*　　　　　[178] "Head" = "source".

[179] Heb. *hale᾽ah?*　　　　[180] Caritative; cf. Sum. *adda,* Hurrian *atta,* etc.

of El as the flood;[181] the love[182] of El is as long as the sea, and
the love of El as the flood. El shall take two handfuls, (36) two
handfuls to the source of the reservoir he shall take, he shall pl[ace[
in his house."

(37) 'El . ḫṭh . nḫt . 'El . ymnn . mṭ . ydh . yšu (38) yr .
šmmh . yr . bšmm . 'ṣr . yḫrṭ yšt (39) lpḥm . 'El . 'aṭtm . kypt .
hm . 'aṭtm . tṣhn (40) y mt . mt . nḫtm . ḫṭk . mmnnm . mṭ ydk
(41) h[l .] 'ṣr . thrr . ḅišt . ṣhrrt . lpḥmm (42) 'a[ṭ]tm . 'aṭṭ . 'El
'aṭṭ . 'El . w'lmh . wḥm (43) 'a[ṭ]tm . tṣhn . y . 'ad 'ad . nḫtm .
ḫṭk (44) mmnnm . mṭ ydk . hl . 'ṣr . thrr . ḅišt (45) wṣhrrt .
lpḥmm . btm . bt . 'El . bt . 'El (46) w'lmh . whn . 'aṭtm . tṣhn .
y . mt mt (etc.) — El's sceptre is down,[183] he lowers[184] the staff[185]
of his hand; he raises the early rain (?) heavenward,[185a] (he raises)
the early rain (?) in heaven. A bird he plucks, he places on the
coals. When El has seduced the two women, behold, the two
women cry, (40) "O my husband, my husband, thy sceptre is down,
the staff of thy hand is lowered. Behold this bird[186] shalt thou
roast at the fire, and (this) bird (?)[187] at the coals. The two women
are the wives of El, the wives of El and his servant." Behold (43)

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[181] The word *mdb* must naturally be derived from the common Semitic
stem *ḏwb*, "to flow," found in Heb. (*zûb*), Aram. (*dûb*), Arab. (*ḏâba*), Accad.
(*zâbu*); cf. Accad. *Zâ'ibum* (later *Zâb*), "the flooder."

[182] The difference in translation of *yd* is due to the difference in the gender
of the verb. It is, however, possible that all occurrences of *yd* are to be
rendered "hand" in this passage, and that there is some morphological or
syntactic peculiarity which escapes us.

[183] The form *nḫt* is either stative (intransitive perfect) *naḥit* or possibly
passive participle *naḥut*. The former is much more probable.

[184] The stem *mnn* is clearly identical with Arab. *manna*=*malla* (by dissimila-
tion), "be weary, faint"=Heb. *mll*, "to fade." For the original root *ml* and the
basic meaning, "to sink, subside," cf. Arab. *mdla*, "to decline, incline." The
verb is pi'el, *yamanninu*, or the like.

[185] Heb. *maṭṭé*, "staff," with GINSBERG (orally).

[185a] So with VIROLLEAUD; if correct the orthography proves that the Heb.
directive *hé* stands for an original *ha*, or the like.

[186] It is not impossible that the whole description refers to the *hieròs gámos*,
and that the strange imagery is erotic. In ancient and modern oriental imagery
both staff and bird may mean penis; the sinking of the staff may then refer
to the subsidence of the penis after sexual intercourse, while the roasting of
the bird may refer to male sexual excitement (cf. *Archiv für Orientforschung*,
5, 119 b).   [187] Cf. VIROLLEAUD's observations, C, p. 146.

the two women cry, O my father, my father, thy sceptre is down, the staff of thy hand is lowered. Behold, this bird shalt thou roast at the fire, and (this) bird (?) at the coals. The two daughters[187a] are the daughters of El, the daughters of El (46) and his servant." Behold the two women cry, "O my husband, my husband, (etc.)."

The text continues: (49) *yhbr . špthm . yš[q?]* (50). *hn. špthm. mtqtm . klrmn (?)* (51) *[b]m . nšq . whr . bḥbq . ḥmḥmt . tqt[nṣ]n . w(?)* (52) *tldn . Šḥr . wŠlm . rgm . l'El . ybl . 'at[ty]* (53) *'El . y[l]t . mḥ.ylt . yldy . Šḥr . wŠl[m]* (54) *š'u . ʿdb . lŠpš . rbt . wlkbkbm . kn[   ]* — He stoops down, their lips he kisses(?)[188]. behold their lips are sweet, sweet as *lurimtu* (?). In kissing there is conception, in embracing is fecundity (?),[189] (so) they are impregated[190] and bear Šaḥar and Šalem. He brings the announcement to El, "My two wives,[191] O El, have given birth." "To what have they given birth?" "To my two children, Šaḥar and Šalem." Bear an offering to the lady *Špš* and to the stars − − −.

After a repetition of the description of sexual intercourse already given in 49—51, the text goes on to mention "five" (*ḥmš*), perhaps referring to additional births, making seven in all, which may be included under the designation "Gracious Gods" found in line 58 (*tqtnṣn . wtldn . tld(?)[. 'elm .] nʿmm* − "they are impregnated and give birth, they give birth to the Gracious Gods"). The line 58—9 = 61, "I shall set apart a day (when) the sons of the sea (?) shall take vengeance on − − −" (*'agzr ym.bn ym . ynqm . b'ap . šd . Št* [192]),

[187a]   This translation is due to GINSBERG (orally), and is certainly correct.

[188]   VIROLLEAUD supplies *'u* with line 55 ; we prefer to supply *q* and to consider the *'u* in 55 as a scribal error, due to the fact that the scribe, having written *ys*, completed the word as the common *yš'u*.

[189]   For the derivation of *ḥmḥmt* see the writer's observations on various forms of the root *ḥm* with this meaning, *Recueil de Travaux*, 40, 71—2.

[190]   In Eth. *qandṣa* means "to leap"; note that "leap" and "impregnate" are synonymous in many languages (German *bespringen*, Accad. *šaḥdṭu*, etc.).

[191]   VIROLLEAUD's rendering "my wife" is impossible, since the writing of the *y* shows that we must pronounce *'attáya*, not *'attí*. Similarly, *yldy* means "my two children."

[192]   Since, as VIROLLEAUD observes, there seems to be parallelism between *Aṭirat* and *Št*, the latter may possibly represent Egypt. *Št*, Isis. The cuneiform transcription *Êse* and the Greec *Ísis* show, however, that there was an initial *'alef* in the later pronunciation. An identification with Egypt. Seth is, of course, impossible, since the latter name was then pronounced *Sûtaḥ*, later *Sêteh, Sêth*.

is extremely obscure, nor is our task of interpretation eased by the insertion of the passage 59–60 which corresponds word for word to 52–3, except that the Gracious Gods take the place of Saḥar and Šalem. The following passage is even more obscure, but is so important that we shall attempt an interpretation: *špt* (62) *ḥarṣ . špt lšmm . wl'rb . bphm . 'ṣr . šmm* (63) *wdg bym . wndd*[   ] *. y'db . 'oymn* (64) *'ošm'al . bphm . wl*[*d*] *šb'ny . 'aṭṭ . 'Etrḫ* (65) *ybn . 'ašl*(?)*d*[193] *š'u . – – – ṭk . mdbr qdš* (66) *ṭm . ṭgrgr . ḥabnm . wl'ṣm . šb' . šnt* (67) *ṭmt . ṭmn . nqpt . 'd . 'elm . n'mm . ṭtlkn* (68) *šd . ṭṣdn . p'at . mdbr . wngš . hm . Nxr* (69) *mdr'.* – An incantation[194] for the earth, an incantation for heaven, and (one) for that which enters their mouth, (whether) bird of heaven or fish in the sea – – – either[195] right or left in their mouth. And bear(?) twice seven.[196] O two(?) wives of *Etrḫ. – – –* shall be built – – – midst of the pure desert.[197] There shall they be clients (?)[198] to stones and trees for seven full years, (67) eight

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[193] VIROLLEAUD supplies *d*, yielding *'sdd*, which may be right, though the word can hardly have any connection with the Philistine city of Ašdôd.

[194] Accad. *šiptu*; cf. the standing formula, *šiptu: nêš šamê lû-tamâta nêš erṣiti lû-tamâta,* "Incantation: by heaven be thou exorcised, by earth be thou exorcised." This interpretation is rendered very uncertain by the similar passage quoted by VIROLLEAUD, *C*, p. 150, n. 1, which is correctly explained by GINSBERG (oral communication) as meaning that the monster opens its mouth so that the upper jaw touches heaven and the lower jaw earth, whereupon Ba'al enters into its interior by the mouth (note the curious parallel to the Jonah motive!). The syntax of our passage makes such an interpretation very difficult, however

[195] This rendering is a *pis aller*, based on Heb. *'ô* (often used twice, as *'u* here), Arab. *'au*, Accad. *û*, etc. My former suggestion that the words are elative has been made impossible by the discovery of the vowel *'u, 'o* (see above, introduction).

[196] DUSSAUD (*RHR* 108, 14, n. 1) has correctly compared Heb. שבענה, Job 42:13, but his remark that it cannot be a dual meaning "fourteen," because Job 1:2 assigns Job seven sons, is hardly convincing, in view of the fact that Job is said to have had at the end just twice as many sheep, camels, cattle, and asses as he possessed originally. The number of daughters remained unchanged, however. The form *šb'ny* must be vocalized approximately *šab'ândy (a)*.

[197] This rendering of the expression *mdbr qdš* is made probable by the common cuneiform phrase *ṣêru ašru ellu,* "the desert, a pure place." The alternative rendering, "Desert of Qadeš," is highly improbable, though linguistically satisfactory.

[198] The verb *grgr* may be denominative from *gêr,* "client," Arab. *djâr,* etc.

olive-harvests (?),[199] while the Gracious Gods roam the plain, wander over the confines of the desert. Behold their hunter (?) is the Protector[200] of the Plantation.

In the final lines of the tablet the Gracious Gods appear to be asking for food and drink from their hunter (?), *Nxr-mdr*ᶜ, who apparently promises it to them on certain conditions, which remain obscure. The significance of the food eaten by the Gracious Gods during their infancy seems to be referred to in lines 62–3.

The discovery of a number of names and words homonymous with biblical proper names has already led VIROLLEAUD, and especially DUSSAUD, to far-reaching conclusions. Until VIROLLEAUD has published the rest of his material, it is premature to enter into an elaborate discussion; we may content ourselves with a few observations. In our new text we have a reference to the god *Etrḫ*, who appears in an unpublished poem as *Trḫ*. VIROLLEAUD gives the relevant passage as follows: *wyṣʾe Trḫ ḥdt ybʿr lTn ʾaṯth wlNkr mddth kʾerby tškn šd km ḥsn pʾat mdbr* — And *Trḫ* rose (as) the new moon, burning (with love) for Sin, his wife, and for Nikkar, his beloved, like a swarm of locusts which covers the field, like hoppers[200a] (which cover) the edge of the desert. As VIROLLEAUD saw at once, *Trḫ* is certainly the moon-god, while the Accadian name of the god, *Sin*, appears as that of his first wife, and the Sumerian name of his wife *Ningal*, later pronounced *Nikkal*,[200b] appears as that of his second wife. It seems to the writer almost certain that *Trḫ* is to be pronounced *Tôraḫ*,[201] for older **Tauraḫ*, Accadian *tûraḫu*, "ibex," derived probably from the same stem as *warḫ*, "moon," and later combined with it again by popular etymology. In other words, the ibex was associated

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[199] Cf. Heb. *nôqef zdyit*, "knocking off of the olives."

[200] With *Nxr* compare probably Heb. *nôṣer*, Arab. *ndẕir*, Aram. *ndṭôrd* (whence Arab. *ndṭúr*), "watchman, guardian, protector, of vines, orchards, etc." See above for a discussion of the phonology of the character *x*.

[200a] Heb. *ḥasîl*, as already pointed out by DUSSAUD (*RHR* 108, 34, n. 4). The writer had independently come to the same conclusion.

[200b] So also, however, in the Ugarit texts; see BAUER, *ZAW*, 1933, 100, no. 25. In the oath-formula of the Matiᶜ-el inscription of Sudjin the divine pair *Nkr* (or *Nkd*) and *Kdʾh* is mentioned immediately after S[in and Nikkal], but these gods cannot unfortunately be identified. GINSBERG translated the whole passage differently (oral communication).

[201] The writing *ʾE(I)trḫ* in our text is puzzling: we have no explanation.

with the moon-god partly by popular etymology and partly by association of ideas, just as in the case of the names of Rimmôn, storm-god (properly "the thunderer," from *rmm*, but secondarily connected with *rimmôn*, "pomegranate"), Dagôn, grain-god (originally *Dagan*, whence Heb. *dagan*, "grain," and secondarily combined with *dag*, "fish"), and Dôd, god of fertility (properly the storm-god Dat, but secondarily combined with *dôd*, "love"). In Mesopotamia the ibex represented Enki-Ea, god of fertility, who is often addressed in Sumerian as *dara = tûraḫu*.

From this new evidence it would seem that Sin was originally a Semitic moon-goddess, who became masculine in Mesopotamia because of the Sumerian moon-god Enzu or Nanna, naturally identified with her. The Old Assyrian (Cappadocian) spelling *ZU-en* or *ZU-in* is thus to be read *Sin*, and does not prove a Sumerian pronunciation *Zuen* for *Enzu*, as has been supposed. *Nikkar* is a very ancient variant of *Nikkal* (which was also borrowed without change of the final consonant[202]), and can hardly have anything to do with the divine name *Nkr*(?) of the Sudjîn stela of Matî'-el. For the change of liquids in a Sumerian loanword, cf. perhaps the modification of *Šu'ara* to **Šu'âl* (whence *Še'ôl*) in Canaanite.[203] The true Syrian name for the moon-god in the third and early second millennium was *Yeraḫ* (from *Warḫ*), written *Eraḫ*, *Araḫ*, and *Iraḫ* in Cappadocian and Babylonian inscriptions of about 2000 B.C. *Tôraḫ* is only a variant of this name, as has been pointed out. The name of the biblical Teraḫ (properly to be pronounced *Tôraḫ*) is naturally identical, but probably goes back to a personal name meaning "ibex," preserved as a disused tribal name in the place-name *Til ša Turaḫi*.[204] As DUSSAUD pointed out years ago, the name survived in Safaitic (North-Arabic) to a Post-Christian period.

The idea that the waxing moon represents a god in lust, or an animal in rut is common in the ancient world, as the writer pointed out in connection with the discussion of certain Mesopotamian ideas; see *JAOS* 39 (1919), 87, and 40, 332 ff. The curious simile

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[202] The Egypt. form *Nkr*, mentioned in a magical text of the New Empire, is due to the fact that there was then no *l* in Egyptian. See also n. 200b, above.

[203] See the writer's discussion in his paper "Mesopotamian Elements in Canaanite Eschatology" in the *Haupt Anniversary Volume*.

[204] See *JBL* 43. 386, with the literature there cited.

of the locusts is presumably due to the all-pervasive tenacity of these insects and to the intensity of their attack on vegetation.

We still have exceedingly interesting and important texts among the unpublished tablets from Râs eš-Šamrah, several of which M. VIROLLEAUD gave the writer a chance to examine in Paris last June, a courtesy for which we wish to thank him again. The discovery of a short inscription in the same character at Beth-shemesh in southern Palestine, alluded to above, also gives one renewed hope that more such tablets will be found outside of Ugarit. There can be no ground for pessimism among students of Syria and Palestine in the second millennium B.C.; our present knowledge is probably only a fraction of what we shall know in another score of years. Even if the direct connection believed by VIROLLEAUD and DUSSAUD to exist between the Ugarit texts and biblical tradition should prove to be non-existent, as the writer believes, their indirect value for biblical interpretation is certain to be very great indeed. Ultimately, indeed, their bearing on biblical literary problems is likely to be far greater than that of the entire body of Mesopotamian and Anatolian cuneiform inscriptions. Again we must felicitate the discoverers, decipherers, and interpreters on their brilliant results.[205]

[205] This paper was completed Dec. 24th, 1933. Just after its completion the writer received two additional publications by FRIEDRICH: a review of BAUER's *Das Alphabet*, OLZ, 1933, 738—42; a brochure, *Ras Shamra*, in *Der alte Orient*, 33, Heft 1—2. In the latter publication FRIEDRICH has given an admirable popular account of the discoveries at the site of ancient Ugarit.

EINE ALTSÜDARABISCHE CHRESTOMATHIE

S. D. F. GOITEIN

JERUSALEM

K. CONTI ROSSINI. *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis Epigraphica,* edita et glossario instructa. Roma, Istituto per l'Oriente. 1931.

Das „Altsüdarabische" (dies ist wohl vorläufig der geeignetste Sammelname für die uns so gut wie ausschließlich aus Inschriften bekannten Sprachen der Minäer, Sabäer, Katabänen, und antiken Hadramuter u.a.; „südarabisch" könnte für eine Bezeichnung der modernen Mehri- Sokoṭrā- u.ä. Dialekte gehalten werden) ist für den Erforscher des biblischen Altertums sowohl sprachlich als auch sachlich von bedeutendem Interesse. Was zunächst das Sprachliche anbelangt, so wird es ja immer offensichtlicher, daß die übliche Einteilung der semitischen Sprachen in Ostsemitisch einerseits, Nord- und Südsemitisch andererseits einer gewissen Ergänzung bedarf, indem, wie zuletzt wieder die Funde von Rās Schamra gezeigt haben, starke Überkreuzungen zwischen den einzelnen Sprachen vorliegen (vgl. z. B. H. BAUER in *OLZ* 1933, 317–8). Es ist schon lange beobachtet worden, daß das Altsüdarabische, ähnlich dem Äthiopischen, vielfach im Wortschatz da mit dem Hebräischen übereinstimmt, wo dies das Nordarabische nicht tut; z.B. (הרג *hrg*), חדל *ḥdl*, ירע *jdʿ*, יסף *wsf*, ישב *wṯb*, עשה *ʿsj*, רכל *rtkl*, שים *šjm*, שפט *ṯfṭ* anordnen, שפק *šfk*, שפת *šft*; Substantiva: איש *ʾs*, גוי *gw* (besser wäre גו zu vergl., s. auch I. LEVY, *Neuhebr. Wörterb.* I 307ª), נשיא *nśʾ*, צבא *dbʾ*, קהל *khl*; Adjektiva: קטן *kṭn*, (in der Phrase *kl ʾnsm bhṭm wkṭnm ḏrhk wkrb* scheint mir freilich طٲلع „ortsanwessend" zu Grunde zu liegen), רחק *rhk*; Phrasen wie שב שבות *ljṭwbnhmw ṯwb*, עַל פִּי *bf* auf Befehl etc. Demnach kann das Altsüdarabische mit Erfolg zur Erläuterung eines zweifelhaften Bibeltextes herangezogen werden. Ein Beispiel mag genügen. Hosea 9⁴ wird seit langem statt יַעַרְבוּ לוֹ זִבְחֵיהֶם allgemein יַעַרְכוּ gelesen (vgl. GESENIUS-BUHL s. v. ערב III und

zuletzt E. SELLIN, *Zwölfprophetenbuch* I 91), da ערב „angenehm sein"
in der Tat schlecht paßt. Nun ist aber *ʿrb* „Opfer darbringen" im
Minäischen keineswegs selten, GLASER 1660[3] *jwm ʿrb* ...... *ḏbḥ ʿṯtr*
„am Tage, da er darbrachte das Opfer Attars" entspricht sogar
genau unserer Stelle. Der, übrigens gut bezeugte, masoretische Text
ist also beizubehalten, und der Bedeutungsbereich von ערב ist um
eine Nuance zu erweitern.

Noch bedeutsamer vielleicht als das sprachliche ist das sachliche
Interesse, das die altsüdarabischen Inschriften bieten. Der unbekannte
Staat von Katabān, sagt D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, *Lectures on Arabic
Historians* 1930, 40, hat mehr Urkunden über seine Institutionen,
mehr Beschlüsse seiner Parlamente und Verordnungen seiner Könige
hinterlassen als das berühmte Sidon und das noch berühmtere
Karthago.   Ein volles Verständnis, vornehmlich der Inschriften
rechtlichen Inhalts wird freilich wohl erst möglich sein, wenn syste-
matische Grabungen — Grabungen haben, abgesehen von denen
C. RATHJENS, überhaupt noch nicht stattgefunden — die bisherigen,
mehr zufälligen Funde ergänzen werden. Aber daß auch schon jetzt
die südarabische Antike für die biblische Theologie nutzbringend
verwertet werden kann, hat jüngst MARTIN BUBER'S *Königtum Gottes*
gezeigt.

In den letzten Jahren ist ein steigendes Interesse am Altsüd-
arabischen nicht zu verkennen (vgl. die Übersicht über die bisherigen
Inschriften-Veröffentlichungen durch G. RYCKMANNS in *Revue Biblique*
1932, 89–95), und der letzte Orientalistenkongress in Leyden war,
hoffentlich mit Erfolg, bemüht, dieses Interesse durch ermutigende
Beschlüsse (s. *Actes du XVIIIe Congres International des Orientalistes*
180–1) wachzuhalten. Um so mehr ist es zu begrüßen, daß nun in
K. CONTI ROSSINI's mit einem ausführlichen Glossar versehener
Chrestomathie nicht nur dem akademischen Unterricht ein ausge-
zeichnetes Lehrbuch, sondern auch der wissenschaftlichen Forschung
ein wichtiges Hilfsmittel gegeben worden ist. HOMMEL's Chrestomathie
ist ja über die Veröffentlichung minäischer Texte nicht hinausge-
kommen und außerdem heute schwer zu haben; und I. GUIDI's
kurzer Abriß in *Le Muséon* 1927 ist nur für eine allererste Einfüh-
rung bestimmt. CONTI ROSSINI's Buch, das, wie die Einleitung
hervorhebt, selbst aus dem akademischen Unterricht erwachsen ist,
enthält zunächst elf Exzerpte aus antiken Geographen, die von Süd-

arabien berichten, und zwar die griechischen Texte in lateinischer Übersetzung. Darauf folgt der erste Hauptteil, bestehend aus 65 sabäischen, 17 minäischen, 10 katabānischen und mehreren awsānischen und hadramutischen Inschriften. Alle Gattungen, wie Grab-, Weihe-, Sühne- und Bauinschriften, Gesetze, Tempelvorschriften und Historisches sind vertreten und zwar in der Regel durch charakteristische, berühmte und wohlerhaltene Beispiele. Nur gelegentlich, wie etwa bei den Bussinschriften No. 44–46, wäre vielleicht eine interessantere Auswahl möglich gewesen.[1] Bei jeder Inschrift wird Herkunftsort und wichtigste Literatur angegeben. Zu No. 71 (GLASER 1155) hätte ED. MEYERS Aufsatz, 'Der minäische Karawanenhandel zur Perserzeit, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, 11,327 ff der sich mit dieser Inschrift befaßt, erwähnt werden können. Freilich will jetzt H. GRIMME die Inschrift, die HOMMEL a. a. O. 104 schon auf 1250 angesetzt hatte, durch die Gleichung »*šr* = Israel wieder in eine ganz andere Zeit verlegen (*Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes* 39, 233 ff). — Die typographische Wiedergabe ist sehr schön und korrekt; sie zeigt auch durch Variierung der Type das ungefähre Zeitalter der Inschrift an; No. 27,6 lies ʻ*bdjhw*; No. 69,5 *wǵjl* (statt ʻ*ǵjl*); No. 101,2 ist in *wʾwdns* entweder des zweite *w* zu streichen, oder müßte im Glossar dies als besondere Form der Phrase *nfss wʾdns* aufgeführt werden.

Mehr als zwei Fünftel des Buches nimmt das GLOSSAR ein. Es verzeichnet nicht nur den in der Chrestomathie enthaltenen Wortschatz — auch dies würde bei dem formelhaften Charakter der meisten Inschriften den größten Teil des uns bekannten altsüdarabischen Sprachgutes umfassen—, sondern noch vieles darüber hinaus, wenngleich Vollständigkeit nicht angestrebt worden ist, wie ein Vergleich mit HOMMEL's *Minäischem Wörterverzeichnis* zeigt. Die Worte sind nach dem hebräischen Alphabet angeordnet, und zwar so, daß die in diesem nicht vorhandenen Buchstaben jeweils demjenigen nachfolgen, dem sie im Nordarabischen in ihrer Form ähnlich sind, also *ẓ* nach *ṭ*, obgleich doch ersteres im Altsüdarabischen nur

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[1] Diese bemerkungswerten Urkunden, in denen der Stifter seine oft recht intimen Vergehen in Stein oder Erz verewigt, um durch diese Beichte der Sünde ledig zu werden, haben ein genaues Gegenbild in lokalen kleinasiatischen Kulten noch im zweiten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert, vgl. JOH. GEFFCKEN, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* 7.

eine Nebenform des ṣ ist u.s.w. Es wäre praktischer gewesen, das
(nord)arabische Alphabet zugrunde zu legen. Bedauerlicherweise
fehlt eine Konkordanz der in der Chrestomathie mitgeteilten Num-
mern der GLASER, HALÉVY, etc. Inschriften, was die Benutzung des
Glossars, das oft nur letztere zitiert, erschwert. Derlei technische
Kleinigkeiten werden nur vermerkt, weil ja das Glossar in seiner
Art grundlegend ist und sicher vielfach Benützung finden wird.

Im Folgenden sollen noch einige Einzelheiten zum Glossar bemerkt
werden, vornehmlich im Zusammenhang mit dem heute in Zentral-
jemen gesprochenen arabischen Dialekt, den ich seit mehreren
Jahren an von dort nach Palästina kommenden Einwanderern studiere.
Es ist ja nur natürlich, daß in Zentraljemen, obgleich auch dort das
Altsüdarabische schon längst ausgestorben ist, besonders Realia noch
vielfach mit denselben Wörtern bezeichnet werden wie vor zwei-
tausend Jahren. Wenn sich der Reichtum des klassischen Arabisch
an Synonymen daraus erklärt, daß verschiedene Dialekte in gleicher
Weise in die Literatursprache aufgenommen worden sind, so ist es
nicht verwunderlich, im Altsüdarabischen gerade diejenigen „klassisch
arabischen" Worte zu finden, die auch in der jetzigen jemenischen
Umgangssprache üblich sind. Säen heißt da *ḏrj*, nicht *zrʿ*, ernten
ṣrb, nicht *ḥṣd* (das ja aus dem Aramäischen stammt), das Feld heißt
ǧirbāḥ, das Wasserbassin *māǧil*, einst wie jetzt. Ich beginne meine
Bemerkungen mit letzterem Worte, *Chrestomathia* 100ᵃ: wie A. A.
BEVAN in *Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne* zeigt, war *mˀǧl*
auch in der klassischen arabischen Literatur ziemlich verbreitet; zum
Stamm hätte אגלים I. LEVY *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch* I 21 verglichen werden
können.— 105ᵇ, *ṭlkm* Name einer Landschaft; diese könnte sehr
wohl nach dem tālugäh- (*g* = *k̲*) Baum genannt sein, der riesige
Ausmaße erreicht und deshalb zur Kennzeichnung einer Landschaft
sehr geeignet ist. — 107 a *ˀn*, Relativpartikel; als solche dient auch
heute *ain* „wo", *an* gesprochen, vgl. *Zeitschr. f. Semitistik* IX 38. —
114 a *blwt* Grabmal; es gibt auch ein Verb *blw* ein Grabmal errichten,
cf. G. RYCKMANNS, *Le Muséon* 40, No. 44² (diese Inschriften werden
sonst im Glossar exzerpiert s.u.); ob das heutige *bilä* Friedhof
(mehr poetisch, hat aber nichts mit *balä* Unglück zu tun) zu ver-
gleichen ist? — 123a *gnˀ* mit einer Mauer umgeben, vgl. jemen.
ǧänaw, pl. *ǧänawāt* Reifen. — 140b *mwakkis* Name einer Sippe,
deren Mitglieder z.B., *CIS* IV 544² als *ˀdm mlk* bezeichnet werden;

da *mwaggiṣ* (g = ḳ) heute Steinmetz, Baumeister bedeutet, kann es
sich hier um Königshandwerker handeln. Tempelhandwerker *ṣnᶜ wd*
nennt eine minäische Inschrift 224b, wozu bemerkt sei, dass *ṣnᶜ* im
Zentraljemen heute speziell den Weber bezeichnet. — 143a *zbr*
exstruxit(?). Vgl. jem. *Zâbūr*, eine Erdart, die nach einer umständlichen
Verarbeitung zur Errichtung eines ebenso genannten Baues dient,
der fest sei „wie Beton", davon *zibräh*, fest. Näheres in meinem
Buch „*Jemenica. Sprüchwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen
1934,*" No. 80. — 145b *mḥgrt* pomarium, arbustum, was schlecht
paßt, da mit *mrᶜj* zusammen genannt. *mahǧar* ist heute die durch
Übereinkommen gehegte Winterweide in den Regenstromtälern,
vgl. LANDBERG, *Arabica* V 4—5 *(Chrestomathia* 112b), Näheres
Jemenica 353 und 623. — 151b, *ḥrg* imperavit; vgl. jemen.
ḥarraǧ ᶜala jemand etwas verbieten. — 152b *ḥrr* obscurum; de
quadam praeparatione versum ad aedificandum; vgl. vielleicht
jemen. *ḥarr*, pl. *aḥrir* Stall, Untergeschoß. — 168a *mknt* locus . . .
cella; jemen. *makân* Zimmer.— 179b *msr* fundavit; vgl. jemen.
jimsir einen Brunnen ausbessern (und auch: reinigen).— 203b *ᶜdb*
ausbessern; hätte GESENIUS-BUHL II שוב verglichen werden sollen.—
205a *ᶜẓt* (mit غلط !) ist zu streichen; vgl. 138a *wᶜẓ* Sonst ist es ja
nur zu begrüßen, wenn eine Wurzel in ihren verschiedenen Formen
aufgeführt wird, wobei dann allerdings ein Verweis dringend not-
wending ist (wie z. B. bei *ᵓAwsān*, 102a *ᵓws* = 137b *wsn*). — 211b
ᵓḍ פף. Die arabische Entsprechung ist doch nicht معا, vgl. NÖLDEKE,
Neue Beiträge 145. — 214a *ᶜtr* errichten ist zu streichen; bei G.
RYCKMANNS, *Le Muséon* 40, No. 9[1-2] steht ᶜhᶜtr, was mit dem
Herausgeber zweifellos als Schreibfehler für *whwtr* anzusehen ist;
die Formel *hwtr whšḳr* „er gründete den Bau und führt ihn bis
zur Decke auf" ist sehr gewöhnlich, vgl. nur G. RYCKMANNS *a.a.O.*
No. 5[1], 7[2] (CIS IV 540, 30—31), fehlt freilich 142b unter *wtr*. —
219b *ᵓfḳl* Frucht, Ernte; aber vielleicht genauer wie jemen. *figlāh*
(g = ḳ), der Körnerhaufen auf der Tenne nach dem Dreschen, dessen
Errichtung, *jifaggilū*, als eigentliche Beendigung der Ernte gilt, s.
Jemenica 313. — 228a *mḍrft* vor obscura, fortasse aedificia sine calce
et caemento ad aggerem Marib; diese Vermutung, die letztlich auf
Fr. PRAETORIUS zurückgeht, ist sicher richtig, denn *maḍraf*, pl.
maḍâruf bezeichnet noch heute den Staudamm, der aus durch
keinerlei Mörtel verbundenen Steinen besteht, auf welche an der

dem Regenstrom zugekehrten Seite mit *zīl*-Wurzeln durchzogene Erdschollen gelegt werden, die dann durch den Einfluß des Wassers mit den Steinen verwachsen, wodurch ein fester Damm gebildet wird, der nach erfolgter Bewässerung der höhergelegenen Felder wieder niedergelegt wird; Näheres *Jemenica* 580.

Mit diesen Bemerkungen sollte nur die Dankbarkeit zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, die sicherlich jeder, der mit dem Studium des Altsüdarabischen etwas zu tun hat, für die von dem Verfasser geleistete Arbeit hegen wird.

BOOK REVIEWS

G. DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*: Vol. i, 2, *Frühling und Sommer*, pp. VIII + 417 and 39 illustrations. 1928. Mk. 16. Vol. II, *Der Ackerbau*, pp. XVI + 384 and 81 illustrations, 1932, Mk. 21. Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann.

Vol. 1,2 deals with the Palestinian spring and the summer seasons, as well as with the divisions of the day. Every simple item, however unimportant it may seem, is minutely described. We find chapters on the rise and fall of the temperature, sirocco, wind, rain, weather changes, growing plants, their names, uses, the flowers and the feasts characteristic of these periods. A special feature of this volume is its exact description of a great number of wild plants and flowers.

The second volume deals with agriculture in fields and gardens. It gives the minutest description of everything connected with the subject. Every chapter of these two excellent volumes is divided into two parts. In the first an exact—perhaps too lengthy—description of present conditions in Palestine is found. The second gives a parallel description of the same subject in ancient times. Arabic terms, practices and beliefs of Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan, Mesopotamia, and Egypt are diligently cited. The author has tried to give for every proverb, song, custom and superstition the place where he has heard or seen it. An important characteristic of all works of Dr. DALMAN, namely his carefulness in giving exact and uniform transcriptions, is a valuable feature of these two volumes. The vast literature is industriously cited. Each of these two volumes closes with four indices and several plates of illustrations. All these features give the volumes of *Arbeit und Sitte* an authoritative place in the folkloristic literature of Palestine. They will keep their scientific value as an encyclopaedia of the life and customs of the Holy Land. Continuous reference to parallels of the ancient Orient, especially to the Biblical and Talmudic periods, makes this work of fundamental value for the study of conditions in those times.

It is a fact that one and the same term may be used in different parts of the country for different objects, and it is therefore a

mistake to condemn a term as wrong because it is unknown in this or that district. The following additions and explanations to the second volume are by no means intended to detract from the importance of the book, but to put some new material on record.

pp. 14–24. *arḍ ṣufrīyeh* (from *'aṣfar*, yellow) is used in some places for *arḍ ḥuṭrâd*; *arḍ ḥaddādīyeh* (from *ḥadīd*, iron) is a sandy-earthy land, difficult to plough; *arḍ quḥḥ* is a yellowish, sandy and barren land[1]; *djazīreh* (island) is the term given to a piece of land from which two sides were partly washed away by the winter torrents flowing in an adjacent valley. A wall dividing two gardens, fields or plots of ground always belongs, unless there is a written *ḥidjdjeh* (document), to that land which lies higher. Black earth is called in some places (Qalōniä) *arḍ (i)ḥrab* – from *ḥirbeh*, ruin.

p. 57. Peasants make in their *ḥawākīr* besides *qanāṭir* also scarecrows, made of two pieces of wood in the form of a cross and covered with rags. They are called *'adjīb* ('Ēn Kārim), *zawāl* (Jerusalem), *zawāleh* (Ṭanṭūrah, Abu Ghōš, Ṭaiybeh), *šaršūḥah* and *qa'qūrah* (Ṭanṭūrah).

pp. 77–105. The *rākūb* or *nāṭiḥ* is called in some places *qāḍi*. *Sawādjir* are wooden nails holding the *quddāmīyeh* with the *yāṣūl*. *Baiyūr*[2] means also a leather strap holding the *šar'āh* with a wooden nail. That the *šbāk* and *šar'āh* are generally made from leather is well expressed in the proverb *šbākuh min danabuh ušar'tuh min raqbatuh* "His *šbāk* is made from his (the ox's) tail and his *šar'āh* from (the skin of) his neck" (see also المجلة السورية, vol. III, no. 9). The following terms applied to ploughs of different types are known in the Jerusalem district: *'ūd islāmī* (II, p. 69) is that plough where the *'ūd* and the *ḍakar* are made of one piece (DALMAN, II, fig. 22); in *'ūd wašleh* the *yāṣūl* is composed of two pieces (see the figure in ZDMG 70, 168). A proverb teaches *el-maḥbīyeh*[3] *btiksir el-wiḥrāṭ*, "the hidden stone breaks the plough" (North Palestine and Syria). Such a stone is called in 'Ēn Kārim *nakbeh* (really 'misfortune').[4]

pp. 120–129. A *qazmah* (Dēr Ghassāneh) is a large *fās* with one

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[1] For *arḍ ḍ'īfeh* I heard in Bēt Iksa the term *arḍ ṣiqlah.*

[2] In DALMAN, II, p. 79 this term denotes a wooden hook.

[3] I heard *el-madfūn* also instead of *el-maḥbiyeh.*

[4] *Ḥrāṭ diššeh* denotes the ploughing a few weeks after the last rain, namely when the ground has lost its *ribbeh*, moisture (Bēt Iksa).

end smaller than the other. Both ends are pointed. *Fās midjwizeh* is a simple pickaxe the iron part of which projects only to one side and is divided into two hooks. The terms *nattāšeh* (from *nataša*, to pull out), *nakkāšeh* and *minkāšeh* denote a small pickaxe with one end pointed, the other having two pointed and rounded hooks. In Bēt Djālā they use *nattāšeh* (also called *mintāšeh*) for such a pickaxe, while the two other expressions are regarded as synonyms to *faḥḥāšeh* and *baḥḥāšeh*,[1] which stand for a common but small *fās*. *Sarḥ* is a large *balṭah*. *Qarāmlīyeh*[2] (from *qurmīyeh*, stump of a tree) is a *fās* with one end more or less pointed and the other broad and somewhat sharp. The surface of the last runs horizontally, i.e. in the same line with the axis of the handle.

pp. 134–146. Enquiry made in ʿEn Kārim, Qālōnia, Bēt Djālā, Bēt Iksa and Silwān shows that *hawākīr* often used to be manured even as back as 70 years ago. This was never done thoroughly or systematically. Sayings pointing to the use of manure are: *iṭʿam el-arḍ btiṭʿamak*, "Feed the land and it will feed you" (ʿEn Kārim); *zabbil (i)btiṭʿam*, "Put manure and it (the land) will yield a good crop," lit. it will feed (Bēt Djālā);[3] *kibir el-beḏindjān witdandanat (i)djrāseh u nisi quffet ez-zbāleh illi čānat tinčabb ʿarāseh*, "the egg-plant has grown and its flower bells are jingling, and it has forgotten the basket of manure which used to be poured over its head"; *mitl el-baqdūnis šuršuh ʿal-ḥarā ubiʿāšir-el-ʾakābir ʿaṣ-ṣufrah*, "Like the parsley, its roots grow in the dung, yet it courts high company at table."[4]

A special way of increasing the fertility of land is to mix red with black earth. This idea is expressed in the saying *bārak allah*

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[1] DALMAN, II, pp. 120 and 324, has heard this term used for a one-sided *fās*. Another synonym for *baḥḥāšeh* is *šakūš* (Bēt Iksa). For *šakūš* see CANAAN, *The Palestinian Arab House, its Architecture and Folklore*, p. 51.

[2] *Qarmala* in the Palestinian dialect means to cut wood. It is unknown in this sense to the classical language. *Qarāmlīyh* may be a blend (Mischbildung) of *qurmīyeh* and *qarmala*, like *ṭrumbīl* from *uṭombīl* and *ṭrumbah*.

[3] A peasant of Qālōnia assured me that the following saying is often used to advise rational cultivation and the use of manure: *ed-dunyā bil-ʿamal wil-ʾāḥreh bil-ʿamal*, "The (success of this) world depends upon work and (the success of) the everlasting life depends (also) on work." But it denotes in the first place the good actions of a person in general.

[4] The two last proverbs were mentioned in *JPOS*, VIII, 148.

fiš-šiklēn in indjamaᶜen, "May God bless both kinds if they come together." The ashes of the *ṭawābīn* are used to manure the newly planted onion and cauliflower plots. The dung of chicken is known as *warṣ,* and that of donkeys as *mūṣ* (Dēr Ghassāneh).[1]

pp. 151–153. The following sayings may throw further light on the subject: *ez-zarᶜ laz-zurrāᶜ wil-arḍ la-shābha,* "The standing corn belongs to those who planted it, but the land is for its owners"; *naᶜam kunt ḥarrāṭ ubaᶜrif ḥdūd el-mawāris,* "Yes, I was a plougher and know (well) the boundaries of the *mawāris*"; *kōl baṣal ukōl ma baᶜduh ḥaṣal,* "Eat onions and eat afterwards whatever you may get";[2] *nafḫah ušamḫah*[3] *ubaṣal fidj-djēb,* "Strong odour (of perfume) and fine growth, yet onions in the (his) pocket"; *ḥubz ḥāf biᶜarriḍ-el-ktāf,* "Bread alone makes the shoulders broad"; *min qillet el-qutṭēn akalnā qmūᶜuh,* "For the lack of dried figs we have eaten the stalks."

pp. 233–238. The irrigation of fields, known as *rabṣ,* is practiced in the district of Bīsān and in the Ghōr. The water is allowed to flow over the dry land (*burbuṣ*) before it is ploughed. When the *zarᶜ* grows it may still have to be watered once or more. This method is practiced both for winter and summer crops. That part of the water-channel which crosses a road is called *ᶜabbārah.*

pp. 264–272. *Fūlīyeh* is the term used for the dish of *fūl* with oil. I heard *daḥbūr,* pl. *daḥābīr,* instead of *daḫbūr, daḫābīr*[4]; hence the family name *Daḥbūrah* (Bethlehem). In Jerusalem the roasted unripe *ḥummuṣ* bunches are called *ḥāmleh.* The vendors announce the same by shouting *ḥāmleh (yā) malān(eh)!* *Turmus* boiled in water looses its bitter taste and is sold together with boiled *fūl.* Salt and minced parsley are strewn over the mixture. The vendors praise the same with the words *immallaḥ uladīd,* or *ᶜāl yạَ̄l-lōz* (Jerusalem).

pp. 273–303. There are many proverbs connected with cereals and vegetables which explain some of their properties. In *JPOS,* VIII, 129–168, sayings pertaining to wheat, barley, maize, rice, *kūsā, baṭṭiḫ, qarᶜ, ḫiār, silq, fūl, fidjl, kammūn, ḥubbēzeh, baṣal, ṭōmeh, hindbeh, naᶜnaᶜ, ḫarwaᶜ, ḥabbet el-barakeh* and *tutun (titin, duḫḫān)*

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[1] In the classical language the verbs *waraṣa* and *waraḍa* mean to lay eggs (of a hen).

[2] This and the following proverbs throw some light on the simple food of the peasants, especially the workers.

[3] See *Muḥīṭ* and HAVA.

[4] This term is unknown to the clasical language (*muḥīṭ,* HAVA, BELOT).

have been given. In the following only those will be quoted which have not yet been mentioned: *min kitret maḥabti bil-karafs akaltuh (i)b'ūduh*, "Owing to my great love for celery (*Apium graveolens*) I have eaten it with its stalk"; *maiyet el-baṣal mā bisirš minha 'asal*, "No honey can be made from the juice of onions"; *el-baṣal mā bizambiṭ illa lammā yikbar*, "The onions do not develop their flower stalks except when they grow large";[1] *bināor nōm zaiy šrūš eṭ-ṭōm*, "He sleeps like the roots of garlic," i.e. he curls himself like the roots of this plant; *lammā šāf el-qulqās (i)bdēli* (classical *dail*) *qallī tfaḍḍal yā šhērī*, "When he saw the colocasia (carried) in my garment's lap he said, 'Come and partake of food (or visit me), O my kinsman' (son-in-law or brother-in-law)!" *badil* (or *badal*) *ma tākul ruzz ubeḍindjān ghaṭṭī badanak el-'aryān*, "Instead of eating (the dish made of) rice and egg-plants (buy something to) cover your bare body"; *badal aklak el-malfūf ghaṭṭī badanak el-makšūf*, "Instead of eating cabbage cover your naked body"; *ḥōd min el-fidjil el-waraq umin el-laḥmeh el-maraq umin en-nisa-š-šalaq*,[2] "Take from the radishes the leaves, from meat the broth, and from women the tall ones." *el-lift aḥū dj-djazar*, "The turnip is the brother of the carrot; *kull walaf 'awilfuh 'ilūf ḥitta l-qarnabīṭ 'al-malfūf*, "Every friend is attached to his friend, even cauliflower is attached to cabbage (Ramallah)"; *illi ma byākul fi baladuh baṣal ma byākul fi blād en-nās 'asal*, "A person who does not eat in his (own) village onions will not eat (or get) honey in a strange country";[3] *bnurkuḍ bnurkuḍ wil-'aša ḥubbēzeh*, "We run and run (i.e. we work very hard) yet our supper is (nothing but) mallow."

All the volumes of *Arbeit und Sitte* are a real mine of sound, important and scientifically arranged and explained material.

                                                            T. CANAAN

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[1] The inhabitants of the villages surrounding 'Aramōn el-Gharb (Lebanon) despise the people of this village with the words *ḍē'ah mšarrafeh by(u)nbut 'asalha min zanābīṭ el-baṣal wil-faṣāḥah min 'aṣāt el-madjrafeh*, "An honourable (may also mean 'highly situated') village whose honey grows on the flower stalks of the onions and the eloquence (of its inhabitants grows) on the handle-stick of the shovel" (heard from Mr. St. H. Stephan).

[2] *Šalaq* is unknown in this sense to *Muḥīṭ*.

[3] A proverb using the same comparison but having a different meaning is *illi fi baladuh bidjurr 'asal rāḥ 'a-blād en-nās idjurr baṣal*.

Myth and Ritual. Essays on the Myth and Ritual of the Hebrews in Relation to the Culture Pattern of the Ancient East. By A. M. BLACKMAN, C. J. GADD, F. J. HOLLIS, S. H. HOOKE, E. O. JAMES, W.O.E. OESTERLEY, T. H. ROBINSON. Edited by S. H. HOOKE. xix, pp. 204. Oxford University Press; London, Humphrey Milford. Price 10s. 6d.

During the past few years many books of the symposium type have appeared in England, from which the practice has spread to the other side of the Atlantic. This fad is the bane of the librarian's life, but it produces results which are frequently most valuable. In the past one could distinguish between important and unimportant books; now one is faced with a mass of books containing both good and bad chapters. The present volume is no exception to this rule, but the good happily outweighs the inferior, so that it merits hearty recommendation.

For several decades there has been increasing interest in the relation between myth and ritual. It has long since been recognized that a definite relation does exist between the two, though our material has not been extensive enough to establish its exact nature. On the one hand it is clear that myth is often an aetiological description of ritual (cf. HOOKE, p. 3, below); on the other it is equally certain that ritual is sometimes a mimetic performance of a myth, itself of obscure origin. Under no circumstances can we maintain too unilateral an evolution, as certain of the contributors to the volume before us seem inclined to do. The origins of institutions and beliefs are generally complex, and cannot be explained by too simple a formula.

The emphasis on "pattern" in myth, ritual, and culture as a whole is comparatively new, and unquestionably introduces a most valuable principle, borrowed partly from the newer school of ethnographers and partly from the "Gestalt" psychologists, who emphasize the basic character of thought-patterns. Since the reviewer's own thinking had led him to similar viewpoints with regard to myth and cult many years ago (cf. *JBL*, 37 [1918], 111 ff.; *JAOS*, 40 [1920], 307–335; *JPOS*, 1 [1921], 51f.), he is naturally predisposed to accept the main position of the book before us.

Professor HOOKE contributes an introductory essay on "The Myth and Ritual Pattern of the Ancient East," and another on

"Traces of the Myth and Ritual Pattern in Canaan." The attitude taken in these chapters is that of FRAZER, supplemented by HARTLAND and HOCART; the influence of ELLIOT SMITH and PERRY is very small. The approach is, therefore, modern, but somewhat one-sided, as illustrated by the prominence given to the idea of kingship, including the death of the king-god, his resurrection and exaltation, etc. FRAZER's conception has certainly not been proved, and the combination of it with MOWINCKEL's equally interesting and uncertain views of the enthronement feast and ritual in Israel, yields a synthesis which reminds one of the myth of Ossa on Olympus and Pelion on Ossa referred to by ROBINSON on p. 181. The two essays illustrate again the fact that our materials for the reconstruction of Canaanite religion are exceedingly fragmentary. Even a first-hand command of the material would hardly yield results more satisfactory than those of the editor, who has at least achieved definiteness of outline, however much one may object to details or his picture. The very extensive use of the new material from the cuneiform tablets of Ugarit (Râs eš-Šamrah), on pp. 77–86, is rather unfortunate, since the decipherment of these important documents had only begun when HOOKE wrote, and we are still far from having achieved certainty in many of our interpretations. The editor should have differentiated between decipherment of the script and decipherment of the inscriptions written in that script. Most of the conclusions to which he comes in this connection are, accordingly, erroneous. In fact, the student cannot be warned too strongly not to accept any statement of the editor with regard to the interpretation of the material described in these pages without independent investigation. A detailed criticism would carry us far beyond the space at our disposal.

The second and third essays, by BLACKMAN and GADD, who deal with Egypt and Babylonia, respectively, are incomparably the best in the volume. Both control their source-material absolutely – which cannot be said of any other contributors to the volume – and write with a restrained originality that makes their treatment important for the specialist as well as fascinating to the layman. We do not exaggerate in asserting that the two authors are unexcelled by any living Egyptologist or Assyriologist in their qualification for discussing the subject of myth and ritual in the two lands of the earliest sedentary

culture. Thanks to this fact it is impossible to find any point where a serious criticism can be made. While it is probable that SETHE's reconstruction of Egyptian prehistory is too artificial, BLACKMAN's dependence on it cannot be reasonably criticized at this stage of our knowledge, since nothing better has been offered elsewhere. GADD's essay is broader in its scope than BLACKMAN's and is consequently even more interesting and important. Its very breadth, however, introduces more uncertain elements. Thus the account of the myth of the imprisonment and release of Marduk, as described in the New Year's ritual (pp. 58 ff.), is probably not entirely correct, owing to the close adherence of the author to ZIMMERN's interpretation. The reviewer believes, on the basis of still unpublished studies of his, that the function of Nabù is to a certain extent comparable to that of Horus in the Osiris cycle, and that ZIMMERN's interpretation of certain episodes (which seem to bear so great a resemblance to corresponding episodes of the Passion of Christ) is quite wrong; cf. also GADD, p. 61 f. The reviewer has offered a solution of the question raised by GADD on p. 63, above, with reference to magical motives underlying the Gilgames Epic, in his paper already quoted (*JAOS*, 40, 315 ff., esp. p. 316, above).

The remaining four essays are less important and are of very unequal value. The most original is unquestionably HOLLIS's study of the "Sun-cult and the Temple at Jerusalem"; the poorest is OESTERLEY's "Early Hebrew Festival Rituals." HOLLIS defends a most interesting thesis, that the orientation of the Temple and the position of the altar of burnt offering with reference to the Holy of Holies (indentified by HOLLIS with the Sacred Rock—an identification which appears to be correct; cf. GALLING in *ZDPV*, 55, [1932], 247, above) were fixed so that the first rays of the sun, rising over the Mount of Olives at the autumnal equinox, would enter the portal, cross the altar, and terminate at the Holy of Holies. Unfortunately, the topographical and archaeological arguments are weak, though the theory is very plausible. Unhappily, HOLLIS omits any reference to the scholars who have proposed similar views in the past. This omission in particularly serious in the case of MORGENSTERN, whose important paper, "The Gates of Righteousness" (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. VI, 1929, pp. 1–38), not only anticipates him in vital points, but also cites several

passages in the Talmud and elsewhere which are essential to the demonstration. Other precursors are mentioned by MORGENSTERN in the paper just cited. In a number of places HOLLIS is on very insecure ground. The remarks on the name of Benjamin and the city of On (pp. 87–8) are extremely hazardous. There is no evidence whatever that the Jebusites worshipped the sun-god more exclusively than the surrounding peoples (p. 89). The "Phoenician" walls of the Temple enclosure have long since been shown to be Herodian (p. 100). GRESSMANN's idea that *parvah* is a corruption of *parbar*, and that the latter is derived from Sum. *barbar, "shining", in the temple-name *E-babbar*, is linguistically impossible.

OESTERLEY's essay on the origin of Hebrew festival ritual cannot be criticized in detail, owing to lack of space. His views are an extraordinary mixture of older and newer theories on comparative religion, and the attempted synthesis is singularly incoherent. The idea of NIELSEN (p. 111) that nomads worship the moon and peasants ("agriculturists") the sun is a hasty generalization of no value whatever. The opposite (and equally rash) generalization has been made by FROBENIUS, whose views have fully as wide a currency as NIELSEN's. WELLHAUSEN's distinctions between nomadic and sedentary elements in Hebrew festival ritual can no longer be accepted in the simple formulation given them by his school; there was no such sharp demarcation, and the semi-nomadic stage was far more important than the nomadic, as is being shown more clearly by each extension of the archaeological survey of Palestine and Transjordan. Moreover, some of the processional and other rites which this school has credited to nomadic influence are parallel to Egyptian and Babylonian practices where nomadic influence can hardly be traced. OESTERLEY himself accepts the existence of Babylonian influence, and even pushes it too far. The shape of the *maṣṣôt* was, he thinks, an imitation of the form of the full moon (p. 114)! The rest of OESTERLEY's essay is full of statements and conclusions which are just as precarious. His knowledge of the literature is very defective; e.g., he quotes the supposed Babylonian divine-name *Dibbarra* (pp. 119–20), which has been read *Irra, Era (Erra)* for nearly thirty years by all competent scholars. He knows nothing of the work of MORGENSTERN or DUSSAUD. There is also a surprising lack of historical spirit in the treatment, which seldom hints at the

relative lateness of the rabbinic material which is so freely employed; cf. the remarks on the *ethrog* (p. 142), which was not introduced at all into the ritual until the Persian or early Hellenistic age (cf. TOLKOWSKY, *JPOS*, 1928, 17 ff.).

JAMES's essay on "Initiatory Rituals" is interesting, though not original. There is a tendency to connect quite dissimilar things which is occasionally disconcerting. The author is much better acquainted with anthropological literature than he is with the Ancient East.

The final essay, by T. H. ROBINSON, exhibits the merits which we have learned to associate with the author's name. It is well-written, coherent, and judicious in the opinions expressed. It is weak in dealing with the Ancient Orient. On reading this essay one is struck anew by the paucity of material. Ancient Israel was decidedly not given to myth-making, unless the hand of the censor has been even more active than is commonly supposed. Moreover, recent discovery has shown that ROBINSON is right in suggesting the late introduction of part of this mythical matter into Hebrew literature (cf. p. 173, below). The exilic oracle, Isa. 14: 4 ff., now proves to be quoted from a Canaanite epic, perhaps almost verbatim (*JPOS*, 1932, 192, n. 22), and the poetic reminiscences of Canaanite mythology in the Bible are mostly to be found in late books (*ibid.*, p. 208). Lack of space precludes further discussion of ROBINSON's useful essay.

In conclusion we wish again to recommend the book to students, who will find much material and many suggestions, which are stimulating even when they do not commend themselves. We must thank Professor HOOKE for his happy idea.

<div align="right">W. F. ALBRIGHT</div>

الاصول العربية لتاريخ سورية في عهد محمد علي باشا. *Materials for a Corpus of Arabic Documents relating to the History of Syria under Mehemet Ali Pasha.* By ASAD GIBRAIL RUSTUM. "Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the American University of Beirut." Vol. V, pp. 267 with one plate. Printed at the American Press, Beirut, 1933.

The 121 documents given in this volume belong to the year 1256 A. H. (March 5, 1840 to February 23, 1841); they are arranged in chronological order. Eighteen documents originated in Palestine and were gathered from various Moslem Sheri'a Courts as well as from private persons, whose ancestors, the addressees, played a more or less important political rôle. The reader is struck by the great variety of subjects dealt with by these documents, which thus give a fairly clear picture of many conditions prevalent during that year in the Near East. Material of this sort is needed in order to form a solid basis for the study of the history of Palestine and Syria.

The longest document deals with the Jews of Damascus and the murder of the chaplain Thomas and his servant. This document takes up fully 41 pages set in small type. For the first time we have the exact and detailed minutes of a case which figured prominently at that time.

A short synopsis of the documents pertaining to Palestine shows that some were written to officials (in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Hebron, Nazareth), giving them new orders, or announcing the appointment of new officials to military and diplomatic posts. The documents addressed to private persons settle private questions or announce military achievements. Still others consist of correspondence of local officials with their subordinates or with the higher military officer. Two of the eighteen Palestinian documents deserve special mention. No. 611 is a letter of Moḥammad 'Izzat Pāša, who signed والي صيدا وسر عسكر حالا, to the notables of Jerusalem, ordering the protection of the Christians and their treatment as equals of the Mohammedans. No mention is made of the Jews. No. 593 is a letter by Moḥammad Salīm Pāša, who signed his correspondance first as مير لوا, later as فريق العساكر الظافرة وقيمقام, and at the end of 1256 A.H. as فريق العساكر المظفرة حالا سر عسكر بر الشام حالا, to Dāhūd Abu Ghōš (of el-Qaryeh), describing the victory of the Turkish troops and the surrender of Acre.

Very interesting is the orthography and literary usage of that period. The following examples are characteristic. The present form is given for the sake of. comparison in parenthesis. (جيم ما) جيما, (الخلاص) لاختلاص (انقار) نفرات, (كل شي) كلشي. Many Turkish words were introduced and used daily in the Arabic language.

This volume is, -like the two foregoing ones, an excellent proof of the untiring industry of the author. The American University is to˙ be congratulated on the excellent scientific works published from time to time by the Department of History.

<div style="text-align: right">T. Canaan</div>

Adolf Schulten, *Masada. Die Burg des Herodes und die römischen Lager mit einem Anhang: Beth-Ter;* mit Karten und Plänen von Generalmajor A. Lammerer und Beiträgen von A. Lammerer, R. Paulsen, K. Regling, E. Schramm. Sonderdruck aus *ZDPV* B^d 56; 8° de VII–184 pp. 14 pl. et 28 feuilles de plans. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1933.

Cette monographie sera bien accueillie des palestinologues comme des gens versés dans la connaissance des antiquités romaines. A la description objective du site et des constructions ruinées de Masada elle unit l'étude la plus minutieuse et la mieux documentée des travaux exécutés par l'armée de Fl. Silva en 73 autour de la place-forte qui tomba la dernière au pouvoir des Romains.

Une des attractions de l'austère paysage de Sebbeh de nature à impressionner fortement l'esprit est en effet cet ensemble d'ouvrages militaires encore visibles sur le sol après dix-neuf siècles, témoins irrécusables d'un siège dramatique auquel l'historien Josèphe a consacré des pages émouvantes. En nul autre point de l'*Orbis Romanus* on ne trouve réunis un aussi grand nombre de camps qu'autour de Masada, nulle part un mur de circonvallation en si bon état de conservation et un *agger* aussi remarquable un dépit de son affaissement. Le Dr. A. Schulten, spécialiste en matière de poliorcétique romaine, proclame cette supériorité du site palestinien. Il en a tiré d'autant plus facilement tout le parti possible que ses fouilles exécutées en Espagne et en particulier aux abords de Numance l'avaient rompu à ce genre pratique d'études sur le

terrain. Heureusement secondé par le général A. LAMMERER, connu par ses relevés topographiques en Espagne, le chef de la mission allemande qui opéra quatre semaines au désert de Sebbeh, a pu joindre à ses descriptions des plans dont la netteté et l'exactitude rendent si aisée la lecture du texte. Au surplus le texte, loin de se borner à la description pure et simple de ce qui se voit, fait usage de la méthode comparative en rappelant les principes émis par les auteurs anciens qui ont traité *de re militari* et en rapprochant les faits acquis par l'archéologie sur divers points du vaste *limes* de l'Empire romain.

Toutes ces garanties engageront le lecteur à suivre ce nouveau guide de Masada alors même qu'à ses propres yeux ces camps de légionnaires et d'auxiliaires ne paraitraient que des alignements enchevêtrés de blocs calcaires brunis ramassés dans les ravins. Initié par des connaisseurs qui n'avancent rien sans justification, le visiteur des cantonnements de l'armée de Silva se retrouvera à travers ces rues, ces exèdres, ces corps de garde, ces entrées munies de leur *clavicula* et les longs murs des casernes. Au camp B par exemple, dont l'enceinte de 162 mètres sur 130 abritait une demi-légion, non seulement les grandes lignes du plan sont reconnaissables, mais encore les détails du *praetorium* et de l'*auguratorium*, le sanctuaire des aigles et des enseignes, la demeure des tribuns. Et il y a ainsi huit camps à visiter autour de Sebbeh. S'ils n'ont pas tous la même importance, s'ils ne sont pas tous aussi bien conservés que le camp B, chacun a quelque particularité intéressante à présenter. En plus des deux camps qui se partageaient les cohortes et les cavaliers de la Xe légion Fretensis, on retrouve six camps pour auxiliaires, deux pouvant à la rigueur contenir une cohorte de mille hommes avec contingent à cheval, et quatre, de dimensions moindres faits pour loger chacun une cohorte de cinq cents fantassins. A l'aide de ces données fournies par les choses mêmes, SCHULTEN évalue à 8000 hommes les troupes qui assiégèrent Masada. Si l'on y ajoute les non-combattants qui suivaient pour différents motifs l'armée en campagne et dont les logements en dehors des camps (*canabae*) ont été en partie identifiés, le total des bouches à nourrir, sans parler des chevaux et des bêtes de somme, se montaient à 10.000 personnes, ce qui posait un grave problème à l'intendance pour l'approvisionnement dans cette région isolée, dépourvue des moyens d'existence

les plus essentiels. De fait, les Romains résolurent le problème, puisqu'ils vécurent là au moins quatre mois jusqu'à ce que la place fut réduite, mais il n'était pas inutile de rechercher, comme on le voit dans cette monographie, par quels moyens on arriva jadis à une solution. La mission de Sebbeh était d'autant plus intéressée par cette question qu'elle se posait pour elle, dans de moindres proportions, il est vrai, durant le séjour de quatre semaines consacrées à l'étude du site et de ses monuments. Ce séjour lui permit de pousser fort avant l'examen des ouvrages militaires que DOMASZEWSKI n'avait pu qu'ébaucher en passant une journée aux camps de Masada. Plus récemment, CHR. HAWKES, directeur de la section anglaise du British Museum, avait réussi en 1929, sur la base de quarante photos d'avion, à établir une esquisse de l'ensemble assez fidèle et un plan du camp B. Si elles ne suffisent pas à remplacer l'autopsie, les vues aériennes apportent néanmoins une aide précieuse et ce fut une heureuse idée d'en avoir publié plusieurs dans la présente monographie.

Les voyageurs qui furent attirés par le pittoresque rocher de Sebbeh après que le compagnon d'EDWARD ROBINSON, ÉLI SMITH, l'eut identifié à Masada, ont spécialement fixé leur attention sur les vestiges monumentaux épars sur la plate-forme amortissant le bloc où s'élevait la forteresse. A ce sujet, il existait, à côté d'affirmations imprudentes ou erronées, de sérieux résultats acquis. Il n'était pas inopportun, toutefois, de nous donner un tableau exact et complet de la Masada hérodienne et de reprendre par le menu la description des palais, des entrepôts et du rempart, d'essayer de retracer les voies d'accès de ce repaire et de contrôler ainsi les renseignements de FL. JOSÈPHE, témoin de la splendeur de cet ornement sévère des rives de la mer Morte. Cette tâche à été menée à bien par SCHULTEN et son *staff* de spécialistes à qui l'on doit des notions supplémentaires touchant la poliorcétique, la numismatique, les travaux du génie.

Un appendice est consacré au mur de circonvallation de Beth-Ter, aujourd'hui *Bitṭīr*, dont les tronçons font piètre figure à côté du *vallum* solidement construit de Masada et que l'œil suit sans interruption au pied de la forteresse et sur la déclivité de la montagne dont se détache la belle et puissante molaire de Sebbeh.

F.-M. ABEL

FARIS, B. F. and DODD, S., *A post-War Bibliography of the Near Eastern Mandates*. Publications of the American University, Social Sciences Series No. 1., American Press, Beirut, Lebanon, 1932.

The American University of Beirut is beginning to grasp the great opportunities offered in the Near East for scholarly research and in the past few years has published several scholarly books, of which the three volumes of RUSTUM's *Materials for a Corpus of Arabic Documents relating to the History of Syria under Mehemet Ali Pasha* are the most prominent. The book under consideration represents one part of a series of eight volumes. Each part will give bibliographies of articles and books written in one of the following languages: Arabic (2 vols.), English, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, and miscellaneous Oriental languages (Armenian, Kurdish, Persian, Syriac and Turkish). The title of every article or book written in an Oriental language is translated into English. The aim of this series is to present "a preliminary survey of publications on the social sciences dealing with ʿIrāq and Trans-Jordan and the Syrian States from Nov. 11, 1918, to Dec. 31, 1929, arranged in an alphabetical list by authors with a limited index by subject matter." While Professor DODD is the general editor of the whole series, each part has its own editor.

The two most important sections of the volume under review are: bibliographic items listed alphabetically by authors and a bibliography arranged according to subject heads. Reference to the second part would be much easier if the subjects dealt with on the page were printed above each column. Another change which would be welcomed by every reader is the printing of the headings in bolder type. One also wishes more consistency in the printing of these headings. While "Agricultural colonies, Agriculture, Aleppo, Art," etc., are printed in capital letters, other equally important headings are in small letters ("Anthropology, Arabic language, Arabs, Archaeology", etc). But none of these points seriously affects the high intrinsic value of the book, which may be recommended to every student of the Near East.

This series of publications has one great advantage over the well known work of Professor P. THOMSEN, *Die Palästina-Literatur*, namely, that Oriental literature (Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew, Armenian,

etc.) is more exhaustively recorded.   Another advantage is that
they include the literature of the three Arabic-speaking mandates,
and not only the bibliography of Palestine.

<div align="right">T. Canaan</div>

———————

Israelitische und altorientalische Weisheit par le D. Walter Baum-
gartner, Tübingen, Mohr, 1933. 34 pages.

Dans un style alerte et volontairement dépouillé d'encombrantes
citations, l'éminent professeur de Bâle écrit pour les profanes le
chapitre d'histoire littéraire qui concerne les Sagesses israélites et
orientales.   Ce n'est pas à dire que les spécialistes n'y puissent
eux-mêmes trouver quelque agrément: la peinture est faite avec une
sûreté de main qui trahit un maître et l'on sent que derrière telle phrase,
tel trait savoureux, se cache une information aussi solide qu'étendue.
Dès la première page l'auteur a su mettre en évidence l'ampleur
du sujet, car il n'entend point se cantonner aux quatre livres
sapientiaux proprement dits: Proverbes, Ecclésiaste, Ecclésiastique,
Sagesse, et chercher vaille que vaille des parallèles orientaux. Job,
plus d'un psaume, certaines pages de Baruch, de Tobie, et, parmi les
apocryphes, de la lettre d'Aristée, du IIIe livre d'Esdras et du IVe
des Macchabées, relèvent du même genre littéraire: sentences nourries
d'une philosophie d'ordre essentiellement pratique, divisant l'humanité
entière en sages et en fous (peut-on souhaiter distribution plus
adéquate?), et dont la sagesse un peu courte, qui prodigue les
recommandations hygièniques quant à l'usage des boissons fermentées
ou oppose la crainte du mari aux perspectives d'un adultère attrayant,
est relevée dans son fond par le sentiment grave et profond de la
crainte de Dieu, à qui appartient la rétribution en ce monde cer-
tainement et, on pourrait peut-être le conclure, dans l'autre.   On
regrettera sans doute qu'ici l'auteur n'ait pas consacré un développe-
ment spécial aux éloges de la Sagesse éternelle, qui occupent une
place nettement à part dans le cadre de la littérature gnomique.
Suivent quelques indications d'une extrême sobriété, mais marquées
au coin du bon sens (les profanes n'ont que faire d'une technicité
qui risquerait fort de les égarer), sur la constitution et l'âge des

principaux recueils. Les influences étrangères ont été nettement indiquées; on s'est bien gardé pourtant d'exagérer les dépendances ou le parallélisme; en ces matières un concordisme fade est aussi insupportable qu'une accusation de plagiat, brutale et ignorante des nuances: il y a de multiples degrés de cousinage. Leur donner la note qui convient eût entraîné BAUMGARTNER hors des limites de son sujet; ses lecteurs du moins lui sauront gré d'avoir attiré leur attention sur les inconvénients majeurs qu'il y aurait à caporaliser les rapports existants entre la sagesse israélite et la littérature orientale contemporaine.

Revenant aux recueils canoniques, replacés dans leur milieu avec la sagesse souriante qui convenait éminemment à un tel sujet, l'auteur en établit la transcendance, qui culmine au livre de Job, atteignant par la voie de l'expérience intime et de la réflexion le Dieu divinement révélé au Sinaï que nous enseigne la Thora.

<div align="right">A. BARROIS, O.P.</div>

'ḤALÀNJ' = RED CHERRY-WOOD?

St. H. Stephan

(Jerusalem)

In the March issue of *Antiquity*[1] Miss C. Waddy publishes an article on 'A Scandinavian Cremation Ceremony' with translation of a medieval description from the Arabic of Ibn Fuḍlān (A.D. 922),[2] wherein 'Ḥalànj' wood is mentioned. In a footnote it is said to be "a wood of which bowls are made,"[3] and that it is "unidentified." This scanty description is a typical example of the vague knowledge of some medieval Arab lexicographers about plants and animals of foreign countries. It may be stated here that a *Ḥalànj Yamāni* was known to the Arabs in the Middle Ages,[4] but this does not seem to be identical with the *Ḥalànj* proper.

[1] Vol. VIII, 1934, No. 29, p. 60 ff.

[2] This description is also contained in Yaqût's *muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. Wüsten-feld, vol. 11, 834 ff., where (on p. 837) this word is wrongly spelt as *ḥalīj*.

[3] Jawâlîqi, *muʿàrrab*, s. v., quotes the verse of Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyāt *wa-yàsqi làbana-l-buḥti fi qiṣāʿi-l-ḥalànji*, قصاع الخلنج في البخت لبن ويسقى. The word does not occur in Ibn Ḥālawaihi's *kitāb aš-šàjar* (ed. S. Nagelberg, 1909). In Meninski's *Lexicon Arabice-Persico-Turcicum*, Vienna, 1780, s. v., خلنج or خلنج is explained as 1) "nomen arboris, ex tigni, aut patinae conficiuntur; 2) Talis patina lignea", while خلنج is described as an "arbor ex qua propissides fiunt." The same authority explains *màḥlab* as "grana, nucleis cerasinis per omnia similia, quae ex Azerbeigian afferuntur."

The following verse from al-Farazdaq (A.H. 20–114, A.D. 640/1–732/3) on his negro slave girl, is quoted from *al-ʿiqdu-l-farīd*, (Cairo, 1928) IV, 155

يارب خود من بنات الزنج   تنقل تورأ شديد الوهج

اغبر مثل القدح الخلنج   يزداد طيباً بعد طول المزج

which description of the colour agrees with that given by Kiefer-Bianchi, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*, s. v. Similarly, the odour of a *maḥlab* walking-stick is intensified, if the stick is held in the hand for some time.

[4] Dozy, *Supplément*, I, p. 400; this, however, is not contained in G. Schweinfurt's *Arabische Pflanzen aus Ägypten, Algerien und Jemen*, Berlin, 1912. Ad-Dimišqi, *nuḥbatu-d-dahr* (Cosmographie) ed. Mehren, mentions on p. 68 the فيروز خلنجي .(turquoise) and on p. 65 maintains that amber is the resin of the *ḥalanj* tree.

STEINGASS[1] considers the word to be of Arabic origin, stating that it is a "tree from which they make beams or wooden bowls." DOZY, *l. c.*, quotes WILD, "qui atteste que le bois de cet arbre a une odeur forte et agréable", "welches die Türcken nennen Callengue." This strong and agreeable perfume is peculiar to the *mahaleb* tree among the number of odoriferous shrubs and trees growing in Turkey. Formerly a piece of its wood used to be kept in a bride's trousseau, and it was supposed that linen which had been in contact with it would exhale this fresh perfume for many years.

The red cherry tree, *Prunus mahaleb*, is known in Arabic, Syriac and Kurdish as *màḥlab*, and in Turkish as *mahléb*. POST[2] notes it even in Duma, (36 km. south of Tripoli), probably its southernmost occurrence. It is noted for the fragrance which its wood retains for an indefinite period. It does not grow in Palestine. Articles made from it (walking-sticks and smoking-pipes), its bark[3] and the kernel of its fruit are imported from Egypt. Yet the main exporting countries seem to be Austria and the Succession States, though Italy (and even Greece) may supply the Egyptian market with *mahlab* walking-sticks, cigarette holders and tobacco pipes.[4] The present writer has heard of a fine sort of *mahlab* walking-stick imported into Egypt from India.[5] The raw wood is not imported.[6] In Turkey it is used as fuel.

[1] *Persian-English Dictionary*, reprint of 1930; *s. v.*

[2] *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*, I, 2nd ed., 1933, p. 452.

[3] CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, Hamburg, 1914, p. 88, mentions the bark of the *mahlab* as *qiṡrit il-ḥamīs*, used in certain cases.

[4] At present Jerusalem market prices for *mahlab* walking-sticks, *bākūr* (pl. *bawākīr*) *mahlab* vary between 2s. 3d and 4s. according to quality. The only stick commending a higher price is one of ebony. Other walking-sticks cost usually from one to two shillings.

[5] Carrying a *màḥlab* stick is considered in Egypt to be a *ḥirz* (amulet) against the evil eye. Like the *yusr* (black coral) rosary (coming from the Red Sea near Jidda) it makes its owner prosperous. Cf. the saying: *illi bi-sabbiḥ bi-l-yusr ma bi-ṡūf ʿusr* (He who recites his prayers with a *yusr* rosary will find no distress). As these walking-sticks are somewhat brittle they need to · be handled carefully. It may be interesting to note in this connexion that neither *ḥalanj* nor *mahlab* is mentioned in Dr. MOHAMMAD SHARAF's *Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1928.

[6] The wood is known to the Buḫārian (Uzbag) dervishes of Jerusalem. They tell me that they do not manufacture articles from it, except tobacco pipes for the upper classes. The two varieties occurring in their country are known to them as *gelāṡ* (red cherry-tree proper) and *ṡāry āla*.

The flowers, leaves and wood are fragrant. The leaves exude a kind of resin, called *man* in Northern Mesopotamia.[1] It does not grow wild but only in orchards, together with cherries, which may be grafted on it either in part or as a whole.[2] In accordance with its botanical classification it is commonly considered a cherry-tree. Its Armenian name denotes 'wild cherry.'

In Mārdīn[3] the fruit is collected before ripening, peeled and dried and sold in the market.[4] Only about a tenth of the crop is left to ripen, when the berries assume a reddish to a dark reddish colour. The fruit is left to dry in the sun. Such dried berries are not obtainable in the market. They are sent in small quantities as presents. Taken as a medicine against stomach troubles, especially colic and "*ḥarr*" (= *ḥarāra*, gastritis?), they are effective antifebrines.[5]

The kernel is cooked with cheese, which thereby acquires a fragrance of choice herbs. All over the Near East it is also ground and, though bitter, added to cakes, sweatmeats and even bread. It may be also eaten like the other kernels, such as terebinths, almonds, nuts, pistachios, and the like.[6]

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[1] This is not the wellknown *man*, which is collected from oak trees in Northern Mesopotamia, and sold as far away as Persia, where they prepare several kinds of cakes from it, after clarifying the resinous substance. It may be had in the markets of Mārdīn, Mōṣul, Baghdād, Baṣra and Aleppo, as it is not expensive. Against this see DALMAN, G., *Palästinajahrbuch*, XVII, 1921, pp. 73—5, „Das Manna auf dem Markt von Jerusalem".

[2] Almonds, too, may be grafted on it.

[3] This information the writer received from the Syrian-Jacobite Bishop of Jerusalem, a native of Mārdīn.

[4] Before the War an *ölček* = a *ṭabbe* (approximately 24 kilogr.) of *màḥlab* fruit cost 30—40 Turkish gold piastres.

[5] The same applies in Jerusalem to the use of the kernel, which is pounded and put in a clean white cloth, bound tightly and given to children suffering from gripes. The verb for this procedure is *marraṭ*. As a potion (*siqye*) it is administered to children against gastritis and other stomach disorders. It is also mixed with rose water (*ma ward*) and applied as an embrocation to babies either until they are weaned or, more usually until their seventh month. The parts of the body which are rubbed with this mixture are the back of the ears, neck, breasts, armpits and the abdomen. The husks of the kernels are used for "smoking" the child (*tabḥīr*) against spirits and the effects of the evil eye.

[6] I could not learn whether it is used in Turkey for the manufacture of large-sized furniture, as in the case of the *Ḥalanj Yamāni* (DOZY, *l. c.*).

When the fruit is still unripe the stone is peeled and strung into rosaries. They hang in bands of three or four, around children's necks and under one arm-pit, in groups of five beads, being separated by a tiny silver bead. These rosaries are hung round children's bodies in order to improve the body exhalation, but primarily to protect them against the hot wind (known in Northern Mesopotamia as *il-hawa-ṣ-ṣābli*), as well as against contagious diseases.[1] The beads may be coloured red before being used. The size of the stone is less than half of a pistachio nut.

In Behesne (North-north-east of ʿAintāb) the wood is used for boxes serving as receptacles for linen. The turners in north-eastern Turkey prefer it to many other sorts. In Màrʿaš cups and other vessels are made from the *maḥlab* wood, as are also bowls for sour milk, but no furniture. More usually vessels are made from the more compact wood of the common plane tree (*činār*).

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[1] Similarly wool or cotton-wool dipped into tar, wrapped in a piece of cloth, is hung round the neck of very young camels or foals to ward off any illness to which they are liable.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

H. DANBY

(JERUSALEM)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I hope you will sympathize with my uneasiness in accepting the invitation to act as President of the Palestine Oriental Society for 1934. I greatly appreciate the honour but I am well aware how undeserved the honour is. It is enough to read the rota of Past Presidents to realize the dignity of the position and how difficult it is to rise to its demands.

The first President, in 1920, was Père LAGRANGE. That he should have consented to be the first President at once lent the highest possible distinction to the Society: following so great a nan and so great a scholar, inevitably all his successors, no matter how distinguished, felt themselves honoured to hold the office first graced by Père LAGRANGE.

He was followed in turn by Professor GARSTANG, Professor ALBRIGHT, Père DHORME, Mr. (now Canon) PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, the late Dr. MAX MARGOLIS, the late Père ORFALI, Dr. CANAAN, Père MALLON, Mr. RICHMOND, Père ABEL, Dr. MAYER, Mr. NEUVILLE and, last year, Mr. CROWFOOT. I know of no other Society in Palestine which can boast such a succession of leaders with such wide reputation; certainly there cannot be many societies to-day better able to demonstrate, and to demonstrate so emphatically, the wide appeal of Palestinian studies, and their power of rising superior to any national or religious barriers.

The past fourteen Presidents, each in his own distinguished way, illustrate the immense variety in the field which is covered in modern Palestinian studies. I need not develop this point: but I think there is scarcely a single aspect of Palestinian research, from the most ancient to the most modern, from the most academic to the most practical, that does not have its well known representative in our panel of Past Presidents.

* Delivered at the sixtieth General Meeting of the Society, January 24, 1934.

This last year the Society has had the benefit of Mr. CROW-
FOOT's guidance as President. To speak to a Palestine audience of
Mr. CROWFOOT's work in Palestine is not necessary. It is even
presumptuous. I do not need to speak of his actual work as Director
of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem—except to regret
that public support given to the British School is so meagre and so
incommensurate both with the talents of its Director and with the
vast possible field of work which is to-day open to the School.
I would only wish to point out how fortunate Palestine should
consider itself that such men as Mr. CROWFOOT, who have already
devoted years of their life to work in a wider area of the Near
East, in the field of education or of archaeology—that such men
should deliberately make choice of *Palestine* as the field of work
in which to apply their matured powers and experience.

With this meeting the Society enters its fifteenth year. To all
of us it must be a matter of great regret that our founder, Professor
ALBERT CLAY, is no longer alive to take pride in the Society's
survival, and, in his characteristic way, to point out its deficiencies
and thrust it vigorously forward into more strenuous activity.
Knowing as we do the fate of so many well-meaning societies
started in Palestine during the past fifteen years, we are conscious
of positive achievement in being, after so long a time, not merely
alive, but slightly more active and prosperous than we have ever
been before.

There were moments when we felt that the Society threat-
ened to become moribund (that, I ought to say in passing, was
when Dr. ALBRIGHT was about to be transferred from Palestine
to Baltimore); but you all know how promptly that feeling was
dispelled when, in 1929, our irresistible and incomparable Dr.
CANAAN took control. He has whipped new life into the Society,
increased the number of members, widened the circle of contrib-
utors to the Journal, and now proposes to increase the size of the
Journal and also, I hope, its number of illustrations. We are proud,
and rightly so, of our Secretary. We might also, I think, recognize
the very advanced and modernist character of his methods of
government! It is true that we have a Constitution, and a fairly
democratic one (but copies of it are scarce and not many members
can be familiar with it); in practice, however, the Society has

discovered that where students and scholarship are concerned, the ideal form of government is not by Committee but—by Dictator! Constant meetings of committees, procedure by resolution of committees—these have no place in the working of the Society; and a very sound justification can be put forward. The student or scholar's most valuable possession is his leisure: it is often his only wealth: to take away his leisure is to take away his most precious possession: and does life to-day know any more greedy and insatiable devourer of leisure than committees!

It is, I am convinced, this mild dictatorship, so attractively exemplified in our Secretary, which goes far to account for the smooth and successful working of the Palestine Oriental Society. It it true that there *is* a committee of directors, but I think I am right in saying that they function but once in the year, and they are chosen, I believe, with the object of assisting the Dictator, the Secretary, rather than of controlling him! Imagine—controlling Dr. CANAAN!

But in speaking of the pillars of our Society, it is good to remember how much we owe to Dr. ALBRIGHT. Both during the ten years when I had the honour of being the Society's Secretary, and even during the past four years, when Dr. ALBRIGHT has mostly been out of Palestine—through the whole of these fourteen years the force which has kept us dignified and steady, the "ballast" of the Society, has ever been Dr. ALBRIGHT. We have felt ourselves borne safely along in the wake of his great and ever growing reputation. Also (here I speak as the Editor of the Journal during fourteen years) whenever there has arisen a piece of work (unusual difficulty, or a grimly disagreeable task of editing, it is always to Dr. ALBRIGHT that we have instinctively turned, and never in vain.

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I propose, as the subject of this Presidential Address, to discuss briefly the place and possible value of the *Mishnah* in the field of Palestinian research.

There is scarcely need to argue that a great Palestinian document like the Mishnah, compiled in Palestine, describing life and civilization in Palestine, expressly intended to preserve details of religion,

mode of life and government in Palestine during the 1st and 2nd centuries of our era, and even during· earlier. centuries—there is scarcely need to argue that such a document should be consulted by those who seek to unveil the past of Palestine. It always has been so used and consulted.

But, at the same time, it has generally been considered an inaccessible tool, to be waved about mysteriously by a remoter type of specialist, a tool which the non-specialist may only use at his peril. The Mishnah has shared the reputation of the Talmud as a whole and been considered remote, esoteric, impracticable; and not many have been found willing to spend over much time in the study of its supposedly difficult language and crabbed style. It has never been an object of familiar and habitual use—for three reasons: its inaccessibility, the difficulty in its use, and the doubt as to its value. Yet there is a case for including the Mishnah in the same class of documents as the works of Josephus and the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings, and for studying it habitually and systematically with the same critical scrutiny which we find it proper and advantageous to bestow on the *Greek* Palestinian literature.

Let us look at the subject under those three heads: a) the Mishnah's alleged inaccessibility, b) its difficulty in use, and c) the doubt as to its value.

But first, in case there should be some here who are not familiar with the general character of the Mishnah, may I describe it very shortly. It is the document, written in Hebrew, which provides the text to which the Talmud is a huge, miscellaneous commentary. The Mishnah itself is not an unmanageably long work: it is, roughly, two or three times the length of the New Testament. It is in six main divisions and 63 subdivisions, which, between them, cover the laws, customs and traditions which were in force, or which were imagined as being in force, or which were thought of as things which should have been in force, during that period when Jewish religious and national life in Palestine was untrammelled and unrestricted. This collection first began to be deliberately put together soon after the Romans' destruction of the Temple; the collection was worked over and argued over by following generations of Jewish religious leaders, and two or three

times it was systematically overhauled and re-cast, in approximately the years 120 and 160 A.D.; finally, it was very cleverly edited, in the form we have it now, about the year 200. The purpose of this final editing was to present the traditional material in such a form as to leave clear the layers of superimposed argument and opinion which had grown round the earlier collection of laws and customs.

To return now to our three points.

First, the inaccessibility of the Mishnah.

A working knowledge of Old Testament Hebrew is not enough to unlock the Mishnah's contents; and with the decrease these days of those who trouble to learn any Hebrew at all, the Mishnah has either to be translated or left buried in obscurity. About a third of its 63 subdivisions have, in the course of the last three hundred years, been translated into western languages and published as separate fragments. But this fragmentary presentation actually tends to confuse any real understanding of the Mishnah: it obscures the very systematic quality of the whole, and it does not sufficiently familiarize the reader with the Mishnah's method: and until the reader can grasp the Mishnah's method he can never estimate aright the Mishnah's value.

In 1698 the Dutchman Surenhusius brought together existing translations, filled up the blanks, and published the complete Mishnah in Latin in six folio volumes; and in 1760 a complete German version was published by Johann Jacob Rabe in six volumes quarto. These two versions (cumbersome and rare though they are) have been the only complete versions available for the non-specialist during the last two centuries.

The past generation has seen an improvement. Some years ago a complete German translation of the Babylonian Talmud became available, and still earlier there was published a French translation of the Palestinian Talmud; both of these, of course, included the Mishnah—though hardly in a form which made it easy of access, to say nothing of the excessive cost. Then, since 1912, steady but extremely slow progress has been made with the "Giessen Edition" of the Mishnah (the work of German Protestant scholars); this now includes 24 of the 63 subdivisions; it threatens to take at least ten more years to complete, and its cost is not likely to be less than

forty pounds, or 3,200 francs. Last summer the "Sammter-Hoffmann Edition" (the work of orthodox Jewish scholars) was finished, forty-six years after the appearance of the first part! For those who look for the Hebrew text, a moderately full commentary, and a German translation, this is the best existing edition; though this again is costly (approximately ten pounds sterling, or 800 francs). Finally, a month ago, the Oxford University Press published a complete English text in one volume with a slender commentary. This edition has the advantages of being complete, of having a full index, and costing only 18 shillings, or 72 francs.

To a certain extent, therefore, inaccessibility, as an obstacle to the use and study of the Mishnah by the non-Rabbinic specialist, is being overcome.

The second obstacle which we mentioned was the difficulty in use. By this I mean the danger (of which warning examples are innumerable) always lying in wait for those who draw haphazard and uncritically from the Mishnah's statements for illustrative matter or contemporary information, when such hoped-for help is wrongly expected or else wrongly interpreted. To take one familiar example: there is that voluminous literature on the subject of the trial narratives in the Gospels, turning mainly on a comparison of the procedure as described in the New Testament, and the legal procedure as laid down in minute detail in the Mishnah. Both Gentile and Jewish writers have rushed in and argued about the legality or illegality of the Gospel trial, taking for granted the validity of the Mishnah's material as a description of historical usage in the early part of the 1st century. Only a more exact understanding of the method underlying the Mishnah-compilation can lead to any worth-while result and enable us to decide what elements in the Mishnah-tradition can be relied upon for any particular purpose.

It is the characteristic of the Mishnah to record law and custom and specific episodes sometimes, so to speak, on their own merits, in their own right; and sometimes as being correct or incorrect only in so far as they conform with early, written legislation in the Pentateuch. This can be most confusing. A reader is often at a loss to know whether he is learning about historic usage, or whether he is merely listening to an academic reconstruction of the past based on a theory which never was applied in real life;

the reader is at a loss to know whether he is learning about what
once took place or about what certain Jewish teachers believed
ought to have taken place. That is on the debit side. On the credit
side, the reader has to bear in mind that much of the apparently
academic application of Scripture, so typical in the Mishnah and
often so wearisome to follow—he has to bear in mind that this
is in reality an attempt, often a very forced and artificial attempt,
to weave a fabric of Scriptual authority around some well-established,
jealously guarded custom which had crept into use some time in
the forgotten past, independently of any rule in the Written Law.
That is to say, the point around which arises the most academic
debate is, in reality, an item of genuine historical use. A typical
example of this is the number "twenty-three" which constituted the
membership of the Sanhedrin.

But it is possible to exaggerate this difficulty. As I have already
said, it can in a measure be solved by familiarity with the Mishnah's
methodology. Yet it is, nevertheless, an ever-present source of
difficulty and danger in the unwary and uncritical use of the Mishnah.

This leads us to the third obstacle which stands in the way of
the familiar and habitual use of the Mishnah—doubt about the *value*
of the Mishnah's evidence.

Let me state this doubt in its most extreme form.

The Mishnah appears to be a purely artificial refurbishing and
restatement of the legal portions of Leviticus, Numbers and
Deuteronomy, in an elaborated form, which never was, and never
could have been, applied in practice; it was drawn up in a language
already long dead, and in a form of the language which had never
any living existence; it is a dry and academic piece of work which
bears clear witness to the mental acuteness of its authors but still
clearer witness to their lack of historical sense and knowledge, their
absence of literary feeling, and their inability to appreciate the plain
sense of Scripture.

That, of course, is the extreme statement of the case. Yet the
interesting point is that this judgement is the one that appeals most
readily on one's first introduction to the contents, language and
method of the Mishnah. The features which strike the newcomer
are precisely that tendency to merely academic completeness, that
indifference to historical reality, that drab and unlovely literary style,

and that outrageous mishandling of the literal sense of Scripture.

Closer acquaintance with the Mishnah's methods, language and contents serves to modify these first impressions. Prejudices and preconceived standards give place to a willingness to let the Mishnah display its material in its own way: we have to take it for what it is and submit to its mannerisms. When, gradually, we succeed in penetrating the difficulties caused by its outward form, its own special emphasis and religious standpoint, there is then a very wide field indeed of Palestinian life revealed to us, sufficient to appeal, directly or indirectly, to a variety of interests—archaeology, folklore, comparative religion, jurisprudence, philology, and even primitive physical science.

Even the Hebrew of the Mishnah, once condemned (and by some still condemned) as nothing but Aramaic translated into an extremely dead and petrified Hebrew—even that will be found to be a form of Hebrew inherently vital. An indirect proof of this is seen in the modern revival of Hebrew: modern Hebrew found itself able to turn into a useable, practical, living speech, capable of growth and adaptability, only when it abandoned its experiments with Biblical Hebrew and the medieval literary forms of the language, and reverted to the Mishnah-stage of the language.

And that, I should say, is characteristic of one's general experience with the Mishnah. There is that very obvious shell of artificiality, varying in thickness and hardness from place to place and from subject to subject; yet there can nearly always be found a satisfying kernel, richly stocked with information about Palestinian life, information quite encyclopedic in some subjects, in others quite embarrassing in its intimacy; sometimes revolting in its dispassionate and almost scientific pursuit of detail, and other times compelling respect by its lofty moral standards.

We have to remember that, whatever its method, the Mishnah's purpose was to be a preservative: however much we may dislike the methods, our task is to discover what has been preserved. What interested the Mishnah's editors does not always interest us: but even in a subject so unpromising at first sight as ceremonial uncleanness, much can be found worth the gathering; for in the course of it we learn about every possible item—furniture, domestic utensils, clothing, architectural detail, even drainage—in the Palestinian

home of the Greco-Roman period; and, in the course of otherwise wearisome accounts of Tithes and Temple-dues, we learn much about contemporary agriculture; and, in the most unlikely places, items of information are forthcoming, sometimes valuable, sometimes merely odd, from the Synagogue liturgy, the lectionary, and Jerusalem topography, to safety inkpots, false teeth, and cures for bunions.

Here I propose to stop. This is a very inadequate and perfunctory talk around the edges of a complicated subject; but my purpose is only a limited one, namely, to suggest the rights of the Mishnah to be included in the regular stock of works which are at the elbow of the student of Palestinian civilization, to point out that the use of the Mishnah is no longer hindered by its inaccessibility, and to hope that the study of it can help in Palestinian research and that, in return, Palestinian research can be utilised to the better understanding of the Mishnah.

PARALIPOMENA PALÆSTINENSIA

E. L. Sukenik

(Jerusalem)

*To President Cyrus Adler
on his seventieth birthday:
magistro discipulus.*

I. THE OLDEST COINS OF JUDÆA

In G. F. Hill's monumental *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*, pp. LXXXVI ff., 181, pl. XIX, 29, a coin alleged to have been found at Gaza is described as follows:

"Obv   Bearded male head right, with the face three-quarters right, wearing crested 'Corinthian' helmet; border of dots.

Rev.   Male divinity (Yahu), bearded, wearing himation leaving upper part of body bare, seated right on a winged wheel; his right is wrapped in his garment; on extended left he holds a hawk; above, יהו; in field right, bald-headed bearded mask left; all in square of cable-pattern in incuse square."

This coin (Pl. I. Fig. 1) has been in the British Museum for a long time and, indeed, was described as early as the year 1814 in a printed catalogue (Taylor Combe, *Coin Catalogue*, Plate XIII, 12), where it is said that it may have been acquired fifty years before.[1] A century elapsed between the appearance of the 1814 catalogue and Hill's Catalogue in 1914. In the interim a number of scholars studied and discussed this coin[2] until the interpretation offered by Hill was arrived at. In 1846 the Duc de Luynes reproduced it in his *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie* (Pl. IV, 4). However, it remained a riddle until Clermont-Ganneau, from whose observant eye no Palestinian monument of any importance had escaped, communicated his interpretation of the type to Professor

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[1] Thomas Taylor, 'The Origin of the Tetragrammaton,' *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIII, 1901, pp. 581 ff.

[2] For a Bibliography see Hill, *op. cit.*, p. LXXXI, note 2.

PERCY GARDNER and to Dr. B. V. HEAD, and twelve years later he repeated it in a lecture at the Collège de France.[1] A series of articles followed. The latest discussion of this complex problem was offered in S. A. COOK's *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, pp. 147 ff., 179.

The difficulty in interpreting this coin centres around the three letters of its inscription. All scholars concerned have read it יהו and with the exception of Dr. GINSBURG,[2] followed CLERMONT-GANNEAU in explaining it as the first three letters of the Tetragrammaton. A confirmation of this theory seemed to have been offered by the Elephantine papyri where the Sacred Name is always written יהו.[3] By comparing our coin with a similar coin from Western Asia, viz., from Tarsus, on which the seated figure of Zeus holding an eagle in his hand is designated on the legend "Baal of Tarsus" (בעלתרז), PILCHER[4] came to the conclusion that the figure on our coin represents a Zeus venerated under the name of "Yahu." Others read it in the same way but explained it differently, by comparing it with the Greek form 'Ιαώ.

Far-reaching conclusions were based on these interpretations. GRESSMANN[5] saw in it evidence of a mixture of Dionysos and Jahveh, a theory which he felt was strengthened by the inclusion on the coin of the mask of a satyr depicted beside the deity, and a winged wheel known from Dionysiac representations. The same winged wheel was interpreted by PILCHER[6] and others as the chariot known from the vision in Ezekiel. COOK[7] would rather consider it as a solar Zeus instead of a Dionysos, and according to him "the coin is a telling illustration of religious syncretism " and it "is a vivid

[1] A. W. HANDS, 'Notes on the Phoenician Drachm bearing the name Jahve,' *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, 1909, pp. 121 ff.

[2] At a meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund, held the 30th November, 1880, Dr. GINSBURG discussed this coin and concluded that it represents the "King Jehu in his carriage" (*Q.St.* 1881, p. 19).

[3] See A. COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*, Oxford, 1923, Index *s.v.*

[4] E. J. PILCHER, 'A coin of Gaza and the Vision of Ezekiel,' *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XXX, 1908, pp. 48 ff.

[5] H. GRESSMANN, 'Die Aufgaben der Wissenschaft des nachbiblischen Judentums,' *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1925, p. 16; also *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament*, 2nd ed., p. 104.   [6] *l.c.*   [7] *op. c.*, p. 184.

object lesson of the way in which the great and well known gods could be brought together—and their individuality obscured."

All this is based on the reading of the third lettter as ו. As a matter of fact it should be read ד. The form of the first two letters proves their Aramaic and non-Phoenician origin. The ה is definitely Aramaic, the י is Judaeo-Aramaic.[1] In this script the third letter could be nothing but a ד.[2] The word, therefore, is to be read יהד.

Until now this coin was supposed to be a unique specimen. I am now able to present here another coin (Fig. 1) of similar character which I recently found in the private collection of Dr. M. Salzberger

Fig. 1.   Fig. 2.

of Jerusalem.[8] This coin differs in many respects from the specimen in the British Museum, but it certainly belongs to the same series of Philisto-Arabian or Egypto-Arabian coins.

It may be described as follows:

Obv.   Bearded male head in profile to the right, wearing a turban-like head-dress.

Rev.   Owl standing to right, facing; a fleur-de-lis shaped flower to the left, and three Old-Hebrew letters to the right.

AR Size: 7.8 mm.

[1] Cf. the י on the inscription at ʿArak el-Emir.

[2] A letter of similar form is found on coins Nos. 26 and 27 in HILL'S *Catalogue* Pl. XIX, in which he reads the letter as a ד. However, he adds a footnote (p. LXXXVIII, n. 2) that the sign may stand also for a *waw*.

[8] I am indebted to Mr. M. Narkiss for first calling my attention to this "Yahu" coin. I am likewise grateful to Dr. Salzberger for placing the coin at my disposal for examination and study, as well as for publication.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

As may be seen on the enlarged photograph[1] (Pl. II, Fig. 2) the three letters clearly present the word יהד. This coin is an imitation of the Athenian tetradrachms where the obverse displays the head of Athena, and the reverse, an owl, an olive twig, and three Greek letters *AΘE*. In our coin the Athena head is replaced by a male head, the olive twig by a fleur-de-lis-shaped flower, and the three Greek letters by the indication of the issuing country יהד.

A third coin apparently belonging to the same series was discovered during the excavations of Beth-Zur.[2] Its description is as follows:[3]

Obv.   Blank.

Rev.   Owl to the right, head en face. To the right five letters, to the left three letters.

The word to the right of the owl was read and explained by the excavators as יחזקיה. *Hezekiah*, who may be "the Jewish Ezekias, a high priest and a friend of Ptolemy I, mentioned by JOSEPHUS, *Contra Apionem* I, 187–189." This reading appears doubtful to me, but I am unable to offer any suitable alternative. Yet the letters to the left of the owl, read by them as יהוה or יהוחנ[ן], suggested to me the elements of the word יהד (Pl. I. Fig 1; Fig. 2).

The Beth-Zur coin is dated by E. T. NEWELL[4] as late fourth century B.C. There is a slight difference of opinion regarding the dating of the British Museum coin. HILL places it in the fourth century B.C.; VALENTIN MÜLLER is inclined to ascribe it to the fifth century B.C.[5] I am inclined to assign the Jerusalem coin to a period between these two dates, probably before the conquest of Alexander the Great.

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[1] Dr. Theodor of the Department of Parasitology of the Hebrew University was kind enough to prepare for me most of the excellent photographs illustrating this article, for which I extend to him my warm thanks.

[2] Cf. O. R. SELLERS and W. F. ALBRIGHT, 'The First Campaign of Excavation at Beth-Zur', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 43, p. 10; ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, 1932, p. 265. I am greatly indebted to Mr. C. Lambert of the Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem, for facilitating in every way the study of this and other coins under his care.

[3] O. R. SELLERS, *The Citadel of Beth-Zur*, Philadelphia 1933, p. 73 f., pl. XIV, No. 9.

[4] SELLERS, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 73.   [5] GRESSMANN, *l. c.*

There are documentary instances showing that the official Aramaic name of the province of Judaea under the Persian rule was Yehud. This designation is recorded in the Books of Daniel and Ezra[1] and is also found in the Elephantine papyri.[2] To be sure, the spelling on the coins and on the above-mentioned documents differs, but the lack of the letter indicating the long vowel has been observed on Palestinian jar-handles of this period as well.[3] These coins, therefore, offer us the earliest preserved specimens of a coinage of Judaea. Since silver could only be coined by satraps, generals, independent communities and dynasts,[4] one may conclude that, at the time these coins were issued, Judaea enjoyed the privileges of an autonomous province.

II. STAMPED JAR-HANDLES OF THE POST-EXILIC AGE

During the excavations carried out in 1908 by SELLIN and WATZINGER at Jericho, thirteen jar-handles were found stamped with two or three letters which were read by the excavators as יה and יהו respectively.[5] SELLIN, who read the legends as being the name of God, ingeniously called attention to the passage in the Book of Zechariah XIV, 21, "Every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holiness unto the Lord of hosts." According to SELLIN, the legends on the vessels would have indicated that the owner belonged to the congregation of Yahwe.

VINCENT[6] and LIDZBARSKI[7] agreed with SELLIN in his reading of the legend, the latter without committing himself to SELLIN's interpretation. LIDZBARSKI in fact objected to the interpretation because the ל of the dative would have been indispensable. Since, however, he read the letters as SELLIN did, he interpreted them as apotropaic invocations of God. I have at all times been in accord with LIDZBARSKI's objection to SELLIN's interpretation, basing the objection on the missing ל. This objection is now strengthened by the

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[1] Daniel 2[25], 5[13], 6[14]; Ezra 5[1,8], 7[14].   [2] COWLEY, op. cit., No. 30, l. 1.
[8] Cf. SUKENIK, 'The "Jerusalem" and the "City" Stamps on Jar Handles,' *JPOS*, vol. XIII, pp. 226 ff. See also the spelling of the name יְהֻד in Joshua 19[45].
[4] EDUARD MEYER, *British Encyclopedia*, s. v. Persia (13th. ed., vol. XXI, p. 209).
[5] SELLIN und WATZINGER, *Jericho*, p. 158 f., 188 f.
[6] *Revue Biblique*, 1910, p. 412.   [7] *Ephemeris*, III, p. 45.

discovery in Samaria[1] and Megiddo[2] of sherds on which the name of God is always preceded by the ל e.g. ליו, ליה, ליהוה. In fact the inscribed vessels in Samaria and Megiddo may be accepted as having held contents dedicated to God or the Temple. However, I could not agree with LIDZBARSKI, since it is not likely that the sacred name would have been stamped on vessels for apotropaic purposes.

After the study of the coins mentioned above, I made an independent examination of SELLIN's photographs and of the originals of similar stamped jar-handles later discovered at Ophel (now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum) and came to the conclusion that the jar stamps should be likewise read יהד.

These jar-handles often have been stamped with a remarkable lack of precision. The last letter, and in some cases, even the last two letters, did not appear on the impression. Moreover, well preserved specimens sometimes show that the engraving consisted of only two letters. On the other hand, perfect specimens (as may be seen on Pl. III, Fig. 1),[3] prove that the correct reading of the word stamped upon them is יהד, the same as on the coins discussed above. A jar-handle with the same inscription (יהד) was found at Gezer in 1908/09 and misinterpreted as יחטר (Q.St., 1909, p. 97, fig. 2) and יפר (Gezer, II, p. 224, fig. 377). A comparison with a jar-handle from Ophel, reproduced on Pl. III, proves that here again we are confronted with the stamp יהד.

Another set of jar-handles inscribed with the same word was discovered at Gezer and on the Ophel-hill. In the past the inscriptions were read as העיר, מבּיה, הירט, עדיה. In the light of the legends on coins and stamps, three of their signs are to be read now as a compound of the word יהד.[4] The fourth sign which appears in

two shapes, i.e. a circle with or without a cross-bar, and therefore reads ט or ע, is to be compared with a similar sign (Pl. III, Fig. 2) written on jars from Elephantine where it invariably follows the word למלך.[1] Whether it represents a degenerate form of a solar disk stamped on old Palestinian jar-handles or some indication of the measurement of the contents of the vessels, is a matter open to discussion.

NOTE.

After this paper was written I again examined Plate XIX in HILL's *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Palestine*. It seems to me that this plate reproduces a few additional coins bearing the legend יהד. Two letters are visible on coins Nos. 1 and 2, which carry on the obverse a janiform head, and on the reverse an owl flanked by two ears of corn. HILL regards these two letters as זה and reads the word as (ע)זה Gaza. But there is no room for the ע between the ear of corn and the first visible letter of the inscription. Therefore the possibility of the two letters being יה should be examined, HILL's ז being really a י and the ד missing on the left side of the coin, being worn away. Coin No. 5 on the same plate appears with more certainty to carry the inscription יהד. On HILL's reproduction of this coin, I am able to trace on the reverse the first and last letters which may be reconstructed as י[ה]ד. Since the reproductions on the plates are too small for minute examination, and the originals are not accessible to me at present, I am unable to draw any definite conclusions. However, I am offering this as a suggestion to those able to make further examination of the original coins.

1 M. LIDZBARSKI, 'Phönizische und Aramäische Krugaufschriften aus Elephantine,' Anhang zu den *Abhandlungen der Königl. Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1912, Berlin 1912, p. 19, pl. VI.

Fig. 1.
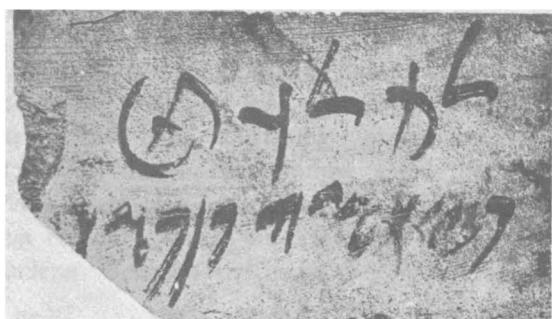
Fig. 2.

EFOD UND TERAFIM

E. Sellin

(Berlin)

Über das altisraelitische *efod* ist in den letzten Jahrzehnten soviel geschrieben, daß man sich fast scheut, das Problem noch einmal wieder aufzunehmen, und wohl auf die Vermutung kommen könnte, daß unsere Quellen überhaupt nicht ausreichen, um zu einem allgemein anerkannten Resultate zu gelangen.

Ich beabsichtige aber auch nicht, zu den mancherlei von anderen wie von mir selbst[1] schon versuchten Deutungen des geheimnisvollen Gegenstandes hier noch eine neue hinzuzufügen, glaube aber, daß man eine auch schon früher geäußerte auf einem bis jetzt m. W. von anderen noch nicht betretenen Wege besser und sicherer als bisher begründen kann.

Da es zwei Stellen in der alten Literatur gibt, in denen das umstrittene Objekt, das *efod,* in engster Verbindung mit dem *terafim* steht Hos. 3[4]; Richt. 17[5] ff, scheint es mir der methodisch richtige Weg zu sein, zu versuchen, von dem *terafim* aus hinter das Geheimnis zu kommen, was es um das vorexilische *efod* an all den Stellen gewesen ist, an denen es sich nicht um das leinene Priesterkleid, das *efod bad,* 1. Sam. 2[18]; 2. Sam. 6[14], handeln kann.

Nun könnte man ja freilich hiergegen einwenden, daß auch die Bedeutung des *terafim* nicht vollständig unbestritten sei. Aber das läßt sich doch mit vollster Bestimmtheit sagen, daß *terafim* eine Bezeichnung von Gottesbildern gewesen sein muß. Die Meinungsverschiedenheit beginnt erst da, wo man geglaubt hat, die Kategorie der *terafim* anderen Gottesbildern gegenüber näher umgrenzen zu können.

In erster Linie hat man bekanntlich geglaubt, an einen Hausgott denken zu müssen, und zwar auf Grund von Gen. 31[19] ff., allenfalls auch Richt. 17[5] ff. Aber es muß doch demgegenüber festgestellt werden, daß in der größeren Anzahl von Stellen, wo uns das Wort begegnet, diese Deutung als viel zu eng begrenzt erscheint, und es

[1] Vgl. Sellin, 'Das altisraelitische Ephod' in *Nöldekefestschrift*, 1906, S. 699 ff; *Geschichte des isr.-jüd. Volkes* I, 1924, S. 134 f; *Alttestamentl. Theologie*, I, 1933, S. 48 f.

sich vielmehr um ein Gottesbild überhaupt handelt, wobei es sich natürlich gelegentlich auch einmal auf einen Hausgott beziehen kann, vgl. Hos. 3[4]; 2. Kön. 23[24]; 1. Sam. 15[23]; Ez. 21[26]; Sach. 10[2].

Eine andere Umgrenzung ist die Deutung auf einen Orakelgott, und in der Tat ist nicht zu leugnen, daß diese Bedeutung in den meisten Fällen zutrifft, nämlich, abgesehen von den meisten der zuletzt genannten Stellen, auch in Richt. 17[5] ff. Andererseits erscheint sie in anderen Stellen, besonders Gen. 31[19] ff; 1. Sam. 19[13] ff. doch auch wieder als zu eng, ganz abgesehen davon, daß die Grenze zwischen Orakelgöttern und solchen Göttern, die dies nicht sind, überhaupt eine verschwimmende ist.

Ist es mithin unmöglich, den *terafim* als Bezeichnung einer besonderen Kategorie von Gottesbildern zu erklären, — auch eine Beschränkung auf ein solches in Menschengestalt, die in 1. Sam. 19[13]ff. offenkundig ist, ist an anderen Stellen unmöglich, mag sie auch meistens das weitaus Wahrscheinlichere sein, — so drängt sich die Erklärung von J. Löw ('Teraphim', *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes* X, 1896, S. 136; *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 73, 1929, S. 314), der auch L. KÖHLER (*RGC*[2] 1931) zugestimmt hat — vgl. auch LODS, *Israel*, 1930, S. 500 — zweifellos als die beste auf, daß das Wort Original überhaupt nicht Bezeichnung irgendeiner besonderen Art von Gottesbildern gewesen ist, sondern eine sog. Kakophonie, ein Spottwort an Stelle des ursprünglich allgemein üblichen Wortes für „Gottesbild" *elohim* (daher auch der Plural) wie *schiqquzim*, *gillulim*, *elilim*. Mit Recht verweist Löw darauf, daß die Besitzer der Gottesbilder selbst immer *elohaj* sagen Gen. 31[30]; Richt. 18[24]; während die Erzähler dies Wort nicht in den Mund nehmen, sondern dafür *terafim* gebrauchen. Aus der Mischnasprache ist ersichtlich, daß dies Wort (vgl. *turpa = pudendum*) etwa Schandbild bedeutet haben kann, wie es auch schon BUXTORF erklären wollte, falls es nicht mit *raphah*, *schwach sein*, zusammenhängt und etwa den *ohnmächtigen* bedeutet (vgl. *elilim*).

Ich habe nun bereits selbst (*Alttest. Theol.* I, S. 48) darauf hingewiesen, daß wir noch fast mit Sicherheit die Entstehungszeit dieses Sprachgebrauches nachweisen können, nämlich die Zeit der Propheten Hosea und Jesaja. Jener verbietet geradezu die bis dahin übliche Bezeichnung der Jahwebilder als *elohim* 8[6]; 14[4]; und ver-

wendet dafür Spottbezeichnungen wie *'azabbim* oder *'ez* $4^{12\cdot17}$: 8^4;
10^6; 13^2 und eben in 3^4 *terafim* wie Jesaja *elilim* 2^8ff. In 2. Kön. 23^{24}
stehen daher *terafim, gillulim* und *schiqquzim* neben einander. Nur
in einigen älteren Texten ist das *elohim* als Bezeichnung eines Jahwe-
bildes stehen geblieben, vermutlich, weil man es anders deutete,
(teils als *Götze,* teils als *Richter* oder *Priester*), Ex. 21^6; 22^7; 32^1;
$34^{17\cdot1}$. Sonst hat man es hinfort nur noch da gebraucht, wo es sich
um andere Götter, um Götzenbilder handelte, Gen. 35^4; 1. Kön.
14^9; 1. Chron. 14^{12}; 2. Chron. 25^{14}; wenn man es stellenweise auch
dort durch *'azabbim* oder dergl. ersetzt hat, vgl. 2. Sam. 5^{21} mit
1. Chron. 14^{12}.

Müssen wir also annehmen, daß in Richt. 17^5ff und Hos. 3^4 der
terafim ein Jahwebild bedeutet, — daß sämtliche Jahwebilder nicht
original israelitisch, sondern Imitation von ausländischen, meistens
kanaanäischen Bildern waren, interessiert uns hier nicht, — so ist es
damit sicher bewiesen, daß das beide Male davor stehende und eng
mit ihm verbundene *efod* auf keinen Fall ein wirkliches Bild war,
daß es sich bei diesem vielmehr um ein mit dem Jahwebilde engstens
verbundenes anderweitiges Objekt handelt. Das ist in Richt. 17f
daraus klar ersichtlich, daß im Fortgange der Erzählung nur von
einem, nicht von zwei Gottesbildern die Rede ist $18^{24\cdot31}$, (an letzterer
Stelle hat der Schlußredaktor aus der Parallelquelle für *efod uterafim*
das eine Wort *pesel* eingesetzt, in Vers 27 hat er jene einfach weg-
gestrichen). *Efod,* und *elohim,* bzw. *terafim* zusammen müssen mithin
einen Gegenstand, ein Gottesbild gebildet haben.

Zu genau dem gleichen Schlusse wird man durch Hos. 3^4 geführt.
Hier zeigt der Umstand, daß vor dem *terafim* nicht wie in den beiden
anderen Parallelgliedern des Verses ein *w'en* gesetzt ist, deutlich, daß
efod und *terafim* zwar zwei verschiedene Objekte sind, aber doch
solche, die viel enger miteinander verbunden sind als König und
Oberste, Schlachtopfer und Mazzeben, daß sie wiederum einen Gegen-
stand bilden.

Um welches Objekt es sich aber dann bei dem *efod* handelt,
kann kaum umstritten werden. Wir wissen, daß das *efod bad* in
vorexilischer Zeit ein Gewandstück des amtierenden Priesters war,

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[1] Auch die vielumstrittene Stelle Am. 5^{26} scheint mir einfach so verstanden
werden zu müssen, daß der Grundtext nur lautete: *Und habt ihr getragen das
Zelt eures Königs und euer Gottesbild, das ihr euch gemacht habt?* Alles andere
ist Glosse, vgl. m. Kommentar z. St.

1. Sam. 2[18]; daß das *efod* in nachexilischer Zeit das wichtigste und heiligste Kleidungsstück des Hohenpriesters war, aus kostbarem Material gearbeitet, mit Edelsteinen verziert und seinerseits wiederum als das Wichtigste die Orakeltasche mit den *urim* und *tummim* tragend Ex. 28 vgl. Num. 27[21]. Weiter begegnet uns in einem Zusatz zum Jesajabuch 30[22] das Wort *apuddah* als Bezeichnung eines Gewandes eines goldenen Gußbildes. Endlich bestätigt 2. Kön. 23[7]; daß auch die Israeliten die Sitte, den Götterbildern Kleider umzuhängen, gekannt haben.[1] Es drängt sich danach ohne weiteres der Schluß auf, daß das *efod* in den beiden genannten Stellen nichts anderes war als ein Gewandstück, welches dem Gottesbilde umgelegt wurde, um mit seiner Hilfe Orakel von diesem einzuholen, an welchem eine Tasche saß, die von dem Priester geschüttelt werden konnte.

Ehe wir dazu übergehen zu prüfen, ob sich diese Deutung auch an den anderen Stellen bewährt, in denen der *terafim* nicht auf das *efod* folgt, wollen wir noch auf eine andere Stelle bei Hosea hinweisen, die uns bestätigt, daß dieser Gottesbild und Orakeltasche auf engste miteinander verbunden gekannt hat, es ist 4[12]. Es erscheint mir nach V. b nicht zweifelhaft, daß Hosea hier das *'ez, das Holz* verächtlich braucht an Stelle des im Volksmunde üblichen *scha'al b'elohim* wie er an anderen Stellen *'azabbim* bzw. *terafim* dafür einsetzt vgl. Hab. 2[19]; Jes. 45[20] Die Orakelerteilung seitens dieses erfolgt aber durch den *maqqal* d.i. den Orakel- oder Losstab, der vor dem Bild herausfällt, der mit diesem also ohne weiteres gegeben ist wie sonst die *urim* und *tummim* mit dem *efod*.

Überblickt man nun die sämtlichen Stellen, an denen uns in den vorexilischen Quellen das *efod* begegnet, welches nicht das Priestergewand sein kann,[2] nämlich Richt. 8[27]; 1. Sam. 14[8.18] (LXX); 21[10]; 22[18]; 23[6.9]; 1. Kön. 2[26]; (text. em.,) so ergibt sich, daß das Wort jedenfalls überall da auftaucht, wo es sich um ein mittels Schütteln der Efodtasche Orakel spendendes Gottesbild handelt (vgl. zur Sache auch Ez. 21[26]; wo man frei übersetzen kann: *durch Schütteln der Pfeile befragt er den terafim*). Ist das bei 1. Sam. 14[8.18.36]ff; 23[6.9]; 30[7]; 1. Kön. 2[26] ohne weiteres deutlich, so wird

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1 In Am. 5[26] ist wohl von einem über das Bild gespannten Baldachin die Rede.

2 Um von anderen Gründen hierfür wie den 1700 Seqeln des Gideon, dem *achare* in Nob 1. Sam. 21[10] u. dergl. abzusehen, nennen wie hier nur die mit diesem *efod* verbundenen Prädikate *hizzig, nasa, higgisch.*

man auch bei Richt. 8²⁷a durch V. b: *Und ganz Israel hurte hinter
ihm dort her und so wurde es dem Gideon und seinem Hause zum
Fallstrick* unter Heranziehung von Hos. 4¹² als Parallelstelle darauf
geführt, daß wenigstens der Verfasser dieses Satzes die Handlung
Gideons in V.a als Sünde beurteilt hat, weil er durch die Aufstellung
des *efod* seine Volksgenossen zu Einholung von Orakeln bei einem
Gottesbild, das für jenen wie für Hosea ein Götze ist, verführt habe,
vgl. Deut. 21¹⁰; Lev. 20⁵ und Deut. 7¹⁶; Ex. 23³³. Und ebenso
muß sich das *efod* von 1. Sam. 21¹⁰ schon nach 22¹⁰·¹³; ganz ab-
gesehen von 23⁶ff usw., auf ein Orakel spendendes Gottesbild beziehen.

Aber eine schwer zu beantwortende Frage erhebt sich dann:
Wie kommt es, daß in diesen 9 Stellen immer nur vom *efod* geredet
wird, nicht, wie wir nach Richt. 17⁵ff., Hos. 3⁴, oestimmt erwarten
müßten, von *efod und elohim* bzw. *terafim*? Darauf lassen sich drei
Antworten geben.

1) Es ist möglich, daß man sich schon in alter Zeit daran gewöhnt
hatte, statt des etwas umständlichen *efod welohim* auch einfach *efod*
zu sagen, und dies umso leichter, weil dieses bei der Orakeleinholung
das eigentliche Medium der Handlung des Priesters war vgl. 1. Sam.
28⁶. Es läge dann eine dem Hebräischen auch sonst geläufige
Synekdoche vor (pars pro toto), wie sie uns z.B. auch in dem *urim*
1. Sam. 28⁶; Num. 27²¹ statt des eigentlichen *urim watummim* begegnet
vgl. E<small>D</small>. K<small>ÖNIG</small>, *Lehrgebäude* III, S. 57ff; so z. B. G<small>ESENIUS</small>-B<small>UHL</small>,
Hebräisches Lexikon.

2) Es ist möglich, daß an allen diesen Stellen ursprünglich *elohim*
statt des *efod* gestanden hat, und daß jenes aus demselben Motive,
aus dem seit dem 8. Jahrhundert für *elohim terafim* usw. gesagt
wurde, durch das harmlose *efod* ersetzt wurde, weil man also die
Benutzung von Jahwebildern für Sünde hielt und nicht wollte, daß
fromme Helden wie Gideon und David und Priester wie Achijjah,
Achimelek und Ebjatar bloßgestellt und belastet würden.[1] Man
hielt sich zu dieser Änderung für berechtigt, da man wußte, daß
efod und *elohim* einst aufs engste zusammengehörten und beide bei
der Orakeleinholung ihre Rolle gespielt hatten. Die Annahme von

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[1] Der *terafim* von 1. Sam. 19¹⁸ff wurde auf Rechnung der Michal geschrieben
den Labans von Gen. 31¹⁹ff betrachtete man als von Jaqob 35²ff beseitigt. Den
Kult des Micha in Jud. 17f wollte man diffamieren; das aber war bei dem eines
David ausgeschlossen.

solchen späteren Änderungen aus dogmatischen Gründen wird gerade bei diesen Stellen prinzipiell als berechtigt dadurch erwiesen, daß, während die LXX in 1. Sam. 14[18] das ältere *efod* noch liest, MT hier wie in 1. Kön. 2[26] ein *aron haelohim* bzw. *adonaj Jahwe* dafür eingesetzt hat, beide Male, weil das dem *nasa* nachfolgende *liphne Israel* bzw. *liphne David* die an den anderen Stellen entfernt mögliche Umdeutung auf das Priesterkleid direkt unmöglich machte.

Es ist aber noch ein spezieller Grund vorhanden, der gerade in 1. Sam. 14 die Annahme einer solchen nachträglichen Korrektur nahelegt. In V. 36 ist an Stelle des jetzigen Textes נִקְרְבָה zweifellos, indem das נ als Dittographie des vorausgehenden zu streichen ist, zu lesen: קָרְבָה (vgl. Ps. 69[19]) d.i.: *tritt hierher heran zu dem elohim* vgl. den parallelen Befehl in V. 38, auch Ex. 22[7] und 3[5]. Der überlieferte Text: *wir wollen hierher zu dem elohim treten* ist unmöglich; er würde einen inneren Widerspruch enthalten, da der Priester selbstverständlich sich an der Stelle des *hier* d.i. an der Stelle des Gottesbildes befindet, also nicht mit *wir* sprechen kann. Dann aber steht dies *elohim* an der Stelle des *efod* von V. 3 und 18, d.h. aber, dem Korrigenten ist diese Stelle nur, weil er sie anders deutete, entgangen. So können wir es als höchst wahrscheinlich bezeichnen, daß auch in V. 3 und 18 ursprünglich *elohim* gestanden hat; zu V. 18 vgl. auch Ex. 32[11]; Am. 5[26] (siehe oben).

Daß dieselbe Annahme auch in Richt. 8[27]a sehr viel für sich hat, läßt sich nicht leugnen. Vers b ist, wie allgemein anerkannt ist, ein späterer Zusatz zu der alten Quelle, aber er macht es wieder sehr wahrscheinlich, daß sein Verfasser in dieser noch *elohim* und noch nicht *efod* vorgefunden hat, vgl. zu dem Ausdruck *hinter jemandem herhuren* Deut. 21[10]; Lev. 20[5] und zu dem *Fallstrick* Deut. 7[16]; Ex. 23[33]. Die Änderung in *efod* hätten wir daher erst nach diesem, vermutlich deuteronomistischen Zusatz anzunehmen. Auch MOORE (*Richtercommentar*) und ELHORST (*ZAW* 1910 S. 259ff) traten dafür ein, daß hier ursprünglich *elohim* gestanden habe.

Wahrscheinlich ist endlich auch aus 1. Sam. 22[10.13.15], wo ursprünglich überall *haelohim* stand (vgl. LXX; auch Hos. 4[12]; Ez. 21[26]; desgl. Richt. 18[5]), der Schluß zu ziehen, daß auch in 21[10] an Stelle des jetzigen *haefod* ursprünglich ein *haelohim* stand. In der Rede des Doeg bzw. Saul konnte der Korrigent den ursprünglichen Ausdruck stehen lassen, weil man ihn hier bei der Lesung *b'elohim*

auch anders deuten konnte, nämlich als *Gott befragen,* weswegen
MT in Vers 10 sogar den Text in *bᵉjahweh* geändert hat.

3) Es ist möglich, daß in allen oder wenigstens einigen der
besprochenen Stellen ursprünglich genau wie in Richt. 17⁵ff; Hos.
3⁴ ein *efod wᵉelohim* bzw. *uterafim* gestanden hat, und daß letzteres
später wiederum, um nicht die frommen Männer der Vorzeit zu
belasten, einfach überall weggestrichen ist.

Eine definitive Entscheidung zwischen den drei genannten Möglich-
keiten kann man kaum treffen; wir halten die zweite für die wahr-
scheinlichste. Es ist aber auch denkbar, daß garnicht alle Stellen in
der gleichen Weise zu erklären sind, daß bei einigen von ihnen diese,
bei anderen jene Erklärung ihre Berechtigung hat. Doch in jedem
Falle hat es sich in allen diesen Stellen um Orakeleinholungen
gehandelt, die mittels des *efod* bei einem Gottesbilde herbeigeführt
wurden. Die Form, in der sich das vollzog, wird uns in 1. Sam.
14³⁴ᵇ⁻⁴² (LXX) dankenswert eingehend geschildert (MT hat hier
freilich — aus Unkenntnis oder Absicht? — starke Verwirrung an-
gerichtet). Wir betonen nur noch, daß allem Anschein nach der
Laie die Frage stellte, der Priester aber die Lostasche schüttelte
(14¹⁹f), woraus sich der Ausdruck *den Gott für jemanden befragen*
22¹⁰ff genügend erklärt. Auch darauf sei noch aufmerksam gemacht,
daß offenbar, nachdem der Priester feierlich aufgefordert hatte: *tritt
herzu zu dem elohim,* der das Orakel einholende Laie ebenfalls feierlich
seine Frage mit dem: *Jahwe, du Gott Israels* eröffnete 14⁴¹ (LXX); 23¹¹.

Es bleibt nun noch die letzte Frage übrig: Wann ist aus dem
Gottesgewand das priesterliche Orakelgewand geworden, wie es uns
in der nachexilischen Zeit entgegentritt, wenn auch hier als aus-
schließlich für den Hohenpriester reserviert? Ex. 28 usw. Aus allem
bis jetzt Gefundenen ergibt sich im allgemeinen die Antwort:
Seitdem man in Übereinstimmung mit den oben genannten Schrift-
propheten es ablehnte, Orakel von Jahwebildern einzuholen. Wollte
man nun auf das Orakel nicht überhaupt verzichten — und dagegen
wird sich trotz allen Vordringens des Nebiismus zunächst natürlich
die Priesterschaft wie das Volk aufs stärkste aufgelehnt haben vgl.
Prov. 16³³—, so war es das denkbar Nächstliegende, daß sich der
Priester selbst bei der Gottesbefragung das Orakelgewand mit der
Lostasche umlegte, war er doch bereits seit alters bei seinen sonstigen
amtlichen Funktionen mit dem *efod bad* umgürtet. Der Zeitpunkt

des offiziellen Verschwindens des *efod* als des Gewandes eines Jahwebildes — von gelegentlichen späteren Ausnahmen zeugt Jes. 30[22] — würde also etwa der Ausgang des 8. Jahrhunderts, das amtliche Verdikt des Hisqia über die Bilder sein. Das Deuteronomium hat es daher nicht mehr nötig, die Anfertigung von *efod* und *terafim* zu verbieten; es ignoriert aber auch schon das technische priesterliche Orakel überhaupt und erkennt nur noch ein Medium der Offenbarung des göttlichen Wortes an, den Propheten 18[9-22]. Speziell in Jerusalem, wo die Lade stand, aber kein Jahwebild, wird der Zeitpunkt für das Verschwinden der Orakeleinholung beim Bilde schon viel früher, vielleicht schon in den letzten Jahren Davids anzunehmen sein, wenn auch 2. Kön. 23[24] davon zeugt, daß Rückfälle stattgefunden haben.

Die Sitte, daß der Priester sich selbst das Orakelgewand umgürtete, kann aber eine noch beträchtlich längere Vorgeschichte gehabt haben. Nach dem Mosessegen, der vielleicht der ausgehenden Richterzeit, spätestens der Jerobeams I. entstammt, haben die Leviten *urim* und *tummim* als die ihnen zustehenden Insignien betrachtet: *Gib Levi deine tummim und urim dem Manne deiner Huld*, Deut. 33[8]; d. h., der Levistamm muß das Anlegen des Orakelefod, welches eigentlich Jahwe gehörte (vgl. das *deine*), als seine Prärogative seit der mosaischen Ära angesehen haben, die ihm allerdings nach Vers 11 neben anderen Ansprüchen von anderer Seite kräftig bestritten wurden. Er beanspruchte dies aber nach Ex. 32[29] gerade, weil er einst die Bilderdiener niedergemetzelt hatte. Dasselbe dürfte aus 1. Sam. 2[28] folgen: *Ich habe ihn mir erwählt aus allen Stämmen Israels zum Priester, — das efod vor mir zu tragen*. Cod. Vat. und LXX Lucians lesen das *l'phanaj* allerdings nicht, aber es wird durch 2[18] gestützt vgl. Num. 27[21]; und die Streichung erklärt sich leicht durch beabsichtigte Angleichung an 1. Sam. 14[8]; 22[18], wo umgekehrt MT durch Einfügung eines *bad* angeglichen hat, welches LXX nicht liest.

Wie daher in all den Erzählungen, in denen die heilige Lade auftaucht, die Verbindung von *efod und elohim* bzw. *terafim* verschwindet, so kann auch sonst schon lange vor Hisqia bald hie bald da, wo Leviten als Orakelpriester amtierten, es üblich gewesen sein, daß sie, die daher auch noch der späteren Zeit als der *mal'ak Jahwe* gelten, Mal. 2[7] vgl. Richt. 5[23] (?), bei der heiligen Handlung

sich selbst den Überrock der Gottheit anlegten und die Lostasche
vor der eigenen Brust schüttelten, während da, wo ein Gottesbild
vorhanden war, der Priester seine Hand an die vor der Brust dieses
befindliche Tasche legte und sie in Bewegung setzte (daher der
Befehl Sauls: *Ziehe deine Hand zurück* 1. Sam. 14[19]). Es ist möglich,
daß die erste Sitte tatsächlich schon bis auf Mose zurückgeht, während
in den ersten Jahrhunderten nach der Einwanderung in Kanaan
im Zusammenhang mit der starken allgemeinen Inflation kanaanäischer
Gottesbilder in den Jahwekult die zweite Sitte zeitweilig die Ober-
herrschaft erlangte — wir kennen dies Gottesbild mit dem um-
gehängten bzw. übergezogenen Gewande in Ophra, Dan und Nob —,
bis sie durch den Kampf der Propheten gegen die Gottesbilder
allmählich verschwand. Darüber, wo und wie man in den Heilig-
tümern, die kein Gottesbild besaßen, das heilige Orakelkleid auf-
bewahrt hat, erfahren wir nichts, man wird aber vermutlich an eine
Stange oder einen Pfahl im Adyton denken müssen, über die es
gehängt war, solange der Priester kein Orakel erteilte.

   Absichtlich haben wir es im Vorstehenden ganz vermieden, näher
auf die Gestalt des *efod* einzugehen (ob ein Brustgewand, eine Weste
oder, was mir immer noch das Wahrscheinlichste ist, nach ägyptischem
Muster ein Lendenschurz mit über die Schultern laufenden Gurten,
die sich über dem Nacken begegneten, an denen die Tasche saß?
(Vgl. d. arab.-syr. *paddan* Joch). Daß manche Einzelheit in der
Schilderung von Ex. 28 Ergebnis späterer Umgestaltung und besonders
der ausschließlichen Zuspitzung auf den Hohenpriester ist, ist selbst-
verständlich. Aber als ebenso gewiß erscheint es — man denke an
die Zähigkeit im Bewahren alter Kulttrachten —, daß prinzipiell
das *efod* (im Unterschied vom *efod bad*) zu allen Zeiten dasselbe
gewesen ist, nämlich ein zu göttlichen Entscheidungen angelegter
Überwurf, primär der der Gottheit selbst,[1] sekundär bald der eines
Gottesbildes, bald der des im Namen der Gottheit Orakel erteilenden
Priesters.

   Ich glaube, daß diese ja auch schon von anderen, wenigstens
ähnlich geäußerte Annahme durch unsere Untersuchung eine neue
kräftige Stütze erhalten hat.

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   [1] Zu dem sonstigen Gewande der Gottheit vgl. Jes. 6[2]; 59[17]; 63[1ff]; Ps. 104[2];
Ez. 9[2]; 28[18]; Dan. 7[11]; 10[5f]; 12[6f]; Apoc. 1[18ff].

A NEW EGYPTIAN SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA

S. Yeivin

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Dr. George A. Reisner, well known in the history of Palestinian archaeology by his excavations at Samaria during the years 1908–1910,[1] published—in the last issue of the *ÄZ*[2]—a further instalment of the documentary records found by him in the excavations of the Gebel Barkal (Nubia) complex of sanctuaries.

This instalment deals with a stele of Thothmes III (ca. 1501–1447 B.C.) found in a mutilated state in the temple of Tirhaqa (ca. 689–664 B.C.).[3] The stele was apparently first erected in a temple of the XVIIIth dynasty, probably built by Thothmes III (some distance away from the later temple of Tirhaqa), and was removed to Tirhaqa's temple apparently by the latter Pharaoh, who may have intended to re-use it, though this was never accomplished.[4]

According to Reisner[5] the stele is 173 cms. high, 97 cms. wide and ca. 15 cms. thick. The lower right hand corner has been broken away. As the fracture is badly worn and very ancient, Reisner surmises that the stele was probably broken before Tirhaqa's time. It seems, however, plausible that it may have been broken in the transit, which fact would explain why Tirhaqa—having once removed it to his temple—failed to re-use its back for an inscription of his own. The wear of the top, sides and the edges of the break may have been caused during the removal.

The inscription engraved on the stele is the usual piece of

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[1] G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher & D. G. Lyon, *The Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–1910*, Cambridge, 1924.   [2] *ÄZ 69–1*, pp. 24–39.

[3] The author has already published a preliminary notice on this stele in the B(ulletin of the) J(ewish) P(alestine) E(xploration) S(ociety) *1–3*, pp. 18–20. The stele is referred to in this article as the G(ebel) B(arkal) stele.

[4] *ÄZ 69–1*, p. 24. Similar re-uses are not uncommon in Egypt. The classical example is the so-called Israel stele of Merenptah (now in the Cairo Museum) engraved on the back of a stele of Amenophis III.   [5] *Ibidem*, p. 24.

self-laudatory recital characteristic of such monuments. At the same time it contains several points of interest for the historian of the ancient Near East.

Part of the inscription is devoted to the tale of Pharaoh's mighty deeds in the conquest of his Asiatic Empire, and in this part lies the direct interest to Palestinian archaeology.

I am giving this part of the inscription (ll. 8–25) in Dr. REISNER's translation with minor emendations. Where I venture to adopt a different reading or interpretation, the reasons are stated in the foot-notes.

"(l. 8)... A King is he, valiant as *Mntw*; who seizes, but from whom it is not seized;[6] who trampled (l. 9) all rebellious (foreign) lands; while there was none to save them in *that* (pronoun used expresses contempt) land of *Nhrn*,[7] which its Lord had deserted for fear (of me).[8] I laid waste his cities and his tribes,[9] I burned them with fire,[10] My Majesty turned them into places which had never been settled. I carried off as booty all their people, led away as living captives,[11] together with their (l. 10) numberless herds,

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[6] REISNER: "who takes, but from whom no one takes." [ ] indicates reconstructions of mutilated or missing parts of the inscription, while ( ) denotes words which have been added in the translation—though not in the Egyptian text—to complete the meaning or explain too concise idioms.

[7] *Nhrn*, the biblical אֲרַם-נַהֲרַיִם, is now proved beyond doubt to be identical with the state of Mitanni (see below, p. 219), embracing the territory of the upper courses of the Tigris and Euphrates, down to the latter's tributary the Ḥābōr.

[8] *n šnḏ*; REISNER translates "in fear"; but in Egyptian a state (of body or mind) is expressed by the particle *m*, while the particle *n* employed here gives the reason or cause. The king of Mitanni deserted his country, *because* he was afraid to fight Thothmes.

[9] REISNER explains the word *tribes* as "country-side," which in this particular passage seems hardly likely. The contrast expressed here is between the *cities* (*nyw.t.f*), which symbolize the settled, agricultural population, and *tribes* (*whyw.t.f*), the nomadic or semi-nomadic population, mainly dependent on stock-breeding. The contrast implied by REISNER between the city and country-side, which means industrial versus agricultural population, is of a much later date. One must remember that the ancient city, with very few exceptions, was also mainly agricultural, like the large villages of the modern Near East. See also note 104 below.

[10] *dy.n.y šḏ.t ym.šn*, REISNER: "I spread fire among them."

[11] *sqr ʿnḫ*, always denotes the enslaved prisoners of war, as contrasted with those of the enemy slain in battle.

and their chattels likewise. I plundered their food-stuffs, I pulled out their grain; I cut down all their orchards, all their fruit-trees. Their districts became . . . . . [12] (?). My Majesty destroyed it (the land of *Nhrn*?);[13] it became a grass-plain (?)[14] (l. 11) . . . . , which (grows) no trees.

"Now, My Majesty crossed over (by sea) to the northern limits of *sty.t* (the Asianic domains of Egypt, here the limits are the banks of the Euphrates). I caused to be constructed numerous *ḥʿ*-boats of the cedar of the mountains of God's land (followed by the determinative of 'foreign land,' here the Lebanon) in the neighbour- hood of the Mistress of Gebal. They were put on carts,[15] oxen drew them (i. e. the carts). They went (l. 12) before My Majesty in order to cross *that* (contemptuous pronoun used) great stream, which flows between this land (meaning the Egyptian domain: Syria) and *Nhrn*.

"A King is he, who is to be glorified on account of his two arms in battle,[16] who crossed the great *pḥr*[17] in pursuit of him (i. e. the king of *Nhrn*), who attacked him (i. e. Pharaoh), at the head of his armies (i. e. Pharaoh's armies), in order to search after *that* (contemptuous pronoun used) miserable fallen one (l. 13) [of]

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[12] *wn.śn n dnf (?).* The word *dnf* or *dn.f* (*f* as possessive pronoun) is unknown. The unlikely combination *ndnf* or *ndn.f* is also unknown.

[13] It seems unlikely that *św* refers to *w.w.śn*, as this word would have required a plural pronoun (and has it in the verb *wn.śn* !). The only noun, then, to which this pronoun (*św*) can be referred, is *t3 pf* in l. 9 above.

[14] The word *dkw* is unknown (it does not figure in the *Wörterbuch*). I would suggest a withered, grassy plain, dry and lifeless most of the year, but producing green grass after the rainy season, like the Hebrew עֲרָבָה ; cf. Is. 33[9]; 40[8] ; and many others, in which the contrast between the well watered plains cultivable all the year round and the עֲרָבָה is very plainly illustrated.

[15] Though elsewhere the word *wrr.yt* always means chariot, it must be translated here cart, as, in this case, it represents a vehicle used for the transport of heavy goods drawn by oxen.

[16] Meaning: on account of the mighty deeds, which he executed with his own hands; probably referring to the large number of foes whom he slew, or to his unerring aim in shooting or throwing spears, or the like.

[17] The verb *pḥr* means to turn back, to turn round. This form here is a participle (pres. imperf.) meaning "He who is turning back" and denotes the Euphrates, the great river, which flows backwards, i. e. southwards, as against the river—the Nile—which flows northwards. See also note 20 below.

Mitanni.[18]   Lo, he fled before His Majesty to another land. a distant place, for fear (of His Majesty).[19].

"Then My Majesty set up a stele on *that* (contemptuous pronoun used) mountain of *Nhrn*, which (i. e. the stele) was carved in the rock on the right side of the great *phr*.[20]

"I have no opponent in the Southern Lands; (l. 14) the Northern Lands come bowing to my power. Rē it is who ordained it for me. I have bound all that His Eye (i. e. the horizon) encompasses. He has given me the Earth in its length and in its width.[21]   I have tied into a sheaf the Nine Bows,[22] the Islands that are in the

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[18]   Reisner reconstructs: [*m*] *ḫ3š.wt Mtn*, in the (foreign) lands of Mitanni. This reconstruction seems hardly likely from the photograph of the stele. Perhaps it is permissible to suggest *n n3 (n?)*, of the . . . There is also another difficulty in the way of accepting Reisner's reconstruction; the particle *m* would imply that the king of *Nhrn* fled to a foreign country (Mitanni), whereas from l. 12 we know that Mitanni and *Nhrn* are identical.   [19]   See note 8 above.

[20]   See note 17 above. The question is, on which bank of the Euphrates was the stele carved? The context does not mean on the western side as Reisner translates, for this would be expressed by *r* or *ḥr ymn.tt. Gš ymn.ty* means the right side (or bank), which, if taken literally, would come to the same thing, as the right bank of the Euphrates is the western bank. However, seeing that the Euphrates was a *phr* river, would not the banks be interchangeable, too? i. e. seeing that the Egyptian orientation on the Nile was facing upstream, would not they face the same way up the Euphrates, in which case the right hand bank would be the eastern bank? From the Annals (see *Urk.* IV, p. 697) we know that Thothmes's stele was erected on the eastern bank, and here, too, the erection of the stele is described immediately after the account of the crossing of the Euphrates (ll. 12—13). It might be noted, by the way, that Sethe's reconstruction of the text of the Annals (*Urk.* IV, p. 697, l. 4) . . . [*r y*]*bt.y mw pn* . . . is probably correct, but his reason for such a reconstruction (with the omission of *gš*, *ibid.*, note b) is not quite adequate, as our text here states quite simply *ḥr gš ymn.ty phr wr*, without the genitive exponent before the *phr*. Breasted reconstructs this part of the Annals differently (see *Ancient Records of Egypt II*, p. 202, § 478; also *History of Egypt*,[1] p. 303 & *CAH II*, p. 77) and claims that Thothmes III erected two stelae, one east of the Euphrates, and another west of it, near the stele of Thothmes I. But there is no evidence whatsoever for such a reconstruction. The present passage cannot be quoted as strengthening evidence, for is it likely at all that Thothmes having erected two stelae—one east and one west of the Euphrates—would proceed to mention the western one, passing over the eastern one in silence?

[21]   Cf. the Hebrew expression לְאָרְכָּהּ וּלְרָחְבָּהּ (Gen. 13[17] and elsewhere).

[22]   The traditional enemies of Egypt, which in remote pre-history must have represented nine real tribes who used archery as their main weapon.

midst of the Great Green (i. e. the sea, here the Mediterranean),[23] the Northern Isles (i. e. Aegean Archipelago), the rebellious (foreign) lands.[24]

"I drew nigh (l. 15) unto Egypt, travelling southwards,[25] after I had put to the sword the great *Nhrn*.[26] My fear[27] was in the mouths of the Bedawīn, who closed their strongholds on account of it, without coming forth because of their fear of the Bull.[28]

"A king is he, mighty of arm, the excellent fortress of his armies,[29]

[23] Cf. the Hebrew אִיֵּי־הַיָּם.

[24] Should this passage: I have no opponent . . . etc. be taken as a quotation from the inscription on the stele erected east of the Euphrates? If so, one misses the usual introductory *r dd*.

[25] On the return journey to Egypt.

[26] Read: *rdy.n.y ḫpš [n] Nhrn ᶜȝ.t*. It is also possible to put a full stop after *Nhrn*, and read the word *ᶜȝ.t* with the following word *ḥry.t*. The translation would then be: "I put to the sword *Nhrn*. Great was my fear . . ." On the whole this alternative seems preferable.

[27] The following passage does not seem to be concerned with the deeds of the king of *Nhrn* as REISNER's translation implies. He translates: ". . . *Nhrn,* whose terror was great in the mouth of the Bedawīn . . ." It seems more likely that on his return journey Thothmes chastised the Bedawīn of the Sinai peninsula, who may have been harrassing Egyptian convoys during the campaign. One would, therefore, like to read *ḥry.t.[y]*, my fear, i. e. the fear of Thothmes. It is possibly that the craftsman, who chiselled out the hieroglyphic inscription on the stele, misread his hieratic text, and instead of chiselling the sign of the man (A. H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 435, sign A–1), reading *y*, has engraved the sign of the three plural strokes (*op. cit.*, p. 519, sign Z–2). The two could be easily confused in cursive hieratic (G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie II*, signs 33b and 561, 1st. col.).

[28] On REISNER's interpretation "the Bull" would signify the king of *Nhrn*. It seems hardly likely that Thothmes, who always speaks of his antagonist in the most contemptuous terms as *ḫrw pf ḥsy*, would give him here, describing events on the very frontier of Egypt, this grand title. It is much more likely that the reference is to Thothmes himself, part of whose titulary was *kȝ nḫt ḫᶜ m wȝś.t* (the strong Bull appearing, or rising, in Thebes). This *epitheton* of *kȝ nḫt* became a fixed part of the titulary of all pharaohs since Thothmes I (with the sole exception of *Ḥȝtšpś.wt*, who was a woman), while the word *kȝ* (Bull) itself occurs already in the titulary of Amenophis I. This is another argument against REISNER's interpretation of the passage.

[29] The king watches so much over the safety and welfare of his troops, that he is likened to a fortress, within the walls of which they can find refuge. The expression is one of the stock phrases; cf. *Hymns to Sesostris III, Hymn I, l. 19* (I do not have here the original edition of these papyri, so the quotation is given from ERMAN-BLACKMAN, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 135, l. 8 from above). Cf. also Jer. 1[18/19].

the iron wall (l. 16) [of his people?]. He attacks every land' with his sword, without there being millions of men behind him,[30] throwing to attain his aim every time he stretches forth his hand;[31] his arrows[32] do not miss; mighty of arm, whose like does not exist; *Mnṯw*, valiant on the battle field.

"Now, another occasion of victory, which Rē ordained for me. He repeated for me a great deed of valour (l. 17) at the lake of *Niyy*.[33]

[30] REISNER: "protecting him." The literal meaning of this Egyptian preposition (*ḥȝ.f*) is behind him, i. e. following him. I should like to suggest that the word is to be read *ḥȝ.f* and not *ḥȝ ybf* as REISNER reads. What REISNER took for *yb* seems to be the *tp* sign (A. H. GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 442, sign D—1) followed by the single stroke. This sign is a very common determinative of the preposition *ḥȝ*—behind (for the form of this *tp* sign in the G. B. stele cf ll. 19 & 20).

In both renderings the meaning comes to the same : Pharaoh attacks his foes all alone, single handed. It is possible that a subtle hint is implied : with this prowess should be contrasted the cowardly behaviour of his opponents, who put all their trust in numbers (cf., e. g., l. 19 of the inscription).

[31] Literally: "he who throws in order to attain." REISNER translates: "a sure marksman every time he shoots," but the expression for shooting arrows is *sty m mdd* and not *wdy r mdd* as here. It seems that the verb *wdy*, to throw, would imply a reference to a javelin, or a spear, or a lance or the like ; consequently, the following phrase is a parallel thought, as translated here, and not a relative clause ("whose arrows do not miss"), as in REISNER's translation.

[32] The lack of *f* in the hieroglyphic transcription in *ÄZ* 69—1, p. 30 is probably due to a misprint, as the *f* is very plain on pl. IV.

[33] REISNER reads: "*whm.n.f n.y qn.t ʿȝ.t [m] myṯš (?) n nyy* = He repeated for me a great deed of valour [at] the watering-place (?) of Niy." This reading necessitates: a) the interpolation of a first *m* supposedly missed out by the engraver on account of the following *m*, b) the acceptance of a new word *myṯš*, of a totally unknown etymology and a very strange spelling. However, on a close examination of the photographic reproduction on pl. IV, it becomes quite clear that the sign transcribed by REISNER as *ṯš* (A. H. GARDINER, *op.. cit.*, p. 493, sign S—24), is not that, but the channel sign *mr* (*op. cit.*, p. 479, sign N—36), which is not to be read here, being a mere determinative in this case. The reading is, therefore, "*whm.n.f n.y qn.t ʿȝ.t m ym n nyy* = he repeated for me . . . at the *lake* of Niya." This reading involves no interpolation of supposedly missing particles, and turns the totally unknown word *myṯš* into the well known *ym*, a word borrowed by the N. E. from the Canaanite-Hebrew. That *ym* need not necessarily mean sea, but may also designate an inland lake, is proved not only by the Hebrew use of the word (יַם-סוּמְכִי, יַם-כִּנְרוֹת, יַם-הַמֶּלַח etc.), but also by Egyptian use, for the name *Fayyûm* is nothing but the Bohairic pronunciation of the N. E. *pȝ ym* = the (province) of the lake. For various

He caused me to meet[34] troops of elephants; My Majesty fought them, namely a herd of 120 elephants. Never had the like been done by (any) king since (the time of the) Gods,[35] who received the White Crown. I have narrated these (things) without boasting on account of them, without there being (l. 18) a lie in (my recital). I have achieved this according to that which ordained for me my father Amon-Rē, Lord of Karnak, Who leads My Majesty on .the good road by means of His excellent plans. He has united for me (i. e. under my sway) the Black Land (i. e. Egypt) and the Red Land (i. e. the foreign provinces). All that *Ytn* (i. e. the sun) encompasses is in my grasp.

"Now I shall repeat to you, hear ye, O people! (l. 19) He ordained

spellings of the word *ym*, with determinatives similar to those appearing in this inscription, see *Wörterbuch I*, p. 78 (right hand column).

According to the *Wörterbuch I*, p. *16 (containing references to p. 78, 11) the earliest so far known appearance of the word *ym* is in *Amarna VI*, pl. 25, l. 18. In this example the Prayer of Ay the spelling is exactly identical with the spelling of the word here (signs M—17—twice, N—35—three ripples, N—36, N—21, and Z—1 of GARDINER's list). It is true that in the Prayer of Ay the word is preceded by the definite article *pȝ*, which does not figure here. This example of the G. B. stele antedates the Prayer of Ay by at least eighty years. The fact, however, need not cause any surprise. Words borrowed from the Canaanite abound in Thothmes's inscriptions (cf., e. g., *ȝbr*, אַבִּיר, *Urk. IV*, p. 663 and my note in קְשׁוֹנֵנוּ *III*. pp. 29—30; *yšp.t*, אַשְׁפָּה, M. BURCHARDT, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen II*, No. 137, p. 8; *mrkb.t*, מֶרְכָּבָה, *ibid.*, No. 482, p. 26; *rhd.t*, רַחַט, *Urk. IV*, p. 666 and my note in *ibid.*, pp. 33—34; *dd.t*, דּוּד, *Urk. IV*, p. 631 & 666 and my note *ibid.*, pp. 31—33; and many others), while the forthcoming advent of the N. E. is felt already in various syntactical changes in the inscriptions of the period.

The description of the site, where the elephant-hunt took place, given in the biography of Amonemhab (*Urk. IV*, p. 894, l. 2), does not argue against the interpretation proposed above, as *mw* may mean any watersheet. For a detailed discussion of the event see below, pp. 218 foll.

[34] *yr.r.y*, I have made for, reached; here it means "he caused me to reach the haunts of the elephants." This, of course, is a well known device of all hunters to lie in ambush at the watering place of game.

[35] It seems probable that the sign of the plural has been omitted after the word *ntr*. The emended text should read: "*dr ntr.w pȝ.yw šsp hd.t*" = since (the time of) the Gods, who received the White Crown." The reference would be to the time when the Gods ruled in Egypt, which they did, according to Egyptian mythology, before the beginning of the human dynasties. This emendation would obviate the necessity of supposing an. unwritten repetition of the phrase "(by any of),"—see *ÄZ 69-1*, p. 31, l. 2 from the top.

for me[36]—in my first campaign—the land of *Rtnw* (i. e. Palestine and SE. Syria), (the people of which) came to contend with my Majesty with millions of men, hundreds of thousands of notables of every (foreign) land standing on their "pairs" (i. e. chariots drawn by pairs of horses) to the number of 330 chieftains (i. e. the petty kinglets of the small city-states of Palestine and Syria), every one of them at the head of his army.[37]

"Lo, they were in the valley of *Qyn*,[38] encamped (l. 20) indeed in a trap (?).[39] An occasion of success happened to me with them.[40] My Majesty attacked them, and they fled immediately falling in heaps of slain.

They took refuge in (lit. entered) Megiddo. My Majesty besieged them[41] for a period of nearly[42] seven months, without

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[36] *wḏ.n.f n.y*, also he bequeathed to me. Cf. the double meaning of the Hebrew צִוָּה לִי: he ordered me, commanded me, hence commanded (in his will, that it be given) to me, bequeathed to me.

[37] Every petty king, who joined the confederacy headed by the king of Qedeš on the Orontes, brought his contingent of soldiers. Many were no doubt vassal chieftains, whose domains formed parts of larger states (see my article in צִיּוֹן IV, pp. 1—13) and who were forced, *volens-nolens*, to join the fight.

[38] The brook *Qyn* = *Wādī Lejjūn* to-day, a tributary of the Kishon, rises in the hills south of Megiddo, but is mainly fed by the springs round the mound of Megiddo. This name is undoubtedly connected with חֶבֶר הַקֵּינִי. Whether the brook took its name from the Qeynite clan settled in the neighbourhood, or *vice versa*, still remains to be ascertained.

[39] The word itself (*gwз.y*) is not known, but it must be from the root *gwз*, to draw in the strings of a fishing net, hence 'net, trap.'

[40] REISNER: "(and) I had a great success among them." However this translation involves the announcement of the result of the battle before the beginning of the description thereof (cf. the following sentence *hd.n št ḥm.y . . .*). It seems to me that the sentence in question belongs not to the following part of the narrative describing the result of the battle, but to the preceding part; it emphasizes the logical result of the unfavourable camping ground chosen by the enemy: they made a bad choice, they were in a trap, consequently this was Thothmes's luck, his occasion of success. See the detailed discussion below, pp. 209 ff.

[41] *ddḥ.n št ḥm.y*, My Majesty closed them in, shut them off. Cf. Sanherib's very descriptive phrase in speaking of the siege of Jerusalem: "himself (i. e. Hezekiah) like a caged bird I shut up in Jerusalem, his royal city" (D. D. LUCKENBILL, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II, p. 120).

[42] Though the word *ḥn.ty*, "period, time," is very frequently determined with the sign *wз* (A. H. GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 478, sign N—31); but seeing the particle *r* following here, which is an unusual turn of phrase with the following designation of the period, it seems likely that the determinative *wз* is to be

their issuing (l. 21) forth to humble[43] themselves before My Majesty, saying: 'Give us Thy breath, O our Lord, never again will the inhabitants of the (foreign) land of *Rṯnw* return to rebellion!'[44]

"Then (i. e. at the end of this period), *that* (contemptuous pronoun used) fallen one,[45] together with the chieftains who were with him, sent out to My Majesty all their (l. 22) children[46] bearing numerous gifts of gold and silver, all their horses which were with them,[47] their large chariots of gold and silver[48] and those

read here: *ḥn.ty wȝ r ȝbd.w* 7 = a period of time nearly seven months long. For the expression *mȝ r* cf. *Urk. IV*, pp. 649, l. 16 and 650, l. 2.

[43] *ś.nmḥ*, does mean to beseech, as REISNER translates; however, the original meaning of the root is connected with humility, humbleness. Thus, *nmḥ*, means a humble man; thence the causative, to make oneself humble; consequently, to petition, to beseech.

[44] REISNER's translation of the passage is perfectly correct, but his interpretation inserted in brackets, "i. e. until they came forth," seems to me beside the point. What the text means is exactly what it says: Thothmes besieged the city for seven months, *without* their coming out to surrender, i. e. seven months passed and during all this time they did not come to ask for mercy; now, at the end of this period of time they did come, and the coming is described in the following passage beginning with *ʿḥ.ʿn rdy.n ḥrw pf* etc. The surrender at the end of this time may have been caused by the shortage of food (hardly of water, as they had the hidden springs and the rainy season was nigh). However, it may have also been due to another cause: the advent of the rainy season made it clear that the ally of Megiddo, the King of Qedeš, could not send a relief-force till the following spring, which meant the prolongation of the siege 5—6 more months. For that length of time the city apparently did not possess enough food, seeing that Thothmes harvested their fields in order to replenish his own supplies (*Urk. IV*, p. 667).

[45] The implication is that this refers to the king of Qedeš on the Orontes, since he is everywhere referred to as the chief of the confederacy. However, we know from other sources that he escaped from the besieged city before its surrender, together with several of his allies. This, therefore, must really be referred to the king of Megiddo. See also below, p. 228.

[46] The word is probably to be reconstructed *mś-[ś]-ś-w*-determinative of man and woman plus the plural strokes-*ś-n*. Seeing the determinative one should assume that the word refers to "subjects" rather than to actual princes. The subjects of a king would be considered his *children*, just as the king is considered the *father* of his people and city.

[47] REISNER: "all their horses and that which belonged to them"; this possessive relation, however, would be expressed not by the particle *ḥnʿ*, but by the phrase *yḥw.t yry(t?)*. On the suggestion put forward here the preposition *ḥnʿ* refers back to the chieftains; either it is a clipped form instead of *ḥnʿ.śn* (and so it must be

that were painted, all their leather-cuirasses,[49] their bows, (l. 23) their arrows all, their arms of wood (i. e. spear-shafts, javelins, throw-sticks etc.), with which they came from afar to do battle against My Majesty. Lo, they (i. e. the kinglets and their courtiers, who sent the people or the princes: see note 46) were standing on their walls (i. e. the city-walls of Megiddo) doing obeisance (or: giving praise?) to My Majesty, seeking that the breath of life be given unto them.[50]

"(l. 24) Then My Majesty caused them to swear an oath,[51] saying: 'We shall not return to evil (deeds) against (or: under the rule of?) *Mn-ḫpr-rᶜ*, may He live for ever, our Lord, as long as we live, for we have beheld His clemency,[52] when He gave us breath (of life) of His free will.[53] It is his father (l. 25) who did this,

considered even on Reisner's interpretation, as the resumptive pronoun is lacking in any case), or it is an early use of the N. E. form *ḥnᶜ.w*, in which *w* stands for *śn*.

[48] Literally: gold upon silver. Cf. the similar Hebrew use of עַל, with, plus, e. g. Ezek. 7²⁶.

[49] Reisner: "all their battle-armour." The determinative, however, makes it quite clear that leather-cuirasses are intended.

[50] The king's pardon restores them to the life forfeited as conquered enemies. Hence, by asking for the kings mercy, they are seeking that the breath of life be restored to them.

[51] According to the *Wörterbuch* s.v. *ś.dfȝ* this expression occurs only in N. E., while s. v. *try* it is further limited to the dynasties 19/20. Consequently, this stele contains the earliest occurrence of this phrase. For a parallel case see also note 33 above. It becomes more and more obvious that N. E. (both syntax and vocabulary) began even its official career long before it became the standard official language towards the *el-ᶜAmārna* period.

As to the expression itself, the combination with the verb *ś.dfȝ* (equip, supply with food or with food offerings) suggests some sort of an oath taken over a sacrifice, cf. the narrative in Gen. 15⁹⁻²¹ (בְּרִית בֵּין הַבְּתָרִים) and *ibid.*, 21¹⁸⁻³⁰. At the same time the presence of the *byn* bird (the evil bird) as a determinative suggests that the oath contained also evil curses invoked on the head of that party should attempt to break the pact sealed by the oath.

[52] It seems preferable here to translate thus the word *bȝ.w*, which elsewhere means glory, might. For the quality reflected in the pardon granted to the city is clemency, forbearance rather than glory or might. The latter qualities would not have been impeached even had Thothmes chosen to sack Megiddo after its surrender.

[53] ... *mȝ.n.n bȝ.w.f rdy.n.f n.n ṯȝ.w r mrr.f* is rendered by Reisner "... we have seen his glory. Let him give us breath as he wishes." It is rather doubtful whether *śdm.n.f* may be used to express a wish (optative, except in

(namely) Amon-Rē, Lord of Karnak, not indeed the arm[54] of Man!

"Then My Majesty caused that there be given to them the road to their cities (i. e. allowed them to depart to their city-states), and they all went away (riding) on donkeys,[55] for I seized their chariot-horses and carried away the citizens serving them (i. e. the troops and servitors attached to the chariotry) to Egypt, and their chattels likewise. . . ."

Here ends that part of the inscription which directly concerns the historian of Palestine and Syria, excluding ll. 27–32 which enumerate the foreign tribute and which are of little new interest.

This part of the inscription reveals some new facts, which either were not included in the first edition of the annals (engraved on the walls of Thothmes's pavilion at Karnak)[56] or were included in the lacunae now existing in the text.

The new facts are: 1. The number of the confederates, 330 (l. 19; see, however, below, pp. 226 foll.); 2. The fact that the Egyptian victory at Megiddo was largely due to faulty strategy on the part of the confederate Palestino-Syrian princes in the choice of their camping ground (l. 20; see also below, pp. 209 foll.); 3. The length of the siege of Megiddo, namely seven months (l. 20); 4. The circumstances and conditions of the surrender (ll. 21–23); 5. The reference to the departure of the pardoned chiefs, which contains a naive and possibly unintentional touch of humour in describing the crestfallen return of the petty kinglets to their respective cities riding on donkeys like simple commoners (l. 25).

The new evidence permits a reconsideration of the circumstances attending the battle of Megiddo.[57]

the case of A. H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 414,3, where the wish is unfulfilled). At any rate it is much more logical and grammatical to see here in the *rdy.n.f* etc. a subordinate temporal clause and translate it accordingly.

[54] The remains of the sign in the photographic reproduction on pl. IV seem to suggest *rmn* (A. H. GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 447, sign D—41) rather than ꜥ (*ibid.*, p. 446, sign D—36).

[55] Cf. this inscription, l. 22 above, in which it is stated that the chieftains sent to Thothmes *all* the horses that they had with them.

[56] *Urk.* VI, pp. 647 foll.

[57] For a full examination of the evidence known heretofore and a detailed discussion of the battle of Megiddo see H. H. NELSON, *The Battle of Megiddo*, Chicago.

We find Thothmes III at *'Yḥm*, wherever it may be, whether at *Ḥirbet Yemma*[58] or at *Tell'-l-'Asāwir*.[59]

The king and his staff are at conference to choose the best road to Megiddo. Three different routes are mentioned: the one, "behold it is excellent for our Lord, it comes out at *Ta'anak*; the other, behold it is on the northern route of *Dfty*, we shall come out to the north of Megiddo."[60] The third route, which Thothmes himself prefers, is the narrow defile leading up through *Wādī 'Arah* and debouching on the valley of Jezreel south of Megiddo at the entrance to *Wādī Lejjūn*.

There is no difference of opinion as to the first alternative route proposed by Thothmes's generals. This is a comparatively broad and straight road, which does not encounter any steep ascents or narrow defiles; it starts from *Baqa* (assuming that *'Yḥm* is at *Ḥirbet Yemma*) or *Wādī 'Arah* (if *'Yḥm* is located at *Tell'-l-'Asāwir*) and, passing by *Kuffin* and *Ferasin*, leads out first to the plain of *Dōthān* and thence, either by a circuitous road (the modern main road to *'Ein Gannīm-Jenīn* or a short pass through *Burqīn*) or by one of the side valleys between *Ya'abid* and *Kefreireh*, it reaches the valley of Jezreel at or near Ta'anak (*Tell Ta'anak*).[61] The third route (via *Wādī 'Arah* and *'rn = Tell 'Arah*)[62] is also well known and generally accepted.

The question is, which was the second alternative route proposed by Thothmes' staff? It has been generally admitted that this route, too, is to be looked for in the mountains north of *Wādī 'Arah*; so that ALT's suggestion,[63] that this road is probably the mountainous track leading from *Tell'-l-'Asāwir* northwards over the Carmel range and descending into the valley of Jezreel near *Tell Qaymūn*, found general acceptance. According to this view there should be somewhere along this track an unidentified mound, the site of *Dfty*, a probably forgotten צֶפָת on the Carmel range.

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[58] DARESSY, *RT. XXI*, p. 33, quoted from H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques I*, p. 171, s.v. *'yḥm*.

[59] ALT in *PJB X*, p. 76. [60] *Urk. IV*, p. 650, inscription ll. 33–35.

[61] See details in ALT, *PJB X*, pp. 76–78. [62] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 79. Even ALT has to confess that: "Schumacher erklärt freilich ihre Steigungsverhältnisse, wenigstens im nördlichen Teil, beim Abstieg nach *tell kēmūn* für nicht sehr günstig" (*ibid.*, p. 79).

This suggestion, however, bristles with difficulties. The first and most serious is topographical. The objection of the generals to Thothmes's choice of *Wādī ʿĀrah* is its extreme narrowness. Is it likely that they would suggest as an alternative a mountainous track still steeper and narrower than the road through *Wādī ʿĀrah?* Secondly, were a narrow pass through the mountains advocated, would not the generals, too, see the · advantage of the shortest and quickest route? Thirdly, the place at which this route leads out into the valley—*Tell Qaymūn*—does not lie north of Megiddo, but NW. of it.[64] Fourthly, is it likely that an obscure *Dfty* would be mentioned identifying the road instead of the large city of *Tell Qaymūn* (the suggested site of *Yoqneʿam*, probably No. 113 in Thothmes's list of conquered city-states: *ʿnqnʿm =* סיר־קנמס = יְקְנְעָם (?)? Finally, there are the strategic considerations. The Egyptian army appearing at *Taʿanak* would cut off one of the main communication routes of the confederates with their base in the N. and NE. even if they failed to capture the town of *Taʿanak* itself immediately; whereas at *Tell Qaymūn* a long siege would leave the confederates at Megiddo free to communicate with whomsoever they pleased.

All these considerations compel one to look for another possible line as the second alternative route proposed by Thothmes's generals. On casting about one notices at the foothills of the Nazareth range, north of Megiddo (across the plain), the village of *Jebāta*, well known in Jewish post-biblical sources as גּוּבְתָא or גּוּפְתָא,[65] corresponding to

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[64] It might be objected that the Egyptians did not make such exact differentiations in their orientation, and the general direction north would also embrace NW. This, however, is not the case: in describing the position of the Egyptian army on the day of the battle, the annalist states that its north wing was stationed NW. (*mḥ.ty ymn.ty*) of Megiddo (*Urk. IV*, p. 657, inscription l. 85); consequently, the Egyptians could, when they cared, indicate finer differentiations of orientation. Again, had north been intended for NW. and indicated the direction of *Tell-Qaymūn*, why was not *Taʿanak* described as lying south of Megiddo, since it lies on the direct continuation of the line *Tell-Qaymūn*, Megiddo?

[65] See עָרוּךְ הַשָּׁלֵם *II*, s. v. גּוּבְתָא, which must be in the vicinity of *Ṣippori*. In some places the spelling is זוּפְתִי, which would account for the Egyptian version *Dfty*, though this spelling is usually identified with the Zāb river in Mesopotamia (*Ar. III*, s. v. זִיפְתִי). For the rendering of a ו in n. pr. l. with an Egyptian *ḏ*, cf. *qdr*, גֶּדֶר and *gdtw*, גֶּדֶה. I prefer this identification of גּוּבְרָא

an early גְּבָת. It is true that the philologic equation is rather strained. גְּבָת should be represented in Egyptian transliteration by *kbt* or *qbt*, or, better still, *kpt*;[66] however, it is possible that some softening of the pronounciation made this *g* sound to Egyptian ears as *j* (ג) and consequently it was transcribed not as *k* (note the usual softening of *g* to *k*!) but as *d̠*, this softening further causing the reduction of the harder *p* (which was already softened from *b*) to *f*.[67] Near this village of *Jebāta* there are two small *tells*, the one, *Tell-š-Šadūd*, just outside the Jewish settlement of Sārīd (this *tell* is usually identified with biblical שָׂרִיד); the other, which appears neither on the maps of the Survey of Western Palestine[68] nor on the German sheets prepared during the War, is still better situated relative to the position north of Megiddo. It is a small mound just outside Nahalāl to the ¡SE. Either of the two could easily be an ancient גְּבָת.[69]

to that mentioned in S. KLEIN, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas*, p. 28, note 5, though it is always possible that this גּוּבְתָא represents some Gubta that is not mentioned in the literary sources. That there were several villages of that name is well known.

[66] Examples of such equations are numerous. The classical example now is *kpn*, גְּבָל, Byblos. Others are Nos. 41 & 114 of Thothmes's list (*Urk.* IV, pp. 781—786), which no doubt contain the element גֶּבַע or Nos. 4, 44, 63, 70 and 93 of the same list, which propably contain the element גַּת; cf. also Nos. 2 (*mkty*, מְכַּי?), 71 (*Mktr*, מִגְדָּל), 80 (*Kr[w]r[w]* גְּדָר ?), 98 (*tpwn*, דִּיבּוֹן?), 103 (*qpwt3*, גִּיבּוֹן ?), 104 (*qdr*, גֶּדֶר).

[67] See note 65 above. It seems that the combination *dp* was unknown in Egyptian. The possibilities were confined to *db* or *df*. The four words given in the *Wörterbuch* V, which show the combination *dp* (*dprm*, צְפִירִים; *dpr.t*, *dph*, *dpq*, of which *dph* is certainly foreign and a corruption of the Canaanite-Hebrew תַּפּוּחַ, elsewhere appearing as *tph* or *dph*), are all N.E. and look like loan-words from foreign languages.

[68] Possibly this is the spot marked near ʿAini-l-Beyḍa as being 414' above sea level. If so, the *tell* is nameless. I failed to find any reference to it in *The Survey of Western Palestine*. For the historical connections of *Jebāta* see *ibid.* I, p. 274, s. v. Jebāta. This village is certainly not the site of the city mentioned in Thothmes's list under No. 41 as the compilers of the *Survey* thought.

[69] The author passed by these two *tells* in a car late in the evening; consequently he could not examine them for surface pottery, but the *tells* bore no traces of superficial ruins, as most late *tells* do. Dr. MAISLER, in a private communication, tells me that after enquiries on the spot he ascertained that this *tell* is known locally as *Tell-Beyḍa*. Also a second mound in the vicinity *Tell-ʿAwarta* comes into consideration.

Which, therefore, is the route that the generals advocated for the Egyptian army in order to emerge into the valley at *Dfty*, which lies north of Megiddo? It seems that the only possible alternative is the coast road. Though very circuitous, it had the advantage of an easy and level passage. It skirted the Carmel range along the shore coming into the plain of Zebulun (or the plain of Acre), where modern Haifa is situated;[70] thence, crossing the shallow estuary of the Kishon, it led due east across the plain to where *Wādī-l-Melek* emerges from the hills, and then by a gentle slope up *Wādī-l-Melek* and turning sharply southward down into the NW bay of the valley of Jezreel, through *'Umm'-l-'Amad* and *Jeydeh* to the neighbourhood of *Jebāta*, where an abundance of springs made the place an ideal camping ground for a comparatively large army.[71]

The strategic advantage of this road is obvious. With the exception of *Dōr* on the sea-coast, which may have already been in Egyptian hands,[72] it avoids all the principal fortresses of the enemy (*Harbaj, el-Hāriṭiyyeh, Tell Qaymūn*, etc.) and leads out to the rear of the enemy by easy and practically level stages. The two crossings of the Kishon, which it involves, presented no difficulties. The brook is extremely shallow near its estuary (the first crossing) owing to sand dunes, at least same of which must have existed at the time; while the re-crossing involved by the march from Gebat to Megiddo would at that time of the year be very easy, since in March-April the Kishon here is almost dry.

It should nevertheless be understood that this identification is not offered as the final solution but is a suggestion put forward as a possible alternative to the theories proposed so far.[73]

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[70] The site of which was not inhabited at the time.

[71] See *Survey of Western Palestine* I, p. 262 foll. on the easy slopes of this district. See also note 68 above. It should also be mentioned here that *Dfty* appears in Thothmes's list as No. 116 in association with Nos. 112–117, all of which cities are situated in the valley of Jezreel, and its immediate neighbours Nos. 113 and 114 are NW. of the valley, while the site of No. 115 (cf. Jud. 7[16]) is unknown. See also ALT in *PJB* X, p. 75, note 2.

[72] It does not figure in Thothmes's list of captured cities. But neither do Gaza or Šaruḥen, which we know to have been Egyptian garrison-towns since at least the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty.

[73] This suggestion has already been put forward by the author briefly in his Hebrew translation of the first part of the Annals of Karnak, see קֹבֶץ הַחֶבְרָה הָעִבְרִית לַחֲקִירַת אֶרֶץ־יִשְׂרָאֵל (*Journal of the JPES*) III, pp. 145 foll.

To return to the council of war held at ꜣ*Yḥm*. Captured Canaanite spies are brought in to strengthen the plea of the Egyptian generals. They, too, report that the road is narrow and well defended by the confederates. In view of the fact that the Egyptians found no opposition at all in the pass,[74] it seems likely that these spies were not accidental prisoners captured by the Egyptian vanguard. It seems probable that they were sent on purpose by the king of Qedeš and his allies to give out false news to the Egyptians in order to prevent their choosing the direct road by *Wādī ꜥĀrah*. The confederates relied so much on the efficacy of this stratagem, that not only did they not trouble to guard the narrow pass, where a small force would have been sufficient to prevent the Egyptians from crossing the Carmel range, but they planted their camp at the Jezreel end of this road, where they were taken in the rear by the Egyptians, who arrived unexpectedly.

We may come now to examine into the situation of the Palestino-Syrian confederates. The Annals give a short note on their positions: . . [*p3.sn*] *dbw rsy m tꜥnk* [*yw p3.sn*] *dbw mḥ.ty m qꜥḥ r*[*sy n t3 yn.t qyn*] . . . "[their] south wing was in *Taꜥanak*, [while their] north wing was in the southern bend [of the valley of *Qyn*]." [75] The G. B. stele supplements this notice with a further explanation: (l. 19) . . . *ys.t s.t m yn.t qyn3 ḥrw r.s m gw3.y*. . . . "Now, they were in the valley of *Qyn*, encamped indeed in a trap (?) . . ." [76]

We see now that the Egyptians were expected either at *Taꜥanak*, where the southern wing of the confederate army was encamped, or else near Megiddo, where the northern wing was in camp. The choice of the camping ground in the southern bend of the valley of *Qyn* shows that the possibility of the Egyptian arrival through the *Wādī ꜥĀrah* pass was not considered by the confederates. If the Egyptian attack was expected either on the SE. (on the road from *Taꜥanak*) or in the north (on the road from Gebat), the choice of the camp for the confederate chariotry was a very happy one. The topography of the place makes it impossible for anybody advancing on Megiddo from any direction (except the *Wādī ꜥĀrah* road) to

[74] *Urk.* IV, p. 653, inscription l. 62.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 653, inscription ll. 62—64, which is another indication that the Egyptians were not expected to choose the mountainous track leading out to *Tell Qaymūn*.   [76] See notes 39 and 40 above.

see the little valley at the emergence of *Wādī Lejjūn* (the brook of *Qyn*) into the plain of Jezreel (or even to suspect its existence), which little valley is completely concealed by the hill of Megiddo. At the same time this valley possesses two exits to the main plain, one along the course of *Wādī Lejjūn* to the east, and the other a side valley skirting the mound of Megiddo on the SW., W. and NW. An army unaware of the presence of a large force to the south of the town, and advancing on Megiddo towards its main gate on the northern slope of the hill, could be easily surprised by flank and rear attacks launched by two columns of chariotry issuing from the two above mentioned exits. This was no doubt the original plan of the Palestino-Syrian confederates.

In this light Thothmes's insistence on choosing the short route through *Wādī ʿĀrah* shows not merely a spirit of military bravado, but excellent generalship. He not only saved his army from flank attacks, but completely turned the tables by taking his adversaries by surprise in the rear.[77]

It is difficult to understand why the Palestino-Syrian confederates did not trouble to change their plans in view of the new situation. The council of war at *ʾYḥm* took place on the 16th of the first month of the summer season in the 23rd year of Thothmes's reign.[78] The march across the pass began on the 19th of the same month,[79] while the battle of Megiddo took place on the 21st of the month.[80] Even allowing that Thothmes did not cross the pass in one day, and, spending the night of the 19th/20th somewhere on the road (at *ʿrn?* about midway between *Tellʾ-l-ʾAsāwir* and the highest point of the pass?), arrived near Megiddo on the 20th, the confederates still had time to withdraw, or to change their plans, for the Egyptian accounts state that Thothmes's guides emerged into the valley at midday,[81] while his camp on the bank of the brook was pitched about an hour later.[82]

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[77] See the G. B. stele, l. 20.

[78] *Urk.* IV, p. 649. This council took place about the 27th of April 1479 B.C. The dates given below are taken from ALT's article in *PJB* X, pp. 53 foll. (see especially p. 60, note 4).   [79] *Urk.* IV, p. 652: about the 30th of April 1479.

[80] *Urk.* IV, p. 657. Ca. the 2nd of May 1479.

[81] *Urk.* IV, p. 655. Ca. the 1st of May 1479.

[82] *Ibid.: yw wnw.t 7 m pḥr m rʿ*, which reckoning from sunrise (at that time of the year) would be about midday to 1 p.m.

Even allowing for the possible indolence of an oriental army, the fact that the confederates did nothing during a long afternoon and a night seems to suggest that they thought the sudden appearance of the Egyptian forces a sort of a blind intended to divert their attention from the movements of the main body of the Egyptian army somewhere else. They were cruelly undeceived next morning when the Egyptians launched their attack on the probably unprepared encampment of the Palestino-Syrian chariotry.[84] The forces of the confederates were in a very unfavourable position: they were cramped for space, their ground was unfavourable for deploying their chariotry and was further obstructed by the rich and vast encampment. The rout was complete.

An unfavourable light is shed on the discipline of the Egyptian army by the fact that the looting of the rich camp diverted the soldiers from the pursuit of the enemy, thus necessitating a long siege. In spite of the detailed description of the wooden circumvallation round Megiddo, the siege could not have been as watchful and complete as the Annals represent it, for the moving spirit of the confederacy—the king of Qedeš and several of his allies—escaped before the surrender of the town. No doubt the watch was chiefly concentrated on the main gate of the town on the north, while the steep southern slope was less carefully watched.[85] It is also possible that the escaping rulers took advantage of the small passage in the SW. sector of the city wall, which (though evidence as to its precise date is still lacking) the excavators[86] believe to have been during the LB period a means of access from the city to the underground spring outside it, at the foot of the hill; the existence of this passage may not have been known to the Egyptians.

Thus the siege continued for seven weary months of the Palestinian summer and autumn. It was not till November of the

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[84] This sudden move may have been concealed by morning mists, as suggested by FISHER (*OIC* No. 4, p. 8), but it is impossible that the confederates knew nothing of the arrival of the Egyptians, since these reached the banks of *Wādi Lejjūn* the previous noon, at a time of day when no mists occur in Palestine during April—May.

[85] As against ALT's view, see *PJB* X, p. 95.

[86] Communication from Mr. P. L. O. GUY, to whose courtesy I owe this paragraph.

same year that Megiddo sued for peace and was granted mercy on condition of renouncing all ideas of opposition to Egyptian rule in the future. Thothmes also received the submission of various king-lets in southern Galilee[87] and as the time of the year was far too advanced for pursuing his military campaign[88] he returned to Egypt laden with tribute.

This new evidence conflicts with some of the older theories about events in the 23rd regnal year of Thothmes. The continuation of the Annals, in which are described the Feasts of Victory and the gifts dedicated to Amon-Rē on those occasions, rather suggests that the king was present at Thebes on the 14th day of some month of the Inundation season of this same regnal year.[89] SETHE and BREASTED have both conclusively shown that this month could only be the second month.[90] It is now as conclusively proved that the partly defaced numeral of the month is to be reconstructed not as 2, but as 4;[91] for the 14th of Paophi falls approximately on the 11th of October; also the 14th of Hathyr, falling on the 10th of November, would clash with the statement that Megiddo was besieged for nearly seven months.[92] The date, then, if Thothmes was to be present at the feast, is to be reconstructed as "month 4

[87] The exact location of the three cities mentioned in this connection (*ynwᶜm, ynwgš* and *ḥrnkr; Urk.* IV, p. 665) is unknown. But the first of these towns is closely associated with *Beth-Šeʾan* in the stele of Seti I (see *MJ* 1929, p. 90, l. 21). Their submission immediately after the fall of Megiddo suggests that they were within easy reach of the latter place. The lateness of the season makes it almost impossible for Thothmes to have proceeded to the Lebanon as BREASTED supposes (*ÄZ* 37, pp. 124 foll.; *AR* II, p. 177; *A History of Egypt*,[1] p. 293; *CAH* II, p. 72).

[88] The peasant levies of Thothmes, too, had to return as quickly as possible to Egypt, if the year's crops were to be cultivated.

[89] *Urk.* IV, p. 742, inscription l. 5.

[90] BREASTED in *ÄZ* 37, p. 126 (he admits, however, that it could be the 3rd month!); SETHE in *Urk.* IV, p. 742, note b.

[91] It is, of course, possible that all these feasts really took place in the 24th year of Thothmes's reign. No campaign is recorded in that year, which can be easily explained by Thothmes's late return the winter before. If so, the reconstruction proposed by SETHE and BREASTED is feasible.

[92] Apart from the fact that the position of the remaining stroke of the numeral makes it almost impossible for the date to be reconstructed as 3, it can only be either 2 or 4 (see *Urk.* IV, p. 742, l. 1 on top).

of the Inundation season, day 14 (?)," which would bring it to about the 10th of December.[93]

On the same ground it would have been absolutely impossible for Thothmes III to go any farther north after the capture of Megiddo. We have already seen that the three cities cited by Breasted as the Tripolis of the Southern Lebanon[94] must be looked for somewhere on the outskirts of southern Galilee and undoubtedly the fortress built by Thothmes that year must have been planted within the same area. As it is expressly stated to have been built "amidst the chieftains of Lebanon,"[95] one can only conclude that in those times the name Lebanon was also applied to the southern outcrop of this range, across the *Līṭānī* (Leontes) in Galilee (both northern and southern).[96]

Other new facts concern the Mitannian campaign. The Annals of Karnak state that Thothmes twice fought the king of *Nhrn*;[97] the first encounter took place in the 33rd year of Thothmes's reign (ca. 1468 B.C.) in his eighth campaign, while the second clash occurred two years later in his tenth campaign (ca. 1466 B.C.).

The passage of the Annals of Karnak dealing with the first *Nhrn* campaign (Thothmes's eighth campaign in Syria) reads as follows:[98] "(l. 19)... Year 33. Lo, His Majesty was in the (foreign) land of *Rtnw* [having reached the district[99] of *Qdnȝ*[100] in his eighth

[93]   Breasted's calculations in *AR* II, p. 177 and other places (see note 87 above) must be corrected accordingly.

[94]   *A History of Egypt,*[1] p. 293.   [95]   *Urk.* IV, p. 739.

[96]   Unless the fortress was also built not in the 23rd but in the 24th year of Thothmes; see note 91 above. It might be of interest to state here that according to Dr. B. Maisler (oral communication) Galilee formed one administrative district together with the southern Lebanon and the region of Damascus under the Egyptian rule.

[97]   The name Mitanni does not occur in the Annals of Karnak. There Thothmes's opponent in Northern Syria is always designated as the king of *Nhrn*. It is only in this G. B. stele that the equation *Nhrn*-Mitanni is expressly stated. See below, p. 218.

[98]   *Urk.* IV, pp. 696–699.

[99]   *w*, district, may be perhaps connected with the Semitic root اوى (for the possible clipping of the originally triliteral root to a uniliteral word see *Archiv Orientální* IV, pp. 72 foll.), to live, inhabit, take refuge.

[100]   Qaṭna, a city well known from various cuneiform records. Now *el-Miš-rife*, NE. of Ḥomṣ (see *Syria* VII, pp. 289 foll.).

campaign of victory. The great *phr* of *Nhrn* (i. e. the Euphrates) was crossed by His Majesty at the head of his armies to the e]ast of this water (course). He set up another one[101] at the side of the stele of his father (l. 20) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt *‹3-ḫpr-k3-r‹* (Thothmes I, ca. 1535–1510 B. C.).[102] Behold, His Majesty went downstream[103] plundering the towns and devastating the

[101] The scribe or the engraver must have missed out the word *wḏy*, stele, before the indefinite adjective *kyy*. Or is *kyy* to be taken here as an indefinite pronoun referring to the following *wḏy*?

BREASTED in his reconstruction of the Annals (*AR* II, p. 201, § 478) takes it that the erection of the stele east of the Euphrates was described in the preceding lacuna. SETHE's reconstruction, however, is more plausible in as much as it takes into account the available space. See *Urk*. IV, p. 646.

[102] The title *father* need not be taken here too literally; it merely refers to his predecessor.

[103] *ḫdy*, which both M. MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, p. 264 and BREASTED, *AR* II, pp. 202, 479 translate *northwards*, means primarily to travel downstream, hence, in Egypt, down the Nile, northwards. In overland journeys and sea voyages it obviously could not mean anything else but to travel north. In this connection, however, when sailing on a river is involved, it is just possible that the verb has its original meaning; the direction of the journey would then be southwards, or rather SE.

The main reason for raising this question is the sequence of events in the Mitannian campaign. Thothmes reaches the Euphrates (probably like every traveller through northern Syria, via Aleppo, somewhere near Meskene), sails on the river, meets and defeats the king of Mittanni, and then sails back. Obviously Thothmes sails from the bend of the Euphrates in that direction in which he expects to meet the king of Mitanni. Now the site of *Waššukkanni*, the capital of Mitanni, whence the king was most likely to come, is not yet fixed. Some scholars place it east of Ḥarrān (so WEIDNER in *MDOG* 58, p. 58), others at the headwaters of the Ḥābōr (*Rāsi-l-‹Ain*, so HROZNÝ in *Ar. Or.* 1929, pp. 95 foll.; near the same place, OPITZ in *ZA* XXXVII, pp. 299 foll.; Tell Fecheria, south of *Rāsi-l-‹Ain*, M. v. OPPENHEIM, *Der Tell Halaf*, pp. 58 foll. Ḥurri, the other suggested capital of a parallel state, is placed by HROZNÝ at ›Urfa, see *Ar. Or.* 1929, pp. 96 foll. and 1931, pp. 281 foll.). In any of these cases the shortest and easiest route from the capital to the valley of the Euphrates, where the road from Aleppo to Meskene joins it, is down the course of the Balīḫ (in the case of ›Urfa and Ḥarrān) or the Ḥābōr (in the case of the neighbourhood of the headwaters of that river). The confluences of both tributaries with the Euphrates lie downstream from Meskene. Consequently, Thothmes on reaching the valley of the Euphrates would have been more likely to sail *downstream* (south) than *north* (upstream).

BREASTED thinks that the battle with the king of *Nhrn* during this eighth campaign is the battle of Karkemish mentioned by Amonemhab in his biography

country-side[104] of *that* (contemptuous pronoun used) fallen ̇ one of *Nhrn* the wretched [105]....... [Then, he (i. e. Pharaoh) sailed[106] (on the river) for miles in pursuit of them. Not one looked (l. 21) behind himself,[107] except those who hastened[108] to give themselves up (as prisoners),[109] (they fled) like a herd of wild animals. Lo,

(*Urk.* IV, p. 891). However this part of Amonemhab's biography seems concerned with his activities under Amenophis II, as the name of Thothmes III is introduced later and is followed by the description of Amonemhab's deeds under the latter monarch in various Palestino-Syrian campaigns. See below, p. 220 foll. See also note 110 below.

[104] *whw.t*, country-side. Though this is a parallel passage to the one translated above (p. 2, l. 9 of the G. B. stele), where the word *whyy.wt.f* was translated "his tribes", it has been thought preferable to translate the same word here as *country-side* because of the determinative. In the G. B. stele the word is determined by the signs of man and woman (A. H. GARDINER, *op. cit.*, pp. 435 and 441, signs, A—1 and B—1), and is correspondingly translated as a collective of human beings, nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes as opposed to the settled townsfolk ; whereas here the determinative is "foreign land" (*ibid.*, 477, sign N—25) and is consequently taken as a topographical term : open settlements, homesteads in the country, as opposed to fortified towns.

[105] The gender of the adjective, apart from its place in the sentence, makes it quite clear that it refers to the state, and not, as usually, to the king.

[106] There is a large break here in the Annals (some 1.75 ms. long; see *Urk.* IV, p. 697, note i—k), which must have originally contained an acconnt of the battle on the Euphrates, the defeat of the Mitannians, and the Egyptian pursuit. Of the verb used in this connection only the temporal and personal suffixes *n.f.* remain. Whether the verb used here was *ḥdy* as reconstructed by SETHE (*ibid.*, l. 11) is questionable (see note 103 above). I should prefer to read [*ḥnty*].*n.f.* he sailed upstream, which would mean that after the defeat the king of Mitanni retreated up the valley of the Euphrates, drawing the Egyptians after him away from the road to his capital *Waššugganni*. See also note 110 below.

[107] This refers to the headlong flight of the enemy, who did not stop to look behind them. See, however, below, p. 217.

[108] *yfd*, to run away, to hasten, is probably connected with the Assyrian *abātu* (in Nif.): Hebrew אָבַד (as in Deut. 26[5], אֲרַמִּי אֹבֵד אָבִי), to flee, to wander. For cases in wnich an Egyptian *f* equals a Semitic *b* see A. EMBER, *Egypto-Semitic Studies*, p. 55, § b.

[109] This clause comes *en parenthèse* for immediately after it is resumed the description of the flight of the enemy.

dwn, means literally to bow down, to stretch oneself on one's abdomen, to make obeisance. *yfd m dwn*, would mean literally: those who hastened in making their obeisance, i. e. those who hastened to give themselves up. In order to do that they had, of course, to turn round and face their pursuers; consequently, they were the only ones who looked behind them.

the chariotry stampeded . . ." After a lacuna of some 2.35 mm. the
narrative is resumed with the account of the booty taken in this
battle, followed by another lacuna, which apparently contained a
description of the devastation wrought by the Egyptian troops on
the east bank of the Euphrates, of which only the last sentence
remains:. "their crops were plucked out."

"His Majesty reached the town (l. 23) of *Niyy*, going upstream[110]
according to the coming of His Majesty (i. e. he returned the way
he came), after he had set up his stele in *Nhrn,* in extending the
frontiers of Egypt. . ."[111]

On comparing this account with lines 8—13 of the G. B. stele,
it becomes at once obvious that the G. B. stele refers to Thothmes's
eighth campaign, on his first encounter with the King of *Nhrn.*

Judging by the fact that two years later the king of *Nhrn* appears
on the northern coast of Syria[112] having gathered "chariots with
their crews . . . from the utmost ends of the earth, numerous were
they more than the sand on (lit. of) the beach,[113] having come afar
to do battle with His Majesty," [114] and judging also by the compara-
tively meagre booty taken by Thothmes III after the battle on the

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[110] *ḫnty* means also to travel south, but as in the case of *ḫdy*, its original
meaning is connected with orientation on the Nile, to travel upstream. It is
preferable to assume that in this case, too, the verb has its original meaning: in
the case of the Euphrates it would actually mean travel northwards. The
arguments in favour of this assumption were stated in notes 103 and 106
above. The location of Niya is discussed below, pp. 218 foll.

[111] Read: *ś.wśḫ.* Here comes a lacuna some 2.75 ms. long, after which
begins the account of the *Rtnw* tribute brought that year. Sethe surmises, and
no doubt quite rightly, that this break contained the narrative of the elephant-hunt.

[112] *Urk.* IV, pp. 709—714. As the starting point of this campaign was not
inland (as in the 8th year), but on the coast (*ḥr dȝhy*), and since no mention
is made of the Euphrates and the district round it, it is probable that the new
encounter took place in the coastal region of northern Syria. The exact location
and identification of the town of *ȝr(ȝ)yn(ȝ)* are unknown. It is, however, to be
remembered that the combination *ȝrn* is very common in Hittite names (it is usually
associated with runing water, thus Orontes), Cf. *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung*
1927, 75 foll. and also in A. REUBENI, שֵׁם, חָם וָיֶפֶת, pp. 138—139. For these as
well as some other references I am indebted to Dr. B. MAISLER.

There is also a second possibility, that the name may have some con-
nection with the divine name *ȝAbeyān,* newly discovered in the *Rās Šamra* epics.
[113] Cf. :וַיֵּצְאוּ הֵם וְכָל־מַחֲנֵיהֶם עִמָּם עַם־רָב כַּחוֹל אֲשֶׁר עַל־שְׂפַת־הַיָּם לָרֹב (*Jos.* 11⁴).
[114] *Urk.* IV, p. 710.

Euphrates in his eighth campaign,[115] it seems very doubtful whether the rout of the *Nhrn* forces was as complete, and their flight as disorderly and headlong, as Thothmes would have us believe.

The G. B. stele seems to throw new light on this episode in pointing out, to the historian who cares to read between the lines, the strategy adopted by the king of *Nhrn*.

The ruler of *Nhrn*, who must have been accustomed to petty skirmishes with the puny chieftains of northern Syria, failed to realize the force of the Egyptian conquest. He must have met the Egyptians with an inadequate army. He was defeated in battle, but not vanquished. Whereupon he adopted the tactics executed some three millennia later by the Russian general Kutusoff at the time of the Napoleonic invasion in 1812. The king of *Nhrn* continued to retire to the northern districts of his kingdom leaving the conqueror to spend his fury in devastating the country. Thus l. 13: "Behold, he fled before His Majesty to another land, a distant place . . . "

That this policy was completely successful we can judge by the results. Thothmes had to abandon the fruitless pursuit and return to Egypt without having accomplished anything east of the Euphrates, except the havoc he seems to have wrought there, and even that may be exaggerated.

Two years later the king of *Nhrn* was making trouble again west of the Euphrates. Though defeated this time, too,[116] he was not annihilated as a factor of trouble in northern Syria, for even seven years later Thothmes (in his 42nd year, i. e. his 16th and last campaign in Syria) had to dislodge and capture Mitannian garrisons as far south as the district round Qedeš on the Orontes.[117]

In fact, it was not till the time of Thothmes' third successor (Amenophis III, ca. 1414–1379 B.C.) that a treaty of good will and mutual support was concluded by the sovereigns of Egypt and Mitanni, whereby the latter acknowledged Egyptian suzerainty over

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[115] *Ibid.*, p. 698. Though the list is incomplete (it is some 2 ms. long in its present state) considerations of space make it very unlikely that it was ever large. To gain some idea of length of similar lists cf., e. g., the list of booty from Megiddo (*Urk.* IV, pp. 663–664), which is over 10 m. long or the list of booty taken at the battle of *Ynrtw* (*Urk.* IV, pp. 690–691), which is just under 4 m. long.   [116] See note 114.   [117] *Urk.* IV, p. 730.

northern Syria up to the Euphrates. And this was not due to any achievements of the Pharaohs, but to the pressure exercised by the Assyrians and Hittites on the eastern and western frontiers of Mitanni, respectively.

Herein lies the second important new contribution of the G. B. stele to the history of the Near East at the time of the Egyptian clash with the Asianic powers.

The fact that the narrative of the *Nhrn* campaign is followed by the account of the elephant-hunting expedition confirms the suggestion put forward by SETHE at the time of his publication of the Annals of Karnak,[118] namely that this expedition, which so far had been known only from the biography of Amonemhab,[119] took place during the eighth campaign.

The full reconstruction of this episode depends largely on the correct identification of Niya.[120] Niya appears in three classes of sources: in Egyptian records of the XVIIIth dynasty, from Thothmes I (ca. 1535–1510 B.C.) till Amenophis II (ca. 1447–1423 B.C.),[121] in the *Tell-l-ʿAmārnah* letters (end of the XVth to beginning of the XIVth centuries B.C.)[122] and in the Hittite annals of Šubbiluliuma (ca. 1400–1360 B.C.).[123]

Let the Egyptian sources be examined first. The earliest is an inscription of Thothmes I dedicating the ivory he brought with him from his Syrian raid. The name Niya is actually mentioned in the surviving portion of the text, but since the text is mainly reconstructed by SETHE[124] it is difficult to place much reliance in the coupling of Niya and *Nhrn* and draw the conclusion that Niya must have actually been situated within the teritory of Mitanni proper. That Mitanni equals *Nhrn* is proved now beyond doubt by the G. B.

[118] *Urk.* IV, p. 699.   [119] *Urk.* IV, pp. 893–894.

[120] So in the cuneiform record of the treaty between Šubbiluliuma of Ḫatti and Mattiuaza of Mitanni ʾ- E. F. WEIDNER, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, p. 11, text l. 30.

[121] The list of documents is fully enumerated in H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographique*, III. p. 72. s. v. *nii*. There is only one more document to be added, the G. B. stele.

[122] H. KNUDTZON, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, pp. 1115 foll.

[123] See note 120 above. There is a wide difference of opinion in fixing the regnal years of Šubbiluliuma. I have adopted here the date given by HOGARTH in *CAH* II, pp. 260 foll.

[124] *Urk.* IV, p. 104, ll. 2–8 and E. NAVILLE, *Deir el-Bahari* III, pl. 80.

stele, in which the two are used interchangeably (cf. l. 9 . . . *m t₃ pf n Nhrn ḥʿy.n nb.f n šnd* = "in that land of *Nhrn* which its Lord has deserted for fear" with ll. 12–13. . . *ḥr ḥḥy ḥrw pf ḥsy [n n₃ n?*¹²⁵] *ḥ₃š.wt Mtn* = "to search for that miserable fallen one of the lands of Mitanni"). The same stele also fixes the boundary of *Nhrn*, which is important for the peresent discussion. ll. 11–12 expressly state: . . . *r d₃ ytr pf ʿ₃ yr r ymywty ḥ₃š.t tn r Nhrn* = "in order to cross that great river which flows between this (foreign) land and *Nhrn*." It is quite clear, therefore, that the boundary between *Nhrn* and Syria was the Euphrates. If, however, one accepts fully SETHE's reconstruction of the document, Niya must be in *Nhrn*, i.e. in the northern plain between the upper courses of the Euphrates and Tigris. At the utmost one could stretch a point and include also the right (western) bank of the Euphrates or its immediate vicinity.

The next Egyptian monument making mention of Niya is the Annals of Karnak (Thothmes III). This district is mentioned in two places: 1) in the account of the eighth campaign, which has been completely analyzed above;¹²⁶ 2) in list C of the conquered territories.¹²⁷ Here, too, it is difficult to draw conclusions, as the immediate neighbours of Niya in this list are all names of places so far unidentified. However SETHE, basing himself on various considerations, suggests that Niya must have been situated east of the Euphrates.¹²⁸

The next document is a badly mutilated stele of Amenophis II,¹²⁹ the only contribution of which to the problem of Niya is the date on which Amenophis entered that city. It seems that he took fourteen days to march from the place where he crossed the Orontes to Niya. Even this, however, is not certain, for the date of the crossing may be a month earlier.¹³⁰ Again, seeing that it is not known where Amenophis crossed the Orontes, and at what speed he travelled, this piece of information is not particularly helpful.¹³¹

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¹²⁵ See Note 28 above. ¹²⁶ See above, pp. 213 foll. ¹²⁷ *Urk.* IV, p. 788.
¹²⁸ *Urk.* IV, pp. 786–788. ¹²⁹· *ÄZ* 17, pp. 55 foll.
¹³⁰ *Ibid.,* p. 56, inscription l. 4, where no numeral seems to appear after the word *₃bd.* It is, therefore, uncertain whether the month referred to is the 1st or the 2nd month of the summer season (*šmw*).
¹³¹ M. MÜLLER's suggestions (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 265–267) concerning the speed of travelling may be quite correct, but they would not help in the solution of the problem.

Next follows the biography of Amonemhab.[132] Here we are told
of Amonemhab's prowess in saving Thothmes III's life during the
historic elephant-hunt. This excerpt, too, is given in full translation
below.[133] It might be added, however, that on the whole Amonemhab
is fairly consistent in his geography. The stories of his captures,
e. g., are all arranged in geographical order: thus, he starts with
the Negeb, mentions the arrival to the frontiers of *Nhrn*,[134] the fight
west of Aleppo, then the battle of Karkemish and the pursuit east
of the Euphrates. His exploits under Thothmes III [135] are also
arranged in geographical order. The first battle mentioned is that
of Sinzar,[136] then follows the capture of Qedeš, next comes a
destroyed name compounded with *phw*, which reminds one of the
district round the bend of the Euphrates (*phw tȝ*). The following
victory is won at the land of *Tḫśy*, at the town of *Mry* ... (or
Mrśw ...?).[137] Though the town is unknown, the district [also
known as (*matu*) *taḫ-śi* of the ʿAmārnah letters,[138] the שׁחֵם of the
Bible—Gen. 22²⁴] is usually placed NW. of Aleppo.[139] The
following episode is the elephant-hunt at Niya, which again seems
to bring us to the neighbourhood of the northern course of the
Euphrates.[140]

The last Egyptian document mentioning Niya is the largely
destroyed Karnak list of cities captured in Palestine and Syria by
Amenophis II.[141] There Niya appears in the following sequence: 1.
Upper(?) *Rṯnw*, 2. Lower(?) *Rṯnw*,[142] 3–11. destroyed. 12. Qedeš, 13.

[132] *Urk.* IV, pp. 890 foll.   [133] See p. 225.

[134] *Urk.* IV, pp. 890–891. It is obvious that with the reign of Amenophis
II the frontier shifted south, for the Egyptian army reaches the frontier of
Nhrn before the battle of the Heights of *wʿn*, west of Aleppo, was fought.

[135] *Urk.* IV, pp. 891–894.

[136] Identified already by M. MÜLLER (*op. cit.*, p. 267) with *Qalʿat Seijār.*

[137] Possibly "the canal (*mry* with this determinative sign N–36 of GAR-
DINER's list) of . . . (name erased)".   [138] *EAT* 189, Rs. 12; and 197, 19.

[139] M. MÜLLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 and 258, also the map at the end of the
volume. See however, KNUDTZON, *EAT*, p. 1112, where WEBER places the district
in the region immediately north of Damascus, without suggesting a definite
identification.

[140] *Urk.* IV, pp. 893–894. The next two episodes take us back to Qedeš,
but they may be chronologically later.

[141] MÜLLER, *Egyptological Researches* I, pls. 54–55.   [142] Or vice-versa;
cf., however, *Urk.* IV, p. 907, in which the same order is observed.

Aleppo, 14. Niya, 15. *Sꜣḏꜣrꜣ*, 16. Tunip, 17. Qaṭna, 18. *Ḥwḏꜣrꜣ*, 19–24. destroyed. The enumeration from 1–14 seems to be definitely proceeding from south to north till it reaches Niya; then it swings back in a southern direction: 15–17. Sinzar(?), Tunip and Qaṭna.[143] The only conclusion again is that Niya was the northernmost outpost of the Egyptian Empire in Asia, in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates.

The two ʿAmārnah letters which mention the name of Niya[144] do not help at all in the identification. On the contrary, they make the question still more confused by suggesting a very intimate connection between Niya and city-states lying in southern Syria: Amurru, Qinza, Qaṭna, Ube, Amqi and others.

There remains the Hittite record of Šubbiluliuma:[145] the text of the treaty between Šubbiluliuma of Ḫatti and Mattiuaza of Mitanni. This pact is prefaced by an historical introduction giving details of the relation of the two states in the past. According to this sketch Šubbiluliuma marched on *Waššugganni* through *Alše* and *Šuta*, which apparently lie at the foothills of the *Ṭūr ʿAbdīn* mountains. The text then continues: l. 27 ... "In order to plunder it, I have reached *Waššugganni*. From the citadel of *Šuta* (l. 28) I have taken oxen, sheep ... (l. 29) but Tušratta the king has gone off. To meet me in battle he did not come. (l. 30) Then I turned back and crossed the Euphrates. The land of *Ḫalpa* and the land of *Mukišḫi*, I have become their lord. Takuwa, the king of *Niya*, came to meet me at the land of *Mukišḫi* to sue for peace ..." Then follows the description of a rebellion in *Niya* and *Araḫti* which was quelled by Šubbiluliuma and the rebels deported. Then follows the account of the conquest of *Qaṭna*, *Nuḫašši*, *Abina* and *Qinza*.

It is easy to see that the various sources of information fall into two groups: the cuneiform group (the ʿAmārnah letters and the Hittite record) and the hieroglyphic group (the various Egyptian monuments).

The first group does not supply any definite evidence as to the location of Niya, but all its documents associate Niya with various states in central and southern Syria: Amurru of the *el-ʿAmārnah* period (in the Lebanon district), Qaṭna (*el-Mišrifeh*, in the neighbourhood

[143] No. 18 is possibly Hazor, which would bring us back to northern Palestine.   [144] *EAT*, pp. 326, 42 and 344, 28.   [145] See note 120 above.

of Ḥoms), Qinza (Qadeš on the Orontes, *Tell Nebī Mind*), Abina (Ube חזוּבָה—in the neighbourhood of Damascus), Nuḫašši (שׁ־מֻ—of the Zakur inscription, which must be in the neighbourhood of Ḥama), Amqi (probably the valley of Coelesyria). Several authorities have, therefore, tried to place Niya in central or southern Syria.[146]

However, the evidence of the second group, the Egyptian documents, is quite decisively against such an identification. All Egyptian documents agree in bringing Niya into the closest connection with the Syro-Mitannian frontier on the Euphrates. Consequently most authorities have agreed until lately in placing this city-state between Aleppo and the Euphrates bend near Meskene.[147]

Now there is a new point in evidence brought out by the G. B. stele: there ought to be a lake in the near neighbourhood. This new evidence excludes the line Aleppo-Meskene. I travelled along this route some years ago and failed to notice any such lake or water-hole.

It is clear, however, that Niya must be if not actually on the banks of the Euphrates at any rate within easy reach of the river—either on its west or east side.[148] It seems probable, therefore, that the town was situated somewhere between Meskene and Birejik. Such a position would also fit the sequence of events given in Šubbiluliuma's record. Šubbiluliuma comes from Asia Minor through

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[146] Thus, CLAUS at *Niḥa* near *Zaḥle* in Coelesyria; DHORME and WEBER between Aleppo and the Euphrates; MASPERO, *Kafr-Nāya*, west of Aleppo; WINCKLER, *Qalʿat il-Muḍīq*, between Ḥama and el-Bāre; all these quoted from *EAT*, p. 1115 foll. See also MAISLER, *Unters. z. alten Gesch. Syr. u. Pal.*, p. 29, where newer materials are mentioned (but no other identifications). See also note 148 below.

[147] *CAH* II, p. 262 (HOGARTH): "It lay on the eastern edge of Syria proper, some way down the right bank of the Euphrates, below Carchemish."

[148] Professor ALBRIGHT, in an oral communication, wishes to associate himself with WINCKLER's identification of Niya with *Qalʿat il-Muḍīq*, the Syrian Apamaea, in the neighbourhood of which lies the יֵם־אַפְמְיָא. According to him this location would agree both with the cuniform evidence, which brings the place in close connection with the south-Syrian states, and the hieroglyphic evidence, which places the town on the Egypto-Mitannian frontier. He thinks that the frontier was actually somewhere in central Syria, while l. 12 of the G. B. stele, which speaks of the Euphrates as the frontier, was merely an Egyptian claim never made good in actual life. I owe to the courtesy of Professor ALBRIGHT the permission to publish this note.

the "Iron Gates" and over a pass across the Amanus range, crosses
the Euphrates apparently near Birejik, and marching along the.
foothills of the *Ṭūr ʿAbdīn* range reaches *Waššugganni*. The king of
Niya, not wishing to commit himself before the results of the struggle
between Šubbiluliuma and Tušratta become evident, keeps to his
own territory. After the taking of *Waššugganni*, Šubbiluliuma marches
down the Balīḫ or the Ḥabōr[149] back to the Euphrates valley and
up that valley to Meskene, whence he strikes out to Aleppo. Now
the king of Niya being surrounded by Ḥittite conquests on all sides
hastens to Mukišḫi (near Aleppo?) to report his submission.

Some additional evidence can perhaps be gathered from Assyrian
elephant hunts. The first Assyrian king who puts on record a
hunting expedition against elephants is Tiglath-pileser I (ca. 1110
B.C.), who states: "Ten mighty bull-elephants I slew in the country
of Ḥarrān and in the district of the river Ḥabōr. Four elephants I
caught alive. Their hides and their tusks together with the live
elephants I brought into my city Assūr."[150] Another king who
hunted elephants was Assūr-nazir-pal II (ca. 885–860 B.C.); but he does
not, unfortunately, say where he hunted them. After this reign the
elephants seem to have disappeared from Hither Asian territory.[151]

It is apparent, therefore, that in Assyrian times elephants were
hunted between the Euphrates and the Ḥabōr, but not in Northern
Syria, west of the Euphrates. It does not. mean conclusively that
there were no elephants in Northern Syria which the Egyptians,
some three hundred and fifty years before the time of Tiglath-
pileser I, could have hunted, but it is a pointer in that direction.

Lastly comes the evidence of the maps. On a map of the district
near the bend of the Euphrates[152] there is, on the left bank of
the river, a Wādī Avij (ʿAwwīj?), which shows remains of an
extensive sheet of water in its middle course. This might well
have been a small lake some 3500 years ago.[153] Some twenty kilo-
metres NW. of this lake and about the same distance north of old
Meskene there is, on the left bank of the Euphrates and in the

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[149]   See note 103 above.

[150]   D. D. LUCKENBILL, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* I, p. 86.

[151]   B. MEISSNER, *Assyrische Jagden*, p. 6.

[152]   *Meskene, édition provisoire Novembre 1925, échelle 1 : 200.000.*

[153]   This watersheet cannot and could not be salty since it has an outlet to
the Euphrates through the dry river bed of the wādī.

river-valley, a row of old *tells*, some of them nameless, any one of which would suit the position of Niya. It is interesting to note that the old name seems to linger in the neighbourhood: two settlements (one on the left and one on the right bank of the Euphrates) are called *ʾAbū Hanāyē*, while another (on the right bank) is called *Tan-Nouyé*.[154]   It seems probable that after a thorough surface exploration of this region, the identity of Niya might be attributed to one or other of these *tells*.

If this surmise is correct, far-reaching conclusions become possible. Would it be too bold to suggest a political move behind this hunting expedition?   One can almost visualize the king of *Nhrn*, harrassed in his retreat by the pursuing Egyptians, reaching Niya, and, before evacuating it, suggesting that the notables of the town persuade Thothmes to remain a few days in the neighbourhood to relieve the retreating Mitannian army from the constant pressure of the pursuers. The district is well known for its big game. The monarch of Egypt allows himself to be persuaded that *ḥrw pf ḥsy n Nhrn* (*that* contemptible foe of *Nhrn*) is such a negligible enemy that the pursuit of his fleeing army need not be allowed to interfere with the truly royal sport.   He consents to stop some days for a hunting expedition. He is guided to the watering place of the elephants at a lake near by. Was there a plot to assassinate Thothmes "by accident"? Certainly the Egyptians knew nothing about the hunting of elephants. Had they known anything about it the king would never have allowed himself to be caught "in the water between two rock-walls."[155]

We can now reconstruct the little episode of the hunt.   The native guides bring Thothmes and his retinue to the lake, the watering place which is the *rendezvous* of all game in the neighbourhood. The shores of the lake are a little precipitous, and the beasts had either used a small dry water-course or trodden out an inclined, narrow pathway running down to the lake. Here would be an excellent place to ambush any game returning after drinking. If the

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154 On a newer edition of this sheet (*Janvier 1933*) the place is marked *Tanouzé*, but the older editions based on Turkish military maps may have the correcter names. On the same newer edition the eastern of the two *Abou-Hanayé* villages has also disappeared, but that may be due to later desertion of the site.

155 *Urk.* IV, p. 894.

guides were told to arrange for the annihilation of the king and his retinue they would have led them into the miniature canyon instead of ambushing the beasts above and shooting arrows or throwing lances at them as they passed. The unsuspecting Egyptians probably went down into the gorge, thus cutting off the retreat of the elephants. Then appeared the herd, led by a large bull elephant, who attacked the hunters blocking the passage with Thothmes at their head. At the first sign of trouble the native guides no doubt fled hurriedly away leaving the king to his fate. His fate would have been certain had it not been for the timely intervention of the general Amonemhab, who tells us: ʿḥʿ.n ššp.n pȝ ȝbw ʿȝ nty ym.šn ʿḥȝ r ḫft ḥm.f ynk šʿd d.t.f yw.f ʿnḫ m bȝḥ ḥm.f yw.y ʿḥʿ.kwy m pȝ mw ym.ywty ynr.wy [Then, the large (bull)-elephant, which was among them, attacked His Majesty. I cut off his hand (undoubtedly: his trunk)—he being alive in front of his Majesty, while I was standing in[156] the water between two rock-(walls)].[157] With the death of the leader the rest of the herd could be easily dealt with. If there was a plot to assassinate Thothmes, and the evidence rather suggests it, it was frustrated.

Three more points of interest deserve special mention. First, great capital has been made of the supposedly lenient treatment meted out by Egyptian overlords to their newly conquered subjects. Various records which seemed to contradict this view were treated as exceptions. Historians have compared the Assyrian and Egyptian records of conquests and quellings of revolts to the disadvantage of the former.[158]

If anything more was necessary to prove the fallacy of this accepted opinion, the G. B. stele supplies it. The full description of the deliberate devastation wrought on the east bank of the Euphrates, the gleeful tone and the joy shown in every line of this elaborate account,[159] contradict any suggestion of clemency towards

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[156] m, literally, means in, but it may be a general indication of place, like the English on, meaning on the edge, near the shore (cf., e. g., such place names as Walton-on-Thames and the like).

[157] See note 140 above.   [158] BREASTED, A History of Egypt[2], p. 292.

[159] Cf. also Urk. IV, p. 729, where a whole string of cities is mentioned with a monotonous repetition of sksk dmy pn (this city was sacked), relieved once by an additional wȝḥ yt.f ḥr šʿd mn.w.f (its grain was plucked out and its fruit-trees cut down). Such notices are by no means exceptional.

the vanquished. If we do not hear about mass impalings and flaying alive of rebellious chiefs—so frequent in Assyrian annals and reliefs—it may be simply because the technique of cruelty had not been carried to such refinement in the XV–XIV centuries B.C. as it was some 700–800 years later. And when one compares the innumerable reliefs of Egyptian pharaohs about to crush the combined heads of rebellious chiefs with ceremonial mace-heads, or when one reads the account of the treatment meted out by Amenophis II to the seven rebellious chiefs,[160] these seem no less inhumane than the Assyrian records.

The second point concerns the question of revised editions of the annals of Thothmes. It is not often that we are able to check accounts of events in two or more official versions published at successive periods. What is known of such re-editing of Assyrian annals has definitely shown that successive editions are apt not only to exaggerate the importance of facts and magnify statistics out of all proportion to reality, but also to recast completely the real course of events, turning crushing defeats into splendid victories.[161] The G. B. stele, engraved according to its heading in the 47th year of Thothmes's reign, twenty-four years after the battle of Megiddo, shows quite definitely a similar tendency. The Annals of Karnak, which must have been engraved piecemeal shortly after the close of each campaign, or at least faithfully copied from such contemporary records, speak of Thothmes's address to his troops at the time of the siege of Megiddo, in which he says: "For it is the capture of a thousand cities, the capture of Megiddo";[162] but at the same time it is nowhere suggested in these annals that this number is not a pure figure of speech. In fact the list of towns captured in the first campaign contains only 119 names.[163] The three parallel lists giving the names of these towns, no doubt every one of them a seat of a puny kinglet, are expressly headed in two cases[164] "The list of the (foreign) countries of Upper *Rtnw*, which His Majesty incarcerated (besieged) in the town of Megiddo

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[160] BREASTED, *A History of Egypt*², p. 325 and *AR* II, § 797.

[161] A. T. OLMSTEAD, *History of Assyria* pp. 579–580. The glossing over of a crushing defeat by a picturesque official account, in which Sanherib is represented raging like a lion or the like, is described *ibidem*, pp. 293–5.

[162] *Urk.* IV, p. 660. [163] *Urk.* IV, pp. 781–786. [164] *Urk.* IV, p. 780.

the wretched, and the children[165] of which he carried off as living captives to the city of *w3s.t* (Thebes)," while in the third case the list is headed[166] "All lands,[167] (to the) northern boundaries of *sty.t* (the Asianic provinces, see above, p. 196), which his Majesty carried off as living captives, and among whom he made great slaughter." The headings do not leave any doubt as to the number of kings besieged in Megiddo, namely 119. One cannot even claim that these lists contain only the kings of those city-states which were actually subdued during the first campaign, not counting those that escaped and were not subdued till later, since the list is headed by Qedeš on the Orontes, which was not captured till several years later, while it also includes the names of Damascus (No. 13) and possibly Beyrouth (No. 19 or 109?), which most probably were not captured till some years later. Nor will another excuse avail, namely that the number 330, given in the G. B. stele, includes all those states which Thothmes ever captured in Palestine and Syria, for the whole list includes at least 359 towns,[168] and Thothmes was not a king to overlook thirty or more cities which could add to his glory. The only conclusion is that the original number of 119 swelled from edition to edition until it reached the convenient number of 330.

There is another pointer in this direction. It is quite evident from the Annals of Karnak that the king of Qedeš escaped from Megiddo during the siege.[169] It would be comprehensible if in a stele, erected in another conquered territory, the author of the inscription should have omitted to state this fact. But not only is this fact passed over in silence, but it is rather implied in l. 21

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[165] The word *h3s.wt* (foreign countries) obviously stands here for rulers (*wr.w*). The word *msy.w* (literally: children) may mean either actually children— princes, or, more plausibly, inhabitants. See also note 46 above.

[166] *Urk.* IV, pp. 780–781. This is the longest list and contains some 359 place-names.   [167] Again countries for kings.

[168] *Urk.* IV, pp. 788–794. It is possible that some place-name were accidentally duplicated. Cf., e. g., Nos. 202 and 216; or 208 and 313 and 333 (?), though it is more likely that these represented synonymous towns in various localities. Thus, בְּאֵרוֹת could be one in Benjamin in Palestine and the other Beyrouth in Syria. We know that Palestine itself had at least four towns called Gath (GES.-BUHL, s. v. גַּת) and six towns called Gibeah (*ibid.*, s. v. גִּבְעָה).

[169] BREASTED, *A History of Egypt*[2], p. 291.

(see above, p. 202) that the king of Qedeš was one of those who surrendered at the capitulation of the city.[170]   And this is not a true report of the course of events.

The third point concerns the literary composition of the stele. The laudatory parts of the inscription seem to follow a vague general formula.   Occasionally verses with parallel halves appear, e. g.:

l. 2. ... *yt.n.y rš.yw ḥr wd̲ k3.f*
         mḥ.tyw ḫft ššm.f ...

l. 3. ... *yr šꜥ.t mnt.yw šlt*
         s.ḥr btn.w nw ḥr.yw-šꜥ
         wꜥf t3.w nw pḥw-t3
         šqr ywn.tyw nw t3-šty.

In certain places one can also notice an attempt to divide the semi-poetical text into verses beginning with parallel phrases. Thus, from l. 4 onwards:

l. 4 ... *nšwt pw* ... followed by seven more or less parallel
         sentences.

l. 7 ... *ḥr pw* ... followed by six shorter sentences.

l. 8 ... *k3 pw* ... followed by four similar sentences.

l. 8 ... *nšwt pw* ... followed by three parallel sentences.

Then follows a prose narrative of the devastation wrought by the Egyptians on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, after which the poetical style is again resumed in l. 12:

l. 12 ... *nšwt šw.t* ... followed by further prose narratives, with a last poetical outburst in l. 15, opening with the now stereotyped

l. 15 ... *nšwt pw* ... followed by four parallel sentences. Then the prose narrative is resumed continuing till the mutilated end of the stele.

It seems that by the XVIIIth dynasty there existed already a stock of standard poetical phrases,[171] on which every scribe could draw when composing a laudatory inscription.   That the author of this G. B. stele was no poet is seen not only in his rather standar-

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[170]   *ḫrw pf ḥsy* without further identification is usually the king of Qedeš. See Annals, *Urk.* IV, p. 663, l. 13. The king of Megiddo is denoted by the addition of *n Mkty* (of Megiddo), so *Urk.* IV, p. 663. l. 15.

[171]   This does not mean, of course, that inspired poetical compositions do not occur in Egypt of the XVIIIth dynasty even before the religious revival of *Aḫnaton.* Cf., e. g., the Hymn of Triumph on the stele of Thothmes III (*Urk.* IV, pp. 611 foll.).

dised,√but also in those parts of the narrative in which he had to abandon flowery generalizations and describe an actual event. His prose then follows the usual dry scribal style.

The choice of the particular episodes related in this stele shows, however, an unerring judgment. The two most important events of Thothmes's campaigns in Asia are introduced: the reduction of Megiddo, which paved the road for the Egyptian Empire in Asia, and the defeat of the Mitannians, the chief opposing power. That the elephant-hunt is coupled with these two shows what an impression these huge beasts, unknown in Egypt,[172] made on the contemporaries of Thothmes.

This choice of the most striking episodes by a scribe who otherwise shows himself possessed of but moderate literary skill, suggests that a draft of the general lines of the inscription was prepared either by the king himself or at least the royal chancellery while the detailed work was left to one of the local scribes of the "colonial" service in Napata.

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[172] Ivory was, of course, known in Egypt since the dawn of history, but during the N. K. and possibly earlier it reached Egypt only as an import either from the south (Sudan) or from the NE. (Mitanni).

DIE KATHISMAKIRCHE AUF CHIRBET ABU BRĒK.

Alfons M. Schneider

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Der georgische Festkalender enthält unter dem 13. August folgende Notiz: „Auf der Straße nach Bethlehem, am Kathisma, am 3. Meilenstein, beim Weiler Betebri, Kirchweihe der Theotokos".[1] Über die gleiche Kirche erfahren wir aus der Vita des Mönchsvaters Theodosius[2] weiter, daß sie im Auftrag der reichen Matrone Ikelia unter Vermittlung eines Mönches namens Anthus gebaut wurde und daß Theodosius eine Zeit lang dort wohnte, ehe er das nach ihm benannte Kloster (dēr dōsi) gründete. Nach einer einleuchtenden Konjektur Goussens bezieht sich auf unsere Kirche noch eine weitere Notiz des gleichen Kalenders. Unter dem 12. Juli steht nämlich eine „Altarweihe im Priester Anthonbau" (a.a.O., 27). Für Anthon ist aber nach Goussen mit Recht Anthus zu lesen (vgl. auch unter dem 3. Dezember, a.a.O., 39).

Was es nun mit dieser Kathismakirche für eine Bewandtnis hat erfahren wir aus der *Pilgerschrift* des Theodosius (um 530):[3] „Es gibt einen Platz am 3. Meilenstein von der Stadt Jerusalem aus, wo Maria, die Mutter des Herrn, während sie nach Bethlehem ritt, von der Eselin stieg, sich auf einen Felsen setzte und ihn segnete". Es wird dann noch weiter erzählt, wie der praepositus sacri palatii Urbicius diesen Felsen abhauen ließ, um ihn nach Konstantinopel zu schaffen, ihn aber schließlich, durch ein Wunder gehindert, doch in Jerusalem lassen mußte, wo man ihn „hinter dem Grab des Herrn" sehen konnte. Dieser Urbicius soll unter Kaiser Anastasius (491–518) gestorben sein. Der Anonymus von Piacenza (Tobler, a.a.O., 107) redet von einer Quelle auf dem Weg zwischen Jerusalem und Bethlehem, bei der Maria auf der Flucht nach Ägypten gerastet und sich gelabt habe. Dort sei eine Kirche.

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[1] Goussen, *Über georg. Drucke und Handschriften, die Festordnung und den Heiligenkalender des altchristl. Jerusalem betreffend.* München-Gladbach 1923,29.
[2] ASS 11. Januar. [3] Tobler, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, I, 1879, S. 69.
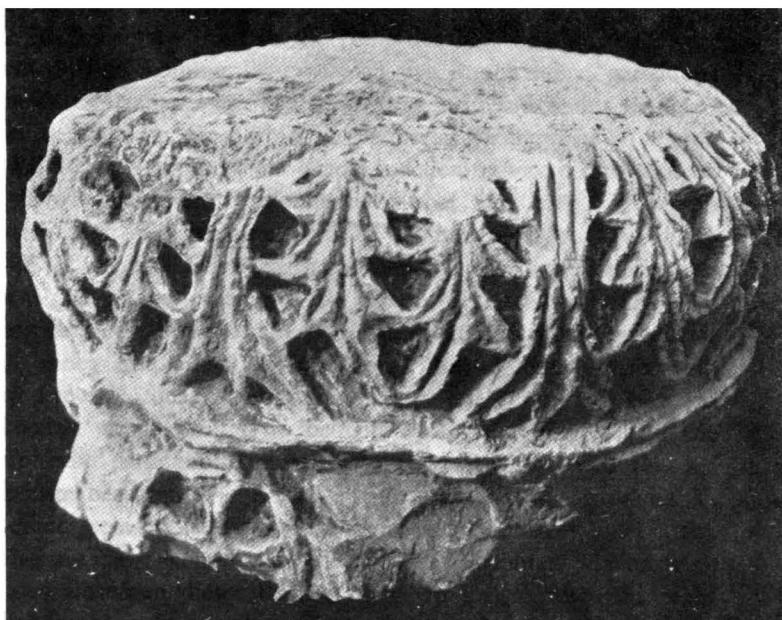
Fig. 1.
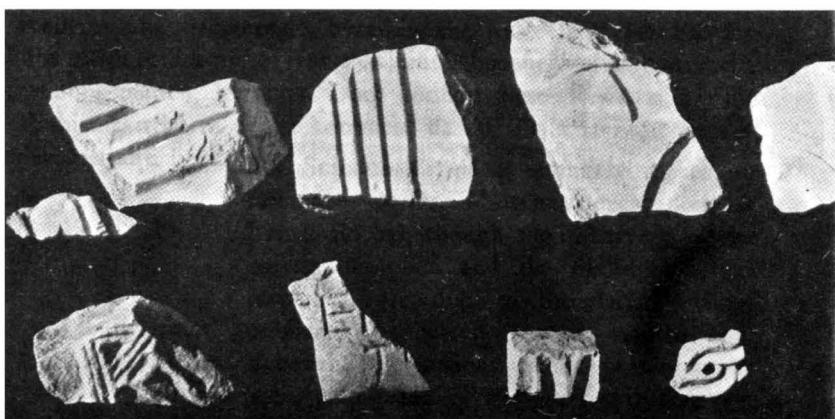
Fig. 2.

Wo lag nun diese Kirche?

Die Meilenangabe führt in die Nähe des Mār Eljāsklosters. Kurz ehe man dorthin kommt, liegt hart an der Straße eine gemauerte Zisterne deren Name — bīr kadīsmu — augenscheinlich mit kathisma (= Sitz) identisch ist. Doch sind dort keinerlei Kirchenreste zu sehen,[1] ABEL (*RB* 1924, 617) sucht die Kirche auf dem etwa 400 m nordost-wärts davon gelegenen Ruinenhügel chirbet abu brēk, in dessen Nähe sich jetzt die Kolonie Ramath Rachel befindet. Zu dieser chirbe führt die alte Straße nach Bethlehem, die von Talpiot aus noch sehr gut zu verfolgen ist. Ein Mann der genannten Kolonie fand nun auf der chirbe zufällig ein verschüttetes, gut gearbeitetes Kapitell eines Eckpfeilers sowie sonstige Reste, deren Photos ich meinem Freunde Stekelis verdanke (Pl. IV, Fig. 1 und 2). Auch ein Mosaikboden wurde, freilich in bedeutender Tiefe, festgestellt. Die topographische Ansetzung dieser Kirche durch ABEL hat sich also auf das Schönste bestätigt. Die Kirche dürfte etwa um die Mitte des V. Jahrh. erbaut sein (KLAMETH, *Lokaltraditionen* 1, 60; RIESS, *a.a.O.*, 20).

Anlaß zur Sage mögen wohl die seltsamen erhöhten Schalensteine neben den Zisternen dieser Ruine,[2] gegeben haben, die sehr wohl von Landesunkundigen als „Sitz" (kathisma) angesehen werden konnten. Der Steinklotz, der heute in der griechischen Kirche von bēt dschāla als kathisma gezeigt wird, ist wohl der Rest eines Wasserkanals, auf keinen Fall aber ein Sitz.

Weitere ganz bedeutende byzantinische Reste fand ich auf der Anhöhe gleich östlich hinter mār eljās: gut behauene Steine, marmorne Verkleidungsplatten, Keramik. Doch können diese Reste nicht für die Kathismakirche in Frage kommen, da der Platz ja nicht an der Bethlehemstraße liegt.   (Dr. SCHNEIDER's paper strangely makes no reference to Dr. MAISLER's excavations at Ramat Rachel, though the discovery of the objects described and the photographs re-produced, are due to the latter, whose publication appeared several months ago. Even the conclusions of the present paper were anticipated by the latter. W.F.A.)

[1] Mit den Steinhaufen, die RIESS, *ZDPV* XII (1889) 23, dafür hält, hat es nichts auf sich.

[2] Vgl. darüber FAST in *ZDPV* XLVII, (1924) 343.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Mishnah. Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and brief Explanatory Notes. By Dr. HERBERT DANBY. Pp. XXXII + 844. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1933. 18 sh.

It is not proposed in this review to dwell on the obvious advantages provided by an English translation of the Mishnah which for the first time enables the English-speaking world to have easy access to the entire work. The various appendices explaining Hebrew technical terms, tables of money, weights and measures, the summary of the rules of uncleanness according to the Gaon of Wilna, the chronological table of Rabbis and the list of all Biblical passages quoted in the Mishnah, and the virtually exhaustive General Index,—all help to make this Oxford edition of the Mishnah both a reliable and a usable aid to the student. The explanatory notes are restricted to the barest essentials, but are complete in their references of the Bible and in their cross-references to sections of the Mishnah itself.

The present review aims at indicating a few customs and ideas, current in Palestine at the time of the Mishnah (in the first two centuries of the Christian era), still known and practised to-day. It should however be borne in mind that not all such customs and ideas to which there are modern parallels had their origin in the Mishnaic period. Many influences other than the Jewish ideas, preserved by the Mishnah, have affected the life and·the thought of this part of the East.

The passages of the Mishnah, to which parallels are given, are indicated in brackets. The abbreviations are those used in Dr. DANBY's edition.

The laws of uncleanness which play so large a part in the Mishnah still play an important part in the everyday life of the Palestinian Arab. Despite the many differences between the former and the present ways of applying these laws, the fundamental ideas have remained more or less the same. The Palestinian still believes that blood is unclean. This uncleanness may be transmitted to others. In some parts of Palestine a woman during her unclean days had to sleep in a separate room. Every thing which she touches is rendered unusable. The butcher is not allowed to perform his prayers in blood-stained clothes. The spermatic fluid is also unclean (cf. pollution, Zab. 5¹¹). Blood and spermatic fluid were and are still believed to be the medium of life, the 'soul'. Therefore they are thought to possess supernatural powers, powers which can exert evil influences, called *kabseh*[1]. Some believe that the spermatic fluid is clean, but in passing through the urethral canal (the urine canal) it becomes unclean. As intercourse with a menstruant is liable to inflict

[1] For the description of *el-kabseh* see CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 37, 39, 69.

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the begotten child with leprosy, the unwritten laws of the Palestinian forbid it[1]. (With the above and also with the following parallels compare the Mishnah, Ber. 3[6]; Shab. 9[1]; Pes. 9[4]; Yeb. 3[16]; Ket. 3[1]; 7[6]; Makk. 3[1]; Shebu. 2[4]; Eduy. 1[1]; A. Zar. 3[6]; Hor. 1[8]; 2[4]; Ker. 3[5·6]; 4[2].) Owing to this belief concerning uncleanness (*nidjseh*) no woman, while in her unclean state, is allowed to enter a church, a mosque or a holy place (*weli*), nor can she perform her daily prayers (Mohammedans). She is neither allowed to prepare nor to touch any sanctified object (Makk. 3[2]), such as *ghurbniyeh*[2] bread and the *burbârah* dish (made of boiled wheat with sugar, raisins, etc.). Therefore the *qudddseh* bread is prepared in the Syriac church by the priests themselves and within the convent (Kid. 1[8]). In some villages a menstruant is even forbidden to do any work for others. Some even refuse to eat anything prepared or touched by such a woman (Nidd. 9[8]). Only after taking a cleansing bath on the eighth day, and after changing or washing her clothes, could a woman perform her prayers. This is taught by the proverb *ba'd et-tâmin ughsul u'dmin*, "After the eighth day wash (yourself) and (perform the duties of your) belief." After childbirth a woman must wait forty days before she may take a bath, for it said that "her grave is open (i.e. ready to take her) for forty days" (Ramallah; see Shab. 2[6]).

As blood is supposed to contain the soul ("life-blood", Zeb. 3[1·2]) it is used in many magical ceremonies. The commingling of the blood of two different persons (see on the other hand Ker. 5[1]) is therefore equivalent to the commingling of their souls. Such individuals enter into direct relationship. Love and friendship become more firmly established. A woman who is disliked by her husband tries therefore to win his favour by giving him a few drops of her blood in his food.[8]

Human (and, in less degree, animal) corpses are also unclean. The room of a dead person used to be sanctified, after the removal of the body, by prayers and incense (Acre district). A dead body may also exercise the *kabseh*. The water with which a dead person is ritually washed before burial is unclean and makes unclean (Naz. 9[2]; Eduy. 8[4]). A person who has come in contact with it has to change his clothes and to wash the exposed parts seven times. There are two regulations by means of which peasants measure the uncleanness of carrion. The saying *djâf 'alâ djâf tâhir balâ ḫlâf*, "A dry thing (carrion) on a dry thing (food object) is without any dispute clean" explains the first belief. (For the

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[1] Many Christian peasants used to forbid marital intercourse on certain feast days (cf. Taan. 1[6]).

[2] This term denotes loaves made of pure semolina (*smid*) and leavened with wheat leaven (*ḥamireh 'arabiyeh*). Generally five loaves are made (*widjh*, pl. *wdjûh*), of which the priest keeps four for himself. Smaller loaves are known as *qudddseh* (pl. *qudddsdt*). *Ghurbniyeh* (or *ghirbniyeh* is made in fulfilment of a vow, *qudddseh* in remembrance of a living or dead person. Both are signed with a seal (*rašmeh*) and blessed by the priest in the church at the celebration of an important feast, such as *mâr* Elias, el-Ḥaḍr, *sittna* Mariam, etc. Cf. CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 176, 177.

[8] This custom has practically died out.

principle, see the Mishnah, Maksh. pp. 758—767.) The following example explains this idea better than any description. If a dead mouse falls on a heap of corn, the corn does not become unclean. The mouse and the corn directly surrounding the same are thrown away. But such a corpse makes oil (Maksh. 6⁴) unclean, and the oil must be purified, before it can be used. This is done by pouring boiling water over the oil seven times. A small opening is made at the bottom of the jar and is closed with a piece of cloth. After each time of pouring boiling water the cloth is removed, thus allowing the water to flow out. The mouth of a cat is clean, but if she has eaten a rat it becomes for about 15 minutes unclean.

In order to purify the water of a cistern into which animal carrion has fallen one must throw into the cistern (after removing the carrion) seven (some say forty) baskets full of pure red earth, samaqah. Every basket must be immersed and lifted up violently and repeatedly until the earth is well mixed with the water (Ṣaffa, Siloah, Jerusalem). In several purification procedures earth may take the palce of water. (Cf. Parah, pp. 697—714).

The second rule is that carrion of invertebrate animals and of such which do not have blood (see Par. 9²) are so slightly unclean that they do not cause any ritual uncleanness.

Every excretion which comes from one of the internal organs of a human or animal body is counted unclean. Such are excrements, urine, menstrual flow, the blood issuing after childbirth, a dead foetus, the placenta, urethral discharge and vomit (Hull. 4⁷; 7¹; 9²; Nidd. 3⁴).[1] On the other hand saliva, nasal and conjunctival discharges, and the coating of the tongue (fur) are not regarded as unclean and, therefore, do not prevent a person from performing his prayers. As a proof for the cleannes of the saliva the following is told. The Prophet Mohammed used, according to ʿÂʾišah, to spit in his hands at bed time, recite upon the same the first verses of Sûreh 112, 113 and 114 and then to wipe his body with this saliva. This procedure he repeated three times. Any kind of purulent discharge is believed to be even more unclean than blood. It is interesting to note that the excrements of babies, one year old or less, are said to be clean. No animals are used in threshing šʿîr nabawi (which is believed to be holy since it was the food of the prophets), lest it become unclean through their refuse. The person beating the ears must be ritually clean. (Moh. es-Safârini, Kitâb ghidâʾuۨ l-ʾalbâb lišarḥ manẓûmatuۨ l-ʾâdâb, II, 312.) The living foetus of a dying animal (sheep or goat), if extracted before the mother dies, is said to be clean and is eaten by some peasants. The placenta is never eaten (Zeb. 3⁶). But if a pregnant animal was vowed to a saint and is offered without knowledge of this condition, the foetus is thrown away (Tem. 7⁴).

The Mishnah regulations concerning unclean animals are not so widely known among the inhabitants of Palestine. All Palestinians regard the dog as unclean. The Mohammedans also include the pig in this category. Both animals are abhorred. A ḥadiṯ teaches "the angels will not enter a house where a dog

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[1] The custom of burying things at crossroads. as mentioned in Hull. 4⁷, is still known.

is found".[1] The Mâliki sect do not regard the dog as unclean. The Palestinian makes a distinction between unclean animals and others which he may not eat. The general rule which seems to have been prevalent among the Mohammedans resembles in many points the law of the Bible. No animal with claws or with cutting incisor teeth should be eaten. But this rule is not strictly followed, for many peasants eat the hyena. The donkey is never eaten. The hyena is believed to ruminate only once a year. This condition brings it nearer to the category of the ruminants. Some allow only the right half of this animal to be eaten. The regulations about wild fowls have also some points of resemblance with Lev. 11[18-19] and Hull. 3[6]. Birds with a curved beak where the upper part overlaps the lower one are as a rule not eaten. In other words no meat-eating animal should be eaten. Very interesting is the belief that hunted animals become unclean, if they die before they are slaughtered. In order to avoid such a loss it is recommended that a few small pieces of iron (ʿÊn Kârim) be mixed with the lead shot and that the name of God be invoked before shooting the animal. The name of God must be invoked each time an animal is slaughtered. Failure to do so makes the flesh forbidden as food. (Qorân, V, 4; II, 168; VI, 146; XVI, 115).

Different parts of Jerusalem, as in Mishnaic times (Kel. 1[8]) still bear different degrees of holiness. Jerusalem is believed to be holier than any other city. The Temple Area enjoys greater sanctity and the holiest spot of the city is the Holy Rock.[2]

Palestinians still adhere to the old custom of helping strangers, the poor, widows and orphans by allowing them to glean fields, vineyards, olive orchards and to a lesser extent vegetable gardens (M. S. 5[10]). The reapers are very particular not to reap every ear of corn and barley, and what falls on the ground is left as a rule for the gleaners. The peasants believe that by not doing so the fields will lose their *barakeh*, blessing. In some places the corners of the fields are left unreaped for the poor and stranger (Lev. 19[9]; 23[22]; Deut. 24[19])[3]. In making an offering of food to a saint one part of the food is given to the *qaiym* (the servant of the shrine) and another to the poor and orphans. In Šarâfât and ʿÊn Kârim the offerer of a food-vow can eat of the same only in company with the poor and orphans. The same is done with a number of animal offerings slaughtered at festivals. In the last four days of Ramaḍân every Mohammedan family of Sarrîs and the surrounding villages tries to give a *raṭl bughdâdi* (=9½ *okiyehs*) of corn, barley or dates to the poor. This gift is called *fuṭrah*.

The Mishnah's descriptions and rules concerning houses show many points of resemblance with prevalent conditions. From the description of B. B. 6[4] we may infer that most of the houses used to be as small as those built in our days by the simple peasant. No Palestinian may make in his house a window from which the courtyard of his neighbour can be overlooked (cf. B. B. 3[7]).

[1] Transmitted by ABÛ ṬALHAH, see ‏رياض الصالحين من كلام سيد المرسلين‎, p. 554.
[2] See MUDJÎR ED-DÎN, *al-unsu dj-djalil fi tdriḫ il-Qudsi wal-Ḫalil*, pp. 201—213.
[3] This unreaped corner is called "*malḥah*" and is left for *widjh allah*.

Most of the houses in the villages of the plain are still roofed with wooden beams and brushwood. The lintel of a house is still sprinkled on different occasions with the blood of offerings (Neg. 14[1]). Until forty years ago any deed of sale or rent of a house mentioned every part of the building: the rooms, courtyard, side-chambers, store rooms, cistern, etc. Failure to do so would lead to difficulties for the owner or renter of those parts which were not clearly mentioned in the contract (B. B. 4[1-4]). Uncleanness of a house, wherein a corpse was lying, has already been mentioned (cf. Eduy. 2[5]; Kel. 9[2-6]).

In the *hadit* as well as in certain unwritten laws we meet with the same formula which is given in Peah 2[6]; Eduy. 8[7]; Jad. 4[8]; Ab. 1[1]. This formula denotes an established tradition not derived from any Holy Book or written law. The same formula is also found in the religious *idjâzeh* (pl. *idjâzât*, certificate) given by the *šēḫ* of a *tarîqah* (sect) to his disciple. Such *šēḫs* are skilled in writing amulets (Shab. 6[2]).[1] This certificate is a long scroll of paper certifying that N. N. (giving his genealogy) who has taken and has received the initiation from the *ḫalîfeh* (the whole chain of *šēḫs* is given, until the founder of the *tarîqah* is reached) has found that his adept . . . . (with the entire genealogy of the latter) is a worthy follower of the order (*Mohammedan Saint and Sanctuaries*, p. 313).

<div align="right">T. CANAAN.</div>

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[1] Talismans are still carried in leather cases (cf. Shab. ٥ ر.'

LE R. P. ALEXIS MALLON
Ancien Président de la Palestine Oriental Society.

Le 7 Avril 1934, le R. P. ALEXIS MALLON mourait à Bethléem, emporté par un mal qu'une dernière campagne de fouilles particulièrement dure dans la vallée du Jourdain avait rapidement aggravé. Avec le P. MALLON disparaît une des figures le plus marquantes et le plus originales de la philologie égyptienne et de l'archéologie palestinienne.

Né le 8 Mai 1875 à la Chapelle-Bertin (Haute-Loire), le P. MALLON arriva à l'âge de vingt ans en Orient, pour faire son noviciat de la Compagnie de Jésus à Ghazir (Liban). Là se décida en quelques mois sa vocation d'orientaliste : avant même de commencer ses études de théologie, il était, à vingt et un ans, chargé du cours de langue copte à la Faculté Orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth. Après quelques articles de philologie copte, qui révèlent déjà un maître, il publiait dès 1904 la première *Grammaire Copte* en langue française dont la 3ᵉ édition, parue en 1926, demeure toujours l'instrument de travail fondamental pour l'étude du Copte.

En 1905, le P. MALLON se rendit en Angleterre pour faire ses études de théologie. Il y continua ses travaux favoris, pour venir reprendre en 1909 à Beyrouth la chaire de langues égyptienne et copte. Un an après il était appelé à Rome pour enseigner les mêmes sciences à l'Institut Biblique Pontifical.

Mais sa connaissance pratique de l'Orient et ses travaux scientifiques le désignèrent en 1913 pour mettre à exécution le projet de fondation d'une succursale de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical à Jérusalem. Dans la Ville Sainte, les soucis l'attendaient nombreux et non plus seulement d'ordre scientifique ; la mission dont il était chargé comportait des difficultés particulièrement épineuses et son patriotisme profond, qui n'a jamais connu de défaillance, fut durement mis à l'épreuve. De suite, le P. MALLON donna toute sa mesure de prudence, de perspicacité et de tact. Les plus graves difficultés étaient surmontées lorsque la guerre éclata et l'obligea à quitter la Terre-Sainte.

Il se consacra alors à l'égyptologie, travailla en Egypte avec les Pères Ronzevalle et Bovier-Lapierre, puis, la tourmente passée, revint en 1919 à Jérusalem, où il s'adonna définitivement à l'archéologie de la Palestine. Son ouvrage *Les Hébreux en Egypte* écrit en majeure partie pendant son séjour au Caire, indiquait déjà cette tendance.

En Palestine, le P. Mallon se met d'abord en devoir de prendre contact avec le pays plus intimement qu'il n'avait pu le faire en 1913; il le parcourt en tous sens, observe, interroge et finit par avoir une connaissance du pays et de ses habitants qui lui faciliteront grandement par la suite ses recherches archéologiques. C'est le moment où les chantiers de fouilles s'ouvrent un peu partout en Palestine; il les visite souvent, se familiarise avec les problèmes pratiques de l'archéologie et commence à publier des chroniques et des études auxquelles sa maîtrise de l'archéologie égyptienne donne un intérêt tout particulier.

Dès son arrivée à Jérusalem en 1919, le P. Mallon s'était laissé captiver par une branche plus spéciale de l'archéologie, la préhistoire, dont il fut le véritable initiateur en Palestine. Nous lui devons entre autres dans ce domaine la découverte d'un grand nombre de stations de l'âge de la Pierre, un premier essai très méritoire de classification des industries et un répertoire des gisements, paru en 1925 et qui n'a rien perdu de son intérêt malgré les découvertes faites depuis. En 1928, il prend une part prépondérante à la fouille de la grotte d'Oumm-Qatafa, dont il étudie et publie le matériel de l'âge du Bronze, puis, dès l'année suivante, il découvre dans la vallée du Jourdain la ruine de Teleilat Ghassoul. Celle-ci lui révèle tout de suite l'importance de la civilisation qu'Oumm-Qatafa lui avait fait seulement entrevoir et qui auparavant n'était même pas soupçonnée.

Dès lors il consacre toute son activité à la fouille de ce site dont l'étendue et la richesse en une région aujourd'hui désertique avaient de quoi surprendre. La situation géographique de Teleilat Ghassoul, l'âge archéologique de la ruine lui font penser qu'il tient là une des villes de la Pentapole biblique. Il soulève alors la clameur de ceux, nombreux, qui accommodant Ecritures, données géographiques et géologiques à une tradition quelque peu légendaire, placent au sud de la Mer Morte les villes maudites. Mais le P.

Mallon ne se rebute pas; il supporte les contradictions et les railleries avec cette grandeur d'âme qui lui était habituelle et dont beaucoup devraient lui savoir gré. Son affabilité, sa bonté s'étendaient à tous, adversaires scientifiques comme amis.

Il mène donc dans la vallée du Jourdain cinq campagnes successives, met à jour des monuments et un matériel archéologique extrêmement importants, qui obligent à voir sous un jour nouveau les débuts de la civilisation du Bronze en Palestine. Son ouvrage *Teleilāt Ghassūl I*, paru au lendemain de sa mort, rassemble les fruits de ce dur labeur, mené le plus souvent sous un climat torride, dans des conditions matérielles extrêmement austères, sans une collaboration suffisante. Aussi la dernière campagne lui est-elle fatale et de son chantier de fouilles il est amené à son lit de mort.

Membre du bureau de la Société Française d'Egyptologie, le P. Mallon avait été un des représentants de la Palestine au Congrès des Orientalistes de 1928. Vice-Président en 1927 de la Palestine Oriental Society, il était élu Président l'année suivante. Depuis, comme membre de l'Editorial Board, il assurait l'édition des articles français de la revue. Il fut surtout un des principaux animateurs de notre Société, dont il faisait partie depuis sa fondation en 1921, et un de ses membres les plus actifs. Comme ses collaborateurs et amis, la Palestine Oriental Society lui gardera un souvenir plein d'admiration et de gratitude.

<div align="right">René Neuville.</div>

Jérusalem, Juillet 1934.

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du R. P. Alexis Mallon

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Teleilāt Ghassūl. I. Compte rendu des fouilles de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1929–32. Rome, 1934, 193 pp., 67 fig., 73 pl. Avec la collaboration de Robert Koeppel et René Neuville.

SEMITISED HURRIANS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE

H. L. GINSBERG and B. MAISLER

(JERUSALEM)

In *Syria* XIV, 230–37, É. DHORME offers a reproduction and interpretation of "Deux tablettes de Ras Shamra de la campagne de 1932". One of these, R. S. 1932. 4475, is of such historical interest as to deserve a further examination of the historical problems raised. A new translation and philological commentary are also given here. The present translation, while not open to the objections raised by us against the renderings of the *editio princeps*, is not without its own difficulties and is only to be regarded as tentative.

TEXT

		TRANSCRIPTION		TRANSLATION
Obv.	1.	*tḥm* | *ʾiwržr*	1.	Message of Ewirižar
	2.	*l* | *plsy*	2.	to Palsiya.
	3.	*r g m*	3.	S A Y:
	4.	*yšlm* | *lk*	4.	May it be well with you!
	5.	*l* | *trḡds*	5.	Regarding Tarḡudas
	6.	*w* | *l* | *klby*	6.	and (regarding) Kulibiya—
	7.	*šmʿt* | *ḫtʾi*	7.	Order of Arrest:
	8.	*nḫtʾu* | *ht*	8.	Arrest th-
	9.	*hm* | *ʾinmm*	9.	em wherever they be ;
	10.	*nḫtʾu* | *w* | *lʾak*	10.	Arrest [them] and send [them]
	11.	*ʿmy* | *w* | *yd*	11.	to me. Indeed, the love
	12.	*ʾilm* | *p* | *kmtm*	12.	of the gods is *here* like death :
	13.	*ʿz* | *mʾid*	13.	very fierce,
	14.	*ʾim* | *nṭkp*	14.	terrible, mighty.
Rev.	15.	*mʿnk*	15.	Thine answer,
	16.	*w* | *mnm*	16.	and any
	17.	*rgm* | *d* | *tšmʿ*	17.	report that thou mayest hear
	18.	*ṭmt* | *w* | *št*	18.	*there*, thou shalt put
	19.	*b* | *spr* | *ʿmy*	19.	into a letter to me.

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

(That the opening formulas are copied from Akkadian models, is pointed out by DHORME.)

1. The fourth character in the name *ʾiwrẓr* resembles DHORME's *š₂*, GINSBERG's *š*,[1] rather than *š*: yet it is neither the one nor the other, but a sign employed in RŠ 1929:4 and in the fragment in *Syria* XII, 389. In both these—as HROZNÝ[2] has demonstrated, Hurrian—inscriptions, however, and in the cognate RŠ 1929:7, this character is the rule; though occasionaly an ordinary *š* also occurs. The reason why our scribe employed the letter in question just in the name *ʾiwrẓr* and nowhere else in this document is plain: It is, like all the other three, a Hurrian name, and is known to us as such from Hurrian and Akkadian sources (see the Historical Commentary below). The fact that the element *ẓar* is in cuneiform syllabic script transliterated *zur* as well as, more commonly, *šar*,[3] that similar hesitation appears in the transcription of other Hurrian names, and that the *ṭupšar* who wrote our tablet felt constrained to borrow a foreign character to render it with, would lead one to suspect that the Hurrian sibilant in question had no exact Semitic equivalent. A common denominator for *š* and *z* would be *ẓ*; and the equation $\mathbf{Y} = \check{z}$ is hereby offered, with all reserve, as a working hypothesis.

A comparison of *trḡds* here with *trḡzz*, II—ʾAB 8:2, immediately suggests that the complex *trḡ* is to be treated as a unit. It obviously corresponds to the Hurrian divine name *Tarḫu* of the cuneiform,

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[1] *Tarbiz* IV, 380 below; *OLZ* 1933, 593 n. 1.

[2] B. HROZNÝ, *Archiv Orientálni* IV, 118ff.

[3] Thus the *awêlu* of Acre is called Šutatna, the son of Šarâtum in EA 8, but Zatatna or Zitatna, the son of Zurata in EA 233, etc. On Zurata see WEBER *apud* KNUDTZON, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 1301. So, too, we are inclined to identify the complex *yẓtt*, in 1.5 of the tablet RS 1929, No. 7 (written in *scriptio continua*), which is referred to in the text (p. 255), with the proper name Yašdata, EA No. 248:3. On this name WEBER *apud* KNUDTZON, p. 1109 cites ED. MEYER, *Zschr. f. vrgl. Sprachforschung* XLII, 18 to the effect that "Yašdata erinnere natürlich an die Komposita Yazata, yazd, sei also als Yazdadata aufzafassen." Cf. *Ta-a-du-ḫe-pa*, or *Ta-a-tum-ḫe-pa*, the name of Tušratta's daughter, and names like *Tadua*, etc. The Hurrian element *tat* means "love"; A. GUSTAVS, *RLV* VIII, p. 220. The element *yašda* also occurs in Zirdam-yašda EA 234, 26.

Trg of the hieroglyphic monuments. As the nearest thing to $\bar{g}$ in Akkadian is *ḫ* and in Egyptian *g*, this is not the only instance of its having been graphically represented in these respective ways: cf.

שנער = cuneiform Šanḫar, Egyptian Śngr

עזה, غَزّ, *Γάζα* „ Ḥazati, „ Gdt

רכש (ZKR inscr.) = „ Nuḫašše, „ Ngś[4]

תרדע (LXX *ΘΑΛΓΑΛ* ⟨*ΘΑΛΓΑΛ*⟩ = cuneiform Tudḫaliya. (In the case of this name we shall see below still further proof that its laryngal was originally $\bar{g}$).

The foregoing alone confirms Baneth's identification of the Ugaritic ⋉— with Arabic غ[5] in a most brilliant manner. In addition, as will be seen further on, the name of the divinity *Targ-* in all probability survives, like so many other traces of "the Ḥorite", in the south of Palestine; namely, in combination with the Ḥurrian suffix *-ti*, in the clan-name תרעתים (LXX *ΑΡΓΑΘΙΕΙΜ*, in which the loss of the first *Θ* is due to haplography): and ע is the legitimate heir of $\bar{g}$ in Hebrew.

The name *Trḡzz* just cited, whether place-name or divine name, is from its context evidently connected with Môt. Accordingly it will not be surprising should it ever come to light that Targu occupied in Ḥurrian mythology a position analogous to that of Môt in the native Canaanite mythology.

7—11a. Dhorme: "j'ai entendu que vraiment ils ont été emmenés. En eux, il n'y a pas de culpabilité, (pourtant) ils ont été emmenés. Donc renvoie-les près de moi". The grammatical, and even graphical, objections to this rendering are very great. In the first place, the emphatic infinitive absolute always ends in *u*, not *i*; e.g., *ḫatâʾu*, I-ʾAB 2:23 (see below), *ḡamâʾu ḡamiʾti*, II-ʾAB 4—5: 34; *ʾispaʾi sapâʾu*, *Syria* XIII, 138 n. 1. In the second place if

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[4] The identification of Nuḫašše with רכש, the name of a territory in the ZKR inscription, which was proposed by Dhorme, *RB* 1908, 503, and accepted by E. F. Weidner, *Boghazköi-Studien* VIII, 12 n. 3, commends itself all the more as interchange of *l* and *n* is not only rather common in Semitic (cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I, 222f.; Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*[17], 370a), but can be proved for Ḥurrian as well; see Weidner, *op. cit.* VI, 77 n. 1; B. Maisler, *Untersuchungen z. alten Gesch. Syriens u. Palästinas*, 12; E. A. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, 94f.

[5] D. H. Baneth, *OLZ* 1932, 705. This view was accepted by us without hesitation; cf. *Tarbiz* IV, 381; *OLZ* 1933, 593.

nḫp̄u were a perfect form it could only be *plural*, but Dhorme, makes it refer to *two* individuals: the remarkable document ꜣINY (= our siglum for *ꜣIlm Nꜥmm w-Ysmm*)[6], however, teaches us that the dual of the verb was a living grammatical category in the language of Ugarit. In the third place, Dhorme attributes to the n-form *nḫp̄u* a passive signification. This, however, the niḳtal had in Biblical Hebrew far less frequently than would appear from the Masoretic pointing;[7] and in fact the passive of the simple conjugation is *ḳuṭila—yuḳṭalu* everywhere else in the Ras Shamra texts. In the fourth place, in Hebrew an infinitive of the simple conjugation *never* accompanies a finite verb of the n-conjugation, and other heterogeneous combinations of this sort are very rare and occur only under special conditions.[8] By the side of these difficulties, the absence of any equivalent in the original for "que", "pourtant" and "les" (in "renvoie-les") is perhaps of less moment. One might also urge against Dhorme's assumption that *ꜣinmm* = אין כֹּם, the fact that in this document even *l* and *w* are marked off as separate words by vertical strokes; (note especially w | l | , l. 6); but we ourselves feel compelled to divide *kmtm*, l. 12 into *ka-môti-ma* (see below *ad loc.*).

Our own rendering assumes for *šmꜥt* a meaning very close to some of those with which the root *šmꜥ* is usually associated, and has the merit of ascribing a suitable function to the obvious genetive *ḫp̄i*. *nḫp̄u* is taken as *naḫtāꜣu*, infinitive absolute of the n-conjugation of *ḫp̄*. The inf. absol. is used as an imperative not only in Biblical Hebrew but in all probability in I-ꜣAB 2:23 (see below) and II-ꜣAB 4–5·35,[9] and for the employment of the n-conjugation as a "middle voice", cf. Hebrew נשׁאל "to obtain permission for oneself", נאחז "to make for oneself an אֲחֻזָה". The infinitive absolute is indeclinable, and accordingly instead of taking the objective suffixes it is followed by the inflected forms of את in Lev. 2[6], Nu. 15[35], and by an inflected form of *ht* in our passage. (The latter recurs in I-ꜣAB 1:11, where its function, however, is not very clear. Although Virolleaud's suggestion *ad loc.* that it

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[6] *Syria* XIV, Pll. XVII-XIX.

[7] M. Lambert, *Rev. des Études Juives* XLI, 196–214; H. L. Ginsberg, *AJSL* XLVI, 52ff., 127ff.—supplemented and corrected *Tarbiz* V, 208–223.

[8] Ginsberg, *opp. citt.* [9] see *Tarbiz* V, 84, *ad loc.*

may be miswritten for ꜣit, and in any case be an equivalent of Heb. את, seems improbable,[10] we cannot help feeling that *hthm* in our passage has much the same force as Heb. אתהם or אותם.) As in Hebrew, the object of more than one verb need not be named more than once; cf. Gen. 9²³; 18⁷; 24⁴⁰⁻⁴¹; 27⁴, ⁵, ⁹⁻¹⁰, ¹⁵.

ꜣinmm corresponds to Arab. اَيْنَـمَا "wheresoever", or perhaps more accurately to اَيْنَـمَا مَا, which would mean "anywhere (at all)"; this is also given by BEZOLD[11] as the possible meaning of Akkadian *yānumma*. Cf. *mnm* "whatsoever", l. 16.

ꜥmy, of course, means not "près de moi", but "to me". In the epic texts ꜥm recurs with this and similar meanings so frequently that the fact was noted, and Heb. עִמָּה and other parallels compared, by GINSBERG[12] immediately upon the publication of I-ꜣAB.

As regards the root *ḥbꜥ*, it would seem to have everywhere in these texts the meaning of "stop", "arrest", whence in Arabic "prevent"; but otherwise only slight changes in GINSBERG's previous interpretation[13] of I-ꜣAB 2; 23—26; II-ꜣAB 8: 20—24 are necessary. We accordingly now render these two passages as follows:

ḥbꜥu hw			Stand still[14], O		
tḥbꜥan		*nrt ꜣilm špš*	Let her stand still, the	Gods' Torch Šapšu—	
shrrt bꜥa ꜥmm			With glowing heat let the heavens blaze;		
byd { *bn* / *mdd* }		*ꜣilm mt*	By the love (i. e., for the sake) of the Gods'	{ Son / Beloved }	Môtu!

11b—14. Our interpretation differs utterly from that of the *editio princeps*. The latter involves, among other things, construing *yd* "hand" as a masculine substantive, despite ꜣINY 33. (In l. 34 ibid., ꜣark behaves like all *perfects* which *precede* a feminine subject; cf. II-ꜣAB 2:28; 4—5:82,87. This principle of *genus pendens* does not seem to extend, as in Arabic, to the imperfect tense.) DHORME also assumes, here as in l. 16, a dual or plural pronominal suffix

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[10] One would rather incline to take it as a strengthening enclitic, as does perhaps BANETH, *OLZ* 1932, 450, who translates: „Es möge sich freuen Ašerat und ihr Sohn, u. s. w."

[11] C. BEZOLD, *Babylonisch-Assyr. Glossar*, 2a.

[12] *Tarbiz* IV : 1 (October 1932), 106—119 ad loc.

[13] *Ibid., ad loc.*; *q. v.* for the etymologies on which the present revised rendering is based.

[14] Infinitive absolute as imperative, ibid., p. 383 n. 8. We are reminded of Jos. 10¹²f.

-*m* for -*hm*: this assumption is unwarranted. According to our rendering, the present correspondent, like the authors of the Tell el-ʿAmârna letters,[15] quotes scripture to suit his purpose. The native

[15] See ANTON JIRKU, 'Kanaʿanäische Psalmenfragmente i. d. vorisraelit. Zeit Palästinas u. Syriens,' *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, LII (1933), 108—120. In the poetical texts of Ras Shamra we have actual specimens of the literature which all these citations presuppose. Their resemblance to passages in the poetical literature of the Old Testament is very impressive indeed. We recognise not only the characteristic *parallelismus membrorum* but also the rhythm based on a fixed number of word-stresses rather than syllables; the prevalent metre of the Ras Shamra poems being 3+3 (W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS* 1932, 207 [23]), which is also very common in the O.T. More striking than either, however, are whole phrases and lines in these texts which agree almost verbatim with verses of the O.T. This resemblance is apparent even in JIRKU's retranslations of some of the quotations in the Tell el-ʿAmârna correspondence from Akkadian into German; in the case of the quotation in our letter, it is striking. Some of the most remarkable phrases and passages of this sort occurring in the poetic texts of Ras Shamra are:

A. *In the published texts:*

1) II-ʾAB 1:4—7; 4—5:47—48: *lyṣḥ ṭrʾil ʾabh ʾilmlk d yknnh* (He calleth unto Tôru-ʾIlu his father, ʾIlu-Malku that did create him)—cf. ..... אביך ויכננך of Yahwe, Dt. 32⁶.

2) Ibid. 3:18; 4—5:122 *rkb ʿrpt* (the Cloud-Rider, epithet of the storm-god Baʿlu or Haddu)—cf. רכב (בׁ)ערבות, of Yahwe, Ps. 68 (in which, as in the whole of Ps. 42—83, אלהים has, as is well known, been systematically substituted for יהוה).

3) *Ibid.*, 4—5:35—38: *lḥm hm štym*; *lḥm bṭlḥnt lḥm, štym bkrpnm yn, bk(s) ḥrṣ dm ʿṣm* (Eat now! drink! Eat of the tables bread, drink of the jars wine, from a golden cup the blood of trees.) Cf. Prov. 9⁵ (also 4¹⁷) and, for the final phrases, which recur several times in II-ʾAB, Gen. 49¹¹.

4) ʾINY. 7: *lḥm blḥm ʾa(?)y wšty bḥmr yn ʾay*: Cf. the preceding.

5) *Ibid.* 14: *tb[ḫ g]d bḥlb, ʾa(?)nnḫ bḥmʾat* (cook a kid in milk, a lamb(?) in butter)—with VIROLLEAUD and DUSSAUD, contrast Ex. 23¹⁹; 34²⁶; Dt. 14²¹.

6) II-ʾAB 4—5:42: *ʿm ʿlm ḥyt*; cf. 1 K. 1⁸¹; Neh. 2⁸; Dn. 2⁴, etc.

B. *In passages quoted by* VIROLLEAUD *from unpublished texts:*

1) *Syria* XII 355: *ṭl šmm šmn ʾarṣ* (the dew of heaven, the fat of the earth); cf. Gen. 27²⁸,³⁹.

2) *Ibid.*, 357: *k tmḫṣ ltn bṭn brḥ, tkly bṭn ʿḳltn, šlyṭ d šbʿt rʾašm* (Surely thou shalt smite Leviathan, the elusive (?) serpent, thou shalt destroy the writhing (?) serpent, the accursed·(?), the seven-headed); cf., with Virolleaud, Isa. 27¹ and Ps. 74¹⁴; further Job 26¹²⁻¹³.

3) *Syria* XIII, 130 n. 1: 135, n. 1: *ḳḥ ksp w yrḳ ḥrṣ* (take silver and yellow-glittering gold); cf. Ps. 68¹⁴.

4) *Ibid.*, 127: la locution *drkt dt dr drk* "ta puissance qui (s'étend à) toutes les générations" se rencontre a côté de *mlk ʿlmk* "ton royaume

literature evidently included a prototype of Ct. 8:6, and the word
$p=$ פה (and perhaps also ꜣ*ilm*) was probably inserted into it by
ꜣEwirižar in order to adapt it to the case in hand: it forms a
natural antithesis to *ṭmt*=שם, l. 18.

The employment of *yd* as a masculine noun, and as the
equivalent of אהבה in the parallel Ct. 8:6, is, after the publication
of II-ꜣAB 4–5:38–39, still another gratifying confirmation of
Ginsberg's derivation of *yd*, in the passages quoted above, from *ydd*.

In *kmtm* the ending *-m* is probably, as in so many passages of
II-ꜣAB already pointed out by Ginsberg[15a] ad loc., and in a
number of ꜣINY as well,[16] the emphatic particle *-ma* which is so
familiar from Akkadian[17], and from a few West Semitic proper
names.[18] Alternatively, but in our opinion less probably, the *-m* of
mt-m may represent the plural masculine ending; cf. מותי Ezek. 28[10],
ממותי Jer. 16[4]; Ezek. 28[8].

> d'éternité."—Of course, in the former of these phrases *dt* is simply the
> feminine of *d* in No. B. 2, and in the epithet *dpꜣid* which in I- and
> II-ꜣAB is frequently attached to the names *Lṭpn* and *Tr-ꜣil* (both of
> which designate the same individual, ꜣII). H. Bauer, *Das Alphabet von
> Ras Schamra u.s.w.* (September 1932), 70, and independently Ginsberg,
> *Tarbiz* IV Fasc. 1 (October 1932), 112 top, have pointed out that this
> *d* is used exactly like South Semitic *ḏū*, fem. *ḏāt*. Accordingly, *drkt
> dt dr drk* is to be rendered rather "thy government of all generations".
> In any case, what Virolleaud describes in the above sentence is
> obviously an astonishing prototype of Ps. 145[18]; Dan. 3[33].
>   Except for A. 4 and B. 2, which, as has been indicated, were recognised
> by Virolleaud, all the above parallels were first pointed out in the Hebrew
> articles of Ginsberg in *Tarbiz*. In *Tarbiz* IV, 385, Ginsberg further interprets
> *w(y)tn ḳlh bꜣrpt, šrh ꜣarṣ brḳm* II-AB 4–5:70–71 to mean "and he (Baꜥlu-
> Haddu) shall utter his voice (or thunder) in the clouds, flashing down lightning
> unto the earth", taking *šrh* as the adverbial infinitive absolute of *šrh* = common
> South Semitic (cf. esp. Ethiopic) *šrḥ* "to flash" (cf. also *šrḫ* and *šrḳ* in various
> Semitic tongues). With this he compares, in an entirely analogous context:
> תחת כל השמים יִשָׁרֵהֻ(ו) ואורו על כנפות הארץ. אחריו ישאג קול, ירעם בקול גאונו. Job 37[8·4].
> (It is well known that אור means "lightning" in the whole passage Jb. 36[30]—37[16].)
>   [15a] Who was the first to recognize it, *Tarbiz* IV:4 (July 1933), 388.
>   [16] These are commented upon in Ginsberg's "*Notes on The Gracious and
> Beautiful Gods*", which are appearing in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
>   [17] *Tarbiz* IV, 388 ll. 27 ff.; V, 84 to II[en] ꜣAB 4–5 35.
>   [18] B. Hrozný, *Archiv Orientální* I (1929), 66. [Cf. also South Arabian *-mā*
> (both in ordinary words and in proper names) and *-mū*; K. Conti-Rossini,
> *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis*, pp. 174ᵃ, 175ᵇ.]

mʾid, to be read *muʾda* = מאד (cf. lexica): an illustration of GINSBERG's thesis[19] that the three Alephs of the Ras Shamra script only indicate the following, never the preceding, vowel, and that the sign transliterated *ʾi* is used both when the following vowel is *ʾi* and when it is zero.

ʾim we connect with the root אים; cf. *ʾib*, II-ʾAB 7:35, 38 from איב; and *nḷkp* we take as a *nkḷl* participle of *ṭkp* = Arab. *ṭkf*, "to overcome"; Aram. *ṭkp* "to be powerful" (with by-forms *tkp* and *tkb*). *15-19 mʿnk* from *maʿnê*, "answer".—*mnm* = Akk. *manâma*, *mênumma* etc.; so also, with J. N. EPSTEIN (oral communication), מנם. Tabnit l. 5; Ešmunʿazar l. 5 (twice)—cf. Arab. ﻣﺎ, "anything". It is either in apposition to *rgm* or governs it in the genetive.

ṭmt = שֻׁם (DHORME): the *t* may be identical with that of Phoen. המת, = Heb. הם, המה—*w* | *št* = Heb. וְשַׁתָּ, perfect consecutive with imperative signification; cf. G. BERGSTRÄSSER, *Hebräische Grammatik* II, Para. 9 i. The language of Ugarit, however, also employs the second person of the perfect *without* "*w*" as an imperative, e. g., II-AB 3:30—31; and as an optative, e. g., *ibid*. 4—5:42.[19a]—*ʿmy*, "to me"; cf. to 11a.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY

The name of the sender of our letter, *ʾiwrẓr*, is pure Ḥurrian. It is identical with that of one of the kings of Ḳaṭna, which in Mesopotamian cuneiform is written syllabically E-wi-ri-šar-ri[20] and ideographically—EN-LUGAL.[21]

Šar(ri) figures very frequently as a component part of Ḥurrian names from Nuzi, Boghazköi and Syria. From a wealth of material, we select the following examples:

1. *From Nuzi*: Šar-tešup (also Šar-ᵈIM), Šar-tilla, Šarriya, Ar-šarri, Akip-šar, Arip-šar, Teḫip-šar, Tešup-šar.

[19] First propounded *Tarbiz* IV:4 (July 1933), 381—3.

[19a] *Ibid.*, 387 top. We cannot help being reminded of the identical use of the Akkadian permansive in *RA* XIX, p. 100, l. 15; p. 105, l. 15; even though this tablet is a copy of a letter *from* the Pharaoh *to* a Canaanite prince.

[20] Instead of the reading E-pi-ri-šar-ri (so VIROLLEAUD), A. GUSTAVS, *Pal. Jahrb.* XXVI (1930), 10. n. 4 proposed E-*wi*-ri-šar-ri, rightly arguing that the sign PI has mostly the value *wi* in Ḥurrian texts.

[21] CH. VIROLLEAUD, *Antiquity* III (1929), 315; *Syria* XI, 313, l. 44.

Further: *Irwi-šar*,[22] probably a variant of *E-wi-ri-šar-ri*[23] = ›*iwržr*.

2. *From Boghazköi*: Aḫli-šar, Anat-šar, Takip-šarri, Tašmi-šarri-wa, etc.[24]

3. *From Syria*: Šarru (EA 162,68), Zura-šar (EA 319,4), and possibly ARAD-šar-ru-ma (Taʿannek, No. 7, Obv. 3) or ARAD-ša-ru-ma (No. 4, Rev. 6).[25]

That this *šar* is Ḫurrian was recognised by E. F. WEIDNER[26] and A. GUSTAVS;[27] It means "king", as is especially evident from the ideographic spelling LUGAL in the Ḳaṭna and Boghazköi texts, and this meaning is no doubt connected with the Ḫurrian root *šar* "to command",[28] for the fact that, as we have seen, the initial sibilant is one peculiar to Ḫurrian speaks against a loan from the Akkadian.

Ew(i)r(i) is likewise a very common Ḫurrian word. It occurs in the letter of Tušratta—whose messenger, by the way, was called Tunip-*iwri* (EA 17:47)—in the form e-wi-ir-ni—in the Boghazköi texts, and at Nuzi.[29] The current view that it is synonymous with *šar* and means "king" can hardly be substantiated. It is true that in the Boghazköi texts it stands in parallel with *šar*, but it is not completely synonymous with it. We have seen above that the name *Ewiri-šar* is written ideographically EN.LUGAL; the latter means "king", but the former "lord". The name ›*iwržr* = ewiri-šar therefore means much the same thing as Hebrew אדנימלך, viz. "a Lord is the King".[30]

Plsy, the name of the addressee, also seems to be Ḫurrian. It is apparently composed of two elements, of which the first is the Ḫurrian verb *pal* "to demand", which is often combined with

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[22] *Harvard Semitic Series* V 52, 2.

[28] Cf. E.A. SPEISER, *Mesopotamian Origins* (1930), 145 n. 90.

[24] The material has been classified by A. GÖTZE, *MVAeG* 38 (1933), 226ff.

[25] According to GÖTZE, *ibid.*, 258f., however, *šaruma* in these names represents the god Šarma, and is not connected with *šar*. The same element may be present in the tribe-name *Ṯrmn*, RŠ 1929, 2:19 and in the place-name *Ṯrmg*, II-›AB 8:3; for *n* is a suffix frequently employed in tribe-names, whilst *g* is employed in place-names (cf. SPEISER, *Mes. Or.*, 154, n. 113).

[26] *Boghazköi-Studien* VIII, 13 n. 1.   [27] *ZA* N.F. II (1925), 298.

[28] F. BORK, *MVAG* XIV, 1–2 (1909), 126 (and already L. MESSERSCHMIDT, *ibid.*, 1899, Fasc. 4, 58).

[29] Materials in SPEISER, *op. cit.*, 145 n. 90; F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syria* XII, 254, n. 1.   [80] F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *ibid.*, 254–255.

a theophorous element to form proper names (e.g., Pal-Tešup "Tešup demands"),[31] and the second the divine name *Siya, Siy.* These forms are known from the Ḳatna texts (Si-ya),[32] texts of the Kassite period (si-ya-tum),[33] and others.[34] The name Pal-siy(a) accordingly means "(the god) Siy(a) requires". In our opinion, it is the same name as the Ba-al-zi-i occurring in a cuneiform tablet found at Shechem; FR. BöHL, *ZDPV* 1926, p. 322: No. 1, l. 3. BöHL states *ibid.*, p. 324, that he was unable to find any analogy to it.[34a]

The third name in our document, *Trǧds,* is, as we have seen, undoubtedly composed of an element *trǧ* and an element *ds.* The former is practically certainly to be identified with the Anatolian and Hurrian god Tarḫu (or Tarku),[35] who was, of course, worshipped far and wide in Anterior Asia.[36] It is sufficient to recall a few names like Tarḫunazi, Tarḫundaraba, and Tarḫulana from the Kassite Period[37] and the numerous Asianic names compounded with the element *Tarḫu-, Tarku-.*[38] Tarḫu would seem to have been indigenous in the first place in Arzawa (Cilicia). A king of Arzawa in the age of Tell el-ʿAmârna is called Tarḫundaraba (EA 31,2). The Etruscan clan-names *Tarchon* and *Tarquinius* are apparently likewise connected with the *Tarḫu*-names of Asia Minor.[39]

The hieroglyphic equivalent of the Mesopotamian cuneiform *Tarḫu* is *Trg;* cf. the two Hittite names *Trgttš* and *Trgnnš.*[40] That

[31] C. J. GADD, *RA* XXIII (1926), 73; SPEISER, *JAOS* 1933, 31.

[32] CH. VIROLLEAUD, *SYRIA* VIII, 293, l. 11.

[33] A. T. CLAY, *Personal Names from Cuneif. Inscr. of the Cassite Period,* 123.

[34] See especially A. GUSTAVS, *Pal.-Jahrb.* XXVI (1930), 8.

[34a] The character transcribed *zi* is rather peculiar, but seems to be assured by the following *i.*

[35] On the spellings *Tarḫu* and *Tarku,* see E. A. SPEISER, *Mesop. Or.,* 142f.

[36] See especially C. AUTRAN, *Tarkondemos* (1922), *passim;* G. CONTENAU, *Les tablettes de Kerkouk* (1926), 21ff.

[37] CLAY, *op. cit.,* 137, 204.

[38] See J. SUNDWALL, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier* (1913), 213ff.; AUTRAN, *op. cit.,* 36ff.

[39] B. HERBIG, *Kleinasiat.-etrusk. Namengleichungen,* 20f.; B. HROZNý, *ZA N.F.* IV (1929), 175.

[40] BURCHARDT, *Altkanaan. Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen* II, No. 1118–9; W. WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* II, 101, Nos. 3, 14 on which cf. WRESZINSKI, *OLZ* 1931, Col. 1009 ff.; A. REUBENI, *PEF, Q.S.* 1932, 104ff. REUBENI rightly sees

the foreign sound which the cuneiform syllabary endeavours to approximate by means of $\dot{h}$ and the hieroglyphic script by g is $\bar{g}$, was demonstrated above.

The other component of our name possibly corresponds to the element $taš$ ($=taše$, "offering"?)[41] which figures in cuneiform representations of Hurrian and Asianic proper names (e. g. at Nuzi and in the Kassite sphere), such as Ar-taš(še), Tešup-taš(ša), Tašši, etc.,[42] and—in the form of $d/taš/s$—as a suffix of proper names in the Boghazköi texts.[43]

Several Asianic proper names are compounded of a theophorous element $+ daš/s$; e.g. $\Delta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varrho\chi\sigma\nu$, which is probably our $Targu$-das with the positions of the component parts reversed.[44]

The place-name $Tr\bar{g}zz$, II-ʾAB 8:2[45] is also thoroughly Hurrian. Not only, as we have seen, the first element, $Tr\bar{g}=$(Tarḫu), but also the second one, zz, has several excellent Hurrian parallels. The Nuzi-tablets offer Zi-iz-za,[46] Zizziḫarpa[46a] and probably Zu-u-zu[47] and the Boghazköi texts contain some similar names.[48] An element $zaza$ also occurs in Anatolian names.[48a]

in Trgnnš the name Tarḫu-nana(š). The name or name-constituent Nana(š) can be illustrated not only from Nuzi (Nania, Nana, Nan-tešup, etc.) but also from Boghazköi; e. g. Nannaš (KUB XI, 33), Naniyaš (KUB XIII 34, IV, 19).—With the hieroglyphic Trgtšš, Reubeni combines the cuneiform Tarḫu-dattaš.. This identification, however, seems uncertain. Perhaps one should rather compare the cuneiform Tarḫu-taš or our Trg-ds. Whether the spelling ds ($=tt$) instead of $dš$ is to be ascribed to Asianic (Luvian? cf. W. F. Albright, *BASOR* No. 50, p. 19) influence cannot be decided.

[41] On taše see F. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* XII, 255.

[42] G. Contenau, *Les tablettes de Kerkouk*, 133; Gadd, *RA* XIII (1926), 73; E. A. Speiser, *JAOS* 1933, 31. Cf. further the place-name Tṭ in K. Sethe, *Urk. d. äg. Altertums* IV, 791, 229, also the names Da-ša (EA 53, 58) Ta-aš-šu, (56, 16) and Biridašwa (119,41 and often).

[43] See Götze, *MVAeG* 32,1 (1927), 40f.

[44] Sundwall, *op. cit.*, 215.

[45] $Tr\bar{g}zz$ occurs in this passage as the name of a $\bar{g}r$, "valley". Similarly Ḫḫ, ibid l. 13, is located by J. A. Montgomery, *JAOS* 1933, 284, in the mountains of Ṭûr ʿAbdin, and by Maisler, in "*Observations on the Ugarit Tablets*", *Tarbiz* V, 380, in the neighbourhood of Ugarit.

[46] *Harvard Semitic Series* V, 54,12.

[46a] Speiser, *JAOS* 47 (1927), 54 No. 17.   [47] C. J. Gadd, *RA* XXIII, 83.

[48] E.g. Zazuwaš, KUB VIII 76, II 7,10. Cf. Götze, *MVAeG* 32,1 (1927), 41.

[48a] See Sundwall, *op. cit.*, 248f.

In such a context, the remaining name of our letter—*Klby*—is at once stigmatised as Ḥurrian by its final *y*; for *iya* is a typical termination of Ḥurrian proper names. In the Ras Shamra texts themselves (of 1929) the apparently Ḥurrian god-name *Pdr* has a variant *Pdry*, and the certainly Ḥurrian *Isḫar* of other sources figures here as *ʾUsḫry*, RŠ 1929, 1:13 (without this *-y*, but with the Ḥurrian dative ending *-d*, in the Ḥurrian text, *Syria* XII, p. 389, l. 5).

The ending *-iya* is especially common in hypocoristica in Ḥurrian districts; e.g. 1) at Nuzi: Aḫliya, Ariya, Ḥašiya, Ḥuttiya, Šarruya, Uziya etc.; 2) in the El-ʿAmârna tablets: Akiya, Biridiya, Wašuya, Labaya, Šarriya etc.; 3) in the Taʿannek tablets: Akiya, Dakiya; 4) in the Ḳaṭna-tablets: Akiya, Dakiya, Ḥuttiya; 5) in Egyptian texts: *ʾqy* = Akiya, and the place-names *Ny* = Niya etc.

Most of these names consist of either a substantive or a verb with the hypocoristic ending *(i)ya*.

The name *Klby* is probably formed from the well-known Ḥurrian verb *kul*, "to say, or speak", with which names of persons are frequently compounded (e.g. Kul-i-Tešup, "Tešup speaks"). The suffix *ib* serves as the exponent of the Desiderative Stem of the Ḥurrian verb[49] and also constitutes an element in proper names.[50] Many Ḥurrian names contain it: e. g., Ḥut-ib-tilla, Ak-ib-tilla, Ar-ib-šar, Teḫ-ib-šar, Gil-ib-šar, etc.[51] The name *Klby* is accordingly to be vocalized something like *Kul-ib-(i)ya*.

Thus all four of the proper names contained in our text— *ʾIwrżr*, *Plsy*, *Trḡds*, *Klby*—are of purely Ḥurrian origin. The fact that bearers of Ḥurrian names employ a Northwest Semitic speech is in no way remarkable, being paralleled elsewhere in Phoenicia, Syria and Palestine about the middle of the second millennium B.C., and especially in the Tell el-ʿAmârna Period. It is a consequence of the great displacements of population in Syria and Palestine which are most strikingly reflected by the emergence of the name *Ḥr* for the whole of this region in the New Empire. The wave of Ḥurrian peoples that swept from Mesopotamia in the first half of the second millennium constituted the dominant element of North and Central Syria, but also had outposts in Phoenicia and in

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[49] F. Bork, *MVAG* XIV,1—2, 54.   [50] Cf. Speiser, *Mesop. Or.*, 142.
[51] For numerous further examples see C. J. Gadd, *RA* XXIII, 71ff.

Palestine, reaching down to their southernmost extremities. This stratum of the population became assimilated to the indigenous "Canaanites" and later to the Israelitish invaders, but not without impressing a number of permanent characteristics upon the culture of these countries.[52] However, this process was not yet completed in the middle of the second millenium. In the period of the Tell el-ʿAmârna tablets there still subsisted in Phoenicia and Palestine, by the side of the main West Semitic stock mixed with Hurrian blood, an independent Hurrian stratum, which spoke a Hurrian tongue and bore the name of "Hurri".

The ethnic situation thus roughly outlined is reflected vividly in the epigraphic harvests of successive French excavations at Ras Shamra. It may now be regarded as certain that the population of Ugarit in the Tell el-ʿAmârna period was mainly "Canaanite"-speaking; but the presence of a large Hurrian contingent is attested not only by the considerable number of Hurrian proper names occurring in both religious and profane documents,[53] but above all by four inscriptions (RŠ 1929, Nos. 4, 7, and 28 [53a] and the fragment in *Syria*

[52] On the pre-Israelitish ethnography of Syria and Palestine, see especially B. Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Gesch. Syr. und Pal.* I, 36ff., and now E. A. Speiser, *AASOR* XIII (1933), 16ff.

[53] Note particularly in the Akkadian document *Syria* IX (1929), Pl. LXXVI, No. 1, l. 1: *A-ki-ḫi-in-ni*, a typically Hurrian name (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, 304). The Hurrian element *ak, ag* is of course common in names from Boghazköi, Nuzi, Tell el-ʿAmârna, Ḳaṭna, Taʿannek (A. Gustavs, *Pal.-Jahrb.* 1930, 7), and probably also occurs in the O. T., viz., in אַךְ, 2 Sam. 23[11] (Maisler, *Tarbiz* III, 188 n. 38). The name Nḳmd, RŠ 1929, 2:20; II-ʾAB 8:margin, is evidently identical with Niḳmeaz in the Akkadian document of Ras Shamra reported on by Virolleaud to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres at its session of Dec. 2, 1933. So vocalized it resembles the Hurrian name Nikmia (Gadd, *ibid.*, 79) so closely that the conclusion that it too is Hurrian is inescapable. (Incidentally, this transcription would constitute proof positive that the Ugaritic character *d*, which represents proto-Semitic *ḏ* as well as Proto-Semitic *d*, was in fact also pronounced *ḏ*; and, if the name is in fact Hurrian, that not only the "Canaanite" but also the Hurrian speech of this place and time distinguished both *d-ḏ-z* and *t-ṭ-š* [Hurrian also *ž*].) The other name in the document in question, *Ibira*, is perhaps to be read Iwira, with which word we are by now familiar. The statements in the report of the Académie's session with regard to the position of Niḳmeaz and Ibira are not clear. Seeing that the document in question is, like ours, in the nature of an order of arrest, it is tempting to speculate whether Ibira (i. e., Iwira) may not be identical with our ʾIwiriẓar.

[53a] Cf. ʾiwrn, Rev. l. 9, = *ewirni* (v. s. p. 251), Virolleaud, *Syria*, XV, 83.

XII, 286) in the Ḥurrian language, and some vocabularies of cuneiform ideograms explained in syllabically spelt Ḥurrian.[54] Moreover, the still largely enigmatic Semitic document RŠ 1929, No. 2, is at least intelligible enough to leave no doubt but that the word *ḫry*, 11, 12, 21, 29 corresponds exactly to the Biblical חרי (LXX: Χορραῖος), Eg. *Ḫr* and Akkad. *Ḫurri*.[55]

A realisation of the numerical strength and wide distribution of the Ḥurrians throughout Syria and Palestine at the time of the Ras Shamra and Tell el-ᶜAmârna tablets (15th and 14th centuries B. C.) is of the utmost importance for an understanding of ethnic conditions in Palestine at the time of the Hebrew settlement.

It is a commonplace that the Old Testament consistently speaks of a group of "Horite" tribes as the pre-Edomite inhabitants of Mount Šeᶜir. ED. MEYER,[56] and even before him W. M. MÜLLER,[57] propounded the theory that these Horites were connected with *Ḫr*, the Egyptian designation for Syria-Palestine. H. WINCKLER,[58] on the other hand, endeavoured to bring them into relationship with the Ḥurri of the cuneiform sources.

Another solution was sought by MAISLER,[59] who, while establishing the identity of the *Ḫr* of the hieroglyphic records with the Ḥurri of the cuneiform ones, denied any connection of either with the Horites of the Old Testament on the ground alleged by ED. MEYER, viz., that the Horites were a Semitic people. This view, however, he gave up a few years ago, having convinced himself that the names of the Horite clans listed in Gen. 36 prove after much research to be for the most part genuinely Ḥurrian.[60] Following MAISLER, A. REUBENI has attempted to work up the material systematically, and has attained some very interesting results.[61]

We shall undertake a new treatment of the problem here.

Of the names enumerated in Gen. 36[20]ff., the following are demonstrably Ḥurrian:

[54] Ed. F. THUREAU-DANGIN. *Syria* XII (1931), 234 ff; the Ḥurrian words and their meanings have been collected by H. BAUER, *OLZ* 1934, Col. 244.

[55] Cf. J. FRIEDRICH, *AfO* VIII, 239; E. A. SPEISER, *AASOR* XIII, 19.

[56] *Israel und seine Nachbarstämme*, 329ff; *Gesch. d. Altertums* I,2³, 467.

[57] *Asien und Europa*, 155f.   [58] *Geschichte* II,1, 6.

[59] *Untersuchungen* I, 34 n. 4.

[60] MAISLER, *apud* A. REUBENI, *Shem, Ham and Japhet* (1932), 137 and n. 2.— This was overlooked by E. A. SPEISER, *AASOR* XIII, 29 n. 63.   [61] *Ibid.*, 137ff.

1. שובל. This name is attested as both Ḥurrian and Asianic. In the form Šabil(iš) it is known as the name of the sixth king of the realm of Amurru, the son of Benteŝina and grandson of Tuppi-Tešup (KBo I, No. 8), and in the form Ša-bi-lu as that of another person (EA 62,26). Šabila is a Ḥurrian place-name in Mesopotamia mentioned by Tukulti-Ninurta I (Keilschrifttextè aus Assur hist. Inhalts (KAHI) II, No. 60, l. 82). In Asia Minor it is recorded in the form Σαβαλος.[62] It is possibly related to Šible, the name of the Circassian god of thunder.[63]

2. דישן (LXX: Δησων, Δαισων). This word was rightly identified by CHIERA and SPEISER[64] with the Ḥurrian name Taišenni. The latter, in turn, is compounded of an element Ta-i (also written Ta-e, Te) and šen(n)i, "brother".

3. שפו (LXX: Σωφ, Σοφαν) is probably connected with the Ḥurrian and Hittite word šu/apa which enters into the composition of Ḥurrian names like Šuppurni, and probably also into that of the well known Hittite name Šuppululiuma.[65] Compare further the Ḥurrian place-name Šuppâ in an inscription of Aššurdān II.[66]

4. ארן. The element arna/i[67] is attested in numerous Ḥurrian and Asianic names; e. g., Ari(-ib)-arni/a, Arnu-urḫi, etc., at Nuzi; Lubarna, Šutarna, Arnuanta in Ḫatti; and—but from other routs—Arana,[68] Arinni,[69] names of places in Mesopotamia.

5. איה. The god Aya, stated to be Ḥurrian in Boghazköi 3022. III, ll. 3, 10, was borrowed by the Hittites as Ayaš.[70] That the Edomites still knew this god as such towards the end of the eighth pre-Christian century is proved by the cuneiform notation of the name of their king ᵈA-a-ram-mu, Sennach. Prism, Col. II, l. 57; cf. E. EBELING, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* I, p. 3.

6. תמנע (LXX: Θαμνα). Cf. the Ḥurrian place-name Tamnauš, mentioned in an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I together with Arini and Šabila.[71]

7. ענה may also be of Ḥurrian origin. It is reminiscent of the Ḥurrian personal names Ḥanaya, Ḥania etc. in the Nuzi

[62] Cf. CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 137. [63] *RLV* VI, 257. [64] *AASOR* VI, 81.
[65] Cf. CONTENAU, *loc. cit.* [66] E. F. WEIDNER, *AfO* III, 151ff., ll. 19—20.
[67] Cf. CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 133; SUNDWALL, *op. cit.*, 55.
[68] P. ROST, *Tiglatpileser*, 46. [69] *KAHI* II, No. 60, l. 78.
[70] E. FORRER, *RLA* I, 2. [71] *KAHI* II, No. 60, l. 78.

texts,[72] of the Hittite element Ḥani,[73] and of the name of the territory Ḥanigalbat (= Mesopotamia).

8. עלון (עלוה) and זעון are certainly Ḥurrian. For both show the typical Ḥurrian suffix -*wan*,[74] and in addition the first element in the former is obviously the *ḫal* of numerous Nuzi names such as Ḥal-šenni, Ibša-ḫalu, etc.[75] in the Kassite name Meli-ḫala and in the Hittite name *Tudḫaliya* = תרעל. We have already seen (from the transcription of the LXX) that the ע of the latter represents an older *ḡ*, and this is confirmed by the LXX transcriptions Γωλων, Γωλωμ, Γωλαμ for עלון and Ιωλα for עלוה, and is further strengthened by the fact that in Asianic names it is represented—like the *ḡ* of *Tarḡu*—by *k*; e. g. Κυλλας.[76]

With regard to the name כרן it is difficult to decide whether it too may not be Ḥurrian. It is perhaps to be compared with *Ku-ur-ra* in the Nuzi texts, and with *Ku-ra-an-gi*.[77]

The Ḥorites of Mt. Seʿir were overlaid by an Edomite stratum, and thus there gradually arose in this district a mixed population whose special character appears from the genealogical tables of the books of Genesis and Chronicles.

The thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis speaks several times of matrimonial alliances contracted by "Esau" and his "sons" with Ḥorites, particularly with the families of ʿAnah, Timnaʿ and Oholibamah. Moreover, some of the Edomite clans (Gen. 36⁴⁰ ff.) either themselves bear Ḥorite names or are closely related to others that do; particularly the families of תמנע (cf. תמנע, v. 22), עלוה (cf. עלון, v. 23), אהליבמה (cf. אהליבמה vs. 26) and קנז.

The *a* of the latter name is, as the gentilic Ḳenizzi shows, secondarily developed, in accordance with PHILIPPI'S LAW, from *i*. But as the ending -*izzi* (also -*izzu*, -*izza*) is one of the commonest features of Ḥurrian personal, local and tribal names,[78] it is perhaps also present in אליפז-Elipaz, the name of Kenaz's father, and the resemblance of the former to so many Semitic names beginning

[72] C. J. GADD, *op. cit.*, 75f; CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 135.   [73] CONTENAU, *ibid.*

[74] Cf. E. FORRER, *ZDMG* N. F. I, 226; also the observation of F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syria*, XII, 256ff., on the ending wi-na.   [75] C. J. GADD, *op. cit.*, 75f.

[76] SUNDWALL, *op. cit.*, 121; CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 135.

[77] GADD, *op. cit.*, 77; CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 136.

[78] E. A. SPEISER, *Mes. Or.*, 141 s.; A. REUBENI, *Shem, Ham and Japhet*, 146.

with-אֵלִי may only have arisen secondarily under their influence, unless it is altogether fortuitous. Similarly the name of the pre-Israelitish nation, הַפְּרִזִּי—the Perizzite—is identical with the name of the Mitannian Pirizzi of EA 27, 28, 29.[79]

The first element in the name of Ḳenaz, which must also be Ḥurrian, may be connected with such names as Ḳani, Ḳanai etc. in the Nuzi texts.[80]

A remarkable feature shared in common by the two strongly Ḥurrian populations, at opposite corners of Syria-Palestine, of which we have been speaking is the designation ʾulp = אַלּוּף for "clan" or "nation" (Lat. "gens"). The lists of peoples in RŠ 1929, 2:11–13, 20–22, 28–30, each preceded by ʾulp, suggest those of Gen. 36[15-22, 29-30, 40-43]; I Chr. 1[51-54] so strongly that HROZNÝ, in his edition of this text[81] did not hesitate to identify the ʾulp of the former with the אלוף of the latter. Though GINSBERG[82] at first rejected this view on account of the undoubted occurrence of a proclitic ʾu (interpreted as such by HROZNÝ himself) in the same text, it is manifestly right in the light of the foregoing. The Ugaritic vowel-sequence u—u (ʾullûpu) would seem to be more original than the Hebrew one of a—u both in this word, in ʾurbt = אֲרֻבָּה and in ʾušḥr(y) = אַשְׁחוּר (v.s.); for the difference between ʾulmn (ʾINY, 9) and אַלְמוֹן is probably to be explained, with ALBRIGHT,[82a] as follows: ʾulmân ⟩ʾulmôn⟩ ʾalmôn (dissimilation of u before another back vowel).

The fact that families are only designated by this word in communities with such strong Ḥurrian contingents (note especially Ex. 15[15]!)[83] suggests that it may have linguistically nothing whatever to do with Heb. אַלּוּף (unless it be a Ḥurrian adaptation of it), and that it may rather be identical with the first element of the name אֱלִיפַז, which we have surmised may be non-Semitic.

[79] F. BÖHL, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, 66; W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS* II (1922), 128; A. REUBENI, *op. cit.*, 175.

[80] GADD, *RA* XXIII, 79.   [81] B. HROZNÝ, *Archiv Orientálni* IV, 169–178.

[82] *Tarbiz* IV, 381, n. 4.

[82a] *JPOS* 1934, p. 133 n. 172a (cf. *Archiv f. Orientforschung* VII, 168).

[83] In Zach. 9[7]; 12[5,6]; the defective spelling, which would be very exceptional for the word אַלּוּף, points rather to אָלֵף, אַלְּפֵי; cf. Mi. 5[1]. Even if we suppose the vocalisation to be right, however, it does not greatly invalidate our argument, because, as we shall presently see, Judah, with which the word is connected in these passages, also had a very large infusion of Ḥurrian blood.

In his basic work *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*,[84] Ed. MEYER first propounded the theory that the Ḥorites were not confined to Mt. Seʿir and the wilderness of Edom. In effect the חורי is in all probability mentioned as a nation of Palestine proper in a few passages that have been garbled in the Masoretic text of the O. T., particularly in Isa. 17[9], where החרי והאמרי is no doubt to be restored for the החרש והאמיר of M. T.[85] Much more important, however, is MEYER's observation that a stratum of population related to the Ḥorites of Mt. Seʿir is incorporated in the Israelite tribe of Dan. Latterly, B. MAISLER and A. REUBENI have succeeded in proving that the Ḥorites, so far from being confined to small enclaves, constituted an important racial element throughout the south of Palestine.[86] This inquiry too we propose to pursue further.

The lists in Gen. 36[20]ff. name five Ḥurrian tribes whose eponyms are Loṭan, Šobal, Ṣibʿon, ʿAnah and Dišon. The most important was no doubt *Šobal*, embracing as it did five clans, namely ʿAlwan, Manaḥat, ʿEbal, Šepo and ʾOnam. Now, ED. MEYER has already pointed out that this tribe is represented on Judean soil. In I Chr. 2[50] ff.. we find the following pedigree:
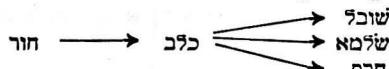
Šobal, "the father of Ḳiryat Yeʿarim", is thus expressly traced back through Kaleb to Ḥur (and how Ḥoritic Kaleb in fact was we shall see presently). At the same time he is made the ancestor of "a half of the *Manaḥtites*" and of a number of families of Ḳiryat Yeʿarim, to which the inhabitants of Ṣorʿah and Eštaʾol also traced their descent. It is quite impossible to dissociate this "half of the Manaḥtites" in the territory of Dan, whose eponym was Šobal the Hurite, from the Manaḥtites of Mt. Seʿir whose *heros eponymos* was Šobal the Ḥorite;[86a] and consequently the population of the district around Ḳiryat Yeʿarim, Ṣorʿah and Eštaʾol must be regarded as of very much the same essentially Ḥurrian stock as that of Mt. Seʿir.

All this is, of course, perfectly compatible with WELLHAUSEN's suggestion that Manoaḥ the father of Šimšon, of Ṣorʿah, is simply

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[84] *IN*, p. 328ff.; *GA* I,2[3], Para. 467.　　[85] See MEYER, *ibid.*; SPEISER *AASOR* XIII, 27ff.　　[86] *Shem, Ham and Japhet*, 137ff.　　[86a] This and the following conclusions are warranted even if—in view of the Septuagint's treatment of the two *ḥets* as ḥ and ẖ respectively—the resemblance between "Ḥur" and "Ḥorite" be discounted as secondary.

the *heros eponymos* of these Manaḥtites.[87] It is also not improbable that Bilhah, the concubine of Jacob to whom the Danites traced their descent, stands in the same relation to the Ḥorite sept of Bilhan, Gen. 36[27], as the ʿEsau-Edomite tribe of ʿAlwah, ibid. v. 40, to the Šeʿir-Ḥorite one of ʿAlwan, vs. 23.

Since the Danites, after the developments recorded in Ju. 18, only retained their tribal identity in the extreme north of Palestine, the Israelitised Šobalites, or those of them that had not participated in this migration, are known to the Chronicler; 1 Chr. 4[1] only as a sept of the tribe of Judah. This is true of the whole family of Kaleb, of which the Šobalites of South Palestine were a subdivision. The older tradition is still conscious of the originally non-Israelitish character of כלב (also called כלובי, I Chron. 2[9] and כלוב, ibid., 4[11]); for although the Chronicler traces his ancestry back to Judah, he also (I Chr. 4[15]), as do the older sources almost regularly (cf. Nu. 32[12]; Jos. 15[17], etc.), connects him with Ḳenaz. It was, moreover, not forgotten that in the patriarchal age the Kenizzite had already existed as an independent "people" in Southern Palestine (Gen. 15[19]), and a section of this family constituted one of the most important tribes in the Edomite League (v. s.). Of the Ḥurrian aspect of this "Ḳenaz, Ḳenizzite", we have already spoken, and therefore we are not surprised to find "Ḥur" figuring as an ancestor of Kaleb in the genealogical table reproduced above. In I Chr. 2[18-20], on the other hand, Kaleb is made instead a son of Ḥeṣron and an ancestor of "Ḥur", the grandfather of Beṣalʾel.[88]

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[87] J. Wellhausen in Bleek, *Einleitung in d. A. T.*[4], 197.

[88] On אורי, the connecting link between Ḥur and Bezalʾel, see A. Gustavs, *ZAW* 1913, 201ff.

Immediately after *yẓtt* (v. s. n. 3), the tablet RŠ 1929:2 has the complex *bṣltt*, which, it is reasonable to surmise, may be a proper name of similar formation; may not, then the name of a person with such affinities as those of Beṣalʾel contain the first element of this name rather than constitute an analogy to Akk. Ina-ṣilli-Bêl and the late בסודיה, Neh. 3[6]? Among the names of the temple-slaves (נתינים), who might be supposed *a priori* to have been of non-Israelite origin—cf. also Joshua Ch. 9—we find בצלות (Ezr. 2[52]), or בצליח (Neh. 7[54]). Similarly יעלה, or יעלא—Ezr. 2[56]; Neh. 7[58]—the name of a family of בני עבדי שלמה, may well be compared, with A. Reubeni, *Shem, Ham and Japhet*, p. 141, to יעלם, the name of a son of Esau, Gen. 36[5,14,18]; 1 Chr. 1[35]. Both these castes betray their alien, and no doubt mixed, origin by many another strange-looking name; a study of which, however, would take us too far afield.

The Kalibbites and Kenizzites are an important element in the old population of Southern Palestine. They are strongest in the wide circuit of Hebron and Debir, and among the Yeraḥmeʾelites and Kenites dwelling in the Negeb. (Cf. especially I. Chr. 2[42] ff.; 4[11]ff.; I Sam. 25[2]; 30[14].)

It is significant that not only "Kenaz" but "Kaleb" as well has every appearance of being a Hurrian name. The forms כְּלוּב ,כָּלֵב and כלובי are all different from that of the Common Semitic word *kalbu*, "dog". On the other hand, we have already seen that there existed a Hurrian name *Klby*.

The genealogical table reproduced further back shows as the next son of Kaleb—after Šobal, "the father of Kiryat Yeʿarim, etc."—Šalma, "the father of Bethlehem". From him are said to be descended the dwellers of Bethlehem, Neṭop̄ah and עטרות בית יואב, "the (other) half of the Manaḥtite" at Ṣorʿah, and "families of scribes" by the name of תרעתים ,שמעתים ,שוכתים, "they are the Kenites that came from Ḥammat, the father of Bet-Rekab" (I Chron. 2[50]ff.). These descendants of Šalma—a son of Kaleb and a brother of Šobal—can be proved independently of all these circumstances to have had a good deal of Hurrian blood in their veins. For, firstly, I Chr. 4[4] again brings the Bethlehemites, in somewhat obscure terms it is true, into contact with Ḥur. Secondly, עטרות is certainly connected with עטרה "the other wife of Yeraḥmeʾel", "the mother" of ʾOnam (I Chr. 2[26]); but this ʾOnam cannot be separated from ʾOnam, "the son" of Šobal the Horite of Mt. Śeʿir (Gen. 36[23]). Thirdly, the Manaḥtites, we have already seen, are certainly connected with the Manaḥtites of Edom. Lastly, the תרעתים, שמעתים, שוכתים, betray their Hurrian origin not only by their sterling Hurrian termination *-ti*, which is almost a characteristic of Hurrian names of localities and peoples,[89] but by the fact that the root of תרעתים (LXX: *ΑΡΓΑΘΙΕΙΜ*, corrupted by haplography from *ΘΑΡΓΑΘΙΕΙΜ*) is, as we have already seen, the Hurrian divine name *Targ̱*.[90]

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[89]   Cf. SPEISER, *op. cit.*, 143.

[90]   Whether the name שלמא (cf. the spelling שלמה, Ruth. 4[20]; שלמון, *ibid.* 4[21]) is also Hurrian, is doubtful. It may possibly be connected with the Hurrian element Ša/ilma; cf. the names Šil-ma-a-ḫu, Šil-mi-Tešup, Šil-mi-til-la, Šil-mi-ia etc., in Nuzi and Boghazköi texts; see CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 237ff., and Σαλμαχις, Σαλμενος etc. (SUNDWALL, *op. cit.*, 194).—For שלמון in particular, cf. the divine

Moreover, these three families are described as the Ḳenites who came from Ḥammat, the father of the House of Rekab, and "the Ḳenite" is known to have been on the one hand like the Ḳenizzite a pre-Israelite people of Palestine (Gen. 15[19]), on the other to have been later scattered through Galilee and Samaria as well as Judea,[91] and lastly, again like the Ḳenizzite and the Kalibbite, to have been an ally of the Israelites in the period of the Judges (Ju. 4–5).[91a]

We have already seen that one tradition (1 Chron. 2[9]ff.) made Kaleb (כלב, כלוב, כלובי) a son of Ḥeṣron (but nevertheless the ancestor of a "Ḥur"). This is not the only family of Ḥurrian nomenclature which was eventually subordinated to the Yehudite sept of Ḥeṣron. Another "son" of Ḥeṣron was (v. 24) אַשְׁחוּר, a name which, as we have seen, corresponds exactly, in accordance with the sound laws, to the Ḥurrian *>ušḫr(y)*.[92] Moreover, the "firstborn" of Ḥeṣron, was not Kaleb but Yeraḥme>el, 1. Chron. 2[25]. In vs. 9 *ibid.* Yeraḥme>el also takes precedence to כלובי in the order of Ḥeṣron's sons, and in vs. 42 Kaleb is identified as "the brother of Yeraḥme>el". And we have already seen that the name עטרות among the families descended of Śalma- the "son" of Kaleb links this tribe up with Yeraḥme>el through עטרה, the "concubine" of Yeraḥme>el, who was the "mother" of the Ḥorite >Onam. The names of the latter's "descendants" אחלי, שש, פלת and זזא all look very Ḥurrian.

1. אחלי is probably connected with the element *aḫli* in many names from Nuzi and Boghazköi (e. g. Aḫli-Tešup, Aḫli-ib-a-ri, Aḫ-li-šar, etc.),[93] and outwardly corresponds perfectly to the Ḥurrian name Aḫ-li-ya.[94]

2. שש resembles the element *šš* that occurs in a number of Ḥurrian names, perhaps in that of the great Mitannian king

Name *Šulmanuḫu* in an Akkadian letter from Ras Shamra, *Syria* 1929, pl. LXXVI No. 2, ll. 6, 16; and on the god Šulman in general s. W. F. Albright 'The Syro-Mesopotamien God Šulman-Ešmun and Related Figures', *A chiv f. Orientforschung* VII, 164ff.   [91] Cf. Reubeni, *op. cit.*, 146f.

[91a] It is suggestive to compare the phrase applied in Nu. 24[21a] by Balaam to the Ḳenite with that with which Obadiah, v. 4, apostrophises Edom.

[92] Ch. Virolleaud, *Syria* XII, 389f. and *RŠ* 1929 1:13. In cuneiform writing: Išḫara. Cf. on this god B. Hrozný, *Arch. Orient.* IV (1932), 122.

[93] Gadd, *op. cit.*, 71.   [94] *ibid.*

Šauššatar and almost certainly in Ša-aš-ta-e, and in Še-eš-wa, Še-eš-wa-ia etc.,[95] whilst -n is a typically Hurrian suffix.

3. פלת is reminiscent of Sin-palti, the name of a woman in the Nuzi texts.[96] It is perhaps compounded of the verbal element *pal* "to demand" and the suffix -*ti*, both of which we have already encountered in the course of our inquiry.

4. זאן, it can hardly be doubted, is the Hurrian element *zz* which we have already discussed.[97]

But a Horite strain can also be proved to have inhabited the farthest south of Palestine, the broad steppe of the Negeb. The oldest inhabitants of this region were the ʿAmalekites and the ʿAwwites. Now ʿAmalek was, according to Gen. 36[12] a brother of Kenaz, on whom see above, and a son of Elipaz (v. s.)[98], the son of Edom through the Horite "concubine" תמנע (v. s.). As for the ʿAwwites "who dwelt in הצרים by Gaza", Dt. 2[23]; Jos. 13[3], Speiser[99] has happily compared with their name the frequent Hurrian one of Huwya. A further ancient "Hamitic" strain, of Kušim and Meʿunim (1. Chr. 4[40] ff.) is found in the district of Gerar (Tell Jemmeh), and these we know to have been partly extirpated and partly absorbed by the Šimʿonites.[100] We may safely conclude that the whole of the Negeb was anciently inhabited by a Hamite or Kušite (Kassite?) and a Hurrian stratum, which were later overlaid by a Hebrew one (of Šimʿonites, Edomites, Yerahmeʾelites etc.) but were only completely assimilated to the latter, to form with it the great tribe of Judah (Yehudah) and the smaller one of Simeon (Šimʿon), towards the end of the pre-Exilic period.

Onomastic traces of this process in the case of Simeon are

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[95] Cf. Contenau, *op. cit.*, 137; Gadd, *ibid.*, 80.

[96] *JAOS* XLVII, 44; cf. Maisler, *Tarbiz* III, 190.

[97] M. Noth, *Die israelit. Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemit. Namengebung*, 40—41 includes שׁשׁן, זאן and the ייזא mentioned a little further on among "pet-names which originated in the nursery and are so altered that the full names from which they are derived cannot be reconstructed". This statment is to be corrected in the light of the above, and as for the other two names included by Noth in this sub-class, שׁוּשָׁא (if not corrupt for שׁוריה) can also very well be compared to Šauššatar, whilst ישׁישׁי looks like a "Vollname"; so that the existence of such a sub-class seems very doubtful altogether.

[98] Reubeni, *op. cit.*, 145, also explains the name אגג as Hurrian.

[99] *AASOR* XIII, 30, n. 67.   [100] See Maisler, *Untersuchungen* I, 64, n. 1.

שפט בן חורי, Num. 13⁶ (but see LXX) זיזא 1. Chr, 4³⁷ (cf. the Yeraḥme'elite אזו[101] treated of a little further back), "Saul the son of the Canaanite woman", Gen. 46¹⁰, and, in all probability, the names of some localities which are compounded with חצר: חצר סוסה, חצר שועל: (Jos. 19³,⁵; 1. Chr. 4³¹).

Thus the Biblical sources and the Ugarit tablets supplement one another admirably with regard to the wide distribution of the Ḫurrians in Syria and Palestine. Have we any archaeological data on this question as well?

ALBRIGHT[102] has made the interesting observation that the peculiar ramparts of *terre pisée* that have been unearthed at Tell Fâr'a and Tell Beit Mirsim (and recently at Tell Duweir) and to a lesser extent at Shechem and Ḥaṣor (Tell el-Ḳedaḥ), were built by the Hyksos invaders from the north. ALBRIGHT and SPEISER suppose that the name of Ḥaṣor, and the חצרים of the 'Awwites, and the component חצר in the Simeonite place-names just refered to, and the Judite place names חצר גדה and חצר אדר, Jos. 15²⁷; Nu. 34⁴ are all connected with these Hyksos ramparts.[103] In the territory of Simeon also lay the Hyksos fortress of *Šrḥn* (Heb. שרוחן, Jos. 19⁶). In addition, ALBRIGHT[104] observed that in the Hyksos strata of South Palestinian towns, a type of house known from Northern Mesopotamia—the megaron (ANDRAE's "Herdhaus")—is found. This again confirms that the Hyksos represent a *northern* wave of immigration.

That the Ḫurrians, or Ḥorites, constituted the principle element therein hardly requires further proof.

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[101] V. s., n. 97.

[102] W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS* I, 187ff.; *BASOR* No. 47 (1932), 8.

[103] Cf. SPEISER, *AASOR* XIII, p. 30 n. 67. This hypothesis, however, though very satisfactory in the case of Ḥaṣor, is not without difficulties when applied to the *haserim* of the 'Awwites and the names of towns compounded with חצר. For elsewhere in Hebrew חצרים—in contrast to חצרות—has only the sense of "villages", and in Lev. 25²⁹⁻³¹ חצרים certainly means *unwalled* villages in explicit contrast to walled towns. However, a rule need not be without exceptions; cf. syr. חירתא, "castra". Only exploration and excavation can settle this point.

Incidentally the צ in חצרים, which in any case denotes settlements of some sort, is shown by Syr. חירתא (for חערתא) and Arab. ‏حضر‎ to be descended from a primitive *ḍ*, whereas חצרות, "courts", is shown by the Ras Shamra spelling *ḥṭr* to be connected rather with Arab. ‏حظير‎, "enclosure".

[104] *BASOR* No. 47 (1932), 11.

We take this opportunity to add a few remarks on R.S. 1932, 4474, the other tablet edited by DHORME.

Ll. 1 and 19—the first and last of the piece, and the only ones that are damaged—seem to us to be identical. L. 1 looks like

(ẖ)

ʾi l d (z) y (?) ʾi l ; of which l. 19 only retains, but in the cor-

1 2 3 4 5   6 7

(ẖ)

responding positions: – – d (z) – – l (character No. 3 could also

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

be a *n*, but its low position confirms our inference from l. 1 that it is the lower part of a damaged *d*). We have no suggestion for an interpretation, but we doubt whether DHORME can be right in taking the first two letters ʾil as equivalent to the Heb. אָלָה. First of all the word ʾil occurs certainly 14 other times in this short inscription, and always with its usual meaning of ʾIl, "God". Secondly, ʾil is in any case a different formation from Heb. ʾalah (⟨ʾalat). Thirdly, the Heb. ʾalah has a very special sense—that of an adjuration reinforced by a curse—which seems to fit ill with the tenor of our text.

Ll. 2–5. *Trmlk* certainly does not mean "un taureau du roi". In the epic texts of Ras Shamra ʾIl, *Tr* and *Mlk* figure both by themselves and in the combinations *Tr-ʾIl*, ʾIl-Mlk, and *Tr-Mlk*, as different names of one and the same divinity (also called *Ltpn-ʾIl-Dpʾid*, *Tr-ʾIl-Dpʾid*, and *Bny Bnwt*). Accordingly we render *dr bn ʾil mpḫrt bn ʾil trmlk; š ʿm ʾil wʾatrt* as follows: the Abode of the Son(s) of ʾIl, the Assembly of the Son(s) of ʾIl-Tr-Mlk; a sheep unto ʾIl and ʾAṯirat. For ʿm, cf. above to R.S. 1932, 4475.

With these lines DHORME rightly compares RS 1929, 2:17, 25–26, 34.

L. 9. Transliterate: ʾil ḫ(!)š, ʾil ʾadʾu, as does DHORME himself in the commentary. ʾadʾu, whatever its meaning, is most likely an imperative *infinitive*: ʾadâʾu, see above to R.S. 1932, 4475, ll. 7–11a.

Ll. 10—11: *bgd špn, kl ʾugrt* can hardly mean "Saphon a ravagé tout Ugarit". *Špn* seems from the evidence available to have been the name of the district of which ʾUgrt was the principal town. The primary meaning of the verb *bgd*, which would explain those of all its derivatives, is apparently "to cover" (for the meaning

"to act faithfully" cf. *mᶜl*, ditto, with מעיל" [outer] garment). One might then compare *kl* with Heb. כול, כלכל "to hold, sustain", or —better still—with Arab. كِلّة "veil, mosquito-curtain", Talmudic Hebrew כִּילָה "curtain, curtained bed, canopy". One would then translate: Protect *Ṣpn*! $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Sustain} \\ \text{Shelter} \end{matrix} \right\}$ Ugarit!

L. 12. *b mrḥ ᵓil* Dhorme rightly renders by "Par la fierté d'El", and compares Arabic *mariḥa* "être fier" and I-ᵓAB 1:22—24, which he renders "le faible en forces se lèvera-t-il avec Baal? fera-t-il le fier?". It should be noted, however, that J. N. Epstein *apud* Ginsberg, *Tarbiz* IV Fasc. 1 (Oct. 1932), p. 111 (f) already has: היתחנשׂא לפני בעל, היעז פניו נוכח בן־דגן כתמסם?; invoking rather, with reason, the Syriac sense of the root *mrḥ*, dividing the clauses more rhythmically, and assigning to ᶜm the meaning it usually has in these texts—to which we have already referred several times.

We would now scan and translate these lines:

<p style="text-align:center">*dk-ᵓanm lyrpᶜ ᶜm-bᶜl*</p>
<p style="text-align:center">*lyᶜdb-mrḥ ᶜm-bn-dgn ktmsm*</p>

Shall the feeble of strength rise up against Bᶜl?
Shall he defy Bn Dgn, the Crown of Beauty?

taking *ktmsm = kt msm*; *kt =* כתר as ḫt = חטר (see *Tarbiz* V, 78 [4] to II-ᵓAB 1:31—32) and *msm* (= *môsim-*) from *ysm*, a fairly common Ugaritic root, first interpreted (from Arab. *wsm*, Akk. ᵓsm) by Ginsberg, *Tarbiz* IV Fasc. 4 (July 1933), p. 387 [8], l. 19ff.

L. 18. *b ǵdyn ᵓil*. Dhorme's reference to עדי "covenant" of the Aramaic inscription of Sûjîn is not a bad suggestion, but the *n* can hardly be the pronominal suffix of the 1st pers. plur. "Par notre serment à El" is syntactically improbable. It is best to assume a formation like קנין, בנין etc. and translate simply: "by the covenant of ᵓIl."

THE ARMENIAN TEXT OF MACCABEES.

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§ 1. Introductory

Of late years there has been a gratifying revival of interest in the *Books of the Maccabees*. After the chronological studies of Father F.X. Kugler on the Seleucid dynasty and on *Maccabees* in *Von Moses bis Paulus*, 1922[1] and of Professor Kolbe in his *Beiträge zur syrischen und jüdischen Geschichte* in 1926[2], we find the actual text of the books being taken in hand in scholarly fashion. In 1932 Dom de Bruyne, of the Vulgate Commission in Rome, published *Les anciennes Traductions latines des Machabées*, printing three texts in parallel columns for 1. *Maccabees* and no less than six for 2. *Macc.*[3] Furthermore the Göttingen Septuagint Society has now under press all four books of the Greek text, which W. Kappler is editing.

Dom de Bruyne's edition was heralded as early as 1921 and 1922 by articles in the *Revue Biblique*,[4] the second being fundamental for his text-critical views. On his side, Dr. Kappler brought out in 1929 his fine dissertation *De Memoria alterius libri Maccabaeorum*,[5] for which he had been able to utilize proof-sheets of the Old-Latin texts of his Belgian colleague. The latter subsequently reviewed this dissertation in a notable third article in *Revue Biblique*, 1930, restating more vigorously his thesis touching the great value of OL(= Old-Latin texts), which Kappler viewed rather sceptically.

Dom de Bruyne gives us his final view in the long introduction to his edition of OL, and it is interesting to note that he here moderates to some extent his claims for these texts. At the same

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[1] Aschendorff, Münster. Westphalia, pp. 301—414.

[2] Kohlhammer, Berlin and Stuttgart (in the Series *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft des A. und N.T*).

[3] Publ. at Maredsous Abbey, nr. Namur (*Anecdota Maredsol.*, IV.) Large quarto.

[4] 1921, pp. 405—409; 1922, 31—54. In this periodical Père Abel published from 1923 to 1926 a brilliant series of articles on Maccabean topography, a subject with which this paper is not immediately concerned,—apart from some place-names in § 4 and § 5.   [5] Deichert, Leipzig.

time he maintains that OL makes it clear that there were *two forms* of Greek text in circulation, OL representing often enough the older and purer cast of text. In such an important question (which will be treated at some length below) it is remarkable that neither the editor of the Latin texts nor the editor of the Greek text has turned to examine the *Armenian version of Maccabees.*–We propose to show in the following pages that this translation of Maccabees can contribute towards the elucidation of the textual problem.

The neglect of the Armenian version in Maccabean research cannot be described as absolute. Professor HERKENNE of Bonn consulted the text cursorily in 1904 for the *letters* at the beginning of 2 Macc. in his dissertation on this special subject: *Die Briefe zu Beginn des 2. Makkabäerbuches.*[1] But he came to the conclusion that the Armenian was a very free and unreliable translation, so that it could be of use only in support of readings otherwise known. There certainly are verses in the Armenian Maccabees which are free and even faulty, but the translation is on the whole literal. As for special readings, they are few in number, *save for such as agree with OL,* as we intend to show. It is a pity that Prof. HERKENNE's verdict apparently deterred Dr. KAPPLER from examining the Armenian text.[2] DOM DE BRUYNE is likewise silent on the subject, and I must confess to a like silence in my German commentary on *Maccabees.*[3]

It is thus a closed chapter I propose to open again. And indeed, taken quite generally, the Armenian Bible is of no little textual importance.[4] To quote Dr. KAMINKA (who resides in Vienna, which is, like Venice, a great centre of Armenian study)[5]–:

"The Greek text upon which the Armenian translation was made may date from the 3rd or 4th century, or be even older, and the Armenian text is in any case invaluable both for critical work on the Septuagint as also for the history of exegesis. It appears to be more important than many of our oldest Greek codices (and the same has been admitted by PREUSCHEN, in *Zeitschrift für die neutest.*

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[1] *Biblische Studien,* VIII, 4, Herder, Freiburg, 1904.   [2] Dissertation, p. 1

[3] *Die beiden Makkabäerbücher,* Hanstein, Bonn, 1931.

[4] For St. Matthew's gospel, for instance, see Père LYONNET's important article in *Revue Biblique,* Jan. 1934, pp. 69—87.

[5] It is from the printing-presses of the Mechitharist Benedictines at Venice and Vienna that most editions of the Armenian Bible have come.

Wiss., 1900, 108, concerning the Pseudepigrapha, such as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, though translated much earlier)".[1]

When we further note CORNÉLY's statement that "haud raro etiam Armenus cum Vetere Latino contra Vulgatam consentit",[2] the likelihood increases that Armenian readings may be "worth while" after all. But before examining the Armenian text of Maccabees it will be well to explain in brief what stage the criticism of the Greek text of these books has attained through the labours of DOM DE BRUYNE and Dr. KAPPLER.

§ 2. THE LATIN TEXTS AND THEIR VALUE.

The full edition of Old-Latin texts of *Maccabees* brought out by DOM DE BRUYNE makes it a pleasure, and a profitable one, to go into this subject. It will also render a better understanding of the *Greek* text possible.

As mentioned already, the editor prints three texts of *1. Maccabees* and six of *2. Macc.* This rich variety is the more striking since St. Jerome did not touch the books,—which were outside his "canon". It is other hands, unfortunately anonymous, that have tried their skill at improving the primitive Latin version.

These various revisions were strictly such—that is, there was no independent second translation of *Maccabees* made. This is the first very important result of DOM DE BRUYNE's text-critical work. There is in the case of *Maccabees* no duality of "Itala" and "Afra" versions. The only question here can be whether it was in Italy or in Africa that the translation was made. On this point the editor is reticent, but one ventures to think that the probabilities are in favour of Africa, since we find St. CYPRIAN quoting just the oldest form of text (at times).

The main forms of text are L, X, B, V, M, P:—

L = the Lyons MS of the 9th cent., giving by far the oldest text, which is very literal, and philologically of great value as well.

X = Complut. or the "First Bible of Ximenes", a rather free and very early revision, since it is the form of text generally followed

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[1] 'Altarmenische Psalmenüberschriften', *Zeitschr. für alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1902, 121 ff; cf. *ibid.* 1930, 87 and 99 with literature, in H. S. GEHMAN's careful study of the Armenian Text of *Daniel*.   [2] *Introductio Generalis*, p. 407.

by LUCIFER OF CAGLIARI in Sardinia (fl. 360). The St.-Germain MS of Sabatier is analogous.

B = Bologna MS (Nr. 2571) of the 11th cent, has a considerably recast text, for which Greek MSS. (of minor value?) were consulted, and in which the Latin phraseology is rendered fulsome. This is the text from which St. Augustine quotes.

V = Vulgate (so-called), is a recension going back to the 5th century. For it L, X, and B were utilised, the latter however very sparingly, and Greek MSS were consulted—not always felicitously. Still, the revision is substantially creditable and sober in style, so that it was perhaps not too unworthy of being embodied in Vulgate Bibles.

M = Milan MS (Ambros. B. 48 Inf.), a form of text very analogous to B, of which we need here note but one fact, of great importance, that it gives us the full "speculum" text of 2. *Macc.* It will thus be "Africo-Spanish."[1]

P = Peyron version (Ambros. Milan, E 26 Inf.). This revision was the work of a real scholar. He best brings out the sense of the Greek. But his style is often affected, and he embodies doublets indiscriminately. The MS has only 2. *Maccabees.*

The first two MSS noted above, L and (in part) X, represent with a high degree of fidelity very old MSS, as we have pointed out. The actual translation must have been made in the first decades of the 3rd century, or even earlier. It follows that the *Greek* MS employed for the purpose was far older than any Maccabee uncial. How good this Greek exemplar was will appear from an examination of the Old-Latin texts.

The most striking feature of the OL version is its disagreement

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[1] This BM type of text is so different that some scholars have thought it implies rather a new translation than a recension. Still, DOM DE BRUYNE rightly maintains that there is at bottom but *one* translation, and if we find P. VACCARI doubtful yet (*Biblica*, April, 1933) it can only be because he does not appreciate the importance of DOM DE BRUYNE's discovery of a manuscript with a recension of *3 Esdras* precisely in this style, emanating indeed from the same hand. This writer has brought his own "personal equation", his own phraseology, into play, when recasting the OL. in either case. Thus he always writes *quia* for *quoniam,* and uses the words *ara, confixio tabernaculi* (= *scenopegiae !*), *thesaurus, trucidare, claritas,* etc., in both *3 Esdras* and *Maccabees.*

with G (= Greek text) in certain passages. These *variants* are sometimes of no little importance; see the list below in our examination of the Armenian text, § 4.

Secondly OL has a number of *omissions*, which we may rightly call "non-interpolations". These again, as they find corroboration at times in the Armenian text, will be dealt with in § 4.

The third feature of the OL text, taken in connexion with G, is the number of *doublets* that come to light. These we treat at once, as they are a necessary preliminary to a study of the Greek text itself. Most of these doublets actually are in the Greek MSS, (Lucian and Venetus), the OL readings being at these points highly instructive. Whether DOM DE BRUYNE overrates their importance or not, will be clear to anyone who reads this paper through.

The *doublets*. We begin with the very striking case that KAPPLER himself quotes from DOM DE BRUYNE in his *Memoria . . .* The passage is in 2. *Macc.* 15[17]. The Jews resolve to fight against Nicanor:

A: μετὰ πάσης εὐανδρίας A q L² 55, 56, 58, 106, 311 = cum omni virtute P

B: | μετὰ καλῆς εὐδαιμονίας = cum bona felicitate, Lyons, X
| μεγάλη εὐδαιμονία = magna bonitate, B

A+B: μετὰ καλῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ μετὰ πάσης εὐανδρίας = Lucian.

Here Lucian (of Antioch) has saved us the Greek expression μετὰ καλῆς εὐδαιμονίας, which is evidently behind the two forms of the Old-Latin. So DOM DE BRUYNE sees here a *pre-Lucianism*. In many other cases Venetus also or alone has the Greek variant. The following instances will suffice.

A: 14[16] ἠκούσθη ἐν Ῥώμη . . . καὶ ἕως Σπάρτης, Sin. Ven. 52 = auditum est Romae . . . et usque Spartem (in Sp . .) OL+Vulg.

B: ἤκουσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ . . καὶ . . . . most Greek

A+B: ἤκουσαν ἐν Ῥ . . .καὶ ἕως Σπάρτης ἠκούσθη = Lucian.

Another example from *1. Macc.* will be dealt with below. In 2. *Macc.* there are frequent instances:

3[19] speaks of the mourning women beating their breasts:

A: τὸ στῆθος Lucian = OL pectus (LXV) *or* pectora (BM).

B: ὑπὸ τοὺς μαστούς most Greek MSS = OL (P) sub mammis

A+B: ὑπὸ τοὺς μαστοὺς τὸ στῆθος Ven. and 55 (cod. reg. vatic).

14^7 **A:** δεῦρο Lucian = huc LXV.

   B: δεύτερον Alex 64,93 = iterum B (and partly MP)

   A+B: δεῦρο δεύτερον Venetus!

Thus we see that behind the Old-Latin, esp. in its purest forms LX, there was a Greek recension in many ways differing from the present Greek. Also the variants occur much more systematically in OL than the various elements of the recension that can be detected yet in Greek MSS. (For more details see DE BRUYNE's Introduction, or *Rev. Bibl.*, 1922, p. 38–50).

§ 3. THE GREEK RECENSIONS AND THEIR VALUE.

It is doubtless a very fortunate circumstance that Dr. KAPPLER's study of the Greek text synchronises with that of DOM DE BRUYNE on the OL. Either scholar has had an insight in the *modus procedendi* of the other, so that the resultant, or shall we say the common denominator, of their labours bids fair to make this Maccabee research a classical example of modern scholarship.

Dr. KAPPLER has spent ten years preparing his edition of the Greek text of *Maccabees*, including Books 3 and 4, as well as 1 and 2. This broadening of the basis is doubtless a gain, especially with regard to the vocabulary of 2. *Macc.*, owing to the florid Alexandrian style of the book. For the classification of the MSS he has selected 2. *Macc.* for very close study, witness his dissertation already mentioned, *De Memoria alterius libri Maccabaeorum*. This study, that can to some extent be called programmatic for the prospective edition, is our main source for the following exposition. Only in illustration of a few passages will it be necessary to cite the Göttingen collations of *1. Maccabees*, which were very kindly placed at my disposal for a short time.

For this edition the MSS in the great libraries have been specially photographed, quite a number being found that do not figure in the Septuagint of HOLMES and PARSONS. The new-comers, however, are mostly of no special value. After due examination of all the MSS Dr. KAPPLER comes to the conclusion that there are (for 2. *Macc.*) just twenty-five in all that are good enough to serve as basis for the new edition. These are the uncials Alexandrinus and Venetus, and twenty-three minuscules. The famous Sinaiticus unfortunately

contains now only *1 Macc.*, a part of the MS being lost. It originally had *2. Macc.*, and very probably *3.* and *4. Macc.* as well. Vaticanus omits all four books.

The minuscules are of very diverse kind That they contained the Lucianic (Antiochean) recension was already known, but Dr. KAPPLER has the credit of having discovered a second recension in 8 MSS, namely in 29, 74, 98, 107, 120, 130, 243 and 731. BROOKE and MACLEAN having assigned the letter "q" to cod. 120 in the Cambridge Septuagint, KAPPLER has adopted it as key-letter for the recension.

This recension is not important by reason of its special readings, which are mostly unwarranted, but simply by reason of its constituting a *family* of MSS. Thus besides the ordinary and the Lucianic texts in their respective families of MSS, we have the third family of "q". So KAPPLER can proceed to constitute his text by playing off the readings of any two families against the third — all else being equal. One reservation must be made, in that for the 'ordinary text' KAPPLER has no 'family', but only Alex.

Turning now to the *Lucianic MSS*, which have long caused much speculation, we find that KAPPLER's research has led to results remarkable enough. Five MSS (64, 236, 381, 534, 728) are shown to be essentially Lucianic, (L¹) i. e. they are derived from a Lucianic archetype, while four others (L² = 19, 62, 93, 542) are based on the ordinary text, with Lucianic corrections worked in. This comes as a surprise, for 19, 62 and 93 have long been considered essentially Lucianic, e. g. for Esther.

We have interesting instances of Lucianic readings in *2 Macc.* 11³⁰ and 10¹⁰

Ordinary text:

|			
(11³⁰)	μετὰ τῆς ἀδείας	(10¹⁰)	αὐτὰ συντέμνοντες
L¹	μετὰ πάσης δικαίας	L¹	αὐτ᾿ ἐπιτέμνοντες
L²	μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας	L²	αὐτὰ ἐπιτέμοντες

Lucian probably made the second change because he had the word "Epitomator" in mind, the name by which the redactor of *2 Maccabees* is generally known. See also *2 Maccabees* 2²³ and ³². — Besides such changes in style, Lucian has some substantial variants, which at times agree with the Old-Latin and with the Greek cod. Venetus. Are these then pre-Lucianisms? Before dealing with this great question,

let us try to see what the ordinary Greek text is, as distinct from the two clear recensions ("q" and Lucian) aforesaid.

By "ordinary text" we do not mean the "textus receptus", but the text such as one would expect the bulk of older MSS to present. One is surprised to find that KAPPLER considers that cod. Alexandrinus stands alone for the simple, or shall we say "neutral" text. One would have thought that *Venetus* and the very early minuscule 55 (cod. Reginae Vatic.) along with 46 and 56, 58, 106, 311 would be of value to establish a "general" text, but KAPPLER rules them out as mere representatives of a mixed text (p. 25, 54). This is to some extent correct, as "q" elements appear; but the signs of conformity with Lucian (especially in *Venetus*), may simply be due to a parallel inheritance of pre-Lucianisms. This is the more likely as for *1. Maccabees* there is the valuable evidence of Sinaiticus.

While KAPPLER stands by Cod. Alex. as a generally sound (though carelessly written) representative of the original Greek, DOM DE BRUYNE, as we have seen, thinks this type of text very secondary, i. e. the product of a revision—in more than one stage. What then was the primal Greek text? And why has KAPPLER so little to say about it?

Let us compare his classification with that of DE BRUYNE.

KAPPLER Original Text	De Bruyne Original Text
Alexandr. Lucian "q" L¹, L² Venetus 55 & Sinaiticus Old-Latin	Text A Text B Lucian Sin. (improves Alex. B, insert- Venetus ing good 55 readings Old-Latin of Text A)
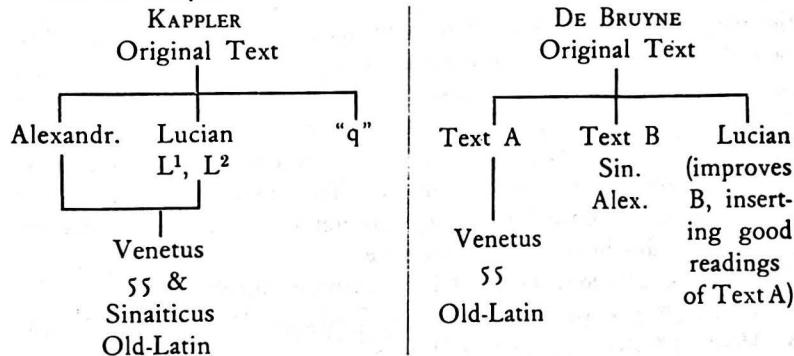
It may well be that KAPPLER will modify his standpoint in the introduction to his new edition, or in an article in *Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesell. der Wissenschaft*. Meanwhile let us see whether an appeal to the Armenian Text can help to clear up the rights and the wrongs of these two antagonistic theories. It will, we believe, support DOM DE BRUYNE's scheme and rank alongside with the Old-Latin, as a witness to Text A.

§ 4. The Evidence of the Armenian Text.

Dom de Bruyne can cite many instances where no Greek MS has just the reading of OL, though the reading figures at times as doublet in Lucian or Venetus. On consulting the Armenian text, however, wie find that the Old-Latin is no longer "alone": the distant oriental version of Armenia substantiates its readings frequently.

It may be objected that the Armenian version was perhaps made from Greek manuscripts of Lucianic character. This objection is important, so we shall deal with it at once, and make its futility clear, at least for *Maccabees*.[1]

In the first place Lucian has none of the omissions (non-inter-polations) found in OL and Armen., omissions which will be dealt with below. Besides, passages like the following seem decisive.

A collection is made by Judas among his soldiers (man by man) to have a sacrifice offered in the Temple, 2 Macc. 12^{43}:

Ven. 58 and the recension "q" read: κατ᾽ ἄνδρα λογίαν (δράχμας δισχιλίας) = conlatamque viritim pecuniam (P), while Lucian has: ἀνδρολογίαν + κατασκευάσματα. But λογία is a good word for "collection"; cf. *1. Cor.* 16^1 περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας . . . ποιήσατε, with the very same verb! The Armenian reads literally: *With virility, counsel, he gathered four double-drachmas* = κατ᾽ ἄνδρα, λογίαν, . . . ποιησάμενος. . . διδράχμας τέσσαρα. Here there is evidently *nothing Lucianic*. We note also that the translator read ἄνδρα (ἀνδρεῖα?), though he rendered it wrongly. Then comes a surprise: four double-drachmas instead of 2,000 drachmas! This may, however, be the true reading, the sense being that Judas got *each soldier* to contribute four double-drachmas for the sacrifice.

Lucianic additions also fail in Armen. in such instances as

1. Macc., 4^{16} ἡ δύναμις + αὐτοῦ in all Lucianic MSS except 62, 542;

2. Macc., 5^{24} ἔπεμψε prefig. ὁ Ἀντίοχος   „   „   „   542.

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[1] For *Nehemiah* and *Kings* I have compared a number of Lucianic variants with the Armenian text. In both cases agreements are the exception. The one instance so far found in *Kings* (2. *Kg.* 23^{38}: *10 talents of gold*,—as against the ridiculous *100 talents* of LXX) is attributed by Prof. Rahlfs to the influence of the Syriac and not of the Lucianic text (*Septuagintastudien*, 3, p. 283 fol.). The same applies to chap. 22 of *Ezech.*, typically Lucianic in some MSS, but not so in Armen.

Indeed, the disagreement being so frequent, it can be safely asserted that the Armenian text is non-Lucianic in origin and has suffered no Lucianic revision. It corresponds, that is to say, neither to the L¹ class nor to the secondary class of Lucianic MSS as distinguished acutely by KAPPLER. Consequently, when Armen. has a substantial variant that *also* figures in Lucian, it may habitually be styled a pre-Lucianism.

Comparison with the Old-Latin.— While Lucian thus falls out of line, there are many points of agreement between 'the Armenian and Old-Latin text of *Maccabees*. And the important thing is that the agreement occurs in many instances where DOM DE BRUYNE upholds the Old-Latin readings as against the current Greek, or as against the whole manuscript tradition.

Going through the *"unique" variants* of OL, (on p. X of DE BRUYNE's introduction[1]) we place the Armenian reading alongside— after the Greek:

LATIN	GREEK	ARMENIAN
1. Macc. 4²⁹ undecim milia habens	δέκα χειλιάδας ἔχων S ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν plur.	eleven thousand
„ 5⁶⁶ Marisan	Σαμαρίαν	Marisa
„ 5³⁵ Mella	Μααφα	Mahapha
„ 9⁴ Bereth(aim)	Βεϱέαν	Bereth
2. *Macc.* 3⁴ (Simon ..)de tribu balgea	Βενιαμειν	Balger (cf. 1. Chron. 24¹⁴)
„ 4⁴ Apollonium Menesthei (= Ἀπολλ. Μενέσθεως	Ἀπολ. μαίνεσθαι(έ)ως	Apollonius infuriated
„ 5² 6² } Argarizin	Γαϱιζ(ε)ιν	Gargarizin
„ 8²³ Esdran	Ἐλεάζαϱον	Esdrian
„ 12³⁶ Esdriam	Ἔσδϱιν	Esdren

It thus appears that of these *ten* variants of OL no less than *seven* also stand in Armen., that is, in the Greek text used for that version. Of the two readings supported by JOSEPHUS (*Marisa* and *Mella*),

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[1] Two of these variants (1. Macc. 9⁵⁰ and 16¹⁸) are left out in my list, as the Armenian text is in the one case corrupt, in the other vague.

Armen. has the one that is certainly correct (*Marisa*, i. e. *Tell Sandahannah*), since the campaign took place in Southern Judea.

Similarly the striking *omissions* that occur in OL are mostly supported by Armen., and thus deserve to be styled "non-interpolations". Having in view the very literal manner of translation in OL of Maccabees, any omission deserves examination, and when we now find Armenian evidence supporting such omission, it is little short of conclusive.

In *1. Macc.* the instances are very rare[1]; but not so in *2. Macc:* 3^{25c} φερόμενος δὲ ῥύδην ἔσεισεν τῷ Ἡλιοδόρῳ τὰς ἐνπροθεσίους ὅπλας, is omitted by OL. This statement that the horse struck Heliodorus with its forefeet, (when he assaulted the Temple treasury) seems superfluous and incongruous, as the punishment of Heliodorus comes in the following verse.—Armen. omits altogether and has a shorter, and better form of the whole sentence.[2]

5^{16}: OL omits καὶ δόξαν after αὔξησιν. The words seem to be a gloss for this latter expression (DE BRUYNE), and are in any case superfluous since καὶ τιμήν follows. Armen. also omits.

Chapters 6 and 7 (with the martyrdom of Eleazar and of the mother with her seven sons) tempted the pious scribes irresistibly to make some additions.

6^{31} homilises on the brave death of Eleazar, adding to the original short and crisp closing verse 31 Καὶ οὗτος οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον μετήλλαξεν the following, *which OL and Armen. omit*: οὐ μόνον τοῖς νέοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τοῦ ἔθνους τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον ὑπόδειγμα γενναιότητος καὶ μνημόσυνον ἀρετῆς καταλείπων. This is clearly a repetition from v. 28: τοῖς δὲ νέοις ὑπόδειγμα γενναῖον καταλελειπώς...

7^1 in Greek has the term ἀθεμίτων qualifying "swine's-flesh";— to remind Christian readers that such food was *forbidden* to the Jews. The term is omitted in OL and Armen.

7^{11} is the most interesting case of "non-interpolation", the *whole verse* being omitted in the Old-Latin Lyons Ms. and in Armen. So V. 12 follows at once upon V. 10. To show how well they connect, we quote the Revised Version as independent translation.

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[1] 9^{45} καὶ ἐξόπισθεν ἡμῶν. om. OL and Armen.

[2] "For there appeared to them suddenly a magnificent horse with a rider resplendent in (his) golden weapons."— V. 26 follows at once: "And also two young men clad in rich garments, going before the rider on the right and left side."

10 And after him was the third made a mocking-stock. And when he was required, he quickly put out his tongue, and stretched forth his hands courageously,

12 insomuch that the king himself and they that were with him were astonished at the young man's soul, for that he nothing regarded the pains.

We see there is no break in the narrative, so that the intermediate verse 11 seems uncalled for. It reads:

11 and nobly said: 'From heaven I possess these, and for his laws' sake I contemn these; and from him I hope to receive them back again.'

The copyist evidently wished to stress the resurrection of the body, as the author of 2. *Macc.* did in 14⁴⁶, when recounting the death of Razis.

7¹⁸ has, on the other hand, an addition supported by Armen. ἄξια θαυμαστοῦ γέγονε.

This is also the case in 7³² ἡμεῖς γὰρ διὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτίας πάσχομεν, in so far as some Armenian MSS have the phrase, which appears borrowed from v. 18.

8³³ moralises upon the fate of the wicked Callisthenes: καὶ τὸν ἄξιον τῆς δυσσεβείας ἐκομίσατο μισθόν. The Vulgate has the phrase, but OL (LXBM) and Armen. *omit*.

On the other hand Armen. reproduces καὶ ἀπωλεῖαν after τροπήν of the Greek in 12²⁷, the former being probably a gloss, which OL omit.

Summing up the cases of special variants and of non-interpolations in OL and Armen., we may say that in *most instances* both versions agree and thus bear joint witness to a now lost form of Greek text that was *shorter* and *purer*. This conclusion is strengthened when we refer to the *doublets* examined in the last part of § 2; for a comparison with Armen. shows that this version never follows the inferior B text, but has in most cases clearly the A text. When therefore Armen. agrees with Lucian, it will be because the latter has consulted Greek MSS that still had the primitive readings. An important instance is the reading "Tubieni" instead of "Bacenor" in 2. *Macc.* 12³⁵; cf. v. 17. We clearly have here a pre-Lucianism.

§ 5. Special Utility of the Armenian Text.

We have seen how frequently the Armenian supports OL. There remain some cases to deal with where the Armenian seems to bring positive, and to a great extent quite independent, evidence towards

what the Greek text primitively was. It will again appear, if we are not much mistaken, that the Greek text behind Armen. was particularly good. But it should be understood that by "independent evidence" we mean Armenian readings that stand indeed alone, but seem from the context to deserve examination, or can throw light on readings in other versions.[1]

In *1. Macc.* the Armenian text presents a number of such cases. 1^{3c} καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. "The earth was silent before him". This is the meaning all versions give,—except Armen. and the Hebrew translation published by CHWOLSON,[2] which read "the earth shook" (trembled), Cf. v. 28: καὶ ἐσείσθη ἡ γῆ . Before knowing the Armenian, I had adopted this reading in my German commentary in 1931; this is now corroborated by the Armenian, which presupposes ἐσείσθη for ἡσύχασεν.

The same verse ends in cod. Alex. and OL with the phrase καὶ ὑψώθη, καὶ ἐπήρθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ; other codices (Sin., Ven.) place these words in the middle of v. 4. The Armenian text, however, *omits* the words altogether. This certainly suggests that the phrase is secondary, and was inserted irregularly into the extant MSS.

A topographical point of some importance is raised by the readings of Armen. in 7^{19} and 9^4. We have already pointed out that Armen. reads Bereth for Berea in 9^4 (supported by the Syriac and OL); the important thing is that Armen. has Beraeth in 7^{19} as well. In this place the Greek reads Βαιδζηδ, Βηζεδ, which seems to point to Beit Zaita, a few miles N. of Bethsur. That Bezetha, the later northern part of Jerusalem, could be meant is very unlikely. — The whole scene is different if we accept the reading Beraeth of the Armenian, with which agrees the Old-Latin B-text (Bereth). It would follow that Bacchides just marched "a day's journey" north to Beeroth, — *el-Bire* (or *el-Gib?*). If it was there he held his court-martial and slew many Jews, casting them into "the great well" (τὸ φρέαρ τὸ μέγα), that would all be perfectly in situation. — In 9^4 also we find Bacchides marching from Jerusalem to this place, so it may well be the same strategic move repeated.

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[1] Armen. alone omits *1. Macc.* 4^{1-9}, and lessens the numbers in 11^{45} and 11^{47} to 12,000 and 10,000 respectively (χιλιάδας for μυριάδας).

[2] This can be most easily consulted in the edition of A. SCHWEIZER, (Berlin, 1901), but SCHWEIZER's *introduction* is most uncritical.

In 11^2 Armen. has a small omission, which would be negligible if the Greek text were not uncertain, reading οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως (Sin.) and οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων (plur.). A few Vulgate MSS also *omit altogether* along with the following verse.

In 11^{30} the Greek (and Latin) read clumsily "King Démetrius to Jonathan his Brother greeting, *and to the people of the Jews*". Armen. is very likely right in omitting the words in italics, since "greeting" (χαίρειν) properly stands at the end of the salutation.

In 7^{31}f the Armenian comes remarkably close to Sinaiticus and OL, reading with them "500 men" (instead of 5000) of the enemy slain, and omitting the first syllable of *(Ca)pharsalama*, Armen. having *Parsala*.

As I close this "preliminary report" on the Armenian text of Maccabees, it may be well to stress this resemblance of Armen. to the text of Sinaiticus. This Greek MS. is highly valued by Dom de Bruyne as being at times closest to the Hebrew original. Armen. is consequently in good company, having so many affinities with OL. and Sin. When the three agree, the Greek reading they represent will surely be the best. When they differ, Armen. and OL deserve the preference before Sin. For the latter has interpolations partly traceable as far back as Origen. Moreover it can be seen from the appended synopsis that the Greek MS. back of Armen. was contemporaneous with Sin. and perhaps older. To this note of antiquity is to be added the prestige of purity on the strength of the internal evidence given above. It is only when compared with OL that Armen. comes off only "second best" on both these scores. In 1 Mak. 2^{70} speaking of Mattathias, father of Judas, OL and Sin. have a crisp passive "he was buried"; Armen. has "they buried him", which is less good, but much better than the other Greek MSS "his sons buried him". And the Greek MS used by Armen. quite possibly had the passive too. — But while Armen. has at times difficulty in ranking with OL and Sin., its superiority as regards purity from *Lucianisms* can hardly be contested; Sinaiticus has a small number of them, OL has less still, and Armen., it may well be said, has none at all.

In conclusion, I have the pleasant duty of recording my obligations to the Armenian Catholic and Orthodox Fathers of Jerusalem who have guided my first steps in Armenian and assisted me very ma-

terially in conning the Bible in that language.   Both the first and second editions of Zohrab were used (Venice, 1805 and 1859), and a valuable manuscript Bible of the Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate (13th century) was also consulted, through the painstaking courtesy of the Reverend Father Librarian.

*   *   *

Professor DÖLLER of Vienna worked long at a detailed commentary on *1.* and *2. Maccabees* in German, taking the Armenian text into consideration.   But this scholar unfortunately died some six years ago, and the manuscript commentary (finished or unfinished) has been lost.

SYNOPSIS OF MACCABEAN TEXT EVOLUTION (Greek)			
Xtian Cen- tury	Text A	Text B	Lucianic Recension
1st	Used by Josephus (Antiq.) 90–93		
2nd	195 (?) Old-Latin version made		
3rd	252 Cyprian quotes OL(L)	220 Origen quotes interpolated text	
4th	365 Lucifer uses OL (L & X) text	Sinaiticus 310 "q" recension	305 Lucian improves style of B Text and inserts readings from A Text;
5th	420 ARMENIAN VERSION* 451 Maccabee text read to Armenian army	Augustine uses OL (B) text Alexandrinus Sinaiticus cor- rected (in Cae- sarea) – cor. a	Syriac translation made on Lucianic text Theodoret quotes Lucianic text
6th	Greek MS? (used later by Venetus)		
7th			
8th	Venetus (doublets A + B)		
9th	Lyons MS (OL)	Cod. 55 (?)	cod. 542 (Paris)

* Probably made on early 4th century MS (or MSS); certainly with no use of the Syriac. — The above dates are approximate.

THE "KITĀB BĀʿIṮU-N-NUFŪS" OF IBNU-L-FIRKĀḤ

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BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA.

INTRODUCTION

The Arabic text here given is that of a Moslem pilgrim's hand-book for Palestine, first written over 600 years ago. (The author died 1329 A.D.) The basic text is MS. No. 177 of the Landberg Collection of Arabic MSS. at Yale University.[1] Collation has been made with copies from Leiden, the British Museum, and the Bibliothèque Nationale.[2] An edition on the basis of the Yale and Leiden MSS. with introduction, translation, text, and notes, was presented as a dissertation for the degree of doctor of philosophy in Yale University in 1932.

The author of the *bāʿiṭu-n-nufūs* is mainly concerned with the merits of a "lesser pilgrimage" to Jerusalem, and the rites there to be performed. But he also includes, in the final chapter, a like consideration of Hebron with its tombs of the Patriarchs, as well as references elsewhere to Bethlehem and other sacred places in Palestine—a holy land to Muslims no less than to Jews and Christians. Because the entire object is religious pilgrimage, the book does not include the legendary and historical material of the first ages, الاوائل, which other books by Muslim authors, earlier and later, often extensively employed. It is, in fact, a smaller book extracted from such longer works, the author-editor selecting only such traditions and other material as fitted his pious object.

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[1] The MSS. were acquired in 1900 by munificence of Morris K. Jessup, from the Oriental collections of Count Landberg which have gone to enrich a number of libraries in Europe and America—notably those of Berlin, Leiden, Princeton, and Yale. The character of the MSS. at Yale may be learned from the descriptive article by Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY in *The Library Journal*, Feb., 1903.

[2] In the Notes, Y is the Yale MS.; L that of Leiden; P Paris; M British Museum Oriental 4371, and M² British Museum MS. Oriental 5813 (the older copy there)

The author is Burhānu-d-Dīn Abu Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibnu-š-Šeiḫ Tāju-d-Dīn ibn ᶜAbdu-r-Raḥmān ibn Sabāᶜ al-Fazarī al-Badrī al-Ansārī, known as IBNU-L-FIRKĀḤ.

The author's father, with the name as above and addition of *al-Miṣrī*, is given by BROCKELMANN[1] among the Shāfiᶜite writers on *fiqh* in the "nachklassische Periode der islamischen Literatur."

The author was born in Rabīᶜ 1, 660/1262. His birthplace was the former capital of the Islamic world. He followed the scholarly bent of his father and also became a teacher—finally, indeed, his father's successor in the Bādarā᾿iyya. For a short time he was meanwhile also preacher in the Omayyad Mosque of Damascus. He died in Jumāda 1, 729/1329. The date of the *bāᶜiṭ* is fixed no nearer than the known limits of his lifetime. The place of composition was in all probability Damascus.

IBNU-L-FIRKĀḤ is listed by BROCKELMANN as among the geographers and cosmographers of the time of the decline of Islamic literature in that period "von der Mongolenherrschaft bis zur Eroberung Ägyptens durch Selim im Jahre 1517." BROCKELMANN lists two other works by him beside our text: 1) *al-manā᾿iḥ li-ṭālib aṣ-ṣaid wad-dabā᾿iḥ*, and 2) *iᶜlām fī faḍā᾿ili-š-Šām*. AHLWARDT's catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Preussische Staats-Bibliothek (V of the Arabic series, XVII of the general MS. collection) lists a copy of the last named work. There are also other MSS. (BROCKELMANN, I, p. 331). The *manā᾿iḥ* is extant also—Gotha 2095 (BROCK., II, p. 130). The *iᶜlām* is a condensation of the *kitābu-l-iᶜlām fī faḍā᾿ili-š-Šām* of AR-RABAᶜĪ (d. 435/1043; see BROCK., I, p. 330f, and p. 391).[2] Whether the *manā᾿iḥ* is also a *muḫtaṣar* is not known.

IBNU-L-FIRKĀḤ, as suggested above, follows the practice of most

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[1]   *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur.* Reference to IBNU-L-FIRKĀḤ and the *bāᶜiṭ* are in II, p. 130, and I, p.331; to the father, I, p. 397.

[2]   In fact, AHLWARDT had to correct for the catalogue a wrong ascription of the shorter work to AR-RABAᶜĪ himself. It contains 155 pp. 8 vo. The *iᶜlām* is referred to as such a condensation by AS-SUYŪṬĪ (not Jalālu-d-Dīn, but Shamsu- or Kamālu-d-Dīn) in the introduction to his long and interesting book, *ithāfu-l-aḫiṣṣā*. The quotation is given on p. xix (introd.) of the very faulty translation by Rev. JAMES REYNOLDS, B.A., auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland (London, A.J. Valpi, 1836), under title of *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem.* The quotation is taken by AS-SUYŪṬĪ from the *rauḍu-l-mugharras* to be discussed below.

Arab authors of olden time in utilizing the works of his predecessors to a very great extent.[1] But this does not detract from his importance as a Muslim leader in religion and literature during his lifetime and as a wide influence on those who followed him—as definite instances of use of the *bāʿiṯ* and the number of existing copies of the little work will clearly show.

The *bāʿiṯu-n-nufūs* is an extract from two authors, IBN ʿASĀKIR and ABU-L-MAʿĀLĪ. (Only in a few instances do we find the editor-author inserting something of his own opinion — and AS-SUYŪṬĪ, interestingly enough, quotes one of these). It is so plainly and honestly an extract that the two sources are kept before the reader continually, from the very acknowledgment of his indebtedness in the preface: "This is an extract (*muntaḫab*) on the merits (*faḍāʾil*) of Jerusalem and of the Tomb of the Friend of Allah, Ibrāhīm, the greater part of it from the book *al-mustaqṣā* of al-Ḥāfiẓ Bahāʾu-d-Dīn IBN ʿASĀKIR and the lesser from the book of the Šeiḫ Abu-l-Maʿālī-l-Mušarraf ibnu-l-Murajjā-l-MUQADDASI. What I have quoted from the book of Abu-l-Maʿālī is made plain that it is from his words; and the rest is from *al-mustaqṣā*."

IBN ʿASĀKIR's book 'On the Excellencies of the Aksa Mosque, (*kitābu-l-uns fī faḍāʾili-l-Quds*),   contains the lectures which he gave in the Mosque at Jerusalem during the year 596 A.H./1190 A.D.

The work of IBN ʿASĀKIR which (with that of AL-MAQDISĪ) forms the basis of the *bāʿiṯu-n-nufūs* is his *jāmiʿu-l-mustaqṣā fī faḍāʾili-l-Masjidi-l-Aqṣā*,[2] while other works of IBN ʿASĀKIR are extant, copies of his *jāmiʿ* unfortunately have not come to light.

Little is known of AL-MAQDISĪ except that he was earlier than IBN ʿASĀKIR. We know he was earlier (than the younger IBN ʿASĀKIR, at least) from a quotation from the two by AS-SUYŪṬĪ: "On authority of the Ḥāfiẓ IBN ʿASĀKIR, the testimony going back to Abu-al-Maʿālī AL-MUQADDASI, it is related how ʿAbd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque . ." (LE STRANGE,

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[1] Cf. comment on this practice by GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*. New York and London, 1890.

[2] BROCKELMANN, II, p. 130, gives this correct information; but by some slip on p. 331, vol. I, under IBN ʿASĀKIR, he says that it is his *faḍāʾil al-Quds waʾsh-Shām* which "liegt dem *bāʿiṯ* . . . . . zu Grunde." But the *faḍāʾil*, of course, is from the hand of AL-MAQDISĪ (= AL-MUQADDISĪ, AL-MUQADDASĪ).

JRAS, XIX, New Series, p. 285). In a quotation from MUJĪRU-D-DĪN's
Unsu-l-Jalīl we find further welcome details about ABU -L-MAʿĀLĪ

الشيخ الامام ابو المعال المشرف بن المرجا بن ابراهيم المقدسي كان من علماء بيت المقدس له كتاب
فضائل بيت المقدس والصخرة وما اتصل بذلك من اخبار واثار وفضائل الشام وهو كتاب مفيد رواه
بالاسانيد منه عنه ابو القاسم مكي الرميلي الآتي ذكره بعده ولم اطلع لابي المعال على ترجمه ولا تاريخ
وفاة رلكنه في عصر ابي القاسم المذكور.¹

The work of ABU-L-MAʿĀLĪ, also, seems to have become entirely
lost except for extracts incorporated in the *bāʿiṭ*. Practically all
the material on the proper rites for the pilgrim in Jerusalem, in
chapters five, six, seven, and eight, and as well that for the rites
to be observed at the mosque in Hebron, are from ABU-L-MAʿĀLĪ.
It would appear from this that in his case also interest in the
religious associations of the holy cities of Palestine was paramount.

Besides the works of IBN ʿASĀKIR and ABU-L-MAʿĀLĪ a number
of other books are mentioned as sources in some smaller particulars.

The influence of IBNU-L-FIRKĀH on those who came after him
is directly acknowledged in several important works, and may with
strong probability be supposed in others. A reference was given
above (p. 285 note 2) to use of his *iʿlām* by Tāju-d-Dīn Abū Naṣṣār
ʿABDU-L-WAHHĀB in his *ar-raudu-l-mugharras fī fadāʾili baiti-l-mu-
qaddas*, and through him by AS-SUYŪṬĪ in his *ithāf*. Tāju-d-Dīn was also
indebted to IBNU-L-FIRKĀH's *bāʿiṭ*. LE STRANGE says: "His work
Kitāb Bāʿith-an-Nufūs ila Ẓiyārat-al-Quds-al-Mahrūs (Liber animos ad
Hierosolyma bene servata visitanda excitans) is *often* quoted by
Tāja-d-Dīn ʿABDA-L-WAHHĀB." (*JRAS, XIX*. p. 253.)²

As used by AS-SUYŪṬĪ in his lengthy 'History of Jerusalem', the
raudu-l-mugharras gives us through the *ithāf* another evidence of

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¹ For this quotation I am indebted to Prof. TORREY's referring me to
BROCKELMANN, II, p. 331, for CONRAD KOENIG, *Der Kitāb Muṭīr al-Ġarām ilā
ziyāra al-Kuds wa's-Šām*, dissertation, Leipzig, 1896, p. 15. Identity of this ABU
'L-QĀSIM would give another limit for placing ABU-L-MAʿĀLĪ. See also AHLWARDT,
Berlin Catalogue, V, p. 405. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polemische Schriften* p. 181, says:
"Das Werk des Abu-l-Maʿāli heißt bei H. Ch. iv. 451 n. 9139 فضائل القدس والشام,
die Zeit des nur dort genannten Autors . . . ist nicht angegeben."

² The *raudu-l-mugharras fī fadāʾili Baiti-l-Muqaddas* of Tāju-d-Dīn ʿABDU-L-
WAHHĀB ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaini (d. 875/1470) was written after a visit by
the author to Jerusalem. It exists in Berlin, MS. No. 6098. See BROCKELMANN,
II, p. 132, and *Berlin catalogue*, V, p. 409. REYNOLDS read the *mugharras* as *mufarras*.

the influence if IBNU-L-FIRKĀH (REYNOLDS, p. xviii): "That said author of *The Gardens of Exercise on the Virtues of the Baitu-l-Mukaddas* observes, 'I met with a book called *The Stirring up of Souls to the Pilgrimage to the Holy Place*, by the Shaikh Birhān Addin-al-Kazari (sic),[1] who asserts in his Preface that for the Wonders of the Holy House he selected chiefly from the work called *the Lucid Book,* by the historian Bihá-Addín-Ibn-Asákir, and a small portion from the book of Ibn-Al-Muáled (sic)-al-Mushrat (sic)-Ibn-Al-Mirjá-Al-Mukaddasí. Part of his work was transferred from this author; but the remainder from *The Lucid Book.*'"

For the *ithāfu-l-aḫiṣṣā* it is only needful to refer to the sources of information as to the number of extant MSS. in BROCKELMANN, II, p. 132, and the article by LE STRANGE, "Description of the Noble Sanctuary in Jerusalem," *JRAS*, XIX, new series, pp. 247–305; STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polem. Schriften*, pp. 169–76, and the translation by REYNOLDS. In addition to quoting or referring to the *bāʿit* itself, the *ithāf* quotes also its two main sources, IBN ʿASĀKIR and ABU-L-MAʿĀLĪ. Further, it is remarkable to find in the *ithāf* through REYNOLDS' translation no less than 200 traditions with parallels in IBNU-L-FIRKĀH: These are evidently from that material which in the *bāʿit* forms the summary chapter (XII) on Jerusalem and Palestine

Because of similarity in name and in many instances of material, it may be supposed the *bāʿit* also served the authors of the two *muṭīrs*.[2] The first is the *muṭīru-l-gharām ilā ziyārati-l-Quds wa-š-Shām* by Jamālu-d-Dīn Abu Maḥmūd Aḥmadu-L-MUQADDASĪ (714/1314–765/1364). The second is the *muṭīru-l-gharām li-ziyārati-l-Ḥalīl, ʿalaihi-s-salām*, by Abu-l-Fidāʾ Ishāqu-t-Tadmurī AL-ḤALĪLĪ, who died in 1430.

The large number of existing MSS. that have found their way into Occidental collections is also an attestation of the popularity and widespread influence of the *bāʿit*. It was republished by

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[1] REYNOLDS reads the name *al-Fazūrī* variously as *al-Thezari* and *al-Kezari*. DE GUIGNES (*Notices et Extraits*) also has trouble with this *"fāʾ"* and provides additional "marvels" in the *nisba*.

[2] Both of the *muṭīrs* are extant (see BROCK.). I have edited the latter on the basis of the Yale Landberg copy, a splendid MS., with collation by aid of two copies from the British Museum and two in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The text is yet to be published.

copying many times over. First, there is the Yale Landberg copy, which, I believe, is the earliest and best of all in existence. It is dated 882 A.H., (1477). Then, the Leiden copy, undated (No. 1836, catalogue by DE GOEJE and JUYNBOLL, 1907, II, p. 80). Next the Paris copy, an exquisitely beautiful MS., but clearly late and untrustworthy as well as defective at the end.[1] Then, no less than six copies are found in the Staats-Bibliothek in Berlin, though most of them are imperfect and none appears to be older than 1591 (the oldest itself being fragmentary).[2]

The British Museum library has two copies of the *bāʿit*, as I discovered by reference to RIEU's *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic MSS.*, and to ELLIS and EDWARDS, *A Descriptive List*, etc. The MSS. are numbered Oriental 4371 and Oriental 5813. The former is marked as "anonymous," for it begins without title or author's name. I discovered it to be a copy of the *bāʿit* only because my eye happened to fall on the beginning lines as cited in the catalogue. The copy is bound with three other short works, all of which BUDGE, in a catalogue note, says were "written by several hands... apparently in the 17th and 18th centuries."

The second British Museum copy, though acquired later, is plainly older than the first. It is described by ELLIS and EDWARDS as "a treatise on the sanctity of Jerusalem and Hebron and the merit of visiting their shrines, by Burhān ad-Dīn AL-FAZĀRĪ (d. A. H. 690)." It is bound in Oriental 5813 with a short work, *lawāḥiqu-l-manāsik*, an anonymous manual of the laws relating to pilgrimage, said to date from the 16th century. This agrees also with the appearance of the *bāʿit*. The style of *ḥaṭṭ* is Persian. The inner title has . . . . على زيارة . . . . The ending is defective, breaking off (though with full page and line) in the first copy of the

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[1] See DE GUIGNES, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscripts de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, etc., Paris, 1790, III, p. 605 f., where the MS. is described and chapter headings and brief summaries are given in French. Also, DE SLANE's *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, Paris, 1883—1895, III, p. 605, No. 2254, 1°; or Fonds Arabe 836. The Paris copy is like MS. No. 6094 (4), Berlin, in having an extra chapter on the *Merits of ʿAsqalān*.

[2] See AHLWARDT's *Catalogue*, V, MS. 6093, f., where chapter headings and beginnings and endings of several are given; and where AHLWARDT corrects ascription of No. 6093 by SPRENGER to IBNU-L-JAUZĪ.

Prophet's purported written grant of Hebron, etc., الدارين.[1]

The *bāʿiṯ* may also be found elsewhere without title or identification of author in addition to British Museum No. 4371 as noted above (and Berlin No. 6093). For instance, in *Mélanges de l'Université de St. Joseph*, Beirut, VII, p. 258; and MS. No. 12 (2) in AHLWARDT's *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Landberg'schen Sammlung arab. Handschriften* (Berlin, 1885). Without doubt, copies could also be found in other Occidental and Oriental libraries.[2]

The Leiden text is a beautifully clear MS. written in a fine hand (though not meriting quite the praise which DE GUIGNES gives the Paris copy justly in this respect). There is no missing last page as STEINSCHNEIDER thought (*Polemische Schriften* p. 181). While the Leiden copy has a number of readings inferior to those of the Yale text, with also lacunae and abbreviations, yet it in several cases gives material assistance on doubtful points. This aid was especially useful in determining the order in a few places where the copyist of the Yale MS. made slips and had to add what he had forgotten in the margin. The abbreviations of the Leiden copy are especially notable in case of the chapter headings of his sources which IBN AL-FIRKĀḤ often cites. The Leiden MS., also, follows immediately a work on David and Solomon, identical with that which the Paris copy precedes. The name of the copyist appears in the colophon, but unfortunately not the date. I should judge 17th century, or possibly 16th.

The Yale text is a separate little volume, bound in oriental style, with a flap end-cover. It has thirty-six folios, 5 in. by ca.

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[1] One of the peculiarities of M² on an important point is that in the story of the grant by Mohammed to Tamīm ad-Dārī and his clan Tamīm is represented as preferring not Beit Jibrīl of the other MSS. but Beit Ḥabrūn, or Hebron itself. This could come in only after the confusion in the story had arisen as attested by the wrong reading of the Yale copy where Mohammed is said to approve the wish of Tamīm (see p. 41 of the text).

[2] Since writing the above I came across reference to three copies in Constantinople. See FELIX TAUER, "Geographisches aus den Stambuler Bibliotheken (Arab. Hds.)," in *Archiv Orientalni*, or *Journal of the Czecho-Slovak Oriental Institute*, VI, 95. One, Nūr-i ʿOsmāniyye 3400, is of the 9th century A. H., like Y. Another, Aja Ṣōfja 3469 is dated 1100 A.H. The third, Aja Ṣōfja 3340/6, is undated. A copy of IBNU-L-FIRKĀḤ's *iʿlām* is also listed, Lāleli 3656/10, dated 1041 A. H.

$6^3/_4$ in. The title, chapter headings, and practically all the references for traditions are given in red ink. The MS. is unusually clear, in a large and legible (through not elegant) hand. There are two or three bad smudges. In addition to corrections of his ellipses in the margins, the copyist more than once corrected himself in the text itself. Evidently the pages were trimmed after the book was bound and in use; for marginal notations are in several instances cut in two.[1] The little book has been remarkably well preserved for its 456 years. Its general excellence makes it a pity the text has found mention in none of the works of reference, not even in a catalogue.

The basic cause for Muslim veneration of Palestine is adaptation of so much from Judaism and Christianity. Throughout its history, sentiment in Islam has been fervent toward Jerusalem, the city of the Prophets, and Hebron, the city of Abraham who was the builder of the Kaʿaba itself, and the first Muslim. But it is the famous *isrāʾ* or "Night-Journey" story of the Prophet which sanctifies Jerusalem, as could nothing else, whether interpretation is orthodox and literal or rationalistic and liberal.[2] Having insufficient space here in to include a summary of the traditions in the *bāʿiṯ* as to the holiness of Jerusalem and Palestine, I must only give reference to my paper in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LI, part ii, 1932, p. 171, and an article of a popular nature in the *Asia Magazine*, April, 1932.[3]

It is also needless to discuss here the vexed question of the location of the various spots of veneration in the Ḥaram aš-Šarīf, on which conflicting evidence is given by several of the Arab authors. I shall only refer to LE STRANGE (*Palestine*, 173), who gives extended information of the shifting of names and gates and even structures, through the centuries. His notes are based on a paper

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[1] By itself on the last page of the book is a poem of fourteen lines on Jerusalem, evidently composed by a later pilgrim, more pious than literary. There are two lines also, at the bottom of the title page.

[2] See Sura XVII, 1, One of the best popular accounts is that in IRVING's still useful book, *The Life of Mahomet*. See also LE STRANGE, *Palestine*, p. 166. Also YAʿQŪBĪ's *History* for an interesting account of the Jeroboam-like policies of the Caliph ʿAbdu-l-Malik, builder of the Dome of the Rock.

[3] Similarity of these traditions of sanctity and beliefs in merit of visits and religious rites with Jewish traditions will be recognized immediately.

by Col. Sir C. WILSON (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1888); see also
LE STRANGE, *JRAS*, cited above, and his appendix from WILSON in
his translation of NĀṢIR-I-KHUSRAU's diary of travel in the *Palestine
Pilgrims Texts.*).

It is remarkable that IBNU-L-FIRKĀḤ included no more of the many
accounts of the visit of the Caliph ʿUmar to Jerusalem at the time
of the capitulation of the city than the brief reference in chapter
eight. Also, that in the final chapter on Hebron and the tombs of
the Patriarchs he did not include at least one of the accounts of
purported visits to the tombs themselves underneath the mosque.
Several such accounts (in which the Patriarch-Prophets are found
in a living state) occur in the *muṯīru-l-gharām* of ABU-L-FIDĀ'
of Hebron. IBNU-L-FIRKĀḤ is content, however, to give the story
of the grant of Hebron by Mohammed to the Dārī clan, and to
let the purported documents from the Prophet himself serve as
his authentication of the tombs.[1]

One of the most disturbing points in the text has been that in
connection with this story. The sense is clear, however, that when
the clan members were divided in their preferences, Tamīm wishing
to ask for Beit Jibrīn and Abu Hind for Hebron, the Prophet
approved the wish of Abu Hind. The prominence of Tamīm in
the clan has probably been the cause of the confusion.

Identification of the great number of individuals throughout the
text I have generally left unnoted, because they can all be found
in such books of references as: YĀQŪT's *Biographical Dictionary*;
IBN KHALLIKĀN; the *tahḏību-t-tahḏīb* (by IBN ḤAJAR, Hyderabad,
1325 A. H.); the *kitāb al-muraṣṣaʿ* of IBNU-L-ATĪR; *al-muštabih* of AḌ-
ḌAHABI (ed. DE JONG), etc.

The text as made for this edition was based on the Yale
MS. with collation by photostatic copy of the Leiden MS., and
occasional assistance as found in notations in catalogues, etc.
Collation with the two copies in London and that in Paris was made
in September, 1933. Because nearly all points of doubt were cleared

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[1] See F. A. KRENKOW, "The Grant of Land by Muhammad to Tamīm-ad-
Dārī," *Islamica*, I, 1924—25, pp. 529—32; also text of the *muṯīr* which I hope
soon to publish; also MAQRĪZĪ, *aḍ-ḍawʾu-s-sārī li-maʿrifat ḫabar Tamīmi-d-Dārī*,
a good copy of which I have from the Yale MS., and a text or study of which
I hope to make.

previously, reference is made in this edition to the Paris and London MSS. only where necessary, important or of special interest. Slight and unimportant divergences, even between the Yale and the Leiden texts, are sometimes passed over. The total result, I hope, is a clear text, without major problems, almost universally interesting through attachment of Jews, Christians, and Muslims to Palestine.

DIE WANDERUNG PALÄSTINISCH-SYRISCHER GÖTTER NACH OST UND WEST IM ZWEITEN VORCHRISTLICHEN JAHRTAUSEND[1]

Otto Eissfeldt

(Halle)

Wir sind es gewohnt, Palästina und Syrien für die letzten vor- und die ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte als die Wiege großer Religionen zu betrachten. Nicht nur das Judentum und das Christentum, die dann ihrerseits wieder für die Entstehung des Islams von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung geworden sind, sind damals von hier ausgegangen, sondern auch die Kulte der syrischen Sonnengötter, die weithin das römische Imperium beherrscht haben. Aber es war damals nicht das erste Mal, daß Palästina-Syrien die Umwelt religiös aufs stärkste beeinflußt hat. Vielmehr wird es klarer und klarer, daß schon ein bis zwei Jahrtausende vorher Palästina und Syrien religiöse Zentren von weitreichender Bedeutung gewesen sind. Daß wir in dieser Beziehung jetzt sehr viel deutlicher sehen können als frühere Geschlechter, das verdanken wir in allererster Linie der in Palästina und Syrien während der letzten drei oder vier Jahrzehnte geleisteten Arbeit, einer Arbeit, die sich in der Palestine Oriental Society ein bedeutsames, alle Nationen und Konfessionen umfassendes Zentrum geschaffen hat.

Ganz neu ist die Erkenntnis von der hohen religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung Syriens auch schon im zweiten Jahrtausend freilich nicht. Vielmehr war man schon vor 80—100 Jahren und auch vorher sehr stark geneigt, manches Phänomen der griechisch-römischen Kultur und insbesondere ihrer Mythologie und Religion aus Palästina-Syrien herzuleiten. Man dachte damals ausschließlich an Phönizien als den Ausgangspunkt dieser Einflüsse und wollte, wie in allen möglichen geographischen Namen der Mittelmeerländer, so auch in mancher

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[1] Grundlinien eines bei der 57. Generalversammlung der Palestine Oriental Society am 11. Mai, 1933 gehaltenen Vortrages.

Gestalt des griechisch-römischen Mythos phönizisches Gut finden. Ein „mirage phénicien" hatte damals die gelehrte Welt ergriffen. Der Rückschlag gegen diesen Taumel konnte nicht ausbleiben. Die ernstere Sprachwissenschaft erkannte, daß eine Fülle der Herleitungen griechischer und lateinischer Worte aus dem Phönizischen oder dem Semitischen überhaupt haltlos waren. Die Angaben klassischer Schriftsteller über Zusammenhänge des griechischen Mythos mit dem phönizischen aber sind größtenteils literarisch so jung, daß — so schien es nun wenigstens — sie für die ältere Zeit, in der die Entlehnungen stattgefunden haben müßten, nichts besagen konnten. Es trat also der Gegenschlag ein, und man versuchte nun, unter Verzicht auf Herleitung mancher Elemente aus dem Orient, die griechisch-römische Kultur und Religion aus sich allein heraus zu verstehen.

Da ist es die Archäologie gewesen, die wiederum einen Wandel herbeigeführt hat. Für eine Zeit, aus der vorher nicht eine einzige wirklich beglaubigte Nachricht zur Verfügung gestanden hatte, für das zweite Jahrtausend vor Christus und für noch ältere Zeiten, konnte sie, dank der Arbeit des Spatens, eine Fülle von Dokumenten vorlegen, deren stumme (bei textlosen Funden) oder laute (bei Texten) Sprache ganz unmißverständlich einen sehr engen Zusammenhang zwischen Orient und Okzident in dieser frühen Zeit bezeugte. Die Einflüsse — man denke nur an die Keramik![1] — gehen hin und her. Aber in der Religion — so scheint es — geht der Zug eher von Ost nach West als umgekehrt, oder genauer: hier erwies sich Palästina-Syrien im besonderen Sinne als gebend, und zwar sowohl nach Osten hin als nach Westen. Das für religiöse Vorstellungen und Bräuche nachzuweisen, ist zunächst schwer, da hier beim Vorliegen ähnlicher Erscheinungen immer mit der Möglichkeit von selbständigen Analogiebildungen zu rechnen ist. Aber beweisbar ist religiöser Einfluß, wenn sich zeigen läßt, daß Götter und ihre Kulte von einem Punkte zum anderen gewandert sind. Eben das läßt sich in unserem Falle zeigen: wir treffen im 2. Jahrtausend und später in Ost und West viele Götter, die ihren Ursprung in Palästina gehabt und sich von hier aus ausgebreitet haben, oder, falls sie —

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[1] Vgl. außer den Büchern zur palästinischen Archäologie von BENZINGER, THOMSEN, WATZINGER, S.A. COOK, ALBRIGHT, BARTON und anderen den Aufsatz von HEMPEL, „Westliche Kultureinflüsse auf das älteste Palästina" (*PJB* 23, 1927, S. 52—92).

was bei dem einen oder andern zutreffen könnte — auch in Palästina-Syrien nicht autochthon sind, hier doch jedenfalls ihre Expansionskraft erhalten haben.

Eine ganze Reihe von Forschern[1] — daran darf zunächst erinnert werden — hat zu zeigen unternommen, daß Bethel, bevor es Jahwe-Heiligtum geworden, Sitz eines kanaanäischen Gottes gewesen ist, der „El von Bethel" oder auch geradezu nur „Bethel" geheißen hat. Von diesem Gott wissen wir nicht nur, daß er im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. von der jüdischen Militärkolonie in Elephantine verehrt worden, also spätestens im 7. Jahrhundert von den Begründern der Kolonie dorthin mitgenommen worden ist, sondern er ist uns auch als in Phönizien-Syrien und in Assyrien verehrt bezeugt, und die Zeugnisse sind derartig, daß man die Ausbreitung dieses Kultes schon im 2. Jahrtausend ansetzen muß.

Bis in diese Zeit reicht sicherlich auch die Ausbreitung der Verehrung des Gottes vom Thabor[2] zurück. Der Spruch aus dem Mose-Segen Deuteronomium 33[18-19]

> "Freu dich, Sebulon, deiner Fahrten
> Und du, Isaschar, deiner Zelte!
> Völker laden sie ein auf den Berg;
> Dort opfern sie rechte Opfer.
> Denn den Überfluß des Meeres saugen sie
> Und die verborgensten Schätze des Sandes"

setzt voraus, daß Sebulon und Isaschar auf dem Thabor — dieser Berg ist hier gemeint[3] — dem Jahwe Opfer darbringen. Denn sonst wären die hier üblichen Opfer bestimmt nicht „rechte Opfer" genannt. Aber, wie überall, wird man auch hier annehmen müssen, daß dem Kulte Jahwes der eines kanaanäischen Gottes vorangegangen ist, und diese Annahme wird durch Hosea 5[2], wo der Prophet von einem „auf dem Thabor ausgespannten Netze" redet und damit gegen den hier geübten Kult polemisiert[4], zur Gewißheit erhoben.

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1   Zuletzt EISSFELDT, „Der Gott Bethel" (ARW 28, 1930, S. 1—30).

2   Vergleiche dazu jetzt EISSFELDT : „Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung" (ARW 31, 1934, S. 14—41).

3   Vgl. BUDDE, Der Segen Moses, Deut. 33, 1922, S. 39. 49.

4   Vgl. zu der Stelle jetzt BUDDE, „Zu Text und Auslegung des Buches Hosea. 3. Kap. 5[1] — 6[6]. Falscher und rechter Jahwedienst" (JPOS 14, 1934, S. 1—41), S. 2—7.

Bei dem Propheten hat sich offenbar die Erinnerung an den kanaanäischen Ursprung des Kultes erhalten, und eben darum lehnt er ihn ab, während der Autor des Spruches aus dem Mose-Segen diese Erinnerung verloren hat oder es doch für möglich hält, daß der alte, nun dem Jahwe zugeeignete Kult sich auch wirklich vom Geiste der Jahwe-Religion durchdringen lassen werde. Dieser kanaanäische Gott vom Thabor nun, also der *ba'al tābôr*, wie wir ihn getrost nennen dürfen, hat sich in alter Zeit weit nach Westen hin ausgebreitet und als Zeus Atabyrios auf Rhodos wie auf Sizilien Verehrung gefunden. Die Stelle des Mosesegens zeigt ganz deutlich, wie die Ausbreitung dieses Kultes vor sich gegangen ist: in Anlehnung an den Verkehr zu Wasser und zu Lande, also an See- und Karawanenhandel.

Mit dem *ba'al tābôr* sind wir zu den Göttern gekommen, die Herren von Bergen waren und in der Fremde, wohin immer sie vordrangen, auch auf Bergen oder Erhebungen verehrt worden sind, die dann — mochten sie dem Heimatsberg gegenüber auch noch so niedrig sein — doch mit dessen Namen benannt wurden, ganz ähnlich wie es im Christentum überall Kalvarienberge in Miniaturgröße gibt. Hierher gehört der uns auch aus Philo Byblios oder Sanchunjathon bekannte *ba'al lebānôn*, den wir nicht nur auf Zypern, sondern auch bei Karthago wiederfinden. Größere Bedeutung hat der *ba'al ṣāpôn* [1] erlangt, der uns jetzt durch die Ras Schamra-Texte für die Mitte des 2. Jahrtausends bezeugt und aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach als Gott des zwischen Antiochien und Laodicea gelegenen Dschebel Aqra', des späteren Kasios-Berges, zu verstehen ist. Sein Kult ist im Ostjordanland und weiter im Osten bei den Assyrern bezeugt. Stärker aber war sein Einfluß nach Westen hin, wo wir ihn nicht nur in Ägypten finden, sondern auch in Karthago. Bedenkt man, daß dieser Gott mit Zeus Kasios identisch ist, so wird seine Bedeutung vollends klar. Denn Zeus Kasios hat eine ganz weite Verbreitung gefunden und ist an vielen Punkten des Mittelmeergebietes, namentlich auf Vorgebirgen, als Schiffergott verehrt worden.

Zu den Berggöttern gehört sehr wahrscheinlich auch der *ba'al*

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[1] Vgl. EISSFELDT, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer*, 1932.

ḫammān. Denn die ältesten Belege, die wir für diesen Gott haben[1], stammen aus der Gegend des Amanus und dienen der schon früher ausgesprochenen, aber .wenig beachteten Vermutung zur Bestätigung, daß er von Haus aus der Gott des Amanus ist. Von hier aus hat er sich bis ans Westende des Mittelmeeres ausgebreitet, was vor allem der phönizischen Kolonisation zu verdanken ist. Bei den Karthagern war er der größte Gott. Seine Bedeutung für die Weltgeschichte aber wird klar, sobald man sich daran erinnert, daß es dieser Gott gewesen, zu dem Alexander in die Ammonsoase gezogen ist, um sich von ihm adoptieren und sich die Weltherrschaft verheißen zu lassen. Denn der Gott jenes Oasenheiligtums, das übrigens erhöht liegt[2], ist von Haus aus schwerlich der ägyptische Amon, mit dem er dann freilich später verschmolzen ist, sondern der Baʿal des Amanos, der von der libyschen Mittelmeerküste aus seinen Weg in die Oase angetreten hat.

Daß Syrien schon im 2. Jahrtausend vor Christus Ausgangspunkt von Kulten und Gottesvorstellungen gewesen ist, die für die Folgezeit von größter Bedeutung werden sollten, würde dann recht deutlich werden, wenn es sich bewahrheiten sollte, daß die Ras Schamra-Texte auch einen Gott *Jw*, also *Jau* oder *Jo*[3], erwähnen. Denn dann ließe es sich nicht mehr bestreiten, daß es dieser *Jau* ist, der in dem altbabylonischen Personennamen *Jaum-AN* und in dem Namen des *Jau-biʿdi* von Hamath aus dem 8. Jahrh. v. Chr. steckt, und daß vor allem der *Jao* auf den Abrasax-Gemmen, den Bleifluchtafeln und den Zauberpapyri der ersten vier oder fünf nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte nicht allein auf den jüdischen Jahwe-Jaho zurückgeführt werden kann, sondern auch aus dem Weiterleben des syrischen *Jau* erklärt werden muß. Die von vielen, besonders eindrücklich von BAUDISSIN[4] vertretene Meinung, daß in allen *Jao* oder

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[1] Inschrift des Kalamu aus dem 9. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (vgl. LIDZBARSKI, *Ephemeris*, III, S. 218—238) und je ein Text aus den in Ras Schamra 1929 und 1930 gemachten . Funden, vgl. HROZNÝ, "Une Inscription de Ras Šamra en langue churrite" (*Archiv Orientdlni*, 4. 1932, S. 118—129).

[2] STEINDORFF, RICKE und AUBIN, „Der Orakeltempel in der Ammonsoase" (*Z. Aeg. Spr.* 69, 1933, S. 1—24).

[3] Vgl. DUSSAUD, "Le Sanctuaire et les Dieux phéniciens de Ras Shamra" (*RHR*, 105, 1932, S. 245—302) S. 247 und HANS BAUER, „Die Gottheiten von Ras Schamra" (*ZAW* 51, 1933, S. 81—101), S. 92—94.

[4] *Kyrios* II, 1929, S. 189—236. Vgl. auch EISSFELDT, „Jahwe-Name und Zauberwesen" (*ZMR*, 42, 1927. S. 161—186).

ähnlich lautenden Gottes – und in allen dies als theophores Element enthaltenden Personen-Namen Varianten des jüdischen Gottesnamens zu erkennen wären, müßte dann als widerlegt aufgegeben werden. Das ist ja längst aufgefallen und auch von Baudissin keineswegs übersehen worden, daß der *Jao* jener Gemmen, Tafeln und Papyri merkwürdig viele sonnenhafte Züge aufweist, aber man glaubte das damit erklären zu können, daß, wie andere Götter, so auch der jüdische Jahwe in der Zeit des hellenistisch-römischen Synkretismus zum Sonnengott geworden sei. Das *Jo* der Ras Schamra-Texte legt nun die viel einleuchtendere Erklärung nahe, daß in dem *Jao* der Zaubertexte neben dem jüdischen Gott, dessen Anteil freilich sehr groß ist, auch der alte syrische Sonnengott weiterlebt, daß hier also die beiden in eins zusammengeflossen sind. Was insbesondere die Abrasax-Gemmen mit ihrem *Jao* angeht, so sind bei ihrer bildlichen Darstellungen ja die sonnenhaften Züge ganz deutlich, und Procopé-Walter[1] hat unlängst gezeigt, daß diese Gemmen auf Syrien und nicht, wie man bisher anzunehmen geneigt war, auf Ägypten als auf ihren Herkunftsort verweisen.

Mit den Göttern sind bestimmt die an ihren Kulten haftenden Vorstellungen und Bräuche gewandert, und so muß Palästina-Syrien auch als Ausgangspunkt für diese in Ansatz gebracht werden. Da die Ausbreitung mancher Götter von hier jetzt sicher feststellbar ist, wird die künftige Forschung auch viel ernster als bisher damit rechnen dürfen, daß viele religiöse Ideen und Observanzen auf das Syrien des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. zurückgehen.

Trotz ihrer Knappheit genügen diese Andeutungen doch vielleicht, um zu zeigen, daß die während der letzten Jahrzehnte in Palästina-Syrien gemachten archäologischen Entdeckungen unser Bild vom Verlauf der antiken Religionsgeschichte tiefgreifend umgestaltet haben, und darauf vorzubereiten, daß dieser Umbildungsprozeß noch weitere Fortschritte machen wird. Die religionsgeschichtliche Forschung hat also allen Grund, der archäologischen Arbeit für die von ihr ausgegangenen Anregungen dankbar zu sein. Andererseits darf es die Religionsgeschichte für sich in Anspruch nehmen, daß sie die archäologische Arbeit, zum mindesten die in Palästina-Syrien getriebene,

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[1] „Jao und Set" (*ARW* 30, 1933, S. 34—69). Vgl. aber auch Pieper, „Die Abraxasgemmen" (*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, V, 2, 1934, S. 119—143).

immer wieder auf ein letztes Ziel aufmerksam macht und ihr zugleich eine besondere Weihe verleiht. Wenn hier so eifrig archäologisch gearbeitet wird, so hat das doch letztlich darin seinen Grund, daß von Palästina-Syrien Religionen ausgegangen sind, die noch heute leben und vielen Millionen von Menschen Mut und Kraft, Trost und Erhebung bieten, ja, die Sinngebung ihres Lebens bedeuten. Unter diesen Umständen darf es die archäologische Arbeit ihrerseits nicht vergessen, daß sie als Dank für die ihr von ihnen zukommenden Antriebe zu einem geschichtlichen Verständnis dieser Religionen mit-zuwirken verpflichtet ist. Einen wichtigen Beitrag dazu bedeutet aber die Erkenntnis der Kulte, die der biblischen Religion voran-gegangen sind und diese, auch wo sie von ihr bekämpft worden sind, doch nicht ganz unbeeinflußt gelassen haben.

BOOK REVIEWS

S. D. F. GOITEIN, *Jemenica.* Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen mit zahlreichen Sach- und Worterläuterungen. 1934. Kommissionsverlag von Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig; pp. XXIII+194.

The book is divided into three parts: an introduction, 1432 proverbs and an index. The first part deals with the origin of the Yemenite proverbs, their similarity to pan-Arabic proverbs, the pronunciation, syntax and grammar of the Yemenite language. Every proverb of the second part is given with its translation. A vast number are more fully explained through parallels and notes. The index is a welcome addition, as it enables the student to find the proverbs describing nearly every phase of Yemenite life. This collection, which is good proof of the great industry of the author, is scientifically interesting and important: It teaches the Yemenite dialect, explains in a vivid way the psychology of the people and throws light on their mode of life, their superstitions and beliefs. The author is to be congratulated on this achievement. In this book, the student of Arabic dialects will find a mine of information and the student of comparative philology the solution of many problems. A great advantage is the exact transcription of the Arabic words.

Many Arabic expressions which are in common use in Yemen are derived from the classical language, but are not known to the dialects of the part of the Arabic speaking world in and around Palestine. Others are neither known to the classical language nor used in Palestine, Syria or Transjordan. It would have added greatly to the value of this treatise if all such expressions were more carefully treated, for their study might help in finding some remnants of the old Semitic languages which once prevailed in the Arabic peninsula.

It is to be regretted that the translation has not been done more carefully, to enable the student to find the exact meaning of each word. It would also have been more helpful to give the intended

idea of a proverb in brackets, whenever the literal translation of the same gives a vague meaning. Some such examples are[1]:

No. 11. The translation of *bainâthum el-bain*, "separation (or death) is between them," was omitted. Footnote is incorrect. We do not have here توكد لفظي like مذر مذر ، شذر بين، حسن (see *ZDMG*, vol. 70 (1916), p. 170.

150. *dalîlîn* (p. 30) does not mean "weichherzig" but "unterwürfig, verachtet" (submissive, contemptible).

220. Read "die" instead of "sein". In No. 1375 read "der" instead of "die".

230. *ibn al-ḫair, ualau fiqir, mâ ʿaṯir* should be translated "The son of a good (rich and noble) family will not stumble (in his character) even if he becomes poor". Compare with the proverb *ḫôḏ min ʾld kânat matlâneh uṣiqrat ualâ tôḫiḏ min ʾld kânat faqîrah uimtalat*.

305. *hâʾim* is "wandering about aimlessly, bewildered, stupified". This curse means "May you (always) wander aimlessly around and never have a (refreshing) sleep (which follows a quiet state of mind)".

391. *ḥaqarûk uanaqarûk (ual-ʿaŝî qabarûk)* is better translated as "They have despised you and quarrelled with you (and at evening time they buried you)".

409. *ḫûrî udûrî ualâ bait al-iahûdi*, "Go to and fro and round about but (do) not (enter) the house of the Jew".

419 Substitute "Kenntnis" for "Wesen".

475. *Muḥîṭ* p. 145, explains *al-baun* as مرج خصيب في بلاد فارس يوصف بالنضارة حتى يقال انه احدى الجنان الاربع .

491. The deep and beautiful meaning of the proverd *radjdjâl min ʿaṣab ualâ marâh min qaṣab* has been missed. The translation should be "A sinewed (thin and strong) man and not (i.e. is better than) a woman (made) of goldthreads (i.e. beautiful)". For *qaṣab* see *Muḥîṭ*, p. 1715, and the Palestinian dialect. *Qaṣab* means also reeds but such a translation makes the proverb lose all its figurative meaning. Proverb 492 gives the same idea.

537. *as-sit(r) bimâ-star âllah*, denotes "The (real) concealment

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1 The transcription given below is that of the reviewer.

(from shame and weakness) is (only) that with which God conceals (a person)" One of God's names is *sattâr*, Concealer.

570. *as-sam(n) isum(m) kull uadjaʿ*, "Samneh (butter) poisons every ailment". The translation of the author gives the correct meaning but not the correct translation of the words.

640. *ṣâḥubak al-auual lâ yighurrak (a)ṭ-ṭânī*, "Your first friend (is the best one) do not let the second deceive you".

654. This proverb is more correctly translated "(To hear) your voice is more agreeable than (to see) your figure (face)".

673. This is a blessing and not a curse. *Bḥaqq* means "by the truth of" and not "von dem Kraftaufwand".

817. A more correct rendering would be "His actions are mighty (but) his punishment is merciful".

848. The translation should be "Our table (of food) has drawn near. Every one who wants to eat (should do so) since (this meal) is counted (as a meal for every present person)". Compare with the Palestinian proverb *insamat ʿalêk kôl ubaḥliq ʿenêk*.

No reasons are given why the proverbs 1, 76, 258–262, 265, 266, 1316 are thought to be of Jewish origin. Nearly all the proverbs describing seasons or agricultural rules and used by the peasants of Palestine are connected with Christian and not with Mohammedan feasts, although the Moslems form the greater part of the population of the East. Such proverbs are known and used all over the country. The reasons for the use of such dates have been given by the reviewer at another place.

A drawback of most collections of proverbs is that they are generally mixed with idioms, curses and blessings. The author of this book has followed the same method. It would have been advantageous to place all sayings which are not pure proverbs at the end of every section, thus enabling the student from the very beginning to differentiate a proverb from a saying.

In going through this magnificient collection one finds a great number of proverbs which have their parallels in Palestine. The author has given here and there some references to such parallels. But there are a great many more, which have been already recorded in different folklore articles of the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental*

Society. It is a pity that this *Journal* has not been consulted more frequently, since a comparison with Palestinian proverbs, customs, superstitions and beliefs would have been one of the best ways to lead to a better understanding of many interesting points in the Yemenite life and beliefs. Such are the subjects of *el-madjḏûb*, *umm eṣ-ṣubiân*, coitus with a menstruant, the *qird*, *mašhad*, and the drinking of souls and of birds from cups engraved on tombs.

<div align="right">T. CANAAN.</div>

SCHMIDT, HANS, *Der Heilige Fels in Jerusalem*. Eine archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie. Mit 8 Tafeln und 5 Grundrissen. J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen. 1933. VIII, 102, 8 plates, 5 plans.

Eingangs (S. 3–5) bringt SCH. einige Zitate der fast allgemein vertretenen Ansicht, daß der heilige Fels in der sog. Omar-Moschee zu Jerusalem die Stätte des Brandopferaltares im Tempel des Salomo, des Serubbabel und des Herodes gewesen sei. Es folgt (S. 7–16) eine genaue Beschreibung des Felsens in seiner jetzigen Gestalt, wobei SCH. ein Hauptaugenmerk auf jene sogenannte Rinne richtet, die immer wieder zu der Brandopferaltartheorie Anlaß gegeben hat, und weist darauf hin, daß der hier gemeinte Felseneinschnitt anstatt dessen nicht dazu dienen konnte, eine Flüssigkeit, die auf dem Felsen vergossen wurde, aufzunehmen. In den restlichen Kapiteln der kleinen aus zwei Vorträgen herausgewachsenen Broschüre (S. 17–102) wird sodann der Versuch unternommen, einer älteren Ansicht zum Siege zu verhelfen, nach der man im Felsen die Stelle des Allerheiligsten vor sich habe.

An Hand der Maßangaben des FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS (*B. J.* V) und hauptsächlich der Mischna (Traktat Middoth) über den Herodianischen Tempel errechnet SCH., daß das Allerheiligste dieses Tempels über dem jetzigen heiligen Fels gewesen sein muß. Voraussetzung dieser Berechnung ist für den Verfasser die Annahme, daß das Nikanortor am östlichen Rande der heutigen Terasse anzusetzen ist. Ob diese conditio sine qua non ganz sicher steht, ist eine Frage; der Ver-

fasser selbst schreibt S. 25 sehr vorsichtig „wenn unser Ausgangspunkt richtig ist".

Daß im Tempel des Salomo und des Serubbabel das Allerheiligste auch über dem Fels gelegen gewesen sei, erklärt Sch. nicht nur aus dem Gesetz der Stetigkeit, nach dem man sakrale Bauten immer an derselben Stelle erbaute, sondern er stützt sich auch auf die Bauberichte über die Tempel Salomos und Serubbabels, die dieser Ansicht nicht widerstreiten. Ob die hier herangezogenen Stellen des Alten Testamentes, wie Sch. meint, auch seine Theorie stützen, möchte ich nicht behaupten.

Weiterhin erhärtet der Verfasser seine Auffassung über den Felsen an dessen Eigentümlichkeiten (künstliche Bearbeitung an der Westseite, „Rinne" Vertiefungen auf der Oberfläche des Felsens, Höhle). Am besten dürfte wohl in diesem ganzen Fragenkomplex die Bemerkung sein, daß die scharfgeschnittene Weststufe des Felsens zur Auffügung der westlichen Zederbretterwand des Allerheiligsten diente.

Über die in dem Schlußkapitel „Der Fels in der Geschichte der Religion" behandelten Worte des Alten und Neuen Testamentes kann man hier und da anderer Ansicht sein. Das hindert aber nicht, daß die kleine Abhandlung über den Felsen sehr gut geeignet sein kann, die augenblicklich vorherrschende Altarhypothese ernsthaft ins Wanken zu bringen.   J. Pohl

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Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Universität Berlin. Beiband zum Jahrgang XXXVI. *5000 arabische Sprichwörter aus Palästina.* Arabischer Text in der Volkssprache in vokalisierter arabischer Schrift aufgenommen, mit schriftarabischen Erklärungen versehen und im Zusammenwirken mit Pfarrer Lic. Dr. M. Thilo und Professor Dr. G. Kampffmeyer herausgegeben von Pastor Saʿīd ʿAbbūd in Bethlehem. Berlin, 1933, Gruyter. Printed at the Syrian Orphanage Press, Jerusalem. iv+262+5. Price RM. 8.

كتاب الطرفة الباهجة في الامثال والحكم العربية الدارجة. جمعه ووقف على طبعه القس سعيد عبود اشقر .

This collection of Arabic proverbs from Palestine, mainly hitherto unpublished, forms a welcome addition to similar existing collections.   There are three types, the first of which is classical, with many variants in Meidānī's collection.   Secondly, there is the bulk of Palestinian vernacular proverbs, which, though known in Syria and Egypt, and to some extent also in Mesopotamia, have been collected independently and are here commented on.   There are among them about one hundred which show parallels (sometimes only translations) from Turkish.   But there is no gainsaying that they are not Arabic.   Thirdly, there are the expressions and idiomatic turns of speech which are not strictly proverbs.   Many of them are still in an unformed and non-rhyming stage — a proof of their comparative novelty.

Two points deserve mention.   The vernacular Arabic is transcribed in the inadequate Arabic characters.   Although the Arabic is partly vowelled,—*o* and *e* being distinguished by a vertical stroke over them, — the fact remains, that a particular Arabic vernacular can be read only by him who masters it in speaking.

The following may illustrate this: *ta* of *ḥatta* is written throughout with a long *alif* (see 14, 68 and 3303); while *ḥuss* requires a *sīn* and not a *ṣād* (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.): *ʿa-ma* (*ʿala ma*) is written with two *alifs* (40), the short vowel of *ba-* in *baḥtum* is also represented with an *alif* (1058). The final *e* in *zalame* is rendered with a long *yā*ʾ throughout (2235/6, 3864, 4304, 4467 and 4931). *Naṣāra* is written once even with a *ḥā*ʾ (2754). *Ḥannūṣ* (1362) and *Miḥmāṣe* (4801) both require a *ṣād*, and the Turkish *yoq* (2836) should be written with a *qāf*, while the classical form of *musāqaba* (4316) may be also written with a *ṣād*.

These proverbs are not intended for semasiological studies.   They are on the whole written in a somewhat modified dialect of Jerusalem; *fellāḥi* idiom being also transcribed similarly (see relevant note in foreword).   No attempt is made to give the provenance of the proverb, nor is there any classification according to subjects. This, it is understood, will be done in the forthcoming German translation.   The arrangement is according to the Arabic alphabet.

There is an attempt to explain in simple classical Arabic some of these proverbs (more than 400) and to trace them to an event of everyday life or to illustrate them with an anecdote.   This is

done successfully on the whole, though proverbs like the following should have also been explained, as they offer some difficulty :— 578, 950, 1247-8, 1262, 1489, 1528 (chess!) 1540, 1623, 3440 and 4282. The last mentioned proverb is explained in a way contradictory to the general assumption.

Different explanations may also be given to the following proverbs: 1396 is said about a pious man in general. 1627 is a verse from Artās in which the married man describes the second wife, *ḍurra*, while 3093 is used to express contempt or indifference. 3140 refers to a "decent" man. 3155 signifies a person of no importance whatsoever.

A few corrections may be offered for inclusion in the German translation :—

46. *bahlawān*, rope dancer, for *bahlūl*. — 51. *abūyi* for *abi*. — 71. *ġazz* for *šakk*. — 421. i.e., you are fooled. — 630... *bimūt fi ġēr ᶜillto*, i.e. has a different illness and death. Variant: *illi byōḫod* ... (he who marries...). — 873 substitute *klāb* for *hamīr* — 917. The original form of the verse runs ــ اذا كان رب البيت بالدف ضاربا فشيمة اهل البيت كلهم الرقص 1004. Or *ummit ᶜAli*. — 1037. *ᶜifin* is for smell, while *ᶜifiš*, *ᶜikiš* is for ugliness. — 1258. Printer's error for *ḥawwāḍa*. — 1287. *ḥalawēnto* for *ḥalōento*. — 1310. *ayy* for *auw*. In 1328 the rhyme requires *ḥāra* for *mdīne*. — 1455. Second *la* is a printer's error. — 1399. Variant: *bi-ᶜūm*. — 1826. Variant: twice *ḥsāb* for *ḥaki*. — 1933. Variant: *rāḥat tulṭum fi ᶜĀbūd* (she went bewailing the dead in ᶜĀbūd). — 2084. *ana rāḍi u huwwe rāḍi w-inte mālak yā ᵓāḍi?* To an over inquisitive person, to mind his own business. — 2205. The rhyme does not require the last word. — 2375. Read also: *il-mistaᶜjil* for *il-ᶜajale*. — 2386. *is-sabbe*. (rhyme). — 3639. The rhyme requires transposition of the last two words. — 2457. Read *mšauwaš* for *zġīr*. — 2762. Variant: *il-ᶜitāb ṣābūn il-aḥbāb*. — 2798. l. 4 from bottom: *imharrij*. — 3249. See *JPOS*, XI, p. 77. — 3003. Variant: .. *sitt, sàbeᶜt-unfus*. — 3402. Read *qōlit* for *qōl*. — 3493. Read *kull-mālo* for *kirmālo*. — 3616. See *ZDPV.*, 1916, p. 214. — 3639. The last two words should be transposed. — 3665. Variant: *amīr* (twice). — 3875. Represents two adages instead of one. — 4019. Variant *illa* for *wala*. — 4063. Cf. the saying (and belief) *mātat uwlītak min ṣafāwit nītak. JPOS*, XI. 175, l. 1. 4172. The same miracle is related of the Syrian saint *Bar Ṣauma*. A similar trick is performed with pigeons by European conjurers visiting this country.—

4182. Variant: *mā btuḥkumš ʿala.* — 4308. Two explanations may be offered for the word *laḥḥ,* either it had originally a *qāf* (cf. *laqq* in *fōʾ ḥaʾʾo luʾʾo*). adapted to the rhyme; or it is derived from a verbal noun *lēḥa* (thrashing, beating); cf. *ʾāmat il-lēḥa,* the beating, thrashing of each other began. Incidentally, this seems to be a Kurdish loanword in vernacular Arabic. 4364. . . . *byōkol tultēn il-ʿatle* (variant). — 4364. Read · *ḥimye* (diet) for *ḥimāye* (protection). — 4386. *imʾallaʿ imwàṣṣal* is used for a rogue. — 4475. Variant: also *raḥme* (though not rhyming). — 4757. The real explanation of the title *du-l-qarnain* (the two-horned) given to Alexander the Great is his pretension to be the son of Jupiter Ammon (with the ram's horns) as he is depicted on coins struck by Lysimachus. Cf., e.g., J. J. Bernoulli, *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Großen,* 1905, pl. VIII, 4. — 4792. Variant: *JPOS,* V p. 120. No. 285. — 4797. With these words we welcome a friend who was absent for a long time.

Foreign influence (if not origin) is traced for the following proverbs: — 349. Cf. the French "Dans le royaume des aveugles le borgne est roi". — 1297 refers to the sale of the hide of the bear, a well-known proverb in European languages: "Verkaufe nicht das Fell, ehe du den Bären hast". — 1299 does not seem of Arabic origin, nor do 1313, 1400 and 1457, the German parallel of the latter being "Mit den Wölfen muß man heulen". — 1541 is the Arabic version of Horace's "Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus" (Ars poetica, 139). — 1865 may also be attributed to a German origin (cf. "die Wände haben Ohren"). — More certain is this in the case of 2254 ("Wie ein Ochs vor der Apotheke stehen"). — 2276 has also a German original or parallel (Gill's Der Hund und die Kuh). — 2584 is Seneca's "Vox populi, vox Dei". — 2898 has also a German parallel ("Es ist schon dafür gesorgt, daß die Bäume nicht in den Himmel wachsen"; cf. Part III of Goethe's "Dichtung und Wahrheit"). — 2938 is a literal translation of the German "Ein räudig Schaf steckt die ganze Herde an" (though mange attacks only the goats in this country). — 3003 is the translation of the German "Der Zweck heiligt das Mittel" or the English "The end justifies the means", while the English "A stitch in time, saves nine" is rendered literally (3356). — 3458. "Viele Köche verderben den Brei" (where, in a more current variant, *btiḥriq* "burn" is used). 4185 is also not Arabic, cf. the German "Krokodilstränen", while 4830

finds its parallel in the German "Keine Rose ohne Dornen".—
3431 reminds one vividly of the German "Kelchesrand und Lippen,
Zwei Korallenklippen ..." (Lenau); at any rate it does not seem to
be of Arabic origin.— 193 and 3599 occur already in Petronius'
Cena Trimalchionis.

The following references to classical proverbs and quotations
may be noted: ارسل حكما ولا توصه, while 192 is quoted from the famous
قصيدة حكمية of الشيخ ناصيف اليازجي.— 240 *fi-l-ḥurūbi* instead of the singular.—
311, 312, 846 and 948 are so-called *aḥādīṯ*, as is 2747, where the
correct form should be لا يلدغ المؤمن من جحر مرتين, the word being *juḥr*
(hole) and not *ḥujur*, lap.— 952. The complete verse runs
نحن سكوت والحوا يتكلم وكل لبيب من الاشارة يفهم —1206. *arsàltuhu* ارسلته لي خاطبا فتزوج —
1548 is ths classical rendering of Aḥmad Ṡauqi's lines

قالت الضفدع قولا فسرته الحكما. في في ما. وهل ينطق من في فيه ما.

ودارهم ما دمت في دارهم وارضهم ما دمت في ارضهم — .1996

يا ضيف الجفون اضعفت قلبا كان قبل الهوى قويا سويا — .2624

لا تحارب بناظريك فؤادي فضعيفان يغلبان قويا

3161. (see also 952) البعض يقرع بالعصا والبعض تكفيه الاشاره —3595 suggests
عرضنا انفسنا عزت علينا عليكم فاستخف بها الهوان ولو انا منعناها لعزت ولكن كل معروض مهان —
3608. كل يغني على ليلا, i.e., every one sings about his Laila (beloved girl).—
4049. —والليالي من الزمان حبالى مثقلات يلدن كل عجيب — 3848. كل انا ينضح بما فيه. 3625.
وما هجرتك حتى قلت معلنة لا ناقة لي في هذا ولا جمل is the well-known verse of ar-Rāʿi
and a similar one from Ṭaġrāʾis *lāmiyyatu-l-ʿajam*), while 4898 is
a much quoted verse from the Ṡeiḫ ʿUmar b. al-Wardi.— In 5216 is
the word *ummuk(a)* to be substituted for *wālida(tun)*.

<div align="right">Sᴛ. H. Sᴛᴇᴘʜᴀɴ.</div>

JESAIAS PRESS, *Neues Palästina-Handbuch. Führer durch Palästina*,
18 mehrfarbige, 3 schwarze Karten und Planbeilagen, 18 Pläne im
Text. Unter Mitarbeit von H. HERRMANN. 552 pp., Fiba-Verlag,
Wien, 1934. Price £ 1.2.0 d.

This is a guide to Palestine, which, though written by a
Jewish scholar with an eye to the needs of German-speaking Jewish
travellers and settlers, contains also much material of a more general

kind on recent developments in the country. Much of both, his Jewish and general information, is absent in the other standard guide books, (e.g. Cook, Meistermann, or Baedeker — which has not been revised since 1912). It thus satisfies an obvious need.

The first section of the guide deals with matters of Jewish interest, with the regulations governing immigration, with Jewish settlements, with statistical data, with weights and measures, hints to travellers, health conditions, ethnographic and historical sketches, the Palestine Mandate and economic conditions. The tours are so arranged as to include the greatest possible number of places and sites in which a Jewish tourist would be interested.

The maps are reproduced on a good scale (1:500,000), the plans are up to date and conveniently distributed in the letter-press. An outstanding feature is the constant association of ancient and modern as well as Talmudic references and valuable notes on the Jewish community in Palestine during the last two thousand years. The description of sites sometimes becomes rhetorical, but normally the language is clear and the information is up to date and reliable.

There are minor errors and slips. The total absence of accents and diacritical signs on purely Arabic words makes for unnecessary difficulties — as in the case of the minarets of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, where one may read (p. 456) *medinet*, town, or *mēdinet*, minaret, and (p. 109) *al-Muṣṭali*, i.e. he who warms himself at the fire, or *al-Mustàʿli*, the caliph. "*Sunna*" (p. 76) is not "Randglosse", but may be considered as the religious law of the Mohammedans. The Arabic name (p. 225) of the Damascus Gate, *bāb il-ʿāmūd*, 'Gate of the column', may have originated from the colonnade which started there (cf. the map of Jerusalem in the Mosaic of Madeba). — p. 247, there is now an iron bar between the two columns, near the *miḥrāb* of the mosque el-Aqsa, the rotunda of which (p. 248) was reconstructed by the Turkish architect Kemāleddīn in 1927. Mr. E.T. Richmond, the present Director of Antiquities, a leading authority on the subject of Moslem architecture, was the consulting architect on the works carried out in the Dome of the Rock after 1919. p. 250, *Bāb ed-dāhiriyye* is the 'Gate of Eternity', an allusion to the legend that the end of the world would be at hand when the gate is re-opened for use. The "Ratisbonne" building is an orphanage conducted by priests (p. 290).

Ṭanṭūr, now a hospice, served as a hospital sometimes during the War (p. 313). *"Bachr el-majit"* is not "Todesmeer", but "Totes Meer" (p. 334). The Hebrew Univeristy has, in 1934, not 200 students, but approximately twice as many (p. 303).

On p. 260 the author states, "There remains no doubt that the historical Golgotha and the Tomb of Christ are not on the traditional site, but are to be looked for outside the present city wall." In this conclusion he follows not so much the results of the excavations of the Third Wall, as sundry dissenting theories advanced mostly on grounds other than archaeological. JOSEPHUS, *Bell. Jud.*, V, iv, 2 (ed. Havercamp, p. 200) states that "the beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus, and then was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena . . . : it then extended farther to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the Kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, . . . and joined to the old wall at the valley called the Valley of Cedron". Therefore the fact that parts of the Third Wall are at a considerable distance from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is no argument in favour of the theory that the site of the Holy Sepulchre is not authentic. Moreover, traces of the Second Wall are still visible in the old city, and the absence of traces at other points is accounted for by the building activity within the city during the Middle Ages. The solution of complicated questions, historical, archaeological and topographical, is not helped by simply ignoring the results of careful and responsible research.

p. 230, 261. The excavations conducted by Dr. E.L. Sukenik (on behalf of the Jewish Exploration Society) and Dr. L.A. Mayer (on behalf of the Hebrew University) on the site of the Third Wall confirmed the statement of Josephus, that the wall, begun by Agrippa, was hurriedly completed by the population before the siege of Titus, thirty years later.

As Secretary of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, the author might well have dealt more adequately with recent excavations, which are mentioned only when they are on or near the prescribed routes.

ST. H. STEPHAN.

Ras Schamra (*Der Alte Orient*, Vol. 33, fasc. 1–2). By JOHANNES FRIEDRICH. pp. 38 with 8 plates. Leipzig (Hinrichs), 1933.

In this brochure the distinguished author gives us an admirable sketch of the discoveries of SCHAEFFER and CHENET at Râs eš-Šamrah on the coast of northern Syria. The first 16 pages are devoted to the archaeological results of the excavations carried on between 1929 and 1932 (the 1933 campaign was too recent to have been included). The deity with a feather-crown (p. 8) is more likely to be a tree-god (*Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.*, No. 50, p. 20) and there is a divergent interpretation of the lance with branched shaft, held by a god on another stele (cf. *loc. cit.*).

Pp. 16–37 are devoted to an account of the decipherment of the alphabetic tablets and a survey of the contents of these and other cuneiform texts discovered on the site. DHORME's early work on the decipherment of the alphabetic tablets was entirely independent of BAUER; see the comments of the reviewer in the *Bulletin*, No. 46, p. 16. To what was there said may be added that the reviewer talked with DHORME in early June, 1930, before the first report by BAUER had been published, and a week or two before it reached Jerusalem, so there can be no doubt whatever that DHORME had already reached results which were in some respects more correct than BAUER's.

The sketch of the grammar of the language of Ugarit given on pp. 2–37 is largely based on FRIEDRICH's own brilliant work (a fact which the latter is too discreet to mention). Thanks to the increase of material, it is now possible to go still farther; see the reviewer's treatment in the *Journal*, Vol. XIV, pp. 104–115.

On pp. 27–8 FRIEDRICH gives a short account of the texts from Ugarit in "Subaraean", i.e., in the language of Mitanni and of the Hurrian texts from Boghazköi. Since this was written additional evidence for the identification of the new tongue with Hurrian has been published; in *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, XXVII, iii, BRANDENSTEIN points out that *awari* means "field" both at Boghazköi and in Ugarit. A text just published by THUREAU-DANGIN shows that Hurrian personal names were as common as Semitic ones at Ugarit.

W. F. ALBRIGHT